Three Facets of Pau Casals' Musical Legacy

Silvia Maria Lazo

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THREE FACETS OF PAU CASALS’ MUSICAL LEGACY

by

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Pau Casals (1876–1973, better known to American audiences as Pablo Casals) was a notable Catalan cellist, conductor and composer, also widely known as a humanitarian. He was raised in El Vendrell, a small village in Catalonia (Spain). He went into exile in Prades, France in 1939, towards the end of the Spanish Civil War, subsequently relocating to Puerto Rico in 1957. In October 1945, following the end of World War II, the lack of Allied intervention in Spain ignited Casals’ international artistic boycott, wherein Casals vowed not to perform in any country recognizing General Francisco Franco’s regime.

To date, a group of over thirty biographies stand as rich and authoritative sources on Casals’ life and legacy. The biographers, however, tendentiously romanticized Casals’ persona by focusing on his musical accomplishments and political activism, providing a popular, yet distorted, image which continues to inform a wide audience of new and senior scholars, performers, music teachers, journalists, concert programmers, and music listeners. While a few scholarly works have touched on some biographical deficiencies (Chaitkin, 2001 and Mercier, 2008), nearly four decades after Casals’ death, no definitive scholarly biography exists.

This dissertation takes a critical look at three facets of Casals’ legacy previously undocumented or misrepresented. Through newly discovered sources, Casals’ life is discussed on three dimensions of scale: personal, national and international. The first chapter examines Casals’ marriage to Susan Metcalfe illustrating the artist’s stratagems to regulate his biographical enterprise. This individual realm reveals the deeply personal nature of Casals’ vocal works—at the example of En Sourdine (1904). The second chapter features Casals’ entanglements with Puerto Rico’s cultural development plan (Operación Serenidad), wherein a neocolonialist lens seemed fitting to observe Casals’ musical legacy at a national (Puerto Rico) level. The third chapter covers the later part of Casals’ life and focuses on his engagements with the United Nations, the production of the “Hymn to the United Nations,” and his grandest musical aspiration—to redeem the world through his peace oratorio El Pessebre.

At all three levels of analysis, this dissertation demonstrates that Casals enjoyed increasing notoriety through the construction of a positive widespread public image, because he wanted an enduring legacy transcendent of place and time. As an intellectual and cultural product of pre-World War I, however, Casals believed in moral certainty and cultural hierarchy. Being out-of-touch with major social, political and intellectual developments, Casals often served as a carrier of deep-seated social and cultural prejudices. Hence, his legacy is contested and fickle.
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I extend my sincere appreciation to all individuals who, directly or indirectly, contributed to this research, via interviews, translations, and documentary donations. Lastly, my special thanks to historian Richard Metcalfe, for his detailed genealogical notes and insightful comments on Susan Metcalfe.
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**Introduction**

Pau Casals (29 December 1876–22 October 1973), better known to American audiences as Pablo Casals, was a Catalan cellist, composer and conductor that became one of the most prominent musicians of the twentieth century.

Approximately thirty-six literary biographies have been written about Casals. These biographies are, for the most part, hagiographical works celebrating the artist and his accomplishments. They provide a chronological narrative of Casals’ family background, early life, academic studies, career development, and political activism. Most are written by friends and social contacts, whose close association with Casals (emotional or contractual) foreclosed further discussion on important aspects of Casals’ legacy.

H. L. Kirk, Casals’ most comprehensive biographer (1974), built on previous biographies dating back to 1929, adding important context, yet skipping meaningful moments in Casals’ life. The propagandistic titles (e.g., *The Legend of Pablo Casals*, 1955; *Pablo Casals: Cellist of Conscience*, 1991; *The Prodigious Arc*, 2009, etc.) speak of an underlying approach that enhances the positive attributes of the artist, while overshadowing moments of indecision, irascibility, and failure. Because most (if not all) biographers counted on Casals’ collaboration, they undoubtedly faced some resistance on the part of its subject, particularly in points where full disclosure would have affected Casals’ public image. In the business of music, this tension

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1 “Herbert L. Kirk (1926 – 1994) was a professional writer and editor. He studied at Wake Forest College, Columbia University, and New York University. He pursued a career in publishing and held executive positions at Prentice-Hall, Ronald Press, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Macmillan, and Hill & Wang. He headed H. L. Kirk Associates, a small editorial consulting firm, and served as an advisory editor for McGraw-Hill. He first met Pablo Casals in 1960, when the cellist was associated with the Marlboro Festival in Vermont. Kirk had a summer house in nearby Jacksonville. They became close friends and in 1966 Casals invited Kirk to write an authorized biography. Kirk was given extensive access to Casals and his records. The book was finished in 1973, within hours of Casals’ death. It was his only notable published work. In his own words, ‘my first reaction was veneration.’ In his will Kirk left his research material to the Library of Congress.” Herbert L. Kirk Collection, Library of Congress, accessed December 14, 2012, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/music/eadxmlmusic/eadpdfmusic/mu2005.wp.0016.pdf.
evidences the link between biography (musician/composer) and music (repertory and performance). Likewise, music history depends on both, yet seeks more accurate representations that may impact the selection and reception of works, recordings, and performances, as well as the artistic personages that enact them.

Through Casals’ biographical sources, a popular image emerged—as the world’s greatest cellist and an archetype for musical humanitarianism—which has remained largely uncontested to present, continuously impacting lay audiences and scholars. One of the principal and a taken-for-granted aspect of Casals’ life is his desire to build a legacy (based on filtered evidence) extending beyond Catalan borders and the span of his lifetime. To this end, he actively promoted a biographical enterprise, focusing predominantly on positive accomplishments and contributions without, however, acknowledging the potentially harmful or undesirable effects of his personal, professional and political activities. A scholarly treatment of Casals’ life is thus non-existent.

This dissertation takes a critical look at three facets of Casals’ life previously undocumented or misrepresented, discussing his legacy on three dimensions of scale: personal, national (Puerto Rico) and international. The present research touched upon ten of twenty archives known to date relating to Pau Casals. The ten archives include: Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Spain; Abe Fortas Papers, Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives; Emmet Family Papers 1792–1989, Smithsonian Institution, Archives of American Art; and the Susan Metcalfe–Pablo Casals Letter Collection, 1915–1918, Smithsonian Institution, Archives of American Art. These sources are very revealing as to Casals as a person and as a cultural missionary, and help explain why his legacy is contested, calling for caution and adjustments.
The first chapter demonstrates that Casals omitted inconvenient truths about his personal life (and about his first wife) with the intent of building a positive image, which he actively promoted with his biographers. Missing from this record are Casals’ romantic affair with Susan Metcalfe in 1904 (during his engagement to Andrée Huré), the clandestine nature of his art song *En Sourdine* (1904), his volatile temper and violent outbreaks, his involvement with Frasquita de Capdevila, details on his Mexican divorce, and interference with biographies/ers.

Evidence contained herein greatly supplements available literature on Casals, including scholarly ones. In total, nine academic works have touched upon Casals’ musical legacy (Table 1). Short and analytic in scope, most have been geared towards the DMA degree (e.g., repertory findings, performance notes, instrument pedagogy, etc.). The most extensive of these writings was for fulfillment of a PhD: “Pablo Casals: An Examination of his Choral Works,” a dissertation by Carlos Vásquez-Ramos (Florida State University, 2002). Vásquez-Ramos provides a theoretical analysis of Casals choral works including his largest, the oratorio *El Pessebre*—cornerstone of Casals’ peace mission. Others tangentially addressed some issues pertaining to Casals’ biographies, for example: Anita Mercier’s Guilhermina Suggia: Cellist (Ashgate Publishing, 2008); and Nathaniel Chaitkin’s Gaspar Cassadó: His Relationship with Pablo Casals and His Versatile Musical Life (University of Maryland, 2001).

Mercier’s book focuses on the life of Portuguese cellist Guilhermina Suggia, with whom Casals had a significant amorous relationship (1906–12), prior to his marriage to Susan Metcalfe. Mercier raises important issues with respect to Casals’ statements about Suggia and the nature of their relationship. Some of her findings demonstrate that Casals was vigilant of his public persona, disparaging his partner in an attempt to evade responsibility for his own conduct.
Chaitkin’s dissertation on Gaspar Cassadó speaks of Casals as a mentor and friend. Chaitkin also is successful in raising some questions as to Casals’ humanitarian persona by probing his media stratagems. Chaitkin argued that Casals often manufactured unverified intrigues against his colleagues to steal the media spotlight for his noble causes, to the professional detriment of those impacted by his actions (indeed defaming them). Chaitkin’s historical portrayal, however, stops short of fully detailing Casals’ subterfuges.

The second chapter of this dissertation features Casals’ entanglements with Puerto Rico’s cultural development plan (Operación Serenidad), wherein a neocolonialist lens seemed fitting to observe Casals’ musical legacy at a national (Puerto Rico) level. Casals arrived in Puerto Rico as an octogenarian and proceeded to build three main cultural entities—the annual Festival Casals, the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra, and the Puerto Rico Conservatory—organized under the Festival Casals Inc., giving rise to a lasting institutional legacy. During the seventeen years of his life in Puerto Rico, Casals’ well-known image was used in advertising campaigns in the United States, simultaneously promoting the Commonwealth and himself. Casals sought to “raise” the educational and cultural standards of the local population through the implementation of European classical music—symphonic and conservatoire traditions. As such, Casals stepped on local culture, promoting European cultural expansionism (as a cultural hierarchy) and US development policies in Puerto Rico. He was an old man, out-of-touch with major social, political, and intellectual movements (e.g., de-colonization, cultural relativism, post-positivism). Hence, his institutional legacy is problematic and variable.

This is a very different view than what has been portrayed in Casals’ biographies or former scholarly works based on such texts. For example, Annette Espada (1999) claimed that “after Casals’ arrival in Puerto Rico, a wave of cultural progress invaded the island,” (italics
added) which lacked a foundation on universal music; or even more recently the documentary aired on December 6, 2012 via Puerto Rico’s TV System of the University Channel (and TV3-TVC in Catalonia), in celebration of the fiftieth-year since the release of *El Pessebre* on the island wherein Casals is portrayed as having contributed significantly to the cultural development of Puerto Ricans. To her credit, Espada noted that although literature on Casals had been extensive and varying in quality, no study had been undertaken to assess its value and historical accuracy. I hope this dissertation will help remedy this problem, signaling a more critical and necessary scholarly review.

The third chapter covers the later part of Casals’ life and focuses on his engagements with the United Nations, the production of the “Hymn to the United Nations,” and his grandest musical aspiration—to redeem the world through his peace oratorio *El Pessebre*. In this arena, Casals placed himself in the position of a cultural evangelist, promoting a work based on the central story of the Christian religious tradition—the Nativity scene. The promotion of peace and unity through one of the most divisive issues in the history of humanity, i.e., religion, was misguided. Casals also prescribed Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony to all peoples of the earth, taking advantage of major radio and television media. Casals’ global peace mission promoted his ideological and religious leanings evidencing his intense desire for cultural and historical relevancy.

This dissertation draws on a wide array of secondary scholarly sources that deepen and corroborate the analysis of Casals’ life, among them: *Catalonia: A Cultural History* (Eaude, Oxford Press, 2008), *Ibbs and Tillet: The Rise and Fall of a Musical Empire* (Fifield, Ashgate Publishing, 2005), *Shifting Landmarks. Property, Proof, and Dispute in Catalonia Around the

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Year 1000 (Bowman, Cornell University Press, 2004), Music in Puerto Rico: A Reader’s Anthology (Thompson, Scarecrow Press, 2002), and Abe Fortas. A Biography (Kalman, Yale University Press, 1990).

Lastly, this dissertation participates in current debates about musicology’s development worldwide, noting the role of artists in the dissemination of its formative precepts as a “scientific/universal history.”3 From Johann Nikolaus Forkel’s adulatory biography of J. S. Bach (1788, 1801) to present, music historiography had been enmeshed in issues ranging from positivism to canonicity of European works, with a predominance of musics of the upper and bourgeoisie classes. As noted by Josep Kerman, “[f]undamental here is the orthodox belief, still held from the nineteenth century, in the overriding aesthetic value of instrumental music of the great German tradition. Of this, the central monuments are the fugues and some other instrumental compositions of Bach and the sonatas, string quartets, and symphonies of Mozart, Beethoven, and Brahms.”4

At all three levels of analysis, this dissertation demonstrates that throughout his life, Casals enjoyed increasing notoriety and aspired to universal projection, partaking in the ideological bends surrounding Western art music.

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† Gur also noted that many 19th-century intellectuals were engaged in a project for universal history, thus averse to historical fragmentation and geared towards the future (scientific: predictive and redemptive). One of these intellectuals was Friederich Schiller (1759–1805, author of Ode to Joy) who in 1789 delivered a lecture at Jena University entitled “What is Universal History and Why Does One Study It?” (Ibid., 352).

4 * Joseph Kerman, “How We Got into Analysis, and How to Get Out,” Critical Inquiry 7:2 (Winter 1980): 311–331. Note: Guido Adler (Austria, 1855–1941) initially formulated the parameters for the study of music history in his work Musicology’s Scope, Method and Aim (1885), postulating historical musicology (Western art music) and Systematic Musicology (acoustics, psychology, sociology, aesthetics, “comparative musicology”/ethnomusicology).

† Western music historiography has been charged with historicism (a sense of history as self-development), positivism (scientific determinism), organicism (the practice of using music theory to support the functional coherence of individual works), formalism (the prioritization of formal musical detail above other factors such as identity, meaning and interpretation of music) and canonicity (the higher valuation of European works above that of other cultures). See David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, Musicology Key Concepts (New York: Routledge, 2005).
Since Kerman’s induction to “new musicology” in 1980, scholars have engaged on what might even be called a “revisionist period” in music history, as a remediation of former biases and deficiencies. In view of recent trends in music historiography, this dissertation participates in an interdisciplinary dialogue providing a broader view on music that contributes to the continual reassessment of music and its history in relation to gender, culture, politics and society. As Casals lived near one hundred years becoming one of the most prominent icons of classical music in the twentieth century, he is indeed a subject worthy of investigation.

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5 * “On the world scene, it soon became clear that the postwar generation of musical scholars—scholars of all kinds—would no longer be dominated by Germans, as earlier generations had been.” Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music* (Harvard University Press, 1985), 40.

† “Recent German scholarship points to a growing interest in this field,” email from American Musicological Society 12/14/2012.
Pau Casals’ Biographical Introduction

Pau Casals (29 December 1876–22 October 1973), was a Catalan cellist, composer and conductor that became one of the most prominent musicians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His relationship with music began at age four guided by his father, Carles Casals, church organist in El Vendrell, a small Catalan village in Spain. Casals left El Vendrell in 1887 to study cello at the Municipal School of Music in Barcelona, under the tutelage of Josep García. For financial support, Casals played in a trio at Café Tost several nights a week.

Catalan composer and pianist Isaac Albéniz introduced Casals in 1893 to the Spanish Royal Court. Members of the Spanish Ancien Régime, Queen Maria Cristina and Count Guilhermo de Morphy, offered Casals artistic patronage and an aristocratic education. Casals received a scholarship at the Madrid Conservatory, studying both composition and chamber music.

In 1899, armed with a reference letter from the Count, Casals traveled to Paris to meet Charles Lamoreux, one of the most prominent Parisian orchestra conductors at this time. Casals was featured as a soloist with Lamoreux’s Orchestra and received wide acclaim. Only twenty-three, his solo career climbed toward international fame. Casals toured Europe and North America meeting a demand for soloists with various metropolitan orchestras, and performed extensively in the Casals–Cortot–Thibaud trio.

He is particularly known for his artistry, for the revival of J. S. Bach’s Cello Suites, and for “setting new standards in the piano trio repertory” during the era of electrical recordings. His dedication to music earned him much admiration: “It would be faint praise to refer to him as the

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6 Kirk, Casals, 79. Count de Morphy had been the tutor of King Alfonso XII, whose books were used by Casals.
world’s finest cellist, which he certainly is, or even the world’s supreme interpreter of the music of Bach, which he probably is. The flawlessness of his technique and his uncanny artistry have made him a model of a whole generation of musicians.”

At the end of World War I, Casals returned to Catalonia to found a national (i.e., Catalan) orchestra (1920–39), through a successful appeal amongst labor unions. The Associació Obrera de Concerts grew to 30,000 members. Unfortunately, the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) shattered Casals’ musical endeavor. On January 14, 1939, Gen. Francisco Franco became Spain’s new Chief of State, officially terminating the Second Spanish Republic.

Casals (self)exiled in France in 1939 and later in Puerto Rico in 1957. Between 1939 and 1946 he assisted with refugee aid missions through benefit concerts and written pleas to various organizations and eminent persons that he knew. At the end of World War II, when the lack of Allied intervention in Spain became apparent, Casals enlarged his boycott against Russia (1917), Italy and Germany (1933) to include all nations recognizing Gen. Francisco Franco’s government, thereby asserting an international artistic boycott (1945– ). The boycott especially targeted the administration of the United States and England. Casals’ biographer, Robert Baldock states:

Early in the spring of 1946 Casals gave more concerts and made a tour in Switzerland. But, in December, on his seventieth birthday, he decided to not perform in any country that recognized the legitimacy of Generalísimo Franco. Soon thereafter, he decided not to play anymore.

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9 Reports range from 3,000 to 4,000 members, assumedly local, and total membership reported to be from 35,000 to 300,000 through affiliates.
10 Since the 1917 Russian Revolution, Casals boycotted the country for what he felt was a blind persecution of his friend Alexander Siloti, whose assets had been confiscated. Kirk, Casals, 239–240.
Casals’ main biographer, Herbert L. Kirk, contended that “[b]y the time of the Second World War Casals was a symbol of moral and ethical protest.”¹² Yet, given that the stage can be an ideal platform from which artists may exercise social and political contestation (influencing a captive audience), Casals’ boycott might have been self-defeating. This issue might help explain why Casals periodically breached his musical embargo (although asserted through the end of his life in 1973). For example, Casals made public appearances at the annual Prades Festival, started in cooperation with Alexander Schneider in France 1950; appeared at the annual Festival Casals in Puerto Rico, where he lived from 1957 onwards; conducted master classes at the home of Rudolf Serkin in Vermont; performed for Pres. John F. Kennedy at the White House on November 13, 1961; and had three performances before United Nations General Assemblies in 1958, 1963 and 1971.

Additionally, Casals wrote El Pessebre (1951), a peace oratorio for mass choir topping 52 concerts worldwide, including broadcasts by radio and television stations in Barcelona, Paris and the United States. Casals called this tour his peace crusade: “the promotion of music with a peace theme to audiences worldwide who want it.”¹³

Casals’ celebrity status increased exponentially over the years, musically and politically, standing as an archetypical figure for music achievement and humanitarianism. Responses to Casals’ activism confirm this status. For his efforts towards the cause of freedom, world peace, and human rights he was awarded the US Presidential Medal of Freedom (1963) and the UN Peace Medal (1971).

Table 1. Theses and Dissertations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>AUTHOR</th>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“It may very well be music which will save the world.” Pablo Casals: the Suzuki method of violin playing and its possible adaptations in New York City public schools.</td>
<td>Susan Anne Ingerman</td>
<td>Thesis, M.M. Manhattan School of Music, Department of Music Education.</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pablo Casals: An Examination of his Choral Works.</td>
<td>Carlos M. Vazquez-Ramos</td>
<td>Dissertation, PhD. Florida State University.</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Chapter 1:
Erasing Susan Metcalfe

Figure 1. Susan Scott Whitlock Metcalfe-Casals (1887–1959)
Painting by John de Glehn. Digital courtesy of John Pitkin, private collection.
Introduction

Pau Casals’ memory still resonates today with many cellists and music students all over the world. In “Artist of Conscience,” a memorial concert at the Kennedy Center on March 11, 2006, thirty-three years after his death, Casals’ legendary performances of Bach’s Cello Suites with his activist persona continued to be a focus of musical praise and devotion:

Combining poetry, anecdote, and glorious music, this unique Fortas concert event celebrates the life and legacy of Casals using dramatic narration created by cellist and musicologist Jonathan C. Kramer interspersed with three of Bach’s solo cello suites, long recognized for their singular grandeur and serene beauty....Don’t miss this special performance piece that offers a stunning portrait of Casals as musician, social and political activist, and spokesperson for human dignity.14

As this recent event illustrates, biographical content and music converge into a master narrative that draws the listener into a dramatic story by means of myth-making and aural affect. In Casals’ case, a group of approximately thirty-six biographies stand as rich and authoritative sources, albeit of questionable intent and accuracy. Through propagandistic titles (Pablo Casals: Cellist of Conscience; Casals: Hispanics of Achievement; Pablo Casals: El Catalá del Segle; Pablo Casals: Cellist for the World) a popular image of Casals emerged—as the world’s greatest cellist and an archetypal figure for musical humanitarianism—which has remained largely uncontested to present. This popular image, constructed by Casals’ himself and celebratory biographies, is distorted, incomplete and inaccurate.

One of the principal and a taken-for-granted aspect of Casals’ life is his desire to build a legacy (based on filtered evidence) and to extend it beyond Catalonian borders and the span of his lifetime. To this end, Casals omitted inconvenient truths about his personal life (and his first wife, Susan Metcalfe) with the intent of building a positive image, which he actively promoted

with his biographers. For example, Casals did not fully disclose his romantic affair with Susan Metcalfe in 1904 (during his engagement to Andrée Huré); the clandestine nature of his art song, *En Sourdine* (1904); the circumstances of Metcalfe’s potential miscarriage in 1914; his volatile temper and violent outbreaks; his involvement with Frasquita de Capdevila; details on his 1957 Mexican divorce to wed Marta Montañez; the nature of his familial relationship to Metcalfe’s relatives (e.g., Passiglis, Kobbés, etc.); and his interference with biographies/ers. These details did not fit with the public image Casals intended to promote, and as such, had to be expunged or hidden.

Biographies were good for Casals because they provided positive publicity, focusing predominantly on his accomplishments without, however, acknowledging potentially harmful or undesirable effects caused by his personal, professional, and political activities. Hence, these biographies are hagiographical in nature. On the other hand, sources contained herein evidence his relationships with women—especially Susan Metcalfe—revealing a more complete and accurate image. Private correspondence from and about Casals shows that the artist was often volatile and physically aggressive, condescending towards women, and unyielding in his convictions even where detrimental to himself. Casals was thus, at best, an ordinary individual with many shortcomings that he had difficulty transcending.

Casals public image is a result of music and myth-making, the combination of which have been known to fall into one or more biographical patterns (e.g., artist as bohemian, artist as sick genius, rags-to-riches, artist as hero, etc.). In the context of a negative profile, in *The Gesualdo Hex: Music, Myth, and Memory*, Glenn Watkins has written on Carlo Gesualdo, a Renaissance princely composer whose life, enveloped in personal scandal, obscured his repertory for decades, maybe centuries. In 1586 Gesualdo married Maria D’Avalos. When rumors of her

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extra-marital escapades became public, Gesualdo slayed his wife and her lover in their love nest. Subsequently, abundant narratives by notable writers such as Torquato Tasso surfaced along with numerous anonymous writings, carrying sensationalist details that painted Gesualdo as a psychopathic assassin. Watkins did not excuse the murder, however, found Gesualdo very much a man of his time, bound in late-Renaissance customs “by right and duty to protect the honor of his family name.” For Gesualdo, the hex was cast upon him by writers that embellished and sensationalized his story to arrive at a highly distorted narrative—a myth. Watkins wrote of the “[m]ythologies that typically envelop all great artists over time and, as a corollary, the twin topics of late style and reception history, both of which are entwined in larger problems of historiography—the varied ways in which historians over time write all of this down.” Once created, a myth becomes a fortress not easily breached.

In contrast to the myth of Carlo Gesualdo, where damaging publicity obscured a more balanced view of his personal life, Casals’ thirty-six biographies (averaging one book for every three years of his long life) mainly celebrating the cellist’s accomplishments, philosophical stances against dictatorialism, and mission for world peace, tendentiously portray him as an enlightened individual, sitting above personal, historical and cultural judgment. Inaccurate biography thus has a proven ability to build a compounding biographical bias.

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18 Ibid., 4. 
† “Almost everything that was written on the musician’s aura was written during his lifetime. Essentially, hagiographies of rich stories or anecdotes to maintain a ‘legend.’” (Ibid, 142). 
‡ “Casals was once considered for the Nobel Peace Prize, but ended up with the UN Peace Medal: ‘As early as 1956, Casals name circulates, as potential candidate for the Nobel Prize in peace, without collection of votes, without preparation.’” (Ibid., 140). 

15
Media interest in Casals’ biography dates back to the mid-1920s when his fame solidified. Navarro Costabella’s 1928 interview is a good example of how Casals feigning reluctance, actively collaborated in creating a master narrative of his life:

CASALS. Why do you persist in interviewing me? Do you not understand that what matters is my art not my life?

INTERVIEWER. Allow us to dissent from your opinion, Master. The public, when excited by art, wants to know the man, wants to penetrate in his life. And, especially, when dealing with a life full of interest as yours.

CASALS. Must I resign myself then?

INTERVIEWER. I don’t dare to say by force, but almost.20

The interview was published along with anecdotal segments of Casals’ early-age music inclination, his academic development and professional attainments. Costabella’s booklet was intended as an introduction to Casals’ life and musical viewpoints, from which stemmed his Associació Obrera de Concerts (The Workingmen’s Concert Association, 1925–39). This association provided classical music concerts for underprivileged Catalan workers through the Pau Casals’ Orchestra (1920–39). The deployment of seventeen snapshots, mainly of Casals in various poses, underscored the cultural significance of the artist, then a Catalanian, as well as an international, celebrity.

H. L. Kirk, author of the most extensive biography on Casals (1974) and the main historical counterpoint to this chapter, cited a Chicago magazine’s article, *The Violinist*

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† The further back in time, the more romanticized Casals’ biographies become: “Better than a parchment of ancestral nobility and better than an identity card sealed in all the prefectures, a cello has turned the man from El Vendrell into a citizen of all the cities of the world.” Joan Llongueras, Joan Ramon and Maria Carratalà, “Pau Casals,” *La Nova Revista*, No. 1 (1927).
(February 1916) on Casals, and critiqued it as an intrusive journalistic piece sounding “like the work of a reporter who had been completely unsuccessful in gaining information directly from his subject. Casals, ‘a man of set convictions,’ had a deep aversion to publicity, the story said, with his strongest distaste reserved for photographers.”  

21 Kirk, believing his evidence superior, tells of Casals as an energetic 96-year-old man still driven by the high aspirations of music and human dignity, whose memory was often “rich, well-informed, and amazingly precise.”

Although Kirk hints at occasional discrepancies between Casals’ memory and his own findings, Kirk fails to elaborate on the subject and his extensive endnotes give the appearance of a critical biography. Yet, communications concerning Kirk’s publishing contract show that Casals’ interfered with the biography preventing a more complete record.

A review of Casals’ consented biographical enterprise reveals a number of shallow passages where the narrative ceases to be accurate or detailed. Notably, intense overlapping and repetition between one biography and the next accentuate recurrent gaps, particularly in what pertains to Casals’ romances. Historical omissions unequivocally correspond to facts that impact Casals’ reputation, thus evading an accurate depiction of him as a person.

After Casals died, some new scholarly works emerged which, propelled by new trends in historiography, veer away from hagiography. In this regard Anita Mercier’s Guilhermina Suggia: Cellist (2008) provides a unique, albeit brief, perspective on Casals, particularly with respect to his attitude towards women. In this account Guilhermina Suggia, Casals’ live-in girlfriend (1906–12) appears not as a controversial character constantly jeopardizing Casals’ peace and happiness, but as an equal partner to his professional and personal world, threatening

21 * Kirk, Pablo Casals, 308.

† “…but only after an invitation from Columbia Records to make Casals: a Living Portrait did I begin systematically study his life.” (Ibid., preface to Pablo Casals, vii).

22 Ibid.
his ability to remain the center of attention. Mercier’s critique of Pablo Casals: A biography by H. L. Kirk states: “Because it remained virtually the only source on the subject for almost two decades, Kirk’s account of the relationship between two cellists has been influential. Unfortunately there are a number of factual errors in his discussion.” Mercier summarized the import of these errors and omissions as having the effect of undermining Suggia’s professional accomplishments, branding her “as a culprit of some sort, a distracting pest with whom Casals had reason to regret being involved.” What the passage implicates is that Casals was in the habit of diminishing his partners to avoid dialogue or clarifications on his romantic breakups.

Similarly, Casals’ marriage to Susan Metcalfe (1877–1959) was tendentiously dismissed as brief and inconsequential ensuring that Casals had the last word. For example, Kirk observed that “[s]oon after his wedding, Casals realized that the marriage to Susan Metcalfe had been a mistake for him, but not until the 1920s did casual acquaintances begin to sense the estrangement” (italics added). Casals remarked: “We were ill suited to one another, and our relationship was short-lived, though it was some years before we were divorced. Our life together was not a happy one. But these, of course, are things one does not discuss.” Given Casals’ tactical avoidance of inquiries into his marital life, an opportunity exists to correct previous misrepresentations, improving the accuracy of his biographical record.

This chapter recalls the life of Susan Metcalfe-Casals—one of the foremost American lieder singers of the twentieth century—whose intimacy and centrality in Casals’ life provides exacting insights into his private conduct, career, and compositional impetus. Casals’ life with respect to Metcalfe can be explained in a relatively chronological matter, highlighting the

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following: the Metcalfe family, 1904 affair, 1914 marriage, musical joint-venture, contentions, Casals’ outbursts and violent outbreaks, final separation, war years, divorce, and Casals’ subsequent marriages.

Metcalfe held a lifelong infatuation with Casals, starting with their first encounter in 1904 when they carried on a secret affair and until her death in 1959. Metcalfe and Casals married in New Rochelle, New York, on April 4, 1914, held joint recitals, travelled frequently between the United States and Europe, relocated to Spain in the 1920s to found Casals’ orchestra, and separated in 1929. They both spent the war years in France but apart, upon which Casals moved on to subsequent love interests, under the cloud of his marriage to Metcalfe—followed by a Mexican divorce allegedly initiated and concluded in 1957. Even after her death, Casals continued to leverage Metcalfe’s family network (Metcalfes, Kobbés, Passiglis, etc.), for purposes which included arranged performances at the United Nations to further enhance his public image.
Susan Scott Whitlock Metcalfe (Casals)

Susan Scott Whitlock Metcalfe was born in Florence, Italy on November 16, 1877 to an American doctor, Francis Johnston Metcalfe (1850–92), and a Swiss-French mother, Hélène Rochat (1850–1932).

![Image: The Metcalfe Family](image)

Figure 2. The Metcalfe Family.
Photo courtesy of Maggie Pitkin, private collection.

Metcalfe faced challenges early in life. Her father, sent to Italy in an attempt to be cured from alcohol and gambling addictions, failed to meet expectations. The family returned to the United States in 1895.25 Susan Metcalfe would retain her Italian citizenship until 1930, when she filed for American citizenship.

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Susan Metcalfe had three siblings: Louis Rochat Metcalfe (1874–1946); Marie Florence Metcalfe Chansarel (1875–1967), who married French pianist and composer Jacques René Chansarel; and Hélène (Lilli) Francis Metcalfe Kobbé (1880–unknown), once married to New York Socialist architect Herman Kobbé. (Table 3)

According to her niece Mrs. Susan Metcalfe Kobbé-Pitkin, Susan Metcalfe-Casals started her voice studies in an Italian conservatory and later continued in Paris. Susan Pitkin also described Parisian music sessions where Susan Metcalfe “tried out” new songs of notable composers such as Gabriel Fauré, before she began her US career around 1901. Susan Metcalfe frequented artistic circles that often overlapped with those of Pau Casals. How exactly they met is unknown. Kirk noted that “[s]he and Casals could well have met in Paris at the beginning of the century, as was often reported in newspapers stories; in any event, they appeared on the same program in New York in March 1904.” What is known, however, is that at the time they met, Casals was engaged to another woman, Andrée Huré.

In his 1979 book, Pau Casals: Dades biogràfiques inèdites, cartes íntimes i records Viscuts, Casals’ younger brother Enric shed light on some of Casals’ romantic relationships, including that of Huré. When asked whether he might be the right person to appraise his brother as a person and as an artist, Enric replied: “Yes! I am exactly the right person; my criterion surpasses my feelings.” Enric Casals then proceeded to contradict himself, by both protecting and then asserting the importance of Casals’ romantic connections to the understanding of the artist’s life: “This is a chapter that I would rather not write because any private life deserves

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26 Susan Metcalfe Kobbé Pitkin, August 16, 2011, in discussion with the author.
27 Kirk, Casals, 294.

† “I am a musician and I know more than anyone -because nobody has heard him so many times- what his unique art was based on and that is exactly why all the praises that I dedicate to him are not those of a brother, but those of the musician who has been lucky to analyze him as much as possible” (Ibid).
some respect. But, how empty of significance is a life without loves! And what an immense importance have true loves in the life of a man! Asking for forgiveness for the indiscretion that I am about to commit, I am going to write about what so many people still don’t know of his first love: Rosina Valls.”

Enric discusses Casals’ interest for Rosina Valls, followed by the engagement to Andrée Huré—sister of French composer Jean Huré:

I don’t think that love so pure and real as the one that I mention do exist. My mother received touching letters from Andrea almost every week, which she read with admiration. They were letters with an unimaginable sanctity. She was also sick. We have never been able to know why, but this relationship ended. However, it didn’t prevent Andrea to continue writing very tender letters to my mother.

Figure 3. Susan Metcalfe-Casals with her niece, Susan Metcalfe-Kobbé. Photo courtesy of Maggie Pitkin, private collection.

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Enric’s chronicle reveals that he was unaware of the reasons that led to the demise of the Casals-Huré engagement. Preceding the breakup, however, is Casals’ encounter with Susan Metcalfe during his 1904 US-tour—also the occasion of his musical debut at the White House. This evidence demonstrates that Casals was not forthcoming with his brother or his fiancée, Andrée Huré.

Kirk’s depiction of Casals and Metcalfe’s first encounter has only confounded the event, by limited documentation based on Casals’ winter performance schedule:

Casals was announced as one of the artists to appear in Carnegie Hall on February 14 in an evening of instrumental solos, chamber music and song—with American baritone David Bispham, Jacques Thibaud (his own first American tour), and soprano Susan Metcalfe, a twenty-four-year-old New York socialite who had been giving local recitals for three or four years. Casals withdrew in the last moment for reasons that were not announced, and an American cellist performed instead. He did appear in the same hall on March 9, however, as soloist in the first American performance under the composer’s baton of Richard Strauss’ tone poem Don Quixote [italics added], in which the voice of the solo violoncello is the rich personification of Cervantes’ hero.

In addition to February 14 and March 9, 1904 performances, New York Times reportage shows that Metcalfe and Casals gave joint recitals on February 13; March 8, 1904 at 3pm at Mendelssohn Hall; and on April 24, 1904—a concert for Italian Immigrants. These meetings attest to the inevitability of their acquaintanceship. In contrast, Kirk only noted that since 1905,

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31 “In Washington in the evening of January 15, 1904, early in his first solo tour of the United States, Pablo Casals, then just twenty-seven, played at one of Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt’s musical evenings.” Kirk, Casals, 172.
32 Ibid., 176.
33 “Casals’ first American tour on his own, from early January until the first part of May 1904, took him as far inland as St. Louis, but most of his concerts were in the East,” Kirk, Casals, 176. See also: SS St. Louis sailing from Cherbourg, France. “New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957,” Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., accessed August 24, 2011. Note on Casals: 26, male, single, artist. Not a polygamist and not an anarchist.
35 “A concert will be given for the benefit of Italian Immigrants tomorrow afternoon in the Vanderbilt Gallery of the Fine Arts Building. Among the artists who will take part are Miss Olive Fremstad and Signor Campanari, by permission of Mr. Conried of the Metropolitan Opera Company of which they are members; Miss Susan Metcalfe and Mr. Pablo Casals.” “Concert for Italian Immigrants,” New York Times, April 24, 1904.
Susan appeared in various European tours “under the same management as Casals at the time, Wolff & Sachs.”

Hence, from the February 14 date, Kirk quickly moved to March 9, trumpeting the cello’s personification of Don Quixote, echoing an older biography: “There is no shortage of Don Quixote on me—said Pau Casals in agreeable laughter—half-hidden behind the masts of the caravel, the long thin and helpless face, almost crazy, facing an army of windmills and phantoms.” Casals was drawn to the history of great legends, he read “in the original Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, Verlaine, Maragall and Cervantes.”

Casals’ stubborn idealism often precluded him from recognizing his own shortcomings and contradictions or adapting to political and social transformations.

Kirk’s account on Casals’ encounter with Metcalfe is supplemented by primary evidence found in personal letters. Casals first letter to Susan Metcalfe, dated January 22, 1904, pre-dates the New York events reported by Kirk: “Let me tell you something you already know, it’s been a real pleasure to meet you and your sister, and I’m happy I met a soul that I can understand and like, and that, I think, could understand me in return.”

Frequent correspondence between the parties evidences a fiery affair following their first encounter in Baltimore. A song and a letter document Casals’ intense feelings for Metcalfe and the exigency that they keep their relationship a secret: “PS. After putting the letter in the envelope I started playing the piano: My beloved by Boëllmann and ‘En Sourdine,’ and during this last piece (written full of love for you), I reopened

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36 Kirk, Casals, 295.
38 Ibid., 22.
40 UNC Greensboro holds at least thirteen letters exchanged between 22 January–16 September 1904.
this letter to ask you one more time not to show it to strangers. This is an intimate letter and it must not be revealed.” (14 May 1904; Appendix 1)  

*En Sourdine*, a song that appears in Casals’ catalog significantly without a date, reveals the deeply personal nature of his vocal works, most of them intended as special messages memorializing events, feelings and persons very dear to him. The dedication of this letter does not appear in any known literature about Casals. The lack of a date confounded the attribution of this song to any specific period of Casals’ life; and, indeed, if the actual date had been given, it would have likely led to an inference with his then fiancée, Andrée Huré.

For his musical setting, with lyrics in French and Catalan, Casals’ appropriates the penultimate poem, “En Sourdine” [Muted], of a set of twenty-two, *Fête Galantes*, by Paul-Marie Verlaine (1844–96). *En Sourdine* hints at a passionate yet chimerical affair such as that found in a string of letters from Casals to Metcalfe: “I have no reason to break my word; I could have done it at the very beginning of my relations with Andrée. I have not done it because I hoped that later on I would develop some affection for her. I was wrong and now I have to pay.” (15 June 1904) Casals’ request for secrecy mirrors the “muted” title of the poem.

*En Sourdine* encapsulates some suggestive features of nineteenth-century Victorian love, such as an emphasis on etherealized spiritual love (two souls merging into one another: “Let’s melt down our soul”) and the sublimation of sensual feelings through poetic literature (“when the solemn night comes...making our anxiety obvious, the nightingale will sing”). Perhaps because

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42 Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 15 June 1904. UNC Greensboro.
the Victorian model proposed marital connections on the basis of intense mutual love, Casals lamented that his love interest for Metcalfe would not materialize, evanescing into landscape.43

\[\textit{En Sourdine [Muted]}\]

Pleasant in the midday
that the high branches make,
let’s soak our love properly
in this great silence.

Let’s melt down our soul, our heart
and our senses full of charm
amid the vague languor
of pine trees and strawberry trees.

Close your eyes a bit,
cross your hands on your chest,
and from your sleepy heart
throw the anxiety away completely.

Let us be convinced
by the caressing blow
that comes to your feet to curl
the waves of the soft fine grass.

And when the solemn night
comes through the dark holm-oak wood,
making our anxiety obvious
the nightingale will sing.44

Discussing \textit{Fête Galantes}, Hallam Walker noted that Verlaine’s poems underlined a principle of personal projection: “The phantoms which inhabit the gardens are part of Verlaine, and the final bleak emptiness is intensely his own.” Based on a series of pastoral paintings by Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), \textit{Fête Galantes} expresses a connection between soul and landscape in a setting of great delicacy and musicality. Reflecting the poet’s own feelings, the

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43 “Nineteenth-century middle-class men did love, often with great intensity”...“Precisely because men had to adopt a calm and calculating demeanor in their public sphere, they sought a richly expressive private counterpart.” Peter Stearns and Mark Knapp, “Men and Romantic Love: Pinpointing a 20th-Century Change,” \textit{Journal of Social History} 26:4 (Summer 1993): 769–795.

narrative brings two lovers to a final ethereal dispersal into nature’s background. The poem, as selected by Casals speaks of “[g]loom and darkness, and the impossibility of recapturing the joys of love.” Walker explains that “‘En Sourdine’ is characterized by very strong images of merging but, this time is into darkness and death that all dissolves.” In the final poem the lovers appear but only “as disembodied spirits haunting neglected gardens.”

Figure 4. En Sourdine, facsimile excerpt. Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Conxita Badia.

Casals’ En Sourdine commences with an overall “dreamy” impressionistic atmosphere flowing into a darker resonance between measures 8 and 11 that enhances the mysterious quality of the song. It progresses through a series of unconventional extended dominant chords reminiscent of Ravel. The piano figuration changes each time the singer’s line ends. The song peaks in a dramatic chromatic vocal line on measure 24, slowly decrescendo into measure 26.

This tension is further reduced through a descending chromatic line in the bass, providing a sense of romantic nostalgia. The singer’s line closes between measures 43-46 outlining a whole tone scale, where the piano accompaniment gradually ceases and the melody resolves to a suspended single whole note. Then, the song recaps the dreamy opening four measures in A-flat Major with the same persistent raised 4th scale-degree note—a more cheerful Lydian trait that seems to enamor Casals. Overall, the song is difficult to execute for both pianist and singer because of the heavy chromaticism, uneven harmonic and melodic lines, and disparate texture between the piano and the voice. In short, this exquisite song was written for a mezzo-soprano of precision and skill, such as Metcalfe.

On May 31, 1904 Casals writes to Metcalfe: “I wish you were here. I have been unhappy since I left you. New sorrows added themselves to the so many other ones about which you know, and especially the biggest one – about which only you know. Let’s love each other and let the future decide about the rest!”46 While insisting on the secretiveness of his connection, Casals’ feelings were so intense so as to lead him to endanger his privacy by enticing Metcalfe to join him in places where his conduct was likely to be observed (for instance, he invited Metcalfe to join him in his new Parisian residence): “I want it to smell like you. We could choose the furniture together and I would decorate it in your taste. Imagine what a great pleasure it would be if it happened!” (15 June 1904)47

Pressed between his public engagement to Huré and his covert courtship of Metcalfe, Casals suggested the solution most advantageous to him: “I understand that your love wants to give me the freedom that I do not have, that your heart could fill mine entirely to the point that I could completely abandon myself to you. I dream about this all the time and it is also my

46 Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 31 May 1904. UNC Greensboro.
47 Ibid.
constant suffering. But since the moment we confessed our love, I told you what was my position towards Andrée and that nothing could change my decision to marry her.” Unwilling to decide on either women, Casals coaxes Metcalfe to return his affection with unconditional discretion and loyalty: “If you think it is possible for you to love me just to love me, like you felt you were able to at the beginning (and you repeated it again in the beloved letter that you gave me on the Byron) prove it to me and suffer with me, and do not insist on something that could break my promise. It would destroy me morally and you do not want to be the origin of it. By keeping my word I do not have to reveal our secret to anybody.” Given the need to sustain a reputable profile without, however, foregoing his private interests, Casals even seeks to subordinate Metcalfe’s family relations to his domestic image in Catalonia: “I am asking you to avoid talking about this with your family in New Rochelle or Paris, this could complicate things and that would not help anyone. My mother knew from the beginning that I am engaged to Andrée but she does not know more about it.” (30 June 1904)

The romantic impasse intensified towards the end of the year when Metcalfe was expected to travel to Paris. Whether she did is unknown. The last available letter from the particular archive that covers this period (September 16, 1904) reports Casals intention to meet Metcalfe’s sister in Paris to ascertain her arrival date. For reasons still unknown the relationship with Metcalfe temporarily subsided.

Casals began another affair, with Portuguese cellist Guilhermina Suggia, which music historian Anita Mercier has documented. On November 9, 1906, Suggia wrote to a friend announcing an upcoming concert with Casals “playing duos for two cellos by E. Moór.” For six years, starting in 1906, Casals and Suggia cohabitated: “She would not agree to marry Casals,

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48 Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 30 June 1904. UNC Greensboro; (ibid.); (ibid).
but for the sake of appearances she took on his name.” ⁴⁹ No evidence has been uncovered as to an actual marriage, however, the public image that they portrayed clearly was one of husband and wife, as evidenced by music programs and letters to friends signed Mme. Suggia-Casals.

Casals’ relationship with Suggia was tumultuous, with periods of separation, reports of infidelity, and jealousy. According to Kirk, this relationship ended in 1912 with Suggia departing on multiple world tours. The demise of Suggia’s partnership permitted Casals to return to his unfinished business with Metcalfe. As noted by Kirk, “[l]ate in 1913 Susan Metcalfe appeared backstage to greet Pablo Casals after a concert in Berlin” and the couple talked for a long while. Casals then offered to “coach [Metcalfe] on some Spanish songs she was preparing and (according to Casals’ friend, Juan Alavedra), before they parted that night they decided to marry.”⁵⁰

The impulsivity of Casals’ marriage offer to Metcalfe can best be understood in light of their earlier relationship and perhaps the reckless intensity of the breakup with Suggia. Kirk briefly weaved into his narrative the suggestion of a recaptured romance without, however, fully reconciling the issue: “When one female acquaintance attempted to counsel Casals to move cautiously, he told her crisply he had known his fiancée for years.” ⁵¹ Indeed, a July 17, 1914 letter to Metcalfe finds Casals rejoicing in their reunion.⁵²

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⁵⁰ Kirk, *Casals*, 296; (ibid.).
⁵¹ * Ibid.
⁵² “I can remember as well so many things from our life at your house and in New York and everything comes back to me from further and further away. It is something that has to be done little by little in order to join up together two different times in a way that after that we will not be able to believe that our lives had not always been like this.” Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 17 February 1914. UNC Greensboro.
Evidence of the couple’s plans to (re-)encounter may be found in a November 8, 1913 “Emergency Passport Application” filed by Susan Metcalfe with the US legation in Stockholm, showing her departure from the United States on September 23, 1913. The urgency of the passport application suggests that the two may have been in contact prior to her departure, especially considering their overlapping network of friends and musicians. Tending to her own European performance tour in Sweden, Metcalfe requested entry to Russia, with the intent to return to the United States within three months. At a minimum, Kirk is correct that Metcalfe was in Europe in 1913.

After their reunion, Casals’ letters reveal that the parties stayed together through Christmas. With the New Year, Metcalfe departed to London, where Casals intended to join her for four days: “Tonight you will get to London, whereas I will leave this place at 4 or at midnight. In any case, I will get to London before the 4th, the day after tomorrow, and I will be waiting for you at the Dieudonné Hotel. I have had a pretty unpleasant relationship with Pierné about the trial that will happen on the 8th.” (2 January 1914)54

Their relationship intensified and may have resulted in a pregnancy. In a letter to Metcalfe, Casals talks about the “exciting news” they have to share with family and friends: “Tomorrow you will have the joy of seeing your family. You will be thinking about what you want to hide from them for the few days after your arrival, and you are right to wait, but not for much, right my darling? I calculate that around the 16th my mother will find out.” (13 January 1914)

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54 Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 2 January 1914. UNC Greensboro.
Casals anticipated rejoining Metcalfe by spring, boarding the SS *Olympia* from Cherbourg, France which docked in the United States on March 26, 1914.\(^{56}\)

Metcalf and Casals married in a private civil ceremony on April 4, 1914 at the chambers of Judge Martin Keogh in New Rochelle, New York.\(^{57}\) The marriage certificate issued by the County of Westchester attests that for each of the parties it was a first marriage. The wedding was witnessed by Susan’s brother, Louis Metcalfe, and her brother-in-law, Herman Kobbé.\(^{58}\)

The *New York Telegraph* reported the wedding with headlines: “‘WOODED AND WON BY ‘CELLO’S NOTES/ However, It Takes Ten Years for ‘Cellist to Complete Life’s Symphony.’”\(^{59}\) Composer and music educator Rebecca Clarke corroborates the media’s account of the lengthy courtship between Casals and Metcalfe: “Apparently he had been in love with Susan for a great many years but she refused him again and again and so he took up with Suggia. I think finally, Susan Metcalfe decided—I knew her too, she was a lovely singer—she would marry him when he dropped Suggia. Then later on, they quarreled, I mean Metcalfe and Casals, and then he took up with different people, particularly in the south of France.”\(^{60}\) Kirk, however, said that the headline was, “except for the names of the principals, almost completely inaccurate.”\(^{61}\) The newspapers knew, Rebecca Clarke knew, surely other must have known, yet, Casals exercised control over his biographies to such an extent that Kirk discredited his own

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\(^{55}\) Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 13 January 1914. UNC Greensboro.
\(^{58}\) Marriage Certificate No. 14287, filed on May 16, 1914. Note: Marriage date April 4, 1914.
\(^{59}\) \* Kirk, *Casals*, 296.
\(^{60}\) Under notes, “The American publicity at the time of the wedding stated that Casals had been a cellist of the Paris Opéra for many years, a report that subsequently made its way into standard biographical reference works” (Ibid., 646).

Kirk, *Casals*, 296.
evidence. One questions why Kirk would even include the headline but as an opportunity for subterfuge.

**The Lydia Field Emmet Files**

Intimate aspects of Casals and Metcalfe’s relationship are documented in extended correspondence by Lydia Field Emmet, Susan Metcalfe, Jane de Glehn, and others.

Lydia Field Emmet (1866–1952) was an acclaimed Irish–American painter. Emmet who lived in both New York and Stockbridge, MA, developed a close friendship with the Kobbés and the Metcalfes dating from at least 1877. Emmet’s writings span *seven and a half decades* of Metcalfe’s life, including all but a few years of her marital history.

Emmet’s assessment of Casals brings forth the image of an individual who, in the confines of his personal life, struggled to overcome his many weaknesses: pride, insecurity, and irascibility. Emmet sums up the conflict between Casals’ public and private images: “I thought Pablo was one of the great and splendid exceptions of what a great emotional artist could and should be. It is all too hideous, and yet to a great nature which can only touch and muse with what is good and great like Susie’s, how beautiful the effect of even this.”

Emmet’s statement carries both public image and stereotype. Emmet’s view reflects an initial positive perspective of Casals—that of an artist who defied the stereotype (of a temperamental, eccentric, difficult individual). Yet, that image had been tarnished by facts gleaned from a private insight into his life. In sum, regardless of his public image, Casals had not transcended the stereotype.

A series of letters that follow make a compelling documentary of Casals controlling behavior, driven by jealousy, volatility, and self-centeredness. Casals’ own writing bespeaks of

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his awkwardness in family settings, anticipating Metcalfe’s intercession: “You should warn your family about me as gently as you can, about my ignorance of this matter so they are not shocked. Excusing me in advance is very important. Family life is all I cherish and is the only thing I see that requires a certain science to be learnt, outside of the feelings of the heart. After my childhood and my first steps in my life and in my career, this beautiful form of existence is unknown to me.” (17 February 1914)\(^{63}\)

Emmet’s loss of faith in Casals began shortly after his nuptials to Susan Metcalfe. The couple spent the summer of 1914 in London, followed by a short stay (September and October) in Catalonia. World War I began on 28 of July 1914 and the couple’s plans of “establishing a home in London become less feasible.”\(^{64}\) In numerous letters Metcalfe relates Casals having sudden and frequent bouts of jealousy (i.e., constant reproaches) over seemingly minor issues such as her devoting some attention to family and friends:

Pablo often reproached me that our friends, the Von Gleichs in London had too much influence on me and on our choice of house in London. And yet you, dear mother, told me that in the same circumstances, in a big city, would have naturally looked for a house in the same neighborhood as your friends. This to show you that this idea has kept making Pablo unhappy since we got married and all winter the same reproaches spoiled our tranquility and happiness. (17 June 1915, italics added)\(^{65}\)

Metcalfé’s interactions in Catalonia only heightened tensions as Casals’ family seemed unmoved by her troubles: “Susan hoped that a visit to Spain between just the two of them would have proven her husband her true love and how happy she was to be alone with him. As you know, Madam, this visit was not peaceful.” (Hélène Rochat to Mrs. Pilar de Casals, 8 June 1915)\(^{66}\) The aforementioned letters only show a sample of the frequent quarrels initiated by

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\(^{63}\) Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 17 February 1914. UNC Greensboro.
\(^{64}\) Kirk, *Casals*, 300.
\(^{66}\) Hélène Rochat to Pilar de Casals, 8 June 1915. Smithsonian.
Casals. The collection as a whole documents a pattern of conduct on Casals’ part of controlling behavior.

Earlier, on their way back to the United States in 1914 Metcalfe and Casals might have engaged in another dispute potentially explaining their boarding on separate steamers. Metcalfe travelled on the SS Baltic from Liverpool, UK, on November 4, 1914, near term into her assumed pregnancy (New York arrival 14 November). Aboard the ship she suffered a dreadful infirmity whose symptoms suggest rheumatic fever.67 Lydia Emmet writes to her sister, Jane de Glehn, about Metcalfe’s grave condition: “Her fever is all gone, and the poison blotches great purple things all over her swelled legs are less dark and smaller.”68 Her friends suspected a possible miscarriage: “Lilli got Dr. Schwerdtfeger. She kept saying she was so much better but has since told us that she is sure no one ever suffered more acute agony than she did on that voyage. Then why didn’t she cable me [and] let me go get her? It is all over now and there is no use regretting” (italics added). Emmet adds:

We all thought that night that the baby had died, and until the doctor came again next morning, we thought this would have to be an operation. I thought she knew it, and that accounted for her expression. The doctor could make no examination that night. She was too tired. But next morning he came after she had sleep and nourishment, made a thorough examination and found no evidence of pregnancy whatsoever. He says that it could begin and then absorb and that may be what happened. The relief of finding this is unspeakable. It not only would have made complications but, except for elementary natures, I don’t believe in the opportunity to such a marriage, especially after all this. (15 November 1914)69

Based on the evidence it is difficult to conclude the actuality of a pregnancy, however, the episode was traumatic. Medical historian James C. Whorton states that the narrative is somewhat mystifying, the reasonable interpretation being that Metcalfe believed she was

67 “What an idiot to tell her she had streptococcus. All her symptoms are well known for rheumatic fever.” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 15 November 1914. Smithsonian.
69 Lydia Emmet to Jane Emmet de Glehn, 15 November 1914. Smithsonian.
pregnant, and that she experienced some sort of physical ordeal aboard the ship interpreted as a miscarriage.\textsuperscript{70} 

Casals boarded the SS \textit{Adriatic} on November 11, arriving in New York on November 20, 1914. Troubled by his pending arrival, Lydia Emmet accursed the moment her friend fell for Casals. In a November 15 letter to Jane de Glehn, Emmet stated: “It is simply my nightmare of 14 years come true that that awful unreal world of unreal passionate jealous crazy people, which for some inexplicable reason dominate and desecrate the field of what should be truth and beauty, art and specially music, should draw Susie unsuspectingly and willingly into it. I always knew it, if I did, the result would be just this: that she couldn’t breathe or resist it in an instant.”\textsuperscript{71} 

The letter makes clear that Emmet sees no redemptive qualities in Casals, whom she considers calculating and manipulative: “Kob [and] Maus [and] I had a long, long talk about Pablo’s character and we all agree it is one of the strangest cases that ever happened that he could so completely simulate an impression which could mislead so many fairly intelligent people.”\textsuperscript{72} (Table 4). Emmet had a difficult time reconciling Casals’ public image with the volatile person he was with his wife.

\textbf{Marital Contentions}

At Emmet’s house, Casals paid Metcalfe a visit, attenuating the ill-feelings with a display of remorsefulness (i.e., crying).\textsuperscript{73} The parties achieved rapprochement by March 1915. Casals

\textsuperscript{70} James C. Whorton (Music History, UW), October 12, 2011, in discussion with author.

\textsuperscript{71} Lydia Emmet to Jane Emmet de Glehn, 15 November 1914. Smithsonian.

\textsuperscript{72} Lydia Emmet to Jane Emmet de Glehn, 15 November 1914. Smithsonian. 

[Hélène Metcalfe-Kobbé is at times referred to as “Lilli” to differentiate from her sister-in-law, painter Maria Olga Kobbé (1871–1947), referred to as “Kob” or “Mox.”]

\textsuperscript{73} “...I [Lydia Emmet] let him in all quietly; I simply showed him into my room and shut the door for two hours. At 11:30 I knocked gently. As Susie never is awake so long I was afraid to tire her. Pablo called me to come in. He was on the bed beside her and he was crying. Susie was simply speechless and inarticulate. He sat with his eyes fixed on
wrote Metcalfe from New Orleans sharing details about his concert tour and anticipating her companionship. A month later, Emmet tells of Casals’ plans to start a symphony orchestra in Catalonia, alternating seasons between Barcelona and New York, and leaving Metcalfe with her mother until his return:

I’m afraid there is little chance of Pablo coming up for even a time. He is bent on starting an orchestra of his own making in Barcelona for next winter and seems to think he must go soon to get the men before they disband and scatter for the summer. He seems to want to come to Stockbridge. Susie will stay with her mother here till he can get an apartment where she can keep house and live with him alone and not in anyone else’s ménage, which does not go so well over there. (16 April 1915)

Despite conciliation, the marriage underwent recurrent ups-and-downs, often pointing to Casals’ reluctance, on the domestic front, to address his conduct. Metcalfe often insisted on having a frank conversation with Casals about his misbehaviors. Yet her efforts seemed futile, as illustrated by Casals’ letter to his brother-in-law [Louis Metcalfe], wherein Casals by-passes Metcalfe’s necessity of discussion, asserting his wisdom above hers:

I was asked to see Susite [Susan Metcalfe] yesterday afternoon. In spite of my multiple prayers that she not talk about the difficult topics [with him], she thought it necessary to talk about my lack of trust, my jealousy. In spite of all my denial, she absolutely wanted to think that I have such ideas—which I do not have, about her friend and about Lilli’s husband. I told Susite that I sincerely believed that the place her friend had in her life had been harmful and I did not accept her belief that her friend has done everything she could for our happiness. (29 May 1915, italics added, underline on original)

mine, such an appealing and yet confident look and finally I took his hand and kissed him and he pressed his face tightly against mine. I said he must go soon.” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 11 December 1914. Smithsonian.

Lydia Emmet to Jane Emmet de Glehn, 16 April 1915. Smithsonian.

* Pablo Casals to Louis Rochat, 29 May 1915. UNC Greensboro.

† “In spite of my deep feelings of being unfairly misunderstood and treated, I am ready to admit that in most cases Susie and I share totally different points of view or conceptions of life. But what I am really against is that someone doubts my loyalty, my good will, everything that would make me loose the esteem and the affection of those whom I love.” Pablo Casals to Louis Rochat, 29 May 1915. UNC Greensboro.

‡ “I am sending a cardboard box containing some belongings that I will not need until I come back in October.” (Ibid.).

§ As Casals and his wife sailed for Liverpool and London on their way to Spain on May 29, 1915, three weeks after the sinking of the Lusitania, Musical America announced that Casals first North American season since 1904 had been remarkably successful.” Kirk, Casals, 308. A subsequent letter by Metcalfe to Pilar de Casals (June 17, 1915) notes Casals en route to Spain reconfirming the parties’ physical distance. “The correspondence dispels Kirk’s contention that Casals and Metcalfe returned to Catalonia together on May 29, 1915.
These issues tried the patience of Louis Metcalfe, who reprimanded Casals’ censoriousness and selfishness:

You will never know how much I suffered when you left. Did you really think you were the only one to suffer? This is what breaks my heart...when I think about how you started complaining about your wife as soon as you arrived in Europe, and that these complaints are still going on...your complaints started during our first trip to London; and even in Spain when you were far away from everything that wasn’t your family you were still making scenes… it is incomprehensible. (July 29, 1915, italics added)\textsuperscript{76}

Music historian Anita Mercier also mentioned Casals’ fits of jealousy with respect to Suggia which, added to current evidence, corroborates Casals’ behavioral pattern. Around 1912–13, Casals reportedly pulled a gun on his friend, musician Donald Tovey, during a visit to Sant Salvador (Spain) occasioning the breakup with Guilhermina Suggia.\textsuperscript{77} Kirk also registered an episode of Casals’ proclivity to anger when frustrated. In one instance, Casals “pushed [his manager] into the revolving door between the lobby and the street—exactly as he planned—and began to spin it as fast as he could” because he felt cheated by the man’s dishonesty.\textsuperscript{78}

Metcalfe further described her experiences with Casals’ controlling behavior where he would escalate trivial complaints into histrionic attacks against her, even to the point of cruelly playing on her fertility issues: “The next morning at 8, Pablo gets up to go get some clothes in his trunk, and under the pretext that he couldn’t find a pair of pants, \textit{he made such a scene I thought he had gone mad}. He screamed at me that the meeting I had set up with Jane without consulting him was such a horrible thing that my child would curse me for it someday, and then he prevented me from seeing Jane for two days, stating that he needed me to go to the bank.” (17

\textsuperscript{76} Louis Rochat to Pablo Casals, 29 July 1915. Smithsonian.
\textsuperscript{77} * “His anger when aroused was fierce and there are anecdotes about him involving physical acts of violence.” Mercier, \textit{Suggia}, 25.
\textsuperscript{78} † See also: Kirk, \textit{Casals}, 291.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 178.
June 1915, italics added; Appendix 2)\textsuperscript{79} Metcalfe does not find solace in Pilar or Enric Casals who, instead, seemed to further Casals’ ill-treatment, influencing the couple’s decision to set up private residency in New York.\textsuperscript{80}

**Joint Ventures**

In contrast with what now surfaces in private documentation, Kirk portrayed Metcalfe as an ungrateful and envious wife, who lacked in companionship and emotional support. For example, he notes that “[f]or several years after his marriage, Casals devoted time and energy to accompanying Susan Metcalfe in public and otherwise assisting her career...[h]is collaboration, however, simply increased the strain when it became evident that even as a pianist Casals drew more public enthusiasm than did his wife as a singer.”\textsuperscript{81} Kirk’s words also underplay the heavy demands inherent in Casals’ solo occupation. Kirk noted:

> These recitals were a very small element in Casals’ career at the time and he soon approached them with little joy. He reacted impatiently in later years to the widely repeated story that he had considered giving up his career in order to apply himself to furthering his wife’s. Once, weary of travel and the demands of the public, he had merely said to American impresario London Charlton that he was tempted to stop giving concerts and devote himself to composing. There is nevertheless one pleasant glimpse of the couple performing together fairly early in the marriage.\textsuperscript{82}

Lillian Littlehales’ book, *Pablo Casals* (1929), on the other hand, speaks of a mutually gratifying musical partnership with Metcalfe, leading Casals to tell his manager that he cared less

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{79} Susan Metcalfe to Pilar de Casals, 17 June 1915. Smithsonian.
\item \textsuperscript{80} “Do you want us to be together and happy and as dedicated to each other as possible? I will go to San Salvador and you will make sure we can be in peace. Pablo make sure these lines stay between you and I, don’t show them to your family. Would it be possible for us to stay in the house in San Salvador with your mother? Couldn’t Enrique stay with his family at his mother-in-law? I am sure everybody’s peace would be much better kept that way. Enrique was the master at Arches and yet it is at Arches-Barcelona, home of M. Pablo Casals, that I was ordered to join you. It isn’t clear to me and it may mean that you give Enrique the right to call the house in San Salvador his home, where he would be allowed to speak to me the way he has. Please clarify this so that I feel that I will be under your roof, and thus under my roof.” Susan Metcalfe to Pablo Casals, 10 March 1915. UNC Greensboro.
\item \textsuperscript{81} Kirk, *Casals*, 356.
\item \textsuperscript{82} Ibid., Notes, 647.
\end{itemize}
for concerts and preferred being an accompanist.” Casals’ letter to Susan Metcalfe unambiguously substantiates Casals’ looking towards his marriage as the perfect opportunity to inaugurate a cozier lifestyle in the company of his wife: “Happiness and rest will do all the work to make me feel better. My Susite will be within my reach. We will have everything, a simple yet animated and joyous life because we will have sunshine in our hearts.” (7 March 1914)

After a twenty-five-year career Casals was tired and deeply disillusioned with his vocation: “I was pretty disappointed with my concert in Vienna with Dohnanyi on the 18th. It is a shame. Artistic joys are rarer and rarer for me. Mediocrity and deception are everywhere. I often wonder what I should do, should I continue to endure so much trouble only for material reward, or should I retire and keep us in a place where faith and respect for pure art are conserved.” (3 March 1914)

Numerous letters detail discords with managers, physical pain, mental distress resulting from the pressures of performing as a soloist (Casals suffered with stage fright all his life), and fatigue deriving from back-to-back concerts in distant localities:

My darling, my Susite! I am desperate. Why do I still have to suffer? Sometimes fever comes up to my head and it hurts a lot. I am so unhappy! Yesterday night, during the concert I felt like I could faint. I managed to finish the performance by pulling all my strength and nerves together, but it was so stressful. I finished at two in the morning and by 7am was at the railway station. I barely got here at 11am. I played the entire concert this afternoon and have to replay it tonight. I will leave tomorrow at 7am again and there is no one here to give me courage. All I hear is ‘God you look tired’ and I have no strength to even react! (1 Mar 1914)

The benefits of joint entrepreneurship—e.g., his wife’s traveling companionship, the alternation of stage numbers during performances, the opportunity to fade into the background, etc.—point to Casals’ happily transitioning from the role of virtuoso soloist into that of an

83 Lillian Littlehales, Pablo Casals, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1929), 74. Littlehales, a New York cellist and Metcalfe’s musical acquaintance, received Casals’ avow to visit Barcelona (in 1928 and 1929) and write about his orchestra.
84 Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 7 March 1914. UNC Greensboro.
85 Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 3 March 1914. UNC Greensboro.
86 Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 1 March 1914. UNC Greensboro.
accompanist, as observed by a *New York Times* critic on 1923: “Mme. Casals’ has not in recent years sounded finer, clearer and more fully under her control. Her husband played the accompaniment with the same sort of musicianship that he devotes to his cello playing.”

As a competent lieder singer, Metcalfe received praise for the delicacy of her musical renditions: “Her voice has lost none of the singular poignancy, the individual quality that exerted so much charm, while it has gained something in body and fullness and in its range of expression. Mrs. Casals singing of lieder is poetical and skillfully illustrative of their diverse sentiment and emotional significance, heightened often by admirable phrasing and vocal coloring.” Despite lacking a “big voice”—often central to many operatic roles—Metcalfe’s distinguished expressivity merited her wide US and European acclaim.

Hence, contrary to former assertions that Metcalfe was jealous of her husband’s success, as an artist she did not lack in public admiration, artistry, or skill. Recently, Renne Timmers reviewed historical recordings, including those of Metcalfe. Timmer’s academic study focuses on factors such as age of the recording, unfamiliarity with performing styles, and the quality of reproduction. There are no criticisms of Metcalfe’s performance. Marjory Halvorson, veteran

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89 “Although this American singer belonged to the most famous interpreters of lieder of her time, scarcely any details of her artistic career are known. She first excited great attention during a tour of Holland in 1909, which included appearances with the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam under Willem Mengelberg. This was followed in 1910 by a long concert tour through Germany and Denmark. She had notable success in London in the autumn of 1910. In 1914 she married Pablo Casals, from whom she was later separated. After she had been seen or heard from in a long time, she appeared again as a lieder singer in France and Holland in 1929. She then took up her residence in France and in 1936 sang in a series of concerts for the British Broadcasting Corporation. The voice of this artist was one of the most beautiful ever captured on records, both for the expressiveness of her vocal shading and the delicacy of her phrasing in the singing of art songs.” *A Concise Biographical Dictionary Of Singers*, by K. J. Kutsch /Leo Riemens /Translated by Harry Earl Jones. Information provided by Walter Lonis, Private Database.  
voice teacher from Spokane, WA, favorably assesses Metcalfe’s 1937 recording with pianist Gerald Moore, citing superb French diction and spectacular interpretation of the text: “Metcalfe sounds like a mezzo-soprano but her range is quite high, suggesting perhaps a personal preference for a darker, more covered tone. The accompaniment is fantastic!”

Figure 5. Susan Metcalfe and Pau Casals. The Record Collector Magazine. http://holdridgerecords.com/auction_pdfs/holdridge_auction1_a-g.pdf.

Despite recurrent physical ailments (e.g., ear, throat and sinus infections inhibiting her travels and recitals), Metcalfe steadily appears as an eloquent and caring partner, sharing intellectual, political, and musical interests with her husband. During one of his tours, she wrote him:

What do you think now of the Germans who denounce their betrayal to be a ‘Judah’s Kiss’ as someone said, to be a plot from Wilson to arm vessels against them. Not bad

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91 Marjory Halvorson, September 24, 2011, in discussion with the author.
92 “I just received a letter from Louis where he tells me that you are feeling better, and that is what I wanted to hear. I hope that now you can go back to normal life and that you can sing or exercise, which you could not do for such long time.” Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, 16 August 1915. UNC Greensboro.
from the Berlin Press, isn’t it? After they had to admit to the offers they made Japan and Mexico. Apparently, there were great speeches last night at Carnegie Hall. Did you like the Cincinnati Brahmes-Estelle chocolates? So tonight you play in Omaha? Do they have the least idea of a fifth of the beauty that awaits them? I tremble with an honor that I will only be thinking of in my bed.” (6 March 1917)\(^93\)

On the flipside of the claim that Metcalfe’s egotism sealed the negative course of her marriage to Casals, an October 21, 1915 letter points in the opposite direction:

**What was essential to your life was to have me only to yourself.** Don’t look elsewhere for the cause of our separation Pablo. *If I could see trust and true generosity in you*, I would be your wife, your true companion, living in you and happy at the very core of her soul, strong and proud, but as long as you only see your “greatness” and “prestige,” and *reproach me for my friendships, my family, my nephew and my lack of interest for you*, I will remain far away from you. I regret to have to touch on money matters. Would you please write a check for $600 which is the amount of money I had in the bank prior to our marriage? $500 had been sent to San Salvador. Would you please write a check to Louis R. Metcalfe? Thank you. Susie.” (underline on original, italics added)\(^94\)

The evidence here discussed, pointing to Casals’ strained and mercurial personality, finds many parallels with Mercier’s account of Casals’ relationship with Suggia, confirming a pattern of jealousy, control and abuse of the women with whom he lived. Anita Mercier argued that, starting with his mother, Casals had been successful in eliciting the devotion of women who would facilitate his self-absorption (Table 2).\(^95\) Metcalfe made clear that she believed Casals’ vanity and conduct culpable for her heartaches: “I want you to know through these words I am writing—which are only a repetition of what I have told you so many times—is that the scenes triggered by your jealousy, the lack of trust you make me feel constantly, hurt me not only

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\(^93\) Susan Metcalfe to Pablo Casals, 6 March 1917. Smithsonian.

\(^94\) Susan Metcalfe to Pablo Casals, 21 October 1915. Smithsonian.

\(^95\) *“Casals was supported from birth to death by a succession of women whose generous attentions allowed him to remain focused on his musical and political activities. Prime among these women was Casals’ mother, Pilar, whose influence was monumental.”* Mercier, *Suggia*, 24.

† *“In some respects Casals’s expectations of a wife were quite conventional. He wanted her always available to him, and demanded that she travel with him when he was away from home.”* (Ibid., 23).
morally but physically as well, and I cannot keep going in a life with you that keeps me constantly sick.” (23 May 1915) 96

**Casals’ Violent Outbursts**

Casals spent the summer 1915 in Spain attempting to develop his orchestra. An SS *St. Louis* vessel record shows that Casals disembarked alone in New York on October 14, 1915. 97 Upon arrival, Casals tended to a busy performance schedule which included a concert with the New York Philharmonic (November 12). 98

As the year turned, Casals met up with Catalan friend and composer Enric Granados for the premiere of *Goyescas* at the Metropolitan Opera. 99 Granados perished on his way back to Spain due to a German attack on his vessel. 100 Casals issued one of his most publicized declarations against war: “This tragic event symbolized for me the waste and madness of the war.” 101 Casals and Fritz Kreisler gave a concert at The Met on May 7, 1916 to benefit Granados’ children. That summer, Casals returned to Spain unaccompanied, the explanation hidden in Hélène Rochat’s letter, wherein Casals is described as having had another blow: “In my mind, the impression of the way you left on July 14 in such a terrifying manner, leaving three women, alone and altered, is still so fresh that it remains in me like a nightmare. I cannot say

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96 Susan Metcalf to Pablo Casals, 23 May 1915. Smithsonian.
97 Opposing Kirk’s assertion that Metcalf was with her husband through summer and fall: “When they returned in the autumn for the beginning of the 1915—1916 music season, Casals’ concert booking took him further West than he had been since the 1901 tour with Emma Nevada and included an appearance in Chicago.” Kirk, *Casals*, 308.
100 Scheduled to return to Spain shortly thereafter, Granados delayed his trip to perform for President Wilson at the White House, after which Granados and his wife, Amparo Grau, sailed to Europe, making a few days’ stop in England for their next connection, the SS *Sussex*. On 24 March 1916, while crossing the English Channel en route to Dieppe, France, the vessel was torpedoed at 2:50pm by a German UB-29.
anything else to you today.” (22 December, 1916) Despite such personal setbacks, Casals carried on with his professional agenda. He established a performance pattern of summer/fall in Europe and Spain, and winter/spring in the United States and Canada.

Casals came back to New York on December 18, 1916. Pilar de Casals wrote her son, via his NY impresario, with updates from San Salvador and acknowledging his reunion with Metcalfe (19 January 1917). Over the next three years (1916–18), Casals’ correspondence bears the address of the Blackstone Hotel, confirming his residency in New York.

A telling piece of mail from an acquaintance admonishes Casals’ tendency to fatalism (suggesting Casals’ paranoia): “Much affection to your wife and my hug with the deepest soul of a brother, Agustin. PS. Give your mother news of you, take care of yourself and do not fatigue your heart.” (March 6, 1916) The advice went unheeded: on March 1917, Casals toured Cincinnati, Chicago and Omaha; upon return, another confrontation with Metcalfe led them to part ways: “You will find coming home that I left with most of my things. I cannot live with you anymore after what you did to me and what you told me. I realize you are prone to anger that would, as you said yourself, lead to something terrible.” (29 March 1917, italics added)

Writing to her sister, Lydia Emmet supplements details on Casals’ violent outburst:

You needn’t be so wary about mentioning Susie’s affair. Don’t be wary at all. That has been what has led to this misunderstanding. The thing must be cut with a knife, and Pablo must come up against his own acts as he never has in his life. From his mother down he has been protected by sycophants. The only hope for him is to suffer repeatedly from

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102 Hélène Rochat Metcalfe to Pablo Casals, 22 December 1916. Smithsonian.
103 Agustin to Pablo Casals, 6 March, 1916. UNC Greensboro. Trans. Silvia Lazo.
104 Susan Metcalfe to Pablo Casals, 29 March 1917. Smithsonian.
105 From the context it’s clear that Emmet is not referring to a sexual affair.
them. Tell everyone boldly that he knocked his wife down twice brutally in a public place and then threatened her life. Any Anglo-Saxon can understand that without further psychology. (10 April 1917)  

In this excerpt lies one of the most forceful contradictions between the public image of Casals as “artist of conscience” and that of an uncontrolled (violent) individual in his private sphere. It further demonstrates that through his fame Casals could readily surround himself with supporters that would overlook his bad behavior.

Facing the demise of another disastrous relationship, Casals asked for the divorce. On April 4, 1917 Metcalfe proposed a private arrangement. Lydia Emmet had interceded before Judge Martin Keogh on her friend’s behalf. The judge assented: “It is too bad that so gentle and sensitive a nature as Mrs. Casals’ should be subject to such harrowing annoyances…I will be glad to do anything that I can to comfort and help her.” Perhaps fearing the judge, instead of moving forward with the divorce, Casals absconded to Spain without further notice. The still married couple remained estranged from March 1917 until March 1918.

Not surprisingly, Metcalfe’s family and friends found Casals’ return (January 15, 1918) and attempts at reconciliation menacing. It had taken months to rehabilitate her emotionally. They thus concurred on one point: Casals was a “fundamentally mean, egoist and ungenerous” individual who “doesn’t hesitate to lie the instant he thinks by so doing he can put himself in a better light at some innocent person’s expense” (italics added). The passage is demonstrative

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106 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 10 April 1917. Smithsonian.
107 “I asked Judge Keogh today and he thinks we will be able to arrange this with as little publicity as possible. He wishes to see you and can do so on Tuesday at 4:30 in his office here in New Rochelle.” Susan Metcalfe to Pablo Casals, 4 April 1917. Smithsonian.
108 Judge Martin Keogh to Lydia Emmet, May 12, 1917. Smithsonian.
Note: SS Antonio Lopez, Casals travelled from Barcelona and arriving in New York January 15, 1918.
110 * Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 28 January 1918. Smithsonian.
† “Your letter came with the enclosure about Susie. You never had written me about Suggia’s remarks to Mrs. H. [and] I was glad to see what she said, and it showed intelligence added to some knowledge of the subject. I have
of Casals’ ability to skew his own conscience when convenient to his public representation—the reason why his biographies warrant a healthy dose of skepticism.

Casals does not seem to fully grasp the repercussions of his eccentric behavior, often facilitated by the women themselves. For example, even after a string of incidents, Metcalfé declines but recurrently gives in to his advances. On January 18 Metcalfé states: “I’m happy to know your mother is in good health. Here are the letter and insurance receipt on Watteau. You ruined my happiness yourself. There is no joy in the wishes you sent me.”

The reference to Watteau is enlightening: the intricate connection between Watteau–Verlaine–Casals embedded in the song En Sourdine mattered so much to Casals that he had actually purchased a Watteau painting, and insured it for US$20,000 (US$300,000 current estimate). Hence, Casals’ bringing up the subject with Metcalfé was a reminder of the moment when they first met, of their yet unsustainable love.

On February 14, 1918, Emmet told de Glehn of Metcalfé’s chance encounter with Casals at a New York concert and her sorrowful reaction: “I am afraid my poor little precious darling Susie is terribly blue. Though she is so game it is hard to catch her about. Lumaccia and Lilli both said that they find her crying [and] she told me that the waking up in the morning is horrible.”

Eventually Metcalfé’s melancholy turned into a slight interest for furthering her showed it to Susie who seemed surprised that I had thought she might go back. I am sorry I scared you so.” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 13 February 1918. Smithsonian.
111 Susan Metcalfé to Pablo Casals, 18 January 1918. Smithsonian.
113 * Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 3, 4, 5, 6 March 1918. Smithsonian.
† “This afternoon I went in a parquet seat to this concert of Sasloff, now Salovsky. There was a good size audience [and] very enthusiastic. I enjoyed it tremendously. It is really sincere art. He has a great deal of feeling [and] a good deal of temperament. Susie [and] Kob [and] Nile were in a box. I looked up to take a survey of the house [and] almost opposite to Susie I saw Pablo sitting alone in a box. I looked immediately away [and] I don’t know if he saw m and never looked again. I saw Susie look [and] Kob too but I have had no chances to ask them if they saw him. It is their first time since their awful final scene. It was terribly disconcerting to me to see him. I missed them after the concert and found them here at tea with Posie [and] Ros. Susie was talking all night but her
communications with Casals: “Pablo, there are several things here in a trunk that belong to you and that you might need: a warm coat, blue and red, a black cardigan and a white cardigan. The coat is in very good shape. I don’t know what you want to do with your medals, they are all here in my silver box. I will send you the tennis racquet. I hope to hear good news from your mother. Susie.” (March 15, 1918)¹¹⁴ Metcalfe’s friends understood that her feelings for Casals were deep, and had not subsided.

Later it became clear that Metcalfe sought further contact, in part, as an opportunity to confront Casals yet again. A common thread in their relationship was that Metcalfe had to extend

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¹¹⁴ Susan Metcalfe to Pablo Casals, 15 March 1918. Smithsonian.

Figure 6. A young Susan Metcalfe singing accompanied at the piano by her sister. Courtesy of Maggie Pitkin, private collection.
her magnanimity, while Casals remained unapologetic. He wrote: “If you wish to see me, I wish to see you as well but our meeting would be painfully useless if it were not for the right reason. I can speak clearly but not calmly like you ask. And I cannot speak in definitely terms for our own good. Your letter does not give me enough guarantees to believe in the true necessity of such a meeting you wish for after this twelve-month separation. In any case, I ask that we do not meet at Lydia’s place and suggest instead Marie K. or New Rochelle. Pablo.” (no date)\textsuperscript{115}

Metcalfe seemed committed to love despite all disappointments and thus often frustrated at Casals’ unwillingness to own up to his conduct.\textsuperscript{116} He, instead, did not think much of it, brushing his scenes under the rug and leaving Metcalfe in a losing position. As viewed by Emmet:

I must say I admire how Pablo knows what he wants [and] by George he gets it on his terms. I wish I could do that ever. He wouldn’t listen to a serious view being taken of the fracas at the cud. He said it was absurd to suppose he did it intentionally [and] that it would have been horrible if he had. Of course at that point he had a brain storm [and] didn’t know what he did. When those are over he wants to make up. He doesn’t take those things very seriously [and] when he gets them off his chest he is ready for peace [and] then Susie is a mass of indignation which lasts for 6 months or so [and] he knows, or thinks, that there is nothing he can do till she decides to realize that they can’t live without each other. (25 July 1918, Appendix 4)\textsuperscript{117}

Casals wanted love on his terms. He wrote about fleeting love (\textit{En Sourdine}) and did not seem to relinquish an ideal he had established in his own mind, to his own detriment. As a sad quixotic comedy, windmills could not be vanquished. John Kobbé—Metcalfe’s nephew—so described “[fi]ery discussions that came unexpectedly but passed as quickly as a summer

\textsuperscript{115} Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalfe, no date. Smithsonian.
\textsuperscript{116} “You tell me that you ‘can speak in definitive terms only for what is good.’ What is good is never far from the truth and the truth is what I want. Since you told me your opinion of me the day I left you, your behavior proves that you have no affection for me. What I still wanted from you was sincerity, which I would have respected. It was to hear you repeat what you had said to me, that I was fake, a lie, mean, that I had betrayed you.” Susan Metcalfe to Pablo Casals, 1 April 1918. Smithsonian. (Appendix 3).
\textsuperscript{117} Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 25 July 1918. Smithsonian.
Kirk said nothing of Casals’ 1917 violent outbreak. Instead, his narrative jumps to Casals’ 1918 professional-philanthropic agenda: “The treadmill showed no signs of slowing. Almost everywhere Casals played he received an invitation to return the following season, a pattern that became as strong outside of Europe as it had been within it. When the United States entered into war in early 1918 [sic], like other important artists Casals contributed his art to benefits for the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations.” The hagiographic character of this literature is clearly expressed—Casals, famed musician and burgeoning humanitarian. Kirk’s record is void of hardships faced by Metcalfe.

**Pau Casals’ Orchestra (1920–39)**

How and why Metcalfe reconciled with Casals is unclear. What is known is that after spending summer and fall of 1918 in Europe, a vessel record shows Casals entering the Port of New York on November 1, destined for 105 Neptune Ave., New Rochelle—Metcalf’s family home. Inopportune, the war precluded the materialization of Casals’ symphony orchestra in Catalonia. In January 1919, according to Emmet, Metcalfe and Casals enjoyed a delightful Mexican tour followed by a summer/fall season in Spain.

Around January 1920 Emmet received a visit from Louis Metcalfe, Susan Metcalfe and Pau Casals. By March Casals wrote his London agency, Ibbs and Tillet, reiterating his intention to put his orchestra together: “I just received your letter and I am sorry that I cannot give you a definite answer to your proposition as I intend to give in Barcelona my first series of Symphony

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118 Kirk, *Casals*, 357.
119 Ibid., 316. The correct date of the American declaration of war is April 6, 1917.
120 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 21 January, 1919. Smithsonian.
concerts from October to December. Would this plan not realize, I would then be able to accept
the tour in England. I am leaving for Spain next May and after a short time of being there I shall
be in the position of knowing my possibilities.” (25 March 1920)\textsuperscript{122} It was clear that Casals
intended to spend much of his time in Catalonia.

Casals departed for Spain in May with the first orchestral rehearsal set for June. Susan
Metcalfé and her brother Louis followed in mid-September to attend the inaugural concert
(October 13, 1920).\textsuperscript{123} Emmet reported that upon Metcalfé’s arrival in Spain, however, Casals
fell ill for nearly a month, rendering him unable to conduct:

Pablo met her at the train and she noticed something queer with his eyes, and next day he
was taken down with a bad muscular infection of one of his eyes, and Susie had to do the
most elaborate nursing in a dark room for days. It is caused by uric acid and extreme
carelessness about his abusing his eyes. She says the first concert was too beautiful. He
can make these men play the way he does. During this illness he had, to his intense
disappointment, to turn over the rehearsals to his brother Enrique but he was able to lead
the 2\textsuperscript{nd} concert which was postponed.\textsuperscript{124}

Metcalfé joined Casals in Barcelona, and for a while they lived in a hotel while Casals’
mother (Pilar), Enric, and other family members lived in a house which also functioned as a
music conservatory.\textsuperscript{125} Emmet updated Jane de Glehn on Metcalfé’s stay, apparently spoiled by
Casals’ dysfunctional family dynamics: “Those people are too dreadful. Pablo is such a
chameleon and so unconsciously affected by his entourage that he can’t give Susan any support,
and it is now proved to be quite impossible that she should ever be there alone with them again.
Mrs. C. is practically insane, and has a very bad influence on Pablo. Their lives are spent in a
simple slough of ignorance, jealousy, hysteria, and misery of all sorts, entirely self-imposed.”\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{122} Christopher Fifield, Ibbs and Tillet: The Rise and Fall of a Musical Empire (New York: Ashgate Publishing Co.,
2005), 107.
\textsuperscript{123} Kirk, Casals, 331.
\textsuperscript{124} Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 17 November 1920. Smithsonian.
\textsuperscript{125} Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 9 December 1921. Smithsonian.
\textsuperscript{126} Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 27 December 1921. Smithsonian.
Even though Metcalfe and Casals lived apart from his immediate relatives at this time, their influence was profound. Given their prior history, circumstances were unsustainable.

Departing to Paris with her brother Louis, Metcalfe began agonizing over Casals’ ill health and delayed her vessel connection to the United States. Her brother left for New York on December 22, 1920 and she stayed behind (until January 26, 1921) awaiting further news on Casals’ physical improvement.\(^\text{127}\) As record shows, the couple remained together, and traveled at regular intervals from Barcelona to New York (1921–27), listing Spain as their primary place of residence.\(^\text{128}\) Metcalfe even performed for the Pau Casals Orchestra three times as soprano soloist (October 1923, November 1924, and April 1927).\(^\text{129}\) Even though the relationship showed signs of stability, Casals and especially his mother’s (Pilar de Casals) vexations continued to ensue.\(^\text{130}\)

The “Final” Separation

By 1928 marital differences had become more acute. Following another fight, Metcalfe gave Casals an opportunity to spell out his demands, chance which he apparently declined.

\(^\text{127}\) *“Susie and Louis, as I wrote you, had to wait in Paris two weeks till Dec. 22nd and had passages, but a subsequent letter written at the time of the cable telling what spoke of various alternative plans suggested by Susie, and pending news from Casals.” (Ibid.).

\(^\text{128}\) † See also: Vessel Manifests of Ellis Island, Inc. Note: Louis Metcalfe leaving France December 22, 1920, and arriving NY on January 3, 1921. Susie Metcalfe-Casals leaving France January 26, 1921, and arriving NY on February 6, 1921.

\(^\text{129}\) ‡ Casals remained in Spain winter and spring 1920.


\(^\text{130}\) “You were telling me about a nice picnic with Frasquita [Vidal Puig de Capdevila, wife of the treasurer of Casals’ Orchestra]. I hope you can have frequent ones. Too bad for Mme. Casals to be so saddening! “Tu dois enfaire ton ton deuil” –Pablo suffers as well and the two of you suffer together– and I understand how much he suffers when you’re not there in that gloomy atmosphere. Try to “get used to it” and, if possible, find peace from a lover’s point of view. After all, she’s your Pablo’s mom and you cannot remake her differently. If you could accept her without ruining your life and health, it would be a big step.” Hélène Rochat to Susan Metcalfe, 9 June 1922. UNC Greensboro. Trans. Lilia Carone.
Casals “had no answer of course, but another letter from Maria Casals [Enric’s wife] said she knew all the facts Susie wrote her, but could only again assure her that if she would come all would be well.” (24 March 1929) On Metcalf’s side, Jane de Glehn replied that, instead, Casals began spreading false rumors about his wife, without presenting a full account of the cause of their separation: “Mary Foote has just been to Spain and saw Pablo at one of his orchestral concerts. She said he told her Susie didn’t love him and had left him! Isn’t it the limit! I have written her the facts. We have heard the same thing from another source that he was very ill and his wife had left him. He evidently tells everyone that. He isn’t ill at all except with gall and bitterness caused by his own self love.” (6 June 1929)

The passage is suggestive of Casals’ willingness to support his public image at the expense of his wife’s repute. Yet, Jane de Glehn believed Casals responsible for the situation.

Conciliatory overtures continued via the Passiglis (Metcalf’s Italian cousins) and included a request for Casals’ renewal of the New York lease, whose refusal compromised Metcalf’s housing situation: “She wrote him lately a terrible and just and apparently final arraignment summing up her case, such as she has never done before. She told him there was only left le spectre du Bonheur qu’elle avait espéré (the spectrum of the happiness she hoped to avail) or words to that effect. I can only hope it is true as Pablo is totally hopeless.” Emmet

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131 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 24 March 1929. Smithsonian.
† “I have not heard for long nor has Moxo from Susie. She wrote Maria S. that if Pablo asked her she will go back to him. I have always told her to beware, just because of anger and outrage feelings of these separations called final, as there is no doubt she is more unhappy away from Pablo than she ever is with him. The sad part of it to me is that I think it is largely because she has no life without him and Susie must have contentious to be happy at all. If she really had a career to interest and occupy her she could let him go.” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 25 September 1928. Smithsonian.
132 Jane de Glehn to Lydia Emmet, 6 June 1929. Smithsonian.
† Casals’ letter to Ibbs and Tillet evidences that he continued to claim his wife in his tax returns until at least 1929: “As you have records of my earnings in England of this last season, I beg you to put the sum in the enclosed income tax form after a reasonable deduction of my expenses, including fares from Spain. As Mrs. Casals has been in England for professional purposes, her expenses can also be deducted. I authorize you to sign for me that income tax and sent it to the Midland Bank.” (15 July 1929) Fifield, *Ibbs and Tillet*, 142.
lamented Metcalfe’s lack of “wider and personal sympathies and interests...separate from her own life and affections.” (4 August 1929)\textsuperscript{133}

Emmet spoke of Metcalfe’s plan to visit Clara Passigli in Florence after a concert season in Holland (October–November 1929).\textsuperscript{134} This letter brings forth the first mention of a potential affair between Pau Casals and Frasquita de Capdevila (married to Felip Capdevila, treasurer of Casals’ Orchestra): “Lilli and I began to forge a match between Pablo and Frasquita, who would be a sufficient doormat, suggested by the fact that she stopped for a long time writing to Susie, [and] Ella Braun who went again to Sant Salvador as a self-appointed peace envoy, reported that her operations were cramped by Frasquita’s evident jealousy.” (6 November 1929)\textsuperscript{135} Fraquita’s affections for Casals would continue, as they eventually shared a residence in Prades, France, after the rise of Gen. Francisco Franco (Spanish Civil War and during World War II).

Returning to Metcalfe and Casals, a fateful quarrel took place around November 1929. Emmet described an ill-fated meeting in Paris following Metcalfe’s Dutch concert season:

> [Susan] said that he suddenly sprung on her that she was to go to 440 [440 Diagonal, Pablo’s Barcelona’s abode] [and] very soon after pay his mother a visit at S. S. and “be very sweet and affectionate to her.” When Susie again made her point, he just said “Adieu, je suis un homme respectable,” and was off, furious with no osculation. After laying two checks on the table [and] saying they were all the money he had in France. Susie tore them up there [and] then, and he was gone. And yet she says “he’s not ready yet, etc.” So I suppose it is to be all enacted over again ad infinitum, here, there or yonder. (22 April 1930)\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{133} Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 4 August 1929. Smithsonian.
\textsuperscript{135} Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 6 November 1929. Smithsonian.
\textsuperscript{136} Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 22 April 1930. Smithsonian.

† “That anything so mean, [and] poor, and caddish can be so eternally [and] unfailingly successful, and the pitiable humiliation it subjects Susie to, in her total lack of psychology and analysis, which might enable her to develop some sort of feminine technique of management which would avoid such open scandals at least; I always said that if I wanted anything as much as she apparently wants this marriage with Pablo, granted her admiration for him, I could think of some way of accomplishing this better than she does. It amounts to fearful stupidity on her part.” (Ibid.).
The record suggests that this was the last time the couple ever saw each other in person. Casals’ behavior had not changed and neither had Metcalfe. Her behavior was characterized by her insistence that he change his. Metcalfe’s friends became accustomed to the cycle and expected that she would always return to Casals, only to be further disappointed.

Although expected by Emmet around December, the Stock Market Crash of 1929 caused Metcalfe to postpone her US visit until July 5, 1930. Metcalfe spent the summer in Nassau, New York, appearing before a New York Judge on July 31, 1930 to finalize her US citizenship.

On September 20 Louis collected Metcalfe’s belongings from New York and shipped them to Menton, France—where he and Hélène Rochat resided. Emmet bid farewell to her friend whom she would not see again until 1935: “Susie is awfully homesick. I wish she was here but of course it was the only thing for her to do.” (15 December 1930)

Even though Casals and Metcalfe would never meet again, their overlapping friends and acquaintance’s networks provided rich subject extended letter writing. For example, when news of Pilar de Casals’ death arrived, Emmet belittled it with contempt. Given that Casals always spoke very highly of his ultra-conservative mother, the women (e.g., Metcalfe, Hélène Rochat,

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137 “Susie [and] Louis went down nearly two weeks ago [and] got all her things off in a van for Menton. It seems to cut to cut to her heart to pull up these roots here.” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 20 September 1930. Smithsonian.

138 * Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 15 December 1930. Smithsonian.

† Follows a letter by Emmet to de Glehn containing excerpts of a secondary note by Susan Metcalfe to her sister-in-law Maria Kobbé (Mox): “Metcalf: Ms. Schiel (a Dutch friend) told me her daughter went to hear Pablo and went to the greenroom [and] Pablo went to ask her if she had any news of me and how I was – can you believe that? He seems to want to keep appearances in regard to me. Yesterday a letter from that mice, Adelina Dosia in Barcelona begged me to give her news of me saying that Maria Casals and she were anxious and that Maria Casals wanted me to know that the grandmother was worse and might not live to the end of this month [and] that Pablo had left on the first! Well, if she’s dying [and] if she dies I won’t go there – why should I? And even if P. asks me to go there I won’t go! That life of indignities is no more for me. I am living now an interesting [and] I can say full life of decent harmony with my surroundings [and] I shall not be drawn into that insufferable torment. I have no trust in Pablo. He has killed that [and] were he to take up a woman to live with him I wish her joy. I’m wondering whether he will attempt to see Jane and Wilfred in London? Emmet: Now that is something like talking [and] getting at finalities. I hope it is as good hearing to you as it is to Moxie and me. I think perhaps what I mind most about P. is that showing off, to protect himself before strangers, asking for news of Susie when he passed through Menton this winter [and] never made any attempt to see her or ask after her. (Feb—March? 1931).” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, February or March 1931. Smithsonian.
Lydia Emmet, etc.) on the other side of the Atlantic held an opposing viewpoint: “The poor old witch in Barcelona has finally scuffled off. I don’t envy her her thoughts during her flight in the dark. I am copying in what follows a letter to Moxie from S. We have not heard from her since she knew of the removal of Mrs. Casals. Susie has had a lot of pain and trouble with bruised shoulder [and] has been staying at the Clos St. J. [and] having neat weeks in Cannes. She had a concert in Cannes [and] one in Italy, both great successes as to compliments.”

Casals got news of his mother’s passing (March 11, 1931) while performing at a concert in Geneva. Albert Passigli (Metcalfe’s cousin) was present and consoled Casals. The Passiglis held musical interests in common with those of Casals: deeply involved with prominent cultural institutions in Italy (e.g., Società degli Amici della Musica) they had as much to offer Casals—in terms of hospitality and connections—as he had to offer them in terms of cultural capital (fame and musical prestige). Indeed, Casals was never distant from Metcalfe’s family, including Susan Metcalfe Kobbé (niece) and John Kobbé (nephew, an amateur violinist).

The overlapping networks would be a source of energy, feeding a hope that Casals and Metcalfe would reunite. For example, as relayed to Metcalfe via Clara Passigli in 1932, Casals was still in love with her.

Metcalfe’s mother, Hélène Rochat, passed away on August 18, 1932 in Grasse, France, near their Menton residence. Her estate was greatly diminished as a result of the Great

139 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn (sometime around March 1931). Smithsonian.
140 The Passiglis, mistakenly categorized as “friends” in Casals’ biographies, were in fact the Italian cousins of Susan Metcalfe, deeply involved with prominent cultural institutions in Italy, including the Società degli Amici della Musica. Alvise Passigli, September 18, 2011, in discussion with the author.
141 “Maria told me that S. wrote her from Florence that Clara Passigli told her of how Pablo loves her and misses her. Why shouldn’t he? He never had anything in his life like what she gave him. That is the greatest measure of his egoism. If he didn’t care for her [and] wanted to get rid of her, there would some excuse for his conduct. Last summer at Stockbridge I saw clearly that Clara would be the key to let him down easy again, as I saw S. was all ready for it and only awaiting the means.” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 14 December 1932. Smithsonian.
Depression, which compromised Metcalfe’s financial status: “Mrs. Metcalfe’s will is in the hands of Bartow’s firm, and he explained to Nile that as all their prosperity is in guaranteed mortgages which are at present worthless no liquidation could be made.” (26 January 1934) In 1933 Susan and Louis Metcalfe procured a Parisian apartment to be near Marie Florence Metcalfe-Chansarel. Metcalfe lived off concert activities and $689 per year stemming from a modest life insurance annuity.

**War Years (Continued Separation)**

Casals’ US tours ceased for thirty years (until his United Nations’ debut in 1958). Casals sustained his orchestral endeavors in Barcelona until 1939. The advent of the Spanish Civil War (1934–39) forced him into exile in France, permanently abridging the programming of his orchestra and the *Associació Obrera de Concerts*. A friend told Emmet that Casals experienced a “real [and] intense suffering over Spain’s fate,” and that he grieved over “his orchestra in Barcelona, now extinct.” (10 March 1938)

As months went by, Metcalfe and Casals acquired some physical distance. Metcalfe and Casals lived in France, yet apart. As evidence shows, Casals was less committed than Metcalfe to working out their differences. Casals’ emotional withdrawal led to new interests, including a romantic one, fostered during the war, while Metcalfe remained attached to the possibility of

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Note: Helene R. Metcalfe, age 82. Date of Death: August 18, 1932 at 5:39pm in Grasse, France.
143 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 26 January 1934. Smithsonian.
144 “I decided the best thing to do with that 10,000 I set aside in an Ins. Policy to buy off Susie’s share of SH and to put it into a life annuity which will end at her death but will pay her $57.50 every month of her life without fail and that is the most that can be got out of that money nowadays and be absolutely safe: $689.00 a year.” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 16 March 1934. Smithsonian.
145 * Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 10 March 1938. Smithsonian.
† As Franco’s Nationalists defeated the Republicans and marched into Barcelona, Casals went into exile in Prades de Conflent, France, to avoid his own prosecution by the Nationalist military tribunals. Casals was in fact tried *in absentia* in 1940 and received a fine of one million pesetas. See: Conxita Mir, “The Francoist Repression in the Catalan Countries,” *Catalan Historical Review* (2008): 133-147. DOI:10.2436/20.1000.01.9.
reconciliation. Scholarly literature notates behavioral shifts in terms of marriage expectations during the twentieth century, specifically that men “manifested far more interest in extra-marital sex.”  

One illustration of this is found in Metcalfe’s own family. While living in Paris, Metcalfe maintained a rather discordant relationship with her brother-in-law Herman Kobbé, because she despised his marital escapades: “I had lately seen Maria who told me that Herman has another Yiddish Brooklynaire [and] Lilli asked him why he does not have a divorce [and] marry this woman who is unmatched [and] he said ‘oh, marriage kills love.’” (29 December 1936) Kobbé eventually divorced Metcalfe’s sister to marry African–American sculptress Selma Hortense Burke. Kobbé’s eldest son, Louis, also entertained a problematic liaison with a young Russian girl (age 14): “Lilli worries about Lou and Sonia [and] wants them to go through some legalizing of their relations but Lou agrees with his father that marriage kills love. The situation mortifies Lilli. She says ‘suppose the censor man came?’ I think they could legally get into trouble on account of Sonia being so young. Lilli is afraid of losing her wits.” (31 January 1937) The behavior of the Kobbés—as well as that of Casals—was thus not abnormal for its time. Many men engaged in serial and parallel dating, especially with women decades younger, in their teens.

Metcalfe visited friends in the United States on 1935, 1936, 1938, and 1939. She alternated stays between Lydia Emmet’s and Marie Olga Kobbé’s (Mox) residences, often giving tea soirees in New York and surrounding areas. Metcalfe left for Europe on a perilous ocean

146 Stearns, “Men and Romantic Love,” 786.
147 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 29 December 1936. Smithsonian.
148 “Mrs. Selma Hortense Burke of 88 east Tenth Street, daughter of Mrs. Neil Burke of Mooresville, N.C., and the late Rev. Mr. Burke, was married here yesterday to Herman Kobbe of 166 West Fifty-Eight Street, son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Herman Kobbé, by John Haynes Holmes in his study at 10 Park Avenue.” Newspaper clipping dated 1 October 1949. Ancestry.com. Accessed January 27, 2012.
149 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 31 January 1937. Smithsonian.
† “Maria S. writes now that she herself feels absolutely sick over this move. You know when H. had the poor little victim Sonia examined by a doctor and instigated the nite you know of. She told someone that H. said to her ‘Lou, go to Lou now, but when you are 18 come to me.’” (Ibid.)
crossing on August 14, 1939. De Glehn retorted: “It seems to me Louis in the spot could have moved her apartment. I suppose that ass Louis is guided by spooks or astrology.” (14 August 1939) The 1940s–50s were also a period of exploration of Eastern spiritual philosophies and psychic-scientific experiments (e.g., Emmet enjoyed New Thought books, Herman Kobbé had joined the Oxford Group, and the Metcalfes took a preference for clairvoyance). Then relying on Louis’ paranormal activities, Susan Metcalfe dismissed references to an impending war and fled to Europe in hopes of reuniting with Casals. Reality soon set in.

France surrendered to the Nazi military inaugurating the interim government of Gen. Phillip Pétain in July 1940. Metcalfe chronicled her brother’s obliviousness to the grave situation: “That first bombing on the outskirts of Paris was actually going on when Susie wrote [and] she said Louis was sitting [and] reading the paper [and] paying no attention.” (9 July 1940) Meanwhile, Casals performed philanthropic concerts in London (1939) and Switzerland (1940) for the benefit of the Spanish Refugee Aide. Among the Emmets, rumors circulated that Casals hesitated to appear in public with an American wife. Indeed, in 1942, he had asked his

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150 “UK Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878-1960.” Record for Susan Casals, travelling on SS Ile de France with destination to Plymouth, UK, arriving on 14 August 1939. (Ibid.)
151 “She lands in Plymouth the same day as this letter, Aug. 14th [and] will meet Louis [and] stay, I don’t know long. go to Paris to see Maria [and] then he will take her down to Menton to empty her apartment, where or how neither she nor I know, but the owner wants to live in it” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, August 6, 1939. Smithsonian.
152 Jane de Glehn to Lydia Emmet, 14 August 1939. Smithsonian.
153 “I can’t thank you enough for sending me that book. It is the sort of dream realized, as I think it is about 40 yrs ago that I first began passionately to realize that until science arrived at some sort of spiritual hypothesis [and] realization of its present tragic limitations, the human race would make no real progress toward arriving at ‘Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.’” She adds: Little Jocelyn is working as a scientific investigator on a salary in the Psychical Research Society.” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 24 April 1937. See: Carl Jackson, “The New Thought Movement and the Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Oriental Philosophy,” *Journal of Popular Culture* (1975): 523–548.
155 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 9 July 1940. Smithsonian.
156 “Mox idea was perfectly correct: that Prades is a Spanish concentration camp in the Pyrenees near border [and] that he was permitted to go to Switz. To play concerts as Picasso was to paint murals in Spain. All that seems to show that no matter what his feelings are, he could not show his well-known face [and] name in Paris or take an American wife with him to a concentration camp.” Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 31 July 1940. Smithsonian.
American friends to avoid corresponding with him in Prades—then a concentration camp holding Spanish refugees.156

When Casals’ assets were temporarily confiscated by British authorities, Metcalfe extended her hospitality, unaware that Frasquita de Capdevila kept house for him in Prades:

“How you must wonder what I have heard about Pablo – nothing have I received from him but a few lines in answer to my short letter First of Jan 1940. He left Paris very soon after – I had written to him, having heard that he had lost all his money (Clara had written and said he was not well157) [and] said that if he wanted to come and live in my apartment I would make him comfortable [and] safe [and] I hoped peaceful. At last a short answer to decline and advise for my good that I return to America.” (18 August 1945)158

Throughout the war Metcalfe shared a modest hotel room with Louis, sometimes lagging in her communications, which gravely preoccupied her family and friends. On November 22, 1940 Jane de Glehn reports on Hélène Metcalfe-Kobbé’s trip to Italy to relocate Marie Chansarel to a nursing home; both made an unsuccessful attempt to see Susan Metcalfe, who refused to receive them.159 Jane de Glehn blamed Louis’ overbearing personality:

Philo saw Susie often. Susie sang for them too but oh what a triste vie is theirs, two little dark comfortless rooms in a 3rd rate hotel. Louis more daft than ever. Getting messages from the other world [and] it seems he has established an absolute tyranny over Susie who dares not to do anything without his permission [and] he gives it grudgingly and rarely. They spend long hours playing patience. Read no papers, have no radio. Would not have known that they were ordered to report to the Komandatur as Americans if Philo

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156 “Knowing why Susie wanted to go abroad I didn’t try to play Providence (as unpaid [and] amateur advisors dare to take themselves to do) [and] stop her going. Had Pablo really needed her—or had he died—as men have done from time to time, she would never have forgiven herself. I wish I were as curious of her happiness as I am deeply hoping that it may be true. Don’t write to Pablo – He has begged his friends not to – to avoid any American mail over there which might be an embarrassment.” Marie Olga Kobbé to Lydia Emmet, 4 March 1942. Smithsonian.

157 “In addition to the various meanings of exile, distance from my family, I owe to the behavior of England my material ruin. They refuse the free disposal of the interests that I’ve relied on for nearly half a century. Even more: these interests are labeled enemy property.” Pau Casals to Josep Trueta, 17 July 1949. Prades. Quim Torra, Pau Casals – Josep Trueta. Estimat doctor/Admirat mestre. (Barcelona: Contra Vents Editors, 2009).

158 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 18 August 1945. Smithsonian.

159 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 22 November 1940. Smithsonian.
had not gone to tell them so they did not even know that the U.S. was at war!!! (13 April 1942)\textsuperscript{160}

World War II failed to bring an end to the Franco dictatorship. In 1945 Casals ignited an international boycott against countries supporting Spain, aiming especially at England and the United States. Casals boycott was unsuccessful for various reasons, including the self-defeating approach of muting his best platform for speech (the concert stage), an inconsistent application of his musical embargo (which included performances before the United Nations and at the White House), and American political, economic and military interests in Spain.\textsuperscript{161}

Metcalf\'e maintained her vocation as evidenced by performances in Sceaux in 1947, 1949 and 1950.\textsuperscript{162} Louis Metcalf\'e passed on October 22, 1946, followed by sister-in-law, Maria Olga Kobbé on April 27, 1947.\textsuperscript{163} With friends and family dwindling, Metcalf\'e\’s sister, Marie Chansarel, invited Metcalf\'e to stay with her. Metcalf\'e declined based on a hope of reconciling her relationship with Casals. One of the final extant letters of the Emmet archive explains that Casals, on the other hand, had moved on:

Poor little Susie. Her letter clearly shows what I have suspected but hoped was not so: that she has never given up hope thru now of seeing Pablo again. Philo wrote the other day that he had a visit from a French woman from Prades who is married to some distinguished man. They were in Edinburgh, Philo asked her if she knew Pablo when he heard she was from Prades [and] she said he is the Grand Old Man of Prades [and] that a lady from Barcelona has gone into voluntary exile to keep house for him [and] look after him. Philos says “I wonder if Susie knows about this?” (January 16, 1950)\textsuperscript{164}

\textsuperscript{160} Jane de Glehn to Lydia Emmet, 13 April 1942. Smithsonian.
\textsuperscript{161} There are many factors which affected the effectiveness of Casals\’ boycott, beginning with the fact that it did not reach the status of critical mass. Secondly, it\’s important to underscore that Casals\’ musical activities did not entirely cease: he made numerous public appearances despite verbally affirming he was not going to play anymore, and had not changed his stances on the matter. Thirdly, the United States held significance political, military, economic interests in Spain contrary to Casals\’ interests, an issue that merits further investigation.
\textsuperscript{162} * Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, July 6, 1948. Smithsonian.
\textsuperscript{164} Jane de Glehn to Lydia Emmet, 16 January 1950. Smithsonian.
Lydia Field Emmet passed on August 15, 1952. Her extant documentation at the Smithsonian Institution Archives became the central record on Susan Metcalfe and Pau Casals’ marriage.
Whether Metcalfe came to know of Casals’ new woman is uncertain. Metcalfe’s mental health deteriorated until her death in 1959. Casals continued to enjoy long-term relations with Metcalfe’s relatives, in his biographies incorrectly described as friends. Hence, their familial relations were neither short nor inconsequential. For instance, an October 20, 1945 calendar entry by Casals’ Secretary, Milly Stanfield, notes: “8h dinner with John Kobbé”; on his 1971 performance before the United Nations, Metcalfe’s Italian cousins, Mr. and Mrs. Franco Passigli, appear under Casals’ guest list.

**Frasquita Vidal i Puig de Capdevila**

Casals’ “new” relationship was hardly new. Casals had a long history with Frasquita de Capdevila (1879–1955), widow of the treasurer of his now defunct symphony orchestra in Barcelona. Both Casals and Capdevila found refuge from the Franco dictatorship in Prades, France. Indeed, Prades was a destination for many Catalans, situated in a region often referred to as “French Catalonia.”

H. L. Kirk characterized Casals’ existence in Prades as that of a hermit because he refused to travel any great distance. Casals lived in a small home referred to as Vila Colette. The household included members of the Alavedra family, as well as Frasquita de Capdevilla. Having been one of Casals’ early cello students, since her husband’s passing in 1921, it is evident that Capdevila had a sincere interest in Casals. Although Casals’ professed no romantic interest for

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168 Refer to footnote 44. Kirk notes that Capdevila’s “adoration for him had been an open secret for nearly sixty years.” Kirk, *Casals*, 473.
her, she went into voluntary exile with him to care for his needs. Eventually Casals and Capdevila were married.

Kirk chronicled the marriage as officiated in 1955 in *artículo mortis* (at the point of death), a union permissible by the fact that Casals’ 1914 civil union to Metcalfe had not been sanctioned by the Catholic Church. Kirk added that Casals entered into the marriage as “an act of near-medieval chivalry,” as a gesture of gratefulness for the years of domestic services provided to him by Capdevila.

Rather, an alternative explanation is that Casals-Capdevila’s living arrangement created a sense of discomfort, more likely resulting from an illegitimate cohabitation, which for a Catholic would have amounted to sin. The remedy lay in an unusual Catholic ceremonial exception entitled *artículo mortis*. When one of the parties is already in an existing marriage (i.e., Casals and Metcalfe), a marital benediction in *artículo mortis* (at the point of death) brings an illicit relation under spiritual sanction, pursuant to the imminent death of one of the parties. The proximity of the ceremony to the certain death of one of the parties is necessary to ensure that there would be no further problems down the road (i.e., bigamy) to the surviving spouse.

Although Casals’ marriage to Metcalfe was irregular in the eyes of the Church, it was nevertheless a reality that no priest would have ignored. Indeed, the Church would have deemed two marriages—one secular and one religious—a scandal by all standards. Hence, Casals’ civil union to Metcalfe posed a clear impediment to his freedom to wed someone else—the only

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169 “During the last hours of Frasquita Capdevilla’s life the priest of Prades read a service in *artículo mortis* by which she was married to Pablo Casals, a rite the priest felt free to perform since Casals’ secular wedding to Susan Metcalfe was not valid in the eyes of the Catholic church. It was a gesture of near-medieval chivalry and grateful affection for the devoted woman who had ‘for so many years and so constantly shared my vicissitudes’” Kirk, *Casals*, 473.

170 Ibid.

171 Rev. Paul Vevik (Spokane Diocese, WA), July 9, 2011 in discussion with the author.
exception being a benediction in artículo mortis. Hence, Capdevila’s marriage to Casals was viable contingent upon her immediate passing.

Capdevila’s displays of jealousy over Casals (dating back to at least 1929), her decision to follow him into exile, and the timely benediction in artículo mortis (demonstrating a priori knowledge of Catholic rites) compromise Kirk’s theory of gratitude. At her death in 1955, Capdevila wished to be buried beside Casals’ mother in El Vendrell. Casals honored her wishes returning for the first and last time to Franco’s Spain, without incident.

**Marta Angélica Montañez y Martínez**

Soon after Capdevila’s death, Casals embarked on a new romantic venture. He began dating Marta Angélica Montañez y Martínez (1936–), then an eighteen-year-old Puerto Rican cellist and recent arrival in France.  

Kirk explained Casals’ attraction to Marta—sixty years his junior—by stressing her administrative skills and domesticity: “She was well organized, fast, efficient, energetic and generous; it is not surprising that Casals very soon found her indispensable”  

She accompanied Casals to Zermatt Summer Academy, which allowed him to widen “his vision after his years of restriction in Prades.”  

In contrast to this picture of Casals’ penurious and hermitic exile, Alexander (Sasha) Schneider noted that “[h]is life [was] frugal, but not austere and certainly never lonely.” Because he was not lacking either in companionship nor life’s basic comforts, what then motivated the artist to relocate to an American territory (Puerto Rico)?

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172 “It was the youngest of Pablo Casals’ cello students in Prades who sensed and began spontaneously, naturally to heal the desolation in Casals after his return from Spain at the beginning of 1955.” Kirk, *Casals*, 475.

173 Ibid., 477.

174 Ibid., 481.

Casals first visited Puerto Rico on December 11, 1955.\textsuperscript{176} Anticipating his arrival, prominent island authorities such as Governor Luis Muñoz Marín invited Casals and Marta to a special dinner at \textit{La Fortaleza}. Governor Muñoz and former US Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas (an amateur violinist, fan of the arts, and Under-Secretary for the US Department of Interior)\textsuperscript{177} had been working on a plan to boost Puerto Rico’s economic development, \textit{Operation Bootstrap}. Muñoz enticed Casals to collaborate with \textit{Operación Serenidad}, the ancillary cultural plan designed to increase the tourist industry (see Chapter 2).\textsuperscript{178} Kirk stated that Casals was “impressed with the cultural aspects of the program for economic development of the island, which for a third of a century had \textit{suffered under US protection exploitation nearly as crippling as that of the last years of Spanish control}” (italics added).\textsuperscript{179}

Hence, Casals found in Puerto Rico a worthy musical mission, which would simultaneously promote the Commonwealth and himself. In order to accomplish this, Casals transplanted the Prades Festival to Puerto Rico, and became a central piece in publicity campaigns in the United States, promoting the cultural renaissance of the island.\textsuperscript{180} In return, Fortas spared no effort assisting Casals and Marta in various matters, from tax issues to a performance before President Kennedy at the White House on November 24, 1961.\textsuperscript{181}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{176} Kirk, \textit{Casals}, 482.
\bibitem{178} James Gollin, \textit{Pianist} (Bloomington, ID: Xlibris, 2010). Kindle edition, 210. Gollin adds: “Now, as a private lawyer, he was representing the protectorate as it drafted a constitution, set up a judiciary, and steered its way toward self-rule. Fortas was an amateur violinist and a devotee of chamber music. He, like Muñoz, was friendly with Henry Raymont” (Ibid.).
\bibitem{179} Kirk, \textit{Casals}, 487.
\bibitem{180} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}

\* Laura Kalman, \textit{Abe Fortas: a Biography} (New Haven: Yale University, 1990), e-book, 177.
\dagger “In an effort to expose ‘the people to the best culture that the world offers,’ Fortas convinced Muñoz that his government should subsidize culture along with industrialization. In 1957, the two men persuaded the renowned cellist Pablo Casals to hold the Casals’ festival previously held annually in Prades, France, on the island. Marta Casals Istomin recalled Fortas’s emphasis on how much the festival could do for the people of Puerto Rico. When the cellist succumbed to the plea, Fortas made the legal arrangements” (Ibid., 176).
also suggests Fortas’ instrumental role in arranging Casals’ divorce from Metcalfe to wed Marta Montañez. Kirk states: “In the early 1950s Casals had learned that [Metcalfe] was ill and unattended, and from Prades he helped with arrangements for her care until she returned to New Jersey to live with her sisters. By 1956, he did not know with certainty that she was alive, so legal steps for a divorce were initiated. The decree became final about the time of Casals’ heart attack” (italics added). Kirk’s narrative about Casals’ divorce is partial and vague, lacking specific dates, locales, etc.

Metcalfé was in a fragile mental state (advanced dementia) at the time of the divorce. Susan Metcalfé Kobbé-Pitkin recalls that around 1950 Susan Metcalfé was seen randomly roaming the streets of Paris visibly out-of-sorts. Helped at the American Hospital in Paris, Metcalfé’s family was notified. They in turn contacted the American Embassy, which asserted Casals’ legal duty to care for his wife. It appears that he did, although only indirectly. Kobbé-Pitkin says Casals sent for a nurse to care for her, and the nurse eventually persuaded Metcalfé to join her sisters, Hélène Metcalfé-Kobbé and Marie Metcalfé-Chansarel, in the United States. Susan initially lived at North Compo Rd., Westport, CT; subsequently, Susie and Marie moved to 11th Street, Cresskill, New Jersey, a couple of blocks away from the house of Hélène’s daughter, Olga Pitkin and her four children.

‡ “For Fortas, a happy by-product of the festival was the friendship which he developed with Casals, who began consulting with him regularly on a variety of matters. ‘We trusted him, Marta Casals Istomin said.’ No project was too small for Fortas where Casals and the festival were concerned” (Ibid.).


182 Kirk, Casals, 498.
183 Susan Metcalfé (Kobbé) Pitkin, August 17, 2011, in discussion with the author.
Kobbé-Pitkin’s account is corroborated by Casals’ friend, Joan Alavedra, in his description of Casals’ 1958 concert at the United Nations in New York:

When leaving [the United Nations’ building], after the farewell, Casals wants to go for a walk, arm in arm with Martita, who smiles at him. He is happy. He loves and he is loved. From the grass plain in front, he gazes the black rectangle, magnificent, made by the UN building, built next to the East River. He looks at the quiet water and, further away, the skyscrapers of the fabulous city. His face, all of a sudden, becomes gloomy. He remembers what he was told about the end of Susan. One day, a North American lady is taken to the American Hospital of Paris. She has been found well dressed, sitting in a sidewalk of the street, after trying to give several pieces of clothing that she had in her arms to the passers-by. She is disturbed. When she is identified, the family is informed. A sister comes. She doesn’t recognize her. They take her to America and until her death, a few months later, she wanted, in New York, to eat alone in a table for two, because “Casals had to come.” (italics added)

As the above note shows, Metcalfe had never abandoned her love interest for Casals. Kobbé-Pitkin stated that a famous attorney-judge contacted the family circa 1956 to make divorce arrangements. The first no-fault divorce law was enacted in California in 1969. Prior to that, state laws had strong residency requirements (one to three years) and were primarily based on the grounds of “adultery, extreme cruelty, willful desertion, willful neglect, habitual intemperance, conviction of a felony and incurable insanity.” Since 1930 Metcalfe was an American citizen, and permanent resident since 1955. She and Casals had married in Westchester County, New York in 1914. Casals had been a resident of Prades, France since 1937. Casals had available the legal aid of a reputedly aggressive US attorney, Abe Fortas.

Despite all such connections to the United States, the divorce record given to the US Immigration Service shows that a proceeding was filed in Chihuahua, Mexico on March 22,
1957, executed *in absentia* via a power of attorney conceded by Pau Casals to Mexican lawyer Fernando Flores. A copy of the petition (and its English translation) was personally served upon Susan Metcalfe-Casals by William Kooistra, at her domicile in Bergen County, New Jersey on April 23, 1957. No information was provided by Casals’ attorney to the court as to the mental incapacitation of Susan Metcalfe. Casals’ cited as grounds for seeking the divorce the parties’ incompatibility, as well as *Metcalf’s abandonment of domicile and marital obligations*. Given Metcalfe’s abiding expectation of marital reunification (1928, 1940, 1958) the record falsely indicts Metcalfe. Lacking her official response or objection, the Secretary of Chihuahua’s State issued the final divorce decree on May 17, 1957 (sealed May 22, 1957).

A recent case search at the Public Registration Office of Chihuahua, however, showed no official recordation of the proceeding. It is possible that the local judge or secretary never registered the divorce at the Public Registration Office, or—as frequently occurred—the divorce papers were counterfeited. American courts have generally looked upon Mexican divorce proceedings of this era unfavorably, at times voiding them altogether, for example, due to lack of personal jurisdiction. Such proceedings may also infer a deliberate effort on the part of one (or both) litigant(s) to evade US law. It is beyond the scope of this paper to offer a discussion on the legitimacy of Casals’ divorce. Jane de Glehn, however, extended her perspective on the matter:

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190 United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS).
191 USCIS, File of Pau Casals.
† “A foreign divorce is usually nothing more than a fancy piece of paper that costs a lot of money and is probably worthless. That’s what most Mexican divorces are... as well as a divorce granted in any place other than the home state or native country of one of the spouses. The fact is, if you’re not a legal resident there and your spouse doesn’t reside there, you just aren’t getting a divorce.” Sullivan, Col Mark E. (USAR, RET.), “The Jurisdictional Basis for Divorce,” accessed August 27, 2011. http://apps.americanbar.org/family/military/silent/foreigndivorce.pdf.
“I have just read that Pablo Casals, 80, married a girl of 21 [and] states that his first wife died in 1955. He is a lying old bigamist [and] I hope somebody will show him up.” (6 August 1957)\(^{193}\)

Susan Metcalfe-Casals died at Bergen Pines Hospital, Cresskill, New Jersey on September 25, 1959.

Figure 7. Susan Metcalfe-Casals. Courtesy of Maggie Pitkin, private collection.

Casals married Marta on August 3, 1957. He filed for a permanent US visa on October 31 and settled in Puerto Rico until his death in 1973.\(^{194}\)

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\(^{193}\) Jane de Glehn to Miss Sherwood, 6 August 1957. Smithsonian.
\(^{194}\) “Marta and Casals were married in San Juan on August 3 1957, a Saturday, in a civil ceremony in the Calle Bucaré apartment, attended by Alfredo Matilla and Dr. José Passacqua as witnesses, a subsequent religious ceremony was performed by a Passionist father who was a friend of the couple, in the presence of close friends in the Capilla de la Piedad in Isla Verde, San Juan.” Kirk, Casals, 498.
Kirk stressed that “[b]etween years 1966 and 1972 Maestro and Señora Casals opened their archives to me, and they saw the results of the research as the work progressed.” Yet, since 1972, Marta Casals had been raising issues with the manuscript, objecting to pictorial and literary choices. She elicited the assistance of friends, as illustrated by an August 8, 1972 letter to Abe Fortas by biographer Albert Kahn: “I might add that I consider Kirk himself to be a weak, untrustworthy and opportunistic individual.” Kahn’s prior letter to Marta Casals clarifies the biographer’s commercial arrangement:

The clear and unequivocal understanding with Kirk was that Don Pablo and you would provide him with special materials concerning Casals’ life—various papers, documentary data, letters, miscellaneous information unavailable (that were, in considerable measure, exclusive and unavailable elsewhere) and that you would allow him to conduct extensive interviews of Don Pablo on the condition that he would show Casals and you the final manuscript of the book before publication and that its content would be subject to approval before publication. (emphasis on original)

Kahn added that the main problem was not an issue of libel (increasingly difficult to prove against public figures) or of invasion of privacy, but first and foremost an issue of breach of contract. Kahn asserted that Kirk inappropriately attempted to “[i]ncluded in the book material of which neither you nor Don Pablo approve, some of which is possibly of questionable accuracy and questionable taste, and some of which is disturbing, distasteful and undesirable to both Don Pablo and you.”

† Marriage Registry 152-1957-00449-000000-001554-00199920. Pablo Casals Defillo (Groom) and Marta Montañez Martinez (Bride). Date: August 3, 1957. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.
‡ USCIS, Casals.
195 Kirk, preface to Casals, ix; (ibid., vii); (ibid., ix).
196 H. L. Kirk to Abe Fortas, 21 February 1972. “I don’t know how to further answer her, Abe, short of telling her outright that the two youthful pictures of her were included in large measure to counterbalance unattractive rumor and speculation concerning her at the time that tends to put an unnecessary tarnish on the relationship with don Pablo.” (21 February 1974). Abe Fortas Papers. Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives.
197 Albert Kahn to Abe Fortas, 8 August 1972. Yale University.
198 Ibid.
199 Ibid.
Marta discussed the undesirable material of Kirk’s book with Abe Fortas, unmistakably interfering with the final product: “Just last Monday, the revised manuscript came back with some of the most disturbing passages, which we had spoken of, were still in—including portions of letters that P. Casals had written around 1906–1914. He paraphrased some—in a way which comes out worse.” (9 August 1972) It seems that Kirk tried but was unable (given the legal pressures) to provide a more complete picture of Casals’ life. What would have been added by Kirk in terms of evidence and critical analysis is unknown. What has been filtered through the biography, however, tendentiously portrays Casals as the “symbol of the indissoluble unity of art and morality.”

Casals died on October 22, 1973. Before the 1974 commercial release of Kirk’s work one final detail is abridged: “I do want to thank you for informing me in your letter of September 19th that you were successful in arranging to have the adjective ‘authorized’ deleted from all references to the biography of Maestro Casals. As you know, it is important that this be supported by a letter of confirmation from your publisher.” (Abe Fortas to Kirk, 21 November 1973, emphasis on original)

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200 Marta Casals to Abe Fortas, 9 August 1972. Yale University.
201 Kirk, Casals, 558.
202 Abe Fortas to Herb, 21 November 1973. Yale University. Kirk’s editor, Jennifer Josephy, re-sends the proofs of the book for a final review prior to its publication: “I am delighted to be sending you under a separate cover a set of bound galleys for H. L. Kirk’s forthcoming biography of Maestro Casals. Since I know you both have read and approved the manuscript at a much earlier date, I simply wanted to have the opportunity to see the text once again before it is a finished book.” Jennifer Josephy to Maestro and Mrs. Casals, 22 August 1973. Yale University.
Conclusion

Casals had many romantic relationships, none of them sufficiently disclosed in biographies of his life. Some of what it might have otherwise contained is explicit herein. As evidence shows Casals sought to control Susan Metcalfe (dating to their romantic affair in 1904), sought to manipulate his public image, and sought to control his biographies. Watkins tells us of the symbolic meaning of biographies to inform “[p]ower of station and culture as adjunct of ferocious talent.” Historical omissions and their cumulative bias act to elevate Casals to the status of an icon by providing a sanitized version of his life, projected on the collective imaginary by his thirty-some biographies.

Casals well understood the formidable task to securing for himself a prominent position in the saturated hall of fame of music history. Positive biographies (Pablo Casals: Cellist of

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Watkins, Gesualdo Hex, 286.
Conscience; Casals: Hispanics of Achievement; Pablo Casals: El Catalán del Segle; Pablo Casals: Cellist for the World) were good for Casals because they emphasized the right type of publicity, assisting his music enterprise in moving his recordings off the shelves and into households. Hence, Casals’ active collaboration with (and manipulation of) biographers puts to rest his claim to privacy and affirms his need to construct a transcending public image—that of an enlightened artist sitting above personal and professional judgment.

Some still cling to Casals’ effigy of altruism and moral excellence. On October 9, 2004, musicologist Jonathan Kramer and cellist Selma Gokcen performed a program in New York City entitled “Pablo Casals, Artist of Conscience: An Homage to the Great Cellist and Humanitarian.” The online essay connected therewith states:

We are undertaking this program because we believe that with the perspective gained in the thirty years since his death, Casals looms ever larger in stature. We felt a need to acknowledge the fact that one of the great iconic figures of the 20th century was an artist, was a musician, was a cellist. By telling his story again, we are calling on cellists, musicians, and artists to claim him as a kind of secular patron saint ... to serve as a model of the courage and decency with which we might infuse our own lives and careers. 204

Long-time friend, Alexander Schneider surmised his view of Pau Casals: “Those who have known him the longest agree affectionately that he is no plaster saint. He was probably born ambitious, selfish and not a little acquisitive. He has always known his own value, and like any good Catalan, still knows what is good and bad business.” 205

204 Jonathan Kramer, “Pablo Casals as Icon,” Internet Cello Society, accessed September 1, 2011, http://www.cello.org/Newsletter/Articles/casalsicon.htm. “Yet there is some embarrassment in such hagiography. There seems now to be a squeamishness and unease with the whole business of myth-making; of elevating mere mortals to the status of icon. Modern scholarship has been deft at revealing flaws, inconsistencies, and the compromises historical figures make during their sojourns as mortals. Of late, Thomas Jefferson has shared a place with William Clinton in the peccadillo gallery. A recent poem in the New Yorker magazine bemoaned the poet’s inability to read Shelley, now that she knows the details of his scandalous biography. Because great figures are flawed, like the rest of us, we have difficulty making use of them the way myths and legends were used in the past ... to represent, to embody, to personify core values. The irony is that one need not be perfectly evil to serve as the embodiment of evil ... Stalin was kind to children, Mao wrote poetry, etc. So in our collective imagination, we seem to now have far more villains than heroes, yet the need is great. Though flawed, Casals was good ENOUGH to serve as the embodiment of goodness, great ENOUGH to personify greatness. That is our claim.” (ibid.)

205 Vytas Valaitis and Theorodre Strongin. Casals.
Thanks to:

Translators: Dorotha Lichmira (UNC Greensboro Archives, French), Lise Lalonde (Smithsonian Archives, French), Lilia Carone (UNC Greensboro Archives, Italian), and Carla Peralta (Catalan). Also: Pitkin family for photo contributions.

Interviewees: Marjory Halvorson, Spokane, WA; Father Paul Vevik, Spokane Diocese, WA; Medical Historian Dr. James C. Whorton, the University of Washington; Composer David Asplin, Spokane, WA; and Susan Metcalfe Kobbé-Pitkin, Ithaca, NY.

Special thanks to historian Richard Metcalfe for detailed genealogical notes and insights into Metcalfe’s family life.
Table 2. Casals’ Relationships

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<td>Guilhermina Suggia</td>
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<td>Marta Angélica Montañez</td>
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Table 3. Metcalfe Family Tree

Francis Johnston Metcalfe
29 Jun 1850 – 07 Feb 1892

Hélène Rochat
15 Jun 1850 – 18 Aug 1932

Louis Rochat Metcalfe
17 Jan 1874 – 22 Oct 1946

Marie Florence Metcalfe
(Chansarel)
16 Sept 1875 – May 1967

Susan Scott Whitlock Metcalfe
(Casals)
16 Nov 1877 – 25 Sept 1959

Hélène Francis Metcalfe
(Kobbé)
14 May 1880 – ?
Table 4. Kobbé Family Tree

* Maria Olga Kobbé also known as “Kob” or Mox” (1871–1947): sister of Herman Kobbé.
Alberto Passigli: founder of the Società Degli Amici Della Musica (1920) “giving rise to the Fiorentina Stabile Orchestra (now the Orchestra del Maggio Musicale Fiorentino) directed by Vittorio Gui in 1928 and taking an active part in Birth of the Maggio Musicale in 1933. Many performances take place at Teatro della Pergola.” (http://www.amicimusica.fi.it/storia/). Franco Passigli: TV representative in the US for RAI Internazionale (Radio Audizione Italiane), Italian public broadcasting. Also UN aide.
Table 6. Literature and Archival Resources

**BIOGRAPHIES**

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<td>1. Pau Casals</td>
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<td>7. Pablo Casals</td>
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<td>8. Conversations with Casals</td>
<td>Jose Maria Corredor Translated by Andre Mangeot</td>
<td>E P Dutton &amp; Co.</td>
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<td>10. Pablo Casals, Peregrino en America. Tres semanas con el Maestro.</td>
<td>Jose Garcia Borras</td>
<td>Impressiones Modernas, Mexico</td>
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<td>12. The Memoirs of Pablo Casals</td>
<td>Thomas Dozier</td>
<td>Life En Español, NY</td>
<td>1959</td>
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<td>15. Pablo Casals: Cellist for Freedom</td>
<td>Aylesa Forsee</td>
<td>Thomas Crowell Co.</td>
<td>1965</td>
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<td>16. La Extraordinaria Vida de Pablo Casals</td>
<td>Joan Alavedra</td>
<td>Ayma Editora</td>
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<td>17. Pau Casals</td>
<td>Elisa Vives de Fabregas</td>
<td>Rafael Dalmau, Graficas Roman</td>
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- Fundación Luis Muñoz Marín, archives, San Juan, PR
- Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, San Juan, PR
- Museo Pablo Casals, San Juan, PR
- Puerto Rico Conservatory, PR
- “The Bohemians,” New York Musicians Club
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- The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
Chapter 2:
Will There Ever Be a Festival Casalsa

“Today a new era. Ancient flabiols resound to the strings of modern music. But time honored customs linger on…here is the famous curiao, a centuries-old country dance,” recited the narrator in a 1942 ten-minute documentary film produced by the US Department of Agriculture Extension Service.\(^{206}\) Puerto Rico, as advertised in the film, was an “outpost of American democracy,” and a place where the culture of two million peace-loving people serenely endured alongside the most ingenious instruments of American scientific and technological entrepreneurship. By contrasting ancient flabiols to the strings of modern music, the documentary constructed a set of cultural generalizations to justify American engagement in Puerto Rico, i.e., Puerto Rico, symbolized as a culture stuck in ancient times, would benefit from American assistance.

In the wake of the Spanish-American War, the Treaty of Paris (1898) ceded Puerto Rico to the United States. The years that followed saw a neo-colonialist agenda, reflecting US values along political, economic and cultural fronts.\(^{207}\) The United States sought to transform Puerto Rico through a series of development plans, periodically reformulated in response to US interests and challenges faced on the island.


\(^{\dagger}\) “Although ‘neo-colonial,’ like ‘post-colonial,’ implies a passage, it has the advantage of emphasizing a repetition with difference, a regeneration of colonialism through other means. The term ‘neo-colonialism’ usefully designates broad relations of geo-economic hegemony” (107); “‘Colonialism’ and ‘neo-colonialism’ imply both oppression and the possibility of resistance” (107). Ella Shohat, “Notes on the ‘Post-Colonial,’” *Social Text* 31/32 (1992): 99–113.

The United States found Puerto Rico overcrowded and lacking in natural resources (e.g., minerals and fuels). Early US policies focused on agricultural development—sugar cane, coffee and tobacco. Sugar production, however, tended to concentrate land (and profits) in the hands of a few, and failed to raise the general standard of living of Puerto Ricans. In view of these failings, the United States shifted its focus to industrialization. Political and economic liberalization continued, at a slow pace, until 1949 when local governance formally transitioned to Puerto Ricans under Governor Luis Muñoz Marín (1898–1980).

Muñoz maintained the industrialization policies formerly in place, although, then very accelerated and re-branded as Operation Bootstrap (a/k/a the Commonwealth Development Plan). To balance the negative effects of industrial development, Muñoz articulated an overarching mission for Puerto Rico, Operación Serenidad, in order to channel the forces of technology towards societal benefits. For Muñoz, the highest goal of Operación Serenidad was preservation of culture, producing a form of humanized capitalism. Operación Serenidad would meld Latinidad and American ingenuity under the hands of Muñoz, American lawyer Abraham Fortas (1910–82), and Catalan cellist Pau Casals (1876–1973).

Casals arrived on the island in December 1955 as an octogenarian with an established international reputation firmly rooted in the performance of European classical music and a

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209 “Between 1900 and 1910, sugar production grew 331 percent”...“While [some] Puerto Rican or resident (Spanish, French) mill owners and many colonos prospered, they nevertheless had to adapt to the growing present of U.S. corporate capital”...“By the early 1930s, almost half of Puerto Rico’s cane was ground by centrales owned by the four U.S. sugar companies: the South Porto Rico, the Central Aguirre, the Fajardo, and the United Porto Rico”...“the expansion of the sugar industry coincided with continued poverty in the fields of mills.” Also, as explained by Ayala, the complexities of colonialism has caused many scholars to dismiss US hegemony in Puerto Rico: “[D]ependent colonial bourgeoisies have existed and prospered in many places. This does not negate the existence of colonialism, nor does it dilute the phenomenon to a mere ‘space of negotiation.’” César Ayala and Rafael Bernabe, Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History Since 1898 (University of North Carolina Press, 2007), e-book.
humanitarian persona. Casals had become one of the most recorded performers of the twentieth century, his career coinciding with technological advances in the music industry. Seemingly disillusioned with many aspects of the music business, however, Casals had dedicated his musical heritage to more virtuous ends and “[b]y doing so, he demonstrated that his music was not separate from his life, that unless he worked for some goal nobler than providing entertainment he would be quickly forgotten.” In view of his efforts to construct a biographical enterprise (a legacy built on music and myth), Casals virtuous goals, however, merit some skepticism. Casals was an obstinate idealist, ready to apply his principles to a greater cause, which not coincidentally enlarged his public persona.

Invited to a special dinner at the Governor’s mansion, La Fortaleza, Casals quickly bonded with Muñoz and identified with the mission to emancipate Puerto Ricans politically, economically and culturally. Muñoz encouraged Casals to bring his Prades Festival to Puerto Rico. In 1957, Casals relocated to San Juan to marry his young bride, Marta Angélica Montañez y Martinez, and to inject his prestige into a cultural plan that would simultaneously promote the Commonwealth and himself in US mainland. Casals would make his home in Puerto Rico until his death in 1973.

Casals’ name is forever linked to Operación Serenidad as institutions responsible for its implementation fell under a corporate entity, the Festival Casals Inc., which exists to this day. The Festival Casals Inc., a strategically-engineered part of Operación Serenidad, served as a

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211 When Casals appeared on the island on 11 December 1955, a welcoming reception included a private dinner at La Fortaleza, the Governor’s mansion. Governor Muñoz and Teodoro Moscoso (head of Puerto Rico’s Economic Development Administration) encouraged Casals to bring his Prades Festival from France to Puerto Rico to boost the island’s advertisement campaign as an industrial tax-haven as well as a prime touristic spot undergoing a cultural renaissance. A. W. Maldonado, Teodoro Moscoso and Puerto Rico’s Operation Bootstrap (The University of Florida Press, 1997).
212 “When the cellist succumbed to the plea, Fortas made the legal arrangements.” Kalman, Abe Fortas: footnote, 176.
corporate umbrella for a three-pronged institutional apparatus: the annual Festival Casals, the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra (PRSO), and the Puerto Rico Conservatory (PRC). In the words of Ademar Toro, Executive Vice-President of the Festival Casals Inc., “Operación Serenidad was an attempt to give to economic efforts and political freedom objectives that can commend themselves to the spirit of man in his function as leader of, rather than servant to, economic processes.”

Although articulated in terms of a friendly alliance with local culture, the Festival Casals Inc. endorsed European classical music through a top-down approach to cultural production where Casals set the standards. This approach generated cataclysmic reactions, ultimately resulting in a boardroom coup that replaced the Festival Casals Inc.’s original directors. Below is a brief description of Puerto Rican music, the underlying premises of American neo-colonialism, foundations of Operation Bootstrap, relationships between Casals and Operación Serenidad, the administration and legacy of the Festival Casals Inc., and general conclusions. Although topics are generally presented in a chronological fashion, thematic units provide greater context.

**Brief Puerto Rican Music Background**

To set the stage for the arrival of Operación Serenidad, some background is instructive to establish a foundation as to Puerto Rican music history. Brief summaries follow to demonstrate that Puerto Rico already had long-standing musical traditions prior to Operación Serenidad.

Puerto Rican indigenous musical traditions pre-date Spanish arrival, including those of the Arawakan–affiliated Taíno population, to which African and Hispanic peoples were added. Within Puerto Rico, musicologist Malena Kuss noted that an ethnically mixed population with

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213 Statement of Ademar Toro, Executive Vice President of Festival Casals Inc. to the Ford Foundation in New York on 25 February 1966. Abe Fortas Papers.
dynamic Creole traditions found in music “a powerful emblem of self-identification and resistance, as well as a means of symbolic liberation.”

In “Nineteenth-Century Musical Life,” Donald Thompson (1928–2010)—music critic for the San Juan Star and Professor Emeritus at the University of Puerto Rico—relates a musicscape wherein “Puerto Rico found a place in the itineraries of touring opera and zarzuela companies early in the century, while receiving the visits of individual artists ranging from cellists to ventriloquists.” Puerto Rico possessed its own cathedral orchestra led by chapelmaster Felipe Gutiérrez Espinosa (1825–99), a Philharmonic Society founded in 1823 by Alejandro Tapia y Rivera (1826–82), and a fairly well-known family of classical musicians and composers, the Figueroas.

In “Breve Memória Sobre los Cantos Populares de Puerto-Rico,” Puerto Rican composer Julio Carlos Arteaga (1865–1923) spoke of the hybrid character of local art: “Although Puerto Rican music is not always completely original, it is distinguished by a species of dance music which is exclusively Puerto Rican.” To this day one of Puerto Rico’s main traditions involves the danza. Related to the Spanish contradanza, the danza enamored nineteenth-century youth, inciting social and musical debates. The danza even inspired the fashioning of the Commonwealth’s national anthem (La Borinqueña, 1952) as well as numerous other compositions. The danza became associated with political movements in Puerto Rico. As noted by Thompson “[i]t [danza] has been seen by some as the perfect musical reflection of the

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island’s planter aristocracy, but others hear in it the dissenting voice of a plebeian artisan class.”

In the southern city of Ponce, Gregorio Tavárez and Juan Morel Campos brought danza to its height of popularity through an association with a politically-independentist movement: “San Juan represented Spanish officialdom both civil and military; the city increasingly controlled an import trade which was in fact tied to the officialdom itself. Meanwhile, Ponce and Mayagüez became business centers for the agricultural exporting class of plantation owners, hacendados.” Although rural artisans popularized this urban music expression, the danza simultaneously carried the contradictory hegemonic ambitions of the hacendados. Commentator Angel Rivera observed that the danza was at the root of a new and extremely popular twentieth-century style: salsa.

Origins of American Political, Economic and Cultural Neo-Colonialism

The end of the Spanish American War (1898) led to the transfer of Puerto Rico from Spain to the United States. Believing Puerto Ricans unprepared for self-governance, the US government assumed a paternalistic and pedagogical role designed to usher Puerto Ricans into becoming a modern democratic state through the expansion of their literacy, civic engagement

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219 † Rivera, “Ponce, la danza y lo nacional: apuntes para una sociología de la música Puertoriqueña,” in Music in Puerto Rico, ed. Donald Thompson, 79.
220 “[T]he role of the United States in creating the conditions which made possible this achievement is one of which all can be justly proud. Step by step in 1900, 1917, 1941, 1946, and 1948, the United States prepared the people of Puerto Rico for self-government and then, in 1952, this was granted in the form of a Constitution written and approved by the people of Puerto Rico.” Stead, Fomento, 10.

In transitioning from agricultural to industrialization policies, select Puerto Ricans were sent to the United States for education at elite American institutions to meet the growing need for technicians and administrators of a high order.\footnote{“[T]alented young Puerto Ricans were sent north to get degrees from Penn State, M.I.T., Columbia, Harvard.” Stuart Chase, “Operation Bootstrap” in Puerto Rico. Report of Progress, an initiative of the National Planning Association (Washington, DC: Committee on National Policy, 1951), 5.} Many of these individuals would facilitate the entry of American values in Puerto Rico: political liberalism (democracy), economic liberalism (capitalism as an entree to multi-national corporations) and culture.\footnote{Among those who studied in the United States are Luis Muñoz Marin (Georgetown University) and Teodoro Moscoso (University of Michigan).}

**Political Control**

Following the Spanish-American War, Article IX of the Treaty of Paris of 1898 subjected Puerto Ricans to the plenary powers of the US Congress, which controlled the “civil rights and the political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States.”\footnote{José Garriga-Picó, “The United States and Puerto Rico Political Relations Act Background, Issues and Principles,” Aspira Issue Brief, December 1997. Accessed March 17, 2012, http://www.aspira.org/files/PR_saturn_final_acrobat.pdf.} Maintaining a strong presence, the United States followed with a string of four governors selected from its military ranks.\footnote{C.M. Nelson Miles, M.G. John Brooke, M.G. Guy Vernon Henry, M.G. George Whitefield Davis.} From 1900 until 1917 Puerto Rico was administered under the Foraker Act, which incorrectly referred to Puerto Ricans as citizens of “Porto Rico.”\footnote{Stead, Fomento, 9.} Next was the Jones Act (1917), which made the people of Puerto Rico citizens of the United States, although, with a governor appointed by the President of the United States.
In the years that followed, local conditions in Puerto Rico worsened under US leadership accompanied by greater disparity of wealth and land ownership. A Nationalist Party emerged, led by Pedro Albizu Campos (1891–1965), who represented an “emblem of separatism in the twentieth century whose life tells a story of uncompromising tenacity by the Ponce-born and highly educated illegitimate son of a black mother and white father.”

Nationalist struggles culminated with the “Ponce Massacre” (1937) and the imprisonment of Albizu Campos, making way for the Popular Democratic Party of then Senator Muñoz, yet still under US-appointed governor Rexford Guy Tugwell (1891–1979). In Puerto Rico, Tugwell, a New Deal idealist, revisited doctrines of social and economic planning. In 1946 he resigned and President Truman appointed Jesus T. Piñero as Puerto Rico’s first native governor.

Circumstances led the United States to allow a popular election in Puerto Rico, which resulted in Muñoz becoming the first elected governor in 1948, taking office on January 2, 1949.

Muñoz started as an independist but succumbed to American influence positing social reforms and industrialization. Earlier in his political career Muñoz spoke on the Puerto Rican condition of political and economic servitude:

The Gods have made Puerto Rico the first colonial experiment of the United States. The Americans came in the name of liberty and democracy and destroyed the liberal parliamentary Government wrested from Spain by Luis Muñoz Rivera two months before the outbreak of the war. They also brought the tariff on sugar, which attracted outside and local capital to the cane fields of the coast. Twenty-three years ago there were scattered over the island several hundred primitive sugar mills which turned out around 69,000 tons annually. In 1920 there were seventy-five modern factories, belonging for the most part to absentee corporations, turning out six times that number of tons. That is the open glory of the colonialists. Profit has been known to surpass 100 per cent per annum, and a very large share of it leaves the island never to return. That is the secret glory of the

227 Kuss states that “[t]hese factors and the effects of the Depression fueled new efforts at independence by the Nationalist Party (founded in 1922) and its then leader Pedro Albizu Campos (1891–1965), the emblem of separatism in the twentieth century whose life tells a story of uncompromising tenacity by the Ponce-born and highly educated illegitimate son of a black mother and white father.” Kuss, Music in Latin America and the Caribbean, 182.
228 Ibid., 183.
colonialists. And even this ghastly spectacle of wealth drained from the starving population into the richest country on earth is sanctimoniously set down in the official reports as favorable trade balance. (Luis Muñoz Marín, “Puerto Rico: The American Colony,” ed. Ernest Gruening, in These United States, 1924.)

By 1940 Muñoz’s transformation was profound. Labeled a financially irresponsible political opportunist, a person with no moral character, and a radical communist by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Muñoz eventually became the cornerstone for implementing US neo-colonialist policies in Puerto Rico.

The year after Muñoz’s election, US Public Law 600 established Puerto Rico as a compact of the United States without providing for self-governance in all matters. Indeed, as noted by José Garriga-Picó “[s]ince the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1899 [sic], all laws providing for civil government for Puerto Rico—such as the Foraker Act of 1900, the Jones Act of 1917, and Law 600 in 1950—were approved without formal consultation of natives of Puerto Rico by Congress about their preferences among the constitutionally possible—and politically viable—status options.”

Examining ways to create wealth in Puerto Rico, Governor Muñoz was persuaded by a report of economist Ben Dorfman, which spelled out dire consequences if Puerto Rico separated from the United States. Specifically, there was a great probability that the United States would both diminish trade and request large reparations. Convinced that Puerto Rico would be worse off independent, Muñoz drew closer his alliance with the United States.

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230 Picó, “The United States and Puerto Rico Political Relations Act.” The Public Law 600 was signed December 1898, coming into effect 1899.
231 *“Although [Dorfman’s] report was to analyze the effects of independence, statehood, and ‘dominion’ status on Puerto Rico’s trade with the United States, the report tackled the totality of the island’s economic situation.”’ Maldonado, Teodoro Moscoso, 51.
† “The Philippines hearings, [Muñoz] wrote years later, ‘convinced me that Puerto Rico would never obtain the right to choose separate independence in a plebiscite except under economic conditions which would be disastrous to the welfare of the people of Puerto Rico and which would destroy any hope of continuing to improve the standard of living. The most important factor that led to this conviction was the most-favored nation clause in trade treaties between the United States and many other countries.’” (Ibid., 55).
As governor, Muñoz cooperated with US leaders in the drafting of a new constitution that became known as the Commonwealth Constitution (1952). This document gave Puerto Rico a greater measure of local autonomy, yet without representation in US Congress or voting rights for US President or Vice-President. Muñoz would declare: “Since July 25, 1952, Puerto Rico is a self-governing Commonwealth, associated with the American Union through a voluntary compact. It represents a novel, flexible, imaginative relationship within the American constitutional tradition.”232 Muñoz recognized, however, that this new form of state had no precedents either in colonial or post-colonial legal literature: “Puerto Rico, we know, is not a Republic. Neither is it, under its new status, a U.S. possession or territory, nor is it in any way a colony”...“It is a new kind of state, both in the sense of the U.S. Federal System and in the general sense of the people organized to govern themselves.”233

To this day the United States retains the authority to govern Puerto Rico in all international and most domestic affairs through the Federal Relations Act, a point of tension in Puerto Rican politics. The political freedom gained by the Puerto Ricans—being allowed to elect their own governor—was an attempt at pacification of separatists while still maintaining American political control over Puerto Ricans.234

**Economic Control**

Americans also sought to express their socio-economic vision in terms of trade and industrial policies for the improvement of Puerto Rico. The paradigm advocated in the United

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233 Ibid.
234 “Muñoz Marín is responsible for the absence of the independence issue [from the 1940 political campaign] in that he was far sighted enough to see that the independence issue would not be popular at this time because of the [US] national defense program. Because of the national defense Puerto Rico is being converted into the Gibraltar of the Caribbean to protect the Panama Canal. Millions of United States dollars are being spent in Puerto Rico.” FBI, *Report on Luis Muñoz Marín*. 

States is known as economic liberalism: capitalism as mediated by multi-national corporations, free-trade and US currency.

Following the death of President Roosevelt (1882–1945), Harry Truman took the office, which he held until 1953. In 1949 Truman articulated a four-point strategy as a basis for American interventionism: “We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.” Truman’s discourse put forth a capitalism of solidarity. He declared in his inauguration of January 1949: “The old imperialism-exploitation for foreign profit has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair-dealing.”

Historian Carlos Fico recalls that US administrators viewed Third World pauperism as the root cause of violent revolutions. Hence, World War II reminiscence, anxiety about the possibility of nuclear war, and the communist threat stimulated the formulation of Puerto Rico’s Operation Bootstrap (inaugurated by Truman in 1947). Subsequently repackaged under President Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress (Alianza para el Progreso, 13 March 1961), Operation Bootstrap continued through the US Agency for International Development. USAID

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235 “More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people. The United States is pre-eminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to use for assistance of other peoples are limited. But our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing and are inexhaustible. I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life.” “Truman’s Inaugural Address. January 20, 1949” Harry S. Truman Library & Museum, accessed March 6, 2012, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/50yr_archive/inaugural20jan1949.htm.


aimed to replicate the Puerto Rican experiment in Latin American and Caribbean nations by advocating a new industrial social order. Gradually, even the form of political regime (e.g., dictatorial or democratic) became secondary to the use of American technological and economic devices delivered through institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.\footnote{For example: The United States had supported General Franco’s regime in Spain since 1939. Also, in March 1964 the United States backed the military coup in Brazil—similarly to what it did in many other Latin American nations—even making a naval force available to the belligerents (Operation Brother Sam).}

The legacy of developmentalist theorizing delivered through IMF/WB loan programs is controversial, with many critics, such as Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, characterizing it as neo-colonialism. Kaunda recognized that post-World War II financial institutions represented a continuance of colonial policies of geo-economic control by developed countries over developing ones. The implementation of such policies furthered social and economic inequalities, while often disrupting local state-making.

Ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino’s 2003 article “Are We Global Yet? Globalist Discourses, Cultural Formations and the Study of Zimbabwean Popular Music,” asserts that the impositions posed by American Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAPs) “[r]equired post-colonial states to reduce government spending on health, education, social programmes and development projects (which would make them more independent) and halt economic protectionism; IMF/WB loans were contingent on governments falling in line. State and business leaders in many places benefitted from the influx of foreign aid and loans and so took the bait.”\footnote{Thomas Turino, “Are We Global Yet? Globalist Discourses, Cultural Formations and the Study of Zimbabwean Popular Music,” Journal of Ethnomusicology, 12: 2 (2003): 51–79.} The requirements of developmentalist loans ultimately sabotaged the very outcomes to which they aspired, leaving many developing nations deeply in debt.
Evidence demonstrates that liberal economic theories delivered less-than-ideal results. Recurrent financial crises confirm the tensions between contradictory political and economic demands inherent in capitalism (e.g., 1890s Depression; Stock Market Crash of 1929; 1973 Recession; the Great Recession of 2008, etc.), wherein global elites, often with tenuous national identities to their states of origin, exert strong influence on contemporary states to maximize the profits of predatory capitalism. Anthropologist Terence Turner added that global elites “have little need for nationalist ideology, to throw a veil of imaginary community, political equality and collective solidarity over the stark social inequalities being exacerbated by the global processes they serve.” The avaricious nature of capitalism has consistently failed to balance corporate profits and social responsibility. Under an excessive reliance in capitalism’s capacity to combat poverty, policy-makers frequently underestimate other important factors such as the social dynamics driving this type of economic system, the complexities of which require bureaucratic oversight, regulations, re-distribution of wealth, and even generational and cultural negotiations.

Abraham Fortas’ Legal Implementation of US Policy

Perhaps no US administrator left a greater mark on Puerto Rico than former New Deal legal architect Abraham Fortas. In 1942 Fortas was appointed Under Secretary for the US Department of Interior. In that position Fortas headed the US Division of Territories, which included Puerto Rico.241

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241 With respect to the capitalist system, “[F]ortas [too] acknowledged New Deal liberalism was conservative, as it sought to avoid the revolution the Depression era might have occasioned by introducing reforms that would make capitalism more efficient.” Kalman, Fortas, 28.
Fortas believed in social reforms, in a planned society expressed as a controlled democracy, and in internationalism (in contrast to isolationism) in the form of American technical and economic aide as a means to prevent future wars. Fortas’ benevolent management of Puerto Rico exemplified a progressive agenda for its time. However, it was an agenda that still subordinated “Third World nationalism and indigenous culture to American security.” Fortas chaired the committee charged with developing a congressional bill for Puerto Rico’s elective governorship. Fortas frequently overrode Muñoz’s discussions on Puerto Rico’s ultimate status because of Fortas’ underlying belief that such an independist agenda would exceed US Congress’ high-mindedness and thus fail to pass. Additionally, the subsequent sovereignty of another US protectorate, the Philippines in 1946, had shown Fortas that once independence had been achieved, the United States would extend little economic help.

Opinions differ in their characterization of Fortas’ involvement in Puerto Rico; some describe Fortas’ over-zealousness as an attempt to govern the island(s) in absentia. Fortas displayed a mystifying attachment to the island: “Puerto Rico engaged Fortas. It became the one cause to which he was unconditionally committed. Indeed his attitude toward the island provided some clues as to the kind of father he might have been. It was proprietary, protective, and loving.” Others claim that Fortas enjoyed the power of formulating policies for Puerto Rico and “the relative speed with which it would be implemented as compared to Washington.”

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242 Kalman, *Abe Fortas*, 83.
243 Ibid., 90.
244 Ibid., 86.
245 Ibid., 100.
246 Ibid., 167.
247 Ibid.
To Fortas, Puerto Rico appeared to be a grand project for social engineering, not to mention a profitable client for his law firm, Arnold & Fortas.\footnote{[W]hen he engaged in the private practice of law, his view changed drastically. He lost no time in making a remunerative contract for his firm to attend to the legal affairs of Puerto Rico although, only a short time previously he had insisted that it would be ‘unsound and unwise’ to entrust public business to a private practitioner,” The US Federal Bureau of Investigation, Abe Fortas, Part 01 of 03, accessed November 22, 2012, http://vault.fbi.gov/abe-fortas.}

**Operation Bootstrap (Commonwealth Development Plan)**

Muñoz’s government eventually fell in line with Fortas’ administrative philosophies. Indeed, in a 1956 speech Muñoz reveals the extent to which Puerto Rico’s political and economic systems internalized US values, laying down an imaginative plan to harmonize an American industrial social order with the “best” Puerto Rican values. Muñoz supposed he could merge the best of both worlds, melding of *Latinidad* to American ingenuity to induce a peaceful (fomentarian) revolution—humanized capitalism: “It is in this connection that the Puerto Rican experience can be clarifying. For it demonstrates a joint political creativeness of the U.S. and a people of Latin-American origin. In the economic, social and cultural field, it reveals the U.S. at its undogmatic best: the helping hand guided by the undoctrinaire spirit, so forgetful of its bigness that it fully reveals its greatness.”\footnote{“For if the Commonwealth idea is a tangible proof of the possibility of original political thinking in the Americas, a dramatic refutation of the communist claim that the United States position is narrow, colonialist and reactionary, the social and economic surge in Puerto Rico clearly demonstrates that a people of different historical background can find a way out of their former anguish and despair, in close association with the United States” Muñoz Marín, Speech 7 April 1956.}

As governor Muñoz set out to reorganize Puerto Rican public agencies, founding the Economic Development Administration (EDA) in 1950, which encouraged industrialization (through the influx of US manufacturing capital) via insular tax exemption for a period of ten years, improvements on infra-structure and governmental fomentation of essential industries
subsequently privatized. The EDA—headed by Catalan-born Teodoro Moscoso—encapsulated the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company (PRIDCO or Compañía de Fomento Industrial), formerly in charge of industrialization plans: “Let us encourage government and private initiative to share in a good partnership with a view to better distributive justice for all; and let’s not be doctrinaire about it. Let us not be doctrinaire either about socialism or capitalism, but only as to freedom and human dignity.” This collaboration between public and private sectors was described by some enthusiasts as demonstrating that Puerto Ricans were ideologically immune, committed only to the well-being of the island, able to easily navigate between capitalist and socialist measures as needed.

From the perspective of American international policy, Operation Bootstrap was viewed by many as a model for the global implementation of President Truman’s policies. In particular, Puerto Rico was considered a fitting intermediary between US interests and other nations of Latin America and the Caribbean: “It is not only that the citizenship is U.S. period, and the culture Latin American period. It is more than just the addition of those two concepts. It

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250 * The Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company (PRIDCO) was founded in 1942. By February 1950 “[t]he newly organized EDA incorporated PRIDCO, the Transportation Authority, and the Industrial Promotion, Rum Promotion, and Tourism programs.” Stead, *Fomento*, 14, 17.

Teodoro Moscoso acted as President/GM for PRIDCO from 1942–50, becoming EDA’s administrator in 1950. Carlos Passalacqua acted as VP for PRIDCO in 1952–53, being promoted to PRIDCO’s presidency in 1953.

† “A new agency, the Economic Development Administration, was created [1949]. Moscoso was given authority not only over industrialization but also over the overall economic development of the island. The original Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company was retained as a public corporation to act mostly as the EDA’s real estate arm. Its board was eliminated and its functions absorbed by Moscoso, as EDA administrator. Placed under his jurisdiction were Puerto Rico’s air and sea transportation facilities, including, against his will, San Juan’s bus system. He also was given the responsibility for tourism development, and several offices dealing with economic statistics were consolidated under his command.” Maldonado, *Teodoro Moscoso*, 72.

251 Muñoz Marín, Speech 7 April 1956.

252 “[Puerto Ricans] are not tied up in either Marxian or free-enterprise strait jackets. They can think without looking up in the book; they are flexible and mentally free to think out what needs to be done. If business can meet a need, fine. But if business cannot, then let the government do it, or a cooperative or a non-profit association. The main thing is to get it done.” Chase, *Operation Bootstrap*, 41.

253 “Observe, too, how closely the recent history of Puerto Rico follows President Truman’s proposal. ‘Free people’ are using ‘scientific advances and industrial progress’ to produce ‘more food, more clothing, more materials for housing’—such as cement, ‘more mechanical power’—such as the new plant, to ‘lighten their burdens’—and increase their living standards. Above all, they are doing it largely ‘through their own efforts,’ raising themselves, in the graphic phrase, by their own bootstraps.” Chase, *Operation Bootstrap*, 52.
is an emerging new manner in the Americas, an example, perhaps a still dimly realized preview, of what a grand hemispheric union might look like to our children. “

Figure 9. EDA Organizational Chart

Operation Bootstrap was a program to disarm communist/fascist propaganda in impoverished, undeveloped, and thus vulnerable, Latin American and Caribbean nations in two main aspects: (i) through the elevation of Puerto Rico to the status of a compact, the United States maneuvered its own image challenges (producing discourses on the “liquidation of ‘classic’ colonialism”) by arguing that Puerto Rico “was no longer a [US] colony, since the

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254 Muñoz Marín, Speech 7 April 1956.
colonial population had entered into a ‘pact’ [1952 Constitution] with the dominant power;\textsuperscript{255} and (ii) through the simultaneous development of an industrial plan and a cultural plan, a Puerto Rican-US leadership aimed at constructing an exemplary civilization propagandized as placing technology at the service of the people instead of the other way around.

Through Operation Bootstrap, Muñoz assented to American pressures and helped to consolidate American interests in Puerto Rico.\textsuperscript{256} In the realm of political and economic control two pillars were set, that of Fortas and Muñoz. The third pillar, cultural control, was to be consolidated upon Casals’ arrival.

**Cultural Control**

Operation Bootstrap intended to lift Puerto Rican peasants (*Jibaros*) from their undeveloped state (i.e., picking themselves up by their own bootstraps), yet paradoxically through American political, economic and cultural intervention. One of its programs, the Division of Community Education (DIVEDCO), provided literacy campaigns intended to promote political participation and civic consciousness. DIVEDCO attempted to shape “reproduction, eating habits, working routines, consumption patterns, and even human interaction by introducing modern concepts of hygiene, productivity, and well-being.”\textsuperscript{257}

While some shaping was supposed beneficial, Muñoz believed it should not come at the expense of *Jibaro* values—“the essential decency, tolerance, and generosity that had made life bearable for centuries.”\textsuperscript{258} Muñoz feared the creation of a *Brave New World* (Aldous Huxley,

\textsuperscript{256} “Muñoz understood and accepted that in order to carry out a peaceful revolution he needed [Rexford] Tugwell’s administrative talent and creativity. He was intrigued by Tugwell’s ideas and theories on social and economic planning as tools to humanize capitalist development.” Maldonado, *Teodoro Moscoso*, 20.
\textsuperscript{257} Pizarro, “Poetic Pragmatism,” 16.
\textsuperscript{258} Maldonado, *Teodoro Moscoso*, 76.
1931) where modern industries would be a dehumanizing force. Efrén Ramírez explained the rationale of cultural development to balance heavy industrialization as follows: “By means of serenity, the people of Puerto Rico anticipate, in hopefulness, to remain gentle and tranquil in their understanding, in their attitudes, while utilizing fully and vigorously all the complex resources of modern civilization. They do not wish that the complexity of these instruments work themselves out of proportion.”

Stemming from Muñoz’s nativism, an unspoiled Jíbaro imbued with serenity of spirit represented an agent of “sensible human relations.” Hence, Operation Serenity (Operación Serenidad) had to be vigorously pursued in order to “conserve and develop the island’s own cultural identity, as a counter-measure to the materialistic side-effects of Operation Bootstrap.”

The multiplicity of cultural entities (DIVEDCO, Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, etc.) reiterate Muñoz’s ambivalent view of industrial modernity, favoring an agenda of local, rural, and popular culture on Puerto Rican terms. DIVEDCO initiated a collaboration with the newly formed Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (ICP, 1955) led by Ricardo Alegria, dedicated to the “study, conservation, divulgence and enrichment of the national culture.” These organizations enacted campaigns through radio shows and short documentaries encouraging the involvement of local artists to add a native music component to the cause of community

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formation and progress. Many DIVEDCO films utilized music created and performed by local ensembles.²⁶³

**Pau Casals and Operación Serenidad**

Although the stage appeared to be set for preservation and promotion of Puerto Rican music, Casals’ arrival undermined these efforts—he favored what he knew best, European art music. As such, Casals injected his aesthetic values on local culture and became an agent of US development policies in Puerto Rico.

The Festival Casals Inc. was founded in 1956 as a subsidiary of the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company (PRIDCO), whose New York office promoted the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico among American tourists and industrialists.²⁶⁴ The Festival Casals Inc. aggregated a three-pronged institutional apparatus: the annual Festival Casals (1957), the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra (PRSO, 1957), and the Puerto Rico Conservatory (PRC, 1959).²⁶⁵

The Festival Casals Inc. was strategically constructed to fill a role as a culture-based industry within Puerto Rico. Its Executive Vice-President (Ademar Toro) articulated the artistic benefits of (classical) music as an anti-toxin to accelerated industrial progress: “We believe that musical development for our people cannot wait. There is a definite danger that unless material growth and activity is balanced by corresponding expansion of artistic expression, our people—or any people, for that matter—will be deprived of the equilibrium of spiritual and material things which is essential to a happy society.” (1966 grant application to the Ford Foundation)²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ “We finance our activities with annual appropriation from the Commonwealth government and income from admission charges, sales of advertisement and public donations.” Ademar Toro to Clarence Faust, 11 November 1965. Abe Fortas Papers.
²⁶⁵ Memorandum from Carlos Passalacqua to Rafael Durant, 31 May 1966. Abe Fortas Papers.
Abroad, the Festival Casals Inc. served to boost the image of Puerto Rico as a place undergoing a cultural renaissance, alluring American tourism and industrial investment. Traditionally, Americans viewed Puerto Ricans negatively. Writing a 1951 report for the National Planning Association, Stuart Chase tells that a “visitor from the mainland is usually prepared by rumors he has heard and accounts he has read, for a pretty grim picture of poverty, misery, and despair in Puerto Rico.”

Teodoro Moscoso, head of Puerto Rico’s Economic Development Administration (EDA), faced the challenge of conquering such misapprehensions. To that end, Moscoso promoted several measures such as the implementation of cultural programs (including the Festival Casals), recreational activities (deep-sea fishing, tennis tournaments, etc.), transportation enhancements, and the building of commercial and tourist complex (hotels, restaurants, shopping centers). Moscoso’s clever strategies included the launching of a Rum Promotional Program and ad campaigns by one of the top public relations firms of the mainland, Ogilvy & Mather.

David Ogilvy took pride in having Moscoso as a client, agreeing: “We must submit a lovely image of Puerto Rico for the squalid image which now exists in the minds of most mainlanders. This is of cardinal importance to your industrial development, your rum industry, your tourism and your political evolution” (italics added). Hence, Casals and his two-week European-modeled music festival were a means to an end, a way to “persuade American public

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268 Stead, *Fomento*, 34, 80.
269 “The Tourism Department in the New York Office is becoming a more important part of Continental Operations. With the advertising agency, the public relations counsel, and the Office of Information in New York, it develops generalized advertising and publicity campaigns, designed to attract tourists and other visitors. In this connection, it is interesting that the series of color advertisements appearing in the U.S. magazines in 1955–57 won the *Saturday Review* award for best public relations campaign in America.” Stead, *Fomento*, 36.
opinion that ‘Puerto Rico has history, dignity and tradition.’ Pablo Casals was the embodiment of all three.”

From an American perspective, Casals’ Hispanic heritage was engaging yet esteemed with European erudition (cultural capital: prestige and sophistication) making him not only a convenient but comfortable enough attraction to bridge cultural divides—thence an appealing ad feature (e.g., front cover and full-page ads at US magazines like Saturday Review). Unequivocally, the Festival Casals catered to the finer (“more developed”) musical taste of US mainlanders whose adverse view of Puerto Ricans had to be maneuvered through musical-marketeering. By stamping Casals’ photos in high-profile ads, Casals became, by association, the official iconic representation of Puerto Rico.

Albeit undermining intercultural understanding and catering to American upper-class tourist-investors, the publicity bait worked, at least temporarily (until the next economic adversity, 1966 credit crunch). By 1959 the EDA had broken through the 100 newly-created industrial plants in a year barrier. Some Americans also interpreted this as cultural transformation, stating that Puerto Rico “[was] not only in an industrial boom; she [was] half in

271 “In April 1956, [David] Ogilvy had written Moscoso that the ‘Commonwealth image campaign’ had to persuade American public opinion that ‘Puerto Rico has history, dignity and tradition.’ Pablo Casals was the embodiment of all three.” Maldonado, Teodoro Moscoso, 113.

272 Intermittent protests against US rule in Puerto Rico included the Ponce Massacre (1937) and the 1954 shooting incident at US Capitol. And, as told by Maldonado, “the abysmal image of Puerto Rico in [Bernstein’s] West Side Story highlighted another major obstacle” to industrial investment in the island. Ibid., 104.

273 Indeed, Ogilvy went as far as writing an ad piece entitled “Casals is coming home to Puerto Rico” alluding to Casals’ mother who had been born in Puerto Rico in 1853. Pilar had been an expatriate in Catalonia since 1870. Kirk, Casals, 20.

274 “In 1959, Fomento had broken through the ‘100 hundred plants in a year barrier;’ 111 new factories had began operations. The total was now 631 industries in operation or being established.” Maldonado, Teodoro Moscoso, 156.
and half out of the *mañana* tradition of Latin America.”

Puerto Rico had finally “caught up the Yankee get up and go.”

**The Adoption of European Music in Puerto Rico**

Although fledgling classical music groups existed in Puerto Rico from time to time, classical music had never grown into a large-scale enterprise. There were few indications that such an industry could thrive, and no indication that it was culturally attractive to the majority of the population in the past centuries. In surveying the island’s musicscape, Casals found scant evidence of its appeal. Legislation had been proposed to establish a Conservatory of Music as early as 1915 and a 1936 essay by Aristides Chavier, “A Plea for Music in the Schools,” advocated for the establishment of musical education in schools as “absolutely indispensable for a community’s moral progress.” Yet, neither of these efforts resulted. Casals’ organizations came with greater force and materialized for Puerto Rican elite the dream of permanent haute cultural institutions, before then confined to the homes of a few celebrity San Juan families. Casals’ organizations rode on the back of Puerto Rico’s industrial development and were themselves an emerging culture industry.

For its educational mission, the Festival Casals Inc. leveraged a small group of local classical musicians. Some Puerto Rican composers, however, sought in these developments an opportunity to assemble their own national identity upon the same principles as that of European music, hoping to place themselves on par with the “great musical tradition,” giving force to

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276 “One hypothesis is the energy infiltrated from the mainland, as Puerto Rico was gradually made an integral part of the United States, with its people U.S. citizens. They caught up the Yankee get up and go.” Chase, *Operation Bootstrap*, 36.
279 Kirk, *Casals*, 488.
compositional nationalism. This reasoning was articulated by violinist Rafael Montañez (uncle to Casals’ wife, Marta): “Seriously being debated at present is the need of establishing centers for basic and higher studies to guide the exceptional musical potential of our people. The imperative urgency of planning the creation of symphony orchestras and choral ensembles has been pointed out. Also pointed out has been the need to deeply explore our folklore in order to create music which will securely define the profile of our personality.”

Yet, Casals’ artistic premises promoted European classical music above other musics, indeed stigmatizing them. Casals who earlier shared with Muñoz the view that Puerto Rico had been exploited by the United States, became a tool for American neo-colonialism. Indeed, Puerto Rican composer Rafael Aponte-Ledeé suggested this nefarious rationale for the genesis of the Festival Casals Inc.: “In 1956, by decree of the transitory governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, legislation created a monopolistic agency which would become still another point of foreign cultural penetration within Puerto Rico’s artistic world: the Casals Festival Corporation.”

Aponte-Ledeé referred to Casals’ dictatorial attitude and Eurocentric conceptions of music grounded in the orthodoxies surrounding the German Enlightenment (1770s–1850s) and German Modernism (ca. 1848–1920s). Its evolving discourses advocated “music development” for the construction of a “noble society” based on classical music aesthetics stemming from the

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281 Pedro Reina Pérez, in *El Arco Prodigioso: Perspectivas de Pablo Casals y su legado en Puerto Rico*, ed. Pedro Reina (Puerto Rico: EMS Editores, 2009), e-book, trans. Silvia Lazo. “Although the Institute of Culture concentrated in popular culture, Fomento would focus on ‘erudite’ expressions such as classical music. Behind the appearances, there existed a marked ideological difference among these two projects.”
Austro-German tradition (emphasizing harmonic complexity, elaborate arrangements, internal logic, and intimate poetry).\textsuperscript{283}

Proponents of European classical music claimed that it served a neohumanistic pedagogical role that in combination with utilitarianism provided the (right) moral core to shape “the men who became ‘the chief creators and consumers of a new, national culture.’”\textsuperscript{284} Casals, one of the foremost interpreters of Western concert music of the nineteenth-century, believed in this ideological program:

I consider myself a priest, spreading throughout the world the beautiful religion of music, as I also spread some ideas in this regard….my religion seeks to promote music to the great masses of people. Music is an invaluable factor in the aesthetic culture of the human being: it encourages good feelings, softens the heart, makes men less evil; it enhances the sensing of beauty. And because it exerts such influences it is collectively beneficial and intensely necessary to all sectors of society. An issue of such importance undoubtedly constitutes a political concern, which governments should consider and resolve in accordance with their possibilities.\textsuperscript{285}

A point common among Fortas, Muñoz and Casals was a sense of wellness that “good music” could deliver. Through Muñoz as Governor of Puerto Rico it was a \textit{fait accompli} that legislative handiwork overseen by Fortas would install the name of Casals into a corporate apparatus, based in the United States yet having effect in Puerto Rico. Aponte-Ledeé was one of many voices that would express disapproval of political projects that subordinated Puerto Rican cultural components to state-run mechanisms.

\textsuperscript{283} These characteristics of Western classical music were outlined by Jeff Packman. “Musicians’ Performances and Performances of ‘Musicians’ in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil,” \textit{Ethnomusicology} 55:3 (Fall 2011): 414–444, 428.
Festival Casals Inc.’s Administration

Carlos Passalacqua presided over the board of the Festival Casals Inc. with Ademar Toro as Executive Vice-President. Members of the board included Musical Secretary Dinorah Press, Manuel Rivera (PRIDCO’s President), and Ricardo Alegria (ICP’s Executive Director). Fortas acted as Associated Counsel.  

Casals acted as Musical Director with his long-time friend and conductor, Alexander Schneider (1908–93, also known as Sasha), as Auxiliary Musical Director. Schneider described the annual Festival Casals as “an international music festival utilizing the world’s greatest performers and featuring the finest musical works man has created” symbolizing Puerto Rico’s devotion to the “supreme cultural achievements of mankind.” Moscoso would recognize Schneider’s and Casals’ contributions in so shaping the values of Festival Casals Inc.  

Casals’ European values thus circumscribed repertoire and interpretation of the works representing his musical institutions: “All matters of artistic nature are under the jurisdiction of Pablo Casals, whose stature as a master musician permits no compromise with quality, and assurs us of an orchestral direction of the highest artistic integrity.” Casals’ control extended to the type of training and pedigree of the musicians who would participate in the formative activities. His directives created disagreements with local classical musicians, even those with whom he had developed “cordial friendships of mutual regard.”  

Casals followed a well-honed ideological groove in Western music history whose Eurocentric valuation provided a narrow “ideal model,” purportedly representing the highest
global achievement in music, art and culture—hence the imposition of a cultural hierarchy. To build a musical institution of the first order, Casals demanded the “greatest works ever composed by the towering composers of the past, universally recognized and accepted as consecrated masters of their period.” Casals so crafted his Puerto Rican venture into one that could deliver on his noble causes and principles, and indeed, believed that he was contributing to the worldwide prestige of Puerto Rico, as well as to the quality of life on the island.

Situated in New York, Schneider selected the musicians who would travel to Puerto Rico for the two-week annual Festival Casals. To circumvent potential anti-American sentiments among Puerto Rican audiences, Schneider delegated Puerto Rican entities—Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra (PRSO) and Puerto Rico Conservatory (PRC)—to Latin American conductors, including Argentine Juan José Castro from 1960–64, and Chilean Victor Tevah from 1965–70. These assignments evidence some awareness that too much foreign leadership could prove controversial. As an example, Ana Tevah stated that her father sought to hire music professors for the PRC fluent in Spanish with a Hispanic background, sometimes “people from Los Angeles.”

Writing for the International Conference of Symphony and Opera Musicians in 1974, Donald Thompson noted that Casals’ advanced age caused the actual day-to-day management of the organizations to fall into the hands of artistic allies: “Casals’ own function gradually became one of inspiration, not administration. This was only fitting; the great cellist was fast approaching his 90s, and could hardly be expected to spend his day at the office churning out memos and

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directives.” Pedro Reina noted that local administrative functions increasingly fell into the hands of Casals’ Puerto Rican wife, Marta Montañez Martínez Casals (1936– ). Although Thompson portrays Casals as ending his involvement, in fact Casals was shifting his attention to a global peace mission (see Chapter 3).

Puerto Rico was quite vulnerable to global economic forces and to mitigate their impact, the PRSO sought funding through the Ford Foundation to cover mounting debt, as governmental subsidies were diverted to address more pressing needs: “The orchestra can hardly expect more financial support from the Commonwealth government, which is presently faced with the more urgent problems of monumental shortages of housing, health facilities, schools, teachers, and transportation facilities.”

The 1966 grant application provides a brief yet enlightening assessment of the organizational challenges at that point in time, including declining wages (from $148/week in 1960, to $141 in 1961 and $100 in 1963). Thompson proposed a correlation between low local wages and foreign musical dependency, calling contractual conditions medieval because benefits such as “tenure, retirement, health insurance, and other benefits” were absent, and contracts were limited to a single season. Corporate decisions resulted in an orchestra that did not “sound as good as the management, avid record-collectors all, thinks it should” and consequently, “the Corporation feels fully justified in devoting most of its attention to an especially contracted festival orchestra—under its sponsorship—which does sound good, and which possesses the even greater virtue of conveniently disappearing after its annual two- or three-week appearance

293 Pérez, “El arco prodigioso: Pablo Casals y el desarrollo de la música en Puerto Rico,” in El Arco Prodigioso: Perspectivas de Pablo Casals y su legado en Puerto Rico, ed. Pedro Reina, trans. Silvia Lazo. “…despite the open-door policy of the Casals Montañez residency, don Pablo was little implicated in the administrative functions, falling with greater frequency on his wife, who slowly acquired greater prominence in the management of the projects.”
295 Ibid.
on the local scene.” In disregard for the sentiments of Puerto Ricans, the corporation furthered its reliance on outsiders to meet the standards set by Casals.

Long-term dependency on foreign (e.g., New York-based) players placed hefty transport expenses on the already tight budget. The board of directors, however, remained optimistic that they would not only build a primarily resident orchestra but would improve the quality of musicianship through advanced training at the conservatory: “In its first season the orchestra had 45 members, of whom 33 or 75 percent were brought from the United States for a 2-week, 7-concert season” versus “1965–66 [when] there were only 24 or 33% of 72 members who were brought from the United States.” Also clearly noted is that the long-term goal was “to have about 90% of the orchestra personnel residing in Puerto Rico.”

In the 1966 grant application, Passalacqua reported a precipitous decline in PRSO ticket sales ($92,634 in 1956 to $39,345 in 1964), explained as a result of the “reduction in the number of concerts as a measure of cost containment.” The reported deficiency between expenditures over receipts averaged $97,227 a year. An alternative explanation is that European classical music did not enjoy a prominent place in Puerto Rican cultural life. According to Passalacqua “[i]n following years [third and beyond] we noticed a relative dropping in enthusiasm, both on the part of the North-American public as well as Puerto Ricans, indicating initially that there had

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296 Donald Thompson, “The Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra.”
297 “The creation of the Music Conservatory of Puerto Rico in 1958, under the auspices of the Compañía de Fomento Industrial, in a certain measure caused to gravitate to this center part of the activity being developed at the University of Puerto Rico. Oriented towards the formation of instrumentalists for the Symphony Orchestra, the Conservatory converted itself into the principal pedagogical center geared towards the cultivation of ‘classical’ music. On the other hand, formally instituted in 1968, the Music Department of the university attracted academics inclined to composition, musicological investigation or musical education.” Mareia Quintero Rivera, “La Universidad y la vida musical: una mirada a medio siglo de políticas Culturales,” in El Arco Prodigioso: Perspectivas de Pablo Casals y su legado en Puerto Rico, ed. Pedro Reina, trans. Silvia Lazo.
299 Ibid.
been a great dose of newness in the early motivations for concert assistance.”

Had management decisions to place artistic control in the hands of Casals (and Schneider) impaired the orchestra’s sustainability?

The Festival Casals Inc. aspired to long-term self-sustenance after an initial period of investment. The return on investment was ultimately envisioned to deliver, for Puerto Ricans, both economic and cultural enrichment. As stated by Ademar Toro, results could not be quickly demonstrated through economic data: “I believe that despite the high degree of success we have met in our efforts toward economic development in Puerto Rico, our income per capita remains lower than of the poorest state of the Union. Thus it would seem that some years must pass before our people are in a position to assume full responsibility for financing the orchestra.”

Members of the board blamed negative trends on a lack of music erudition whose antidote, they decided, would be a widespread taste-making pedagogical campaign: “The first step in this process of musical development [bring Puerto Rico up into the twentieth-century in the arts], we feel is to educate as many of our people as possible to appreciate the world’s greatest music. We have been engaged in this work for some years now, and there are the beginnings of an enthusiastic and discriminating musical public in the Commonwealth.” Toro added: “One of our most earnest desires is to extend our activities to the other communities of the Caribbean, serving in this way the best interests of the United States” (italics added).

The Ford Foundation found the cultural arguments persuasive and awarded the PRSO $375,000, which allowed the orchestra to extend performances to nearby nations despite local

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302 Ibid.
303 Ibid.
304 Ibid.
disapproval.\textsuperscript{305} For example, Puerto Rican composer, Aponte-Ledeé, a strong opponent of foreign cultural influences, contended that “the orchestra expanded its field of activity while spreading a false image of Puerto Rico as a prosperous country, a model of progress and felicity thanks to its special condition as a protégé of the United States, through lightning tours to neighboring Caribbean and Central America countries.” In his disaffection, Aponte-Ledeé stated that the Festival Casals Inc. “began to fulfill its role as a precious jewel of the ‘Showcase of Democracy,’ a favorite slogan of colonial administrators in referring to our country.”\textsuperscript{306}

In his study, \textit{Concert Life in Puerto Rico}, Donald Thompson recognized that the broad cultural principles of \textit{Operación Serenidad}, as implemented through the Casals Festival Inc., presented a conflict of cultural interests.\textsuperscript{307} The foreign aim of the annual Festival Casals contrasted with the local aim of the PRSO and PRC: “The purpose of the Puerto Rico festivals was to stimulate tourism of a particularly desirable type, while creating for the island an image of tranquility and high purpose which would aid the government’s efforts to attract foreign capital for the island’s industrial development program.”\textsuperscript{308}

A 1966 study by Mings, “Puerto Rico and Tourism: The Struggle for Cultural Autonomy among Developing Nations: The Case of Puerto Rico and Its Tourist Industry,” also found the Festival Casals Inc. as fitting a tourism

\textsuperscript{305} Announced concerts included Barbados, Trinidad, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic. “The clippings will also tell the reader---as people in each country told us in enthusiastic conversation---that the appreciation of good music in many of the small countries of the Caribbean can very readily become a desire to play it.” A Report on the First Caribbean Tour of the Symphony Orchestra of Puerto Rico Sponsored by the Ford Foundation. 17 April 1967. Abe Fortas Papers.


\textsuperscript{307} “No study was ever made of how the general citizenry might be brought to an interest in concert music, and no attempt was made to cultivate future generations of music lovers through well-organized school and educational concerts.” Donald Thompson, \textit{Concert Life in Puerto Rico} (University of Puerto Rico, 1998), 274.

\textsuperscript{308} Donald Thompson, “The Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra.”
development plan poorly defined, generating tourist activities “too artificial and alien to the
native way of life.”³⁰⁹

Some scholars noted that the Festival Casals “enhanced Puerto Rico’s reputation for
artistic refinement and wooed northern travelers south during summer-off seasons.”³¹⁰ Aspiring
as it was to promote “good music” fit for an image of “high purpose” capable of attracting
investor-tourists, the selection of symphonic music for the annual Festival Casals seemed to
fulfill an American tendency to seek European approval in aesthetic concerns. Whether
recognized or not, Americans were situated similarly to a Puerto Rican bourgeoisie in this
regard. Historian Lawrence Levine has written of America retaining a colonial mentality in
matters of culture and intellect.³¹¹ Similarly, musicologist Christopher Small unpacked the
prejudices embodied in the conventionalization of European classical music as a synonym for
high status and universality:

The process of self-identification is less deliberate than that; it is simply that those who
hold power in our society tend to view the world in similar terms, and in so far as they
feel compelled to give their support to the activities of musicians (and there can be no
doubt that there is among many of them a sincere love of music), it is classical music and
musicians to whom they look as natural vehicles for those values which they
regard as
important. They see no need to justify their attitudes; the superiority of classical music is
self-evident.³¹²

Small elaborated on prejudicial attitudes and assumptions which have established a
hierarchy of culture and taste: the process involved the ranking of performers in ascending
categories with dilettantes at the bottom of the pyramid and entertainment musicians in the

³¹¹ “The idea that Americans, long after they declared their political independence, retained a colonial mentality in matters of culture and intellect is a shrewd perception that deserves serious consideration.” Lawrence Levine, Highbrow / Lowbrow. The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America (Harvard University Press, 1990), 2.
middle, finally surpassed by the professed true artists at the top; it also entailed a fanciful separation between “historical” and contemporary music, between serious (classical) and frivolous (popular) music. Placed at the highest compositional levels were immortals such as Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, and Brahms.313 Another corollary involved the academic selection and training of performers,314 further concretized by the creation of the Puerto Rico Conservatory in 1959.315 Lastly comes the molding of a regular patronage expected to show up on time, pay for performance services, and observe norms of social conduct worthy of the concert hall.316

The internalization of European norms can be seen in Toro’s desire for continual conformity with European aesthetics in spite of his articulation of the existence of a distinctive Puerto Rican cultural identity.317 Recognizing that a strict diet of German classical works did not match local sensibilities, Tevah (Director of the PRSO and PRC, 1965–70)318 navigated the guidelines set by Casals by interjecting “light” classical music into PRSO’s concerts: “They were

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313 *“We take it for granted that it is a good thing to be able to preserve the whole conspectus of musical history, to perform, in some fashion, the music of all periods, and to conserve the ‘immortal’ music of Machaut, of Bach, of Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, and Schoenberg, but we should be aware that this classicizing tendency is unique to our musical culture and depends upon our notational system.”* Small, *Music, Society and Education* (New Hampshire: Wesleyan University Press, 1977), 31.


315 As stated by Passalacqua “[f]rom the point of view of musical education of the Puerto Rican youth, an important activity is that of the Music Conservatory of Puerto Rico, now in its sixth year of operation.” Memorandum from Carlos Passalacqua, 31 May 1966. Abe Fortas Papers.

316 “The modern professional symphony orchestra is in fact a very model of a modern industrial enterprise, devoted like all industrial enterprises to the making of a product, a concert, which is advertised and marketed like any other commodity to the consumers, the audience.” Small, *Music of the Common Tongue*, 60.

317 “While we are basically a Hispanic American people in tradition and language, yet have enriched our society with many of the good things taught by the experience of the United States. We have progressed, and we shall surely continue to progress, in many ways, far beyond what would have been possible had we been forced to reply on our own very scarce physical resources.” Statement of Ademar Toro, 25 February 1966. Abe Fortas Papers.

318 Victor Tevah continued to appear as guest conductor in many PRSO performances through 1983.
short and fun pieces from Manuel de Falla, Ravel, things that people could relate to,” said Ana Tevah, who spent nearly every summer on the island with her father.\footnote{Although Victor Tevah was a listener of pop music and enjoyed bands like the Beatles, he did not add this genre to his performance repertoire. While in Chile, however, he was widely credited for premiering a significant number of Latin American works. Ana Tevah, December 30, 2011, in discussion with author.}

Under Tevah the eighth season of the PRSO sponsored music by experimental composer Hector Campos-Parsi.\footnote{“Octava Temporada de Conciertos. Orquestra Sinfonica de Puerto Rico. Victor Tevah, Director. Programa General 2 Febrero a 21 de Marzo, 1966.” Featuring Duo Tragico by H. Campos-Parsi, written in memory of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Abe Fortas Papers.} Campos-Parsi observed, however, in an interview for Ferment Magazine, a prevalent attitude on the part of the Festival Casals Inc. towards European musical hegemony:

With every year from 1951 to 1956 came the development of new resources, not only in music but in all the other arts. And then, he [Campos-Parsi] sighs, in 1957, Pablo Casals came to live with us. Religion is always based on the unknown. Casals was a God, he said, repeating himself. A God surrounded by ignorance, suddenly, he spreads his arms wide, an enormous cloak of mediocrity covered the nation – in the name of “excellence”! It was no longer our job to produce anymore, only to interpret scripture.\footnote{Roy Lisker, accessed March 7, 2012, http://www.fermentmagazine.org/Bio/pr2.html.}

By 1970 the exclusivist and hierarchical approach to running the Festival Casals Inc. did not bode well with local musicians, composers or the general population.

**Legacy of the Festival Casals Inc.**

Ana Tevah described the station wagon and bus from the Compañía de Fomento Industrial (PRIDCO) that carried the PRSO orchestra from village to village to perform concerts in local churches and schools, oftentimes as an all-day event concluding at three in the morning. She stated that the people were very receptive and hospitable, even arranging meals for the ensemble.\footnote{Ana Tevah, December 30, 2011, in discussion with the author.} Amused by these traveling musicians, the populace likely engaged with symphonic
music as they did any other tradition of the island (e.g., décima, seis, aguinaldo, plena, danza, bomba, salsa, etc.).

Long-term, however, the Festival Casals Inc.’s promotion of European classical music and its accoutrements, despite good intentions led to disinterest by some (unfamiliar as they were to such tradition) and dissent on the part of others. Music in Puerto Rico had frequently been a place for the exercise of social contestation: consider how danza played a central role in political and social discourses in Puerto Rico.323

Casals’ death in 1973 was a crack in the fortress as the organization lost its charismatic leader. The tradition of rebellion against foreign intervention flared up in 1975 when local musicians began to boycott PRSO auditions, forcing the resignation of Alexander Schneider. Events that followed profoundly reshaped the Festival Casals Inc. Schneider had placed himself and European music above Puerto Ricans. As argued by Small, “[t]hose who hold social power—those who control the education system and the media of communication, and those who hold the purse strings for what is called cultural activity—are going to use that power in an attempt to impose their own version of ideal relationships throughout the whole society, to make people acknowledge that it is their version of reality, their culture, that is the real one.”324

Nowhere is Schneider’s sense of elitism more clearly underscored than in his letter to Marta Casals:

Yes, the Festival Casals can be in any part of the world, just as there is a Festival in Salzburg, in Edinburgh, in Bayreuth, etc. You should be more than proud of the fact that


324 * Small, “Why Doesn’t the Whole World Love Chamber Music?” 347.

† “I used the word, ‘impose,’ but that’s too strong a word. Once again it’s not necessarily done deliberately or by any orchestrated campaign or conspiracy. It’s just the way the members of the group perceive their reality. After all, if our values and thus our culture are superior—and that’s borne out by the fact of our elevated social position—then it must be in everyone’s interest to partake of that culture. It’s a neat circle, and it’s what the sociologists call hegemony. Where ‘culture’ ends and ‘hegemony’ begins is hard to establish. What is just culture to me, and perfectly natural, may be hegemony to you.” (Ibid.).
the Festival Casals has put Puerto Rico on a very high important cultural and musical level – again, thanks to two great men, Muñoz Marín and Pablo Casals. So, don’t let this be destroyed by a few political persons who never had the interest of helping your country in any musical, cultural or educational way, through which to become better human beings. (June 1975)325

Schneider painted a bleak picture for Puerto Rico should it not adhere to Casals’ cultural and pedagogical guidelines: “You need programs for the next twenty years to develop from approximately 1,000 children a possible symphony orchestra worthy of a second-class standing in the States, and you’d better start now. Otherwise, you will need forty years or more to develop any kind of musical endeavor.”326

Schneider’s parting advice called for the complete subordination of social harmony in Puerto Rico to Casals’ directives. In defiance of the primary mission of Operación Serenidad—to serve Puerto Ricans and safeguard their culture—Schneider stated that “[t]he only standard of the Puerto Rican Festivals should be that of artistic excellence, without regard to nationality, the origin of participants or any other parochial considerations.”327 Implicit in his quote is the condescension towards Puerto Rican culture and competencies, along with the inference that he commanded superior valuation on artistic merit. “Your leader of the Musicians’ Union, Mr. Peña, should help and not fight you, for mediocrity, or more pay, or more work for the few musicians who are worthy of a Casals’ Festival Orchestra, or even a Symphony Orchestra. According to our own Pepito Figueroa, you have ‘maybe about two dozen classical musicians in Puerto Rico.’ The rest are entertainment, hotel and night club musicians, etc.,” remarked

325 * Alexander Schneider to Marta Casals Istomin, June 1975. Abe Fortas Papers.
† “Since music education is one of the most important parts of life, it is important for your politicians to fight for beauty in music, which in turn, makes life worth living. And again, don’t forget that you cannot have good musical education without ‘foreign’ help. Remember how the great orchestras of the States, such as Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, all started. In the end of the last century and beginning of this century, all the musicians were from foreign countries - - France, Italy, Germany, Russia, etc. They spoke no English, including the conductors. They and all the great teachers were all brought from abroad and musically, they made America what it is today.” (Ibid.).
326 Alexander Schneider to Marta Casals Istomin, June 1975. Abe Fortas Papers.
327 Ibid.
He added that any re-interpretation of Casals directives would mean dishonoring his name, genius and memory: “It was his vision, too, and Casals’ insistence upon it, that induced so many of the world’s greatest artists, who are in demand in every civilized Nation in the world, to participate in the Casals Festivals for the past nineteen years.”

Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, dismissed the drama and carried on with their activities while perceiving Schneider’s resignation as a necessary step towards the evolution of the Festival Casals.

On 25 September 1977, the Musicians’ Union went on strike, prompting an internal restructuring of the board of directors of the Festival Casals Inc. Marta Casals (now married to Eugene Istomin) wrote:

> On this … year, the Board of Directors of the Festival Casals Inc., advised me that I would be reappointed as a member of the Board. At approximately the same time, four other members of the Board whose dedication and devotion to its work on behalf of the people of Puerto Rico have been outstanding were informed that they would not be reappointed. I am also advised that it is not certain who the new members of the Board will be; that the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra is currently on strike; and that the work of the Conservatory has been disrupted. (1977)

*El Mundo*’s news coverage stated: “The pivotal point [resignation of Marta Casals and Elias López Sobá] was the decision of the administration of Governor Carlos Romero Barceló to remove five people on the Board of Directors of the Festival: Teodoro Moscoso, Carlos Passalacqua, José Rovira, José Joaquín Figueroa Colón, and the [new] husband of Marta, the pianist Eugene Istomin.” (30 October 1977) Most of the banished individuals had been founding members of the Festival Casals Inc.

At the time of her resignation Marta Casals threatened to impede the further use of Casals’ name. Puerto Rican composer, Hector Campos-Parsi, called her resignation emotional

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328 Alexander Schneider to Marta Casals Istomin, June 1975. Abe Fortas Papers.
329 Ibid.
330 Teodoro Moscoso to Alexander Schneider, 30 July 1975. Abe Fortas Papers.
331 Marta Casals to the Festival Casals Inc. 1977. Abe Fortas Papers.
and infantile as “[i]n his judgment, Casals name belonged to history, and if Mrs. Istomin took away the name of the Festival, she would be committing ‘a selfish act.’”333 Marta Casals’ struggle over her husband’s artistic identity underlined her fear that Puerto Ricans would not keep his name segregated and unpolluted from inferior musical expressions, namely non-European, modern or popular genres.334 Indeed, a signed 1974 authorization for the use of Casals’ name read: “The musical works executed in all the festivals under the name of Festival Casals of Puerto Rico will be the greatest ever composed by the towering [read European] composers of the past, universally recognized and accepted as consecrated masters of their period” (italics added).335

One reason for the mounting anti-Festival Casals campaign was a deep concern that the board had favored the international Festival Casals over the other musical institutions (PRSO and PRC) under the Festival Casals Inc.’s umbrella. As reported by the San Juan Star, the “Casals Festival: will a major event end on a minor note?” “[t]he ‘other side’ has consisted of students and faculty of the conservatory – as well as the Puerto Rico Federation of Musicians – who have complained over the years that an inordinate amount of time, money and publicity has been devoted to the two-week musical event at the expense of the conservatory [PRC] and local symphony [PRSO].”336

334 “The authorization for the use of the name of my deceased spouse in the succeeding festivals is conditioned upon…(a) that the festival will not dishonor, nor will it permit that person or entity of any kind alter, modify or dishonor the musical principles that the Maestro Don Pablo Casals has established by himself since his conversations with the Governor of the Free Associated State of Puerto Rico…” “Autorizacion a Festival Casals, Inc. para el uso del nombre del Maestro Don Pablo Casals,” 15 February 1974. Abe Fortas Papers.
335 “(b) The musical works executed in all the festivals under the name of Festival Casals of Puerto Rico will be the greatest ever composed by the towering composers of the past, universally recognized and accepted as consecrated masters of their period…Notwithstanding, the selection of musical works not belonging to the hall of the greatest composers of the past must be made with ultimate caution, with the greatest scruples of selectivity, to avoid the execution in the Festival Casals of Puerto Rico in coming years of musical works that may qualify as belonging simply to an experimental phase.” (Ibid).
Thompson noted ambiguity in the allocation of public funds among the three cultural institutions: “Another reason for resentment was the knowledge that the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra budget merged with that of the annual Casals Festival, and that it was impossible to learn where one ended and the other began.”\textsuperscript{337} Financial statements from 1966 show an asymmetry of funding, especially given the short two-week duration of the annual Festival Casals: while the Festival Casals’ commonwealth subsidies amounted to $110,000, the PRSO counted with only $55,000.\textsuperscript{338}

Enrique Rodrigues Negrón, new President of PRIDCO, attempted to rectify the situation by increasing funds for the orchestra and the conservatory, ever-more dependent on government subsidies: “He noted that commitment calls for a proposed budget of more than $2 million for fiscal 1978–79. The current budget is just under $1.5 million. Of that, $304,236 is for the festival, $583,632 for the symphony orchestra and $596,288 for the Conservatory of Music. The breakdown for the proposed $2 million budget is: festival, $373,700; symphony $747,400; conservatory $952,070.”\textsuperscript{339}

The Musician’s Union (perhaps partially motivated by self-interests) condemned the hiring of New York musicians over local “instrumental teachers, freelancers, students, and other part-timers to augment their income derived from other sources,” keeping the island constantly orchestra-less.\textsuperscript{340} Another complaint had to do with wage asymmetry between local musicians and foreign ones. Campos-Parsi estimated that the success of previous Festivals Casals resulted primarily from the generous compensation afforded to guest artists and non-resident

\textsuperscript{337} Thompson, \textit{Concert Life in Puerto Rico}, 274.
\textsuperscript{338} During fiscal year 1964–65: Festival Casals $110,000; PRSO $55,000; PRC $325,000. Memorandum from Carlos Passalacqua to Rafael Durant, 31 May 1966. Abe Fortas Papers.
\textsuperscript{339} “Will a Major Event end in a Minor note?” \textit{San Juan Star}, November 7, 1977. Abe Fortas Papers.
\textsuperscript{340} Thompson, “The Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra.”
The board disagreed, asserting that the goodwill of its illustrious founder, Maestro Pau Casals, and musicians like Schneider had allured foreign talent. Yet, wage inequality was a fact, persisting despite the PRSO’s mission to “elevate the low financial state of [local] musicians through longer employment and possible increase in salaries.”

Flexibility in minimal wages had been a strong incentive for American investors in most sectors of the Puerto Rican economy. Faced with persistent wage discrimination, the Musicians’ Union enacted a strike: “The Federation has said that the symphony will not take part in the upcoming festival unless its members are paid the same minimum wage during the festival as that of the visiting musicians who will be performing with the Casals Festival Orchestra. Minimum for the local symphony musician is $185 a week and for visiting musicians $307 per week.”

The Festival Casals Inc. found in Grupo Fluxus (1968)—an experimental progressive music organization for young composers motivated by cultural principles—one of its strongest opponents. Reflective of its character, Grupo Fluxus focused on breaking down calcified attitudes against contemporary music. It attacked the deep conservatism of Puerto Rico’s official musical agency, the Festival Casals Inc., through the sponsoring of public forums and televised debates.

In 1979 amalgamated complaints culminated in a media circus. American interventionism and the hierarchy enveloping Casals’ entities hit hard the sentiments of Puerto
Ricans. The blatant discrimination, both financial and cultural, generated cataclysmic reactions resulting in deep fissures. These fractures created burdens that diverted precious financial and social resources giving rise to general discontent.

In November 1977, Fortas advised Marta Casals to resign: “I see no point in your involving yourself in a debate with Rodrigues Negrón, unless you foresee you will want to challenge their continued use of the name of Casals. Otherwise, I believe that you have successfully terminated your association in a way that is as dignified and constructive as possible under the circumstances.” As a consolation prize, Fortas—legal architect of the Festival Casals Inc.—invited Marta Casals to join the Kennedy Center as artistic director.

Moscoso, PRIDCO’s and EDA’s original manager, went on to become US Ambassador to Venezuela, and later Assistant Administrator of the Agency of International Development (USAID), implementation arm of President Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress (1961), the Cold War developmentalist master plan for the remainder of Latin America and the Caribbean. Signaling a (re-)new purpose of American involvement in international affairs, the United Nations also started to promote and facilitate modernizing projects, inaugurating on January 1961, the “United Nations Development Decade.”

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348 “Abe was responsible for funding legislation of the Casals Festival in Puerto Rico as well as for the Kennedy Center. Well, about two years ago, Abe Fortas talked to me about the Kennedy Center, how it was growing and it needed this and that, how there was a new theater—the Terrace Theater—where he would love to hear good chamber music. He felt I should be connected with the Center in some way.” John Gruen, “A Symphonius Marriage,” Pan Am Clipper, April 1981, 59–97.
349 “The Alliance for Progress committed the United States to ‘more than a billion dollars during the twelve months which began on March 13, 1961,’ as the first installment of a pledge of more than $20 billion in direct assistance and institutional financing over the next ten years.” Maldonado, Teodoro Moscoso, 173.
In 1980 the Puerto Ricans exercised their “acquired right” to Casals’ name, transferring the Festival Casals Inc. to the Corporation of Scenic-Musical Arts of Puerto Rico (CAEM, Corporación de las Artes Escénico-Musicales), and subordinating it to the public administration of the Government of Puerto Rico: “The Casals Festival Inc. was assigned from its origin to the Industrial Development Company of Puerto Rico and was established by resolution No. 740 of said company. We understand that by nature of its duties, it must be located in a government agency linked to the arts of representation, such as the Company of Artistic Varieties of Puerto Rico and several other groups working to promote the opera.”\footnote{A commentator observed that Operation Bootstrap’s four main variables (honest and competent bureaucracy; unlimited tariff-free market in the US, the dollar as hard currency, and freedom from sinking resources to armament) qualified Puerto Rico as a training school for Truman’s point-four program, due to the close resemblance between its propositions. Although deeply embedded in American political, economic and cultural values, such developmentalist programs were thought to be applicable (and even desirable) to other nations around the world. Chase’s suggestion was that such programs could be delivered through the United Nations’ platform so as to prevent the imposition of national agendas: “Observe that [Truman’s] program emphasizes self-help rather than subsidies, and that its philosophy is based on the world community, rather than on any other nation. For this reason many people feel that the United Nations should be the official administrator of the program, to place it above and beyond any exclusive national interest.” Chase, Operation Bootstrap, 52. \footnote{Corporación de las Artes Escénico-Musicales de Puerto Rico. Ley Núm. 42 de 12 de Mayo de 1980. Currently subordinated to Corporación de las Artes Musicales (CAM), accessed March 10, 2012, http://www.pr.gov/presupuesto/aprobado_2012/suppdocs/baselegal/191/ley42.pdf.}}
Conclusion

A jíbaro arrived in San Juan and a couple of Yankees approached him in the park hoping to convert him to their ways. They spoke of Uncle Sam, of Wilson and Mr. Root, of New York and Sandy Hook; of liberty, the vote, and of the dollar; of Habeas Corpus. And the peasant said: wow!

Llegó un Jíbaro a San Juan

Casals’ institutional legacy, although arguably positive in some respects, is a complicated matter. The Festival Casals Inc., tethered to Operación Serenidad, was part of American development policies that furthered US neo-colonialist control over Puerto Rico. Americans expressed their values along political, economic, and cultural lines, the reception of which varied from enthusiasm, to indifference, to outright dissent, as evidenced by the Festival Casals Inc.’s restructuring in 1979.

In 1980 Moscoso acknowledged that Puerto Rico had been a “special case” (not a model) for economic development: “At no time has a developing company had so favorable an institutional and political environment [as in Puerto Rico].” Despite sharing key institutions operating, as economist Susan Collins explained, under US judicial, monetary, and tariff systems, “over the past twenty years the economic situation on the island deteriorated.” While experiencing some gains in terms of GDP through 1980, since then Puerto Rico has suffered a

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353 Maldonado, Teodoro Moscoso, 225. “It was evident that without its unique association to the United States, Puerto Rico’s economy would not be much better than those of neighboring Caribbean nations, such as the Dominican Republic, or of the small Central American countries.”

steady decline in terms of per capita income (especially as compared to US standards). Some of the issues recently highlighted include: excessive corporate tax-incentives (benefitting special interests); low level participation of local companies in the export industry (only 3% of the share despite its centrality in Puerto Rican economy); heavy reliance on pharmaceutical exports (number one source of US legal drug imports) at the expense of other local and non-local manufacturing sectors; undue federal transfers, etc.355

Interestingly also, one persistent issue is Puerto Rico’s unsatisfactory public relations strategies in the mainland, at the intersection of both cultures. Founded upon a superficial commonality (the potential wellness of music), Operación Serenidad, as enacted by Governor Muñoz, Fortas, and Casals, lacked a coherent agenda—at times acknowledging local sensibilities while gravitating towards foreign tastes. Muñoz recognized early on the deep links between society and culture, particularly music: “The American flag found Puerto Rico penniless and content. It now flies over a prosperous factory worked by slaves who have lost their lands and may soon lose their guitars and their songs.”356 Yet, perceiving independence as an impractical solution, Muñoz opted for political, economic and cultural alignment with the United States.

In 1966, eleven years after his arrival in Puerto Rico, in an interview with journalist Baltasar Porcel, Casals bragged about his sociable relations with local residents: “Yes, in Puerto Rico everyone esteems me: since I had barely arrived.”357 Albeit promoted as a friendly cultural enterprise in 1956, the Festival Casals Inc. interpreted “cultural development” on its own terms, promoting European classical music and institutions. Labeled “cultural imperialists” by some, Festival Casals Inc.’s directors and musicians faced unrelenting attacks that culminated with the

355 “It is difficult to understand how the Puerto Rican experience can be termed a success when such an enormous waste of human resources has been a deep-seated characteristic of the economy for more than four decades.” James Dietz in Susan Collins ed., The Economy of Puerto Rico, 549.
357 Figueres, Pau Casals, 229.
cancellation of the 1979 Festival, followed by a transfer of the Festival Casals Inc. to local
governmental oversight in 1980.358

A distressed letter by Marta Casals to Fortas, during the problematic legal harmonization
of Casals’ Spanish and Puerto Rican estates in 1970, denotes the heavy toll these dramatic events
took on her family life: “He is already unhappy about the situation here in P.R. and something
like this [double taxation and a potential splitting up of his assets between the two nations],
might make him think about leaving—he has already spoken about it!!!”359

Some things have changed since the inception of the Festival Casals Inc. For example,
the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company (PRIDCO) is now housed in Hato Rey, Puerto
Rico.360 In 2012, Marta Casals was photographed greeting guests during the 55th season of the
Festival Casals in the newly built (2009) Pablo Casals Symphonic Hall. Some Puerto Ricans
have shown a long-term interest towards Casals’ musical institutions.361 Casals’ institutional
legacy also includes the Casals Museum (Museo Pau Casals, 1977).

358 * “Puerto Rico, like much of Latin America is experiencing an upsurge of nationalism. As part of its cultural
manifestations, both students and union leaders have become increasingly vocal about getting more Puerto Rican
musicians into the Festival orchestra, the local orchestra and the conservatory.” Henry Raymond, “Can the Casals
† When confronted by a local student leader in 1979, Marta Casals replied: “Musicians, and above all students,
must not forget what was foremost in the Maestro’s mind: that music naturally requires excellence, but that it must
also come from the heart. That music is not a business but a priesthood, because before you receive you must give.”
(Ibid.).
359 † “I think your [Fortas’] suggestion of giving this house as a museum to a Puerto Rican institution is something
that the Maestro will not do – unless it was the last resort! And, I mean a last resort, in case there would be
difficulties in Spain…To change such a disposition would be against his very nature!” Marta Casals to Abe Fortas,
23 November 1970. Abe Fortas Papers. The foregoing excerpt demonstrates that Casals was at heart Catalan and
wanted to leave his most precious cultural relics for a long-planned museum in San Salvador, Spain. Indeed, even
Casals’ body was reburied in Catalonia in 1979.
360 Department of Economic Development Progress, “Welcome to PRIDCO Services Website,” accessed March 10,
361 Caribbean Business. “People,” accessed March 10, 2012,
Since 2010 the PRSO has been under the leadership of another Chilean conductor, Maximiano Valdés. It currently employs 80 musicians for an annual season. The musical selection and soloists of the PRSO are relatively diverse, intermittently invoking local composers and customs. Surprisingly—possibly because of Casals’ estate directives—even after its transfer to local control, little seemed to have changed in the musical approach of the Festival Casals. Its most recent season (2012) still clings to musical conservatism predominantly showcasing European art music (75%) in addition to a 25% repertoire from Spain. Its opening concert, “A Celebration of Happiness and Peace,” prominently featured Casals’ “Hymn to the United Nations.” One wonders, will there ever be a Festival Casalsa?

Although Casals’ name is widely noted, there are no lists acknowledging current or past board members, Latin American conductors, or founding Puerto Rican musicians on organizational websites (hardly a mention in Casals’ thirty-six biographies). Ana Tevah remarked that her father (conductor Victor Tevah) was not Marta’s favorite person because he lacked international prestige: “He was very well known in Latin America, but was unknown in the United States and Europe.” Ana Tevah’s perspective still resonates today, as music history still clings to classical artists and composers whose fame is tied to European and American artistic centers.

363 * “There has been no changes, so far, in Festival Casals Inc., but no one has spoken to Maestro Casals about anything! The new Board has been speaking about plans for the future!!! I believe that nothing will be done now, but I definitely think that there must be some document to protect his name in the future in the event of any changes! As we both agree when we spoke in Marlboro, there should be a document to protect his name in general!” Marta Casals to Abe Fortas, 31 August 1970. Abe Fortas Archives.
† “The specific question has arisen as to the protection that should be accorded the use of the Maestro’s name. It would seem to me that you might want to consider a provision in the will giving the broadest possible powers to control the use of his name to Mrs. Casals.” Abe Fortas to Ramon Lloveras Otero, Esq., 25 September 1970. Abe Fortas Archives.
364 Ana Tevah, December 8, 2011, in discussion with the author.

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Chapter 3:
Pau Casals and the United Nations: a Mission for World Redemption

Figure 10. Casals at the United Nations.
United Nations’ Day, 1971
UN Photo/Yutaka Nagata: 24 October 1971, United Nations, New York, Photo # 139699
Introduction

“I have always believed that the day would come when Ode to Joy [Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony] would be sung by all peoples of the earth. I inscribed this thought in the Book of the League of Nations in Geneva,” said Casals in 1934. Casals’ long-time obsession with Beethoven’s universalist legacy underlined his mission for world redemption and musical involvement with the United Nations, successor to the League of Nations.

In 1958 the New York Times described Casals as a “supreme musician,” “crusader for peace,” and “passionate friend of liberty,” breaking his performance boycott (started in 1945) to appear before a UN audience in New York. The reporter added: “So Pablo Casals, a courageous and creative man at 81, can hopefully and honestly draw his bow across the strings today. In his international language he will be everywhere heard and understood.”


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On a few occasions, Casals flaunted a musical autograph of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, stating: “The idea is ready to shoot, but it springs forth at the predestined moment. Beethoven is present in secret; it sends a message to the world about fraternity.” José Maria Corredor, Conversations with Casals, Trans. André Mangeot (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1956), 142. Casals made this statement to José Maria Corredor in a 1954 interview, adding: “When I hear it [Ode to Joy] I get an impression which is almost religious, a sort of feeling of fraternity, and it penetrates me like a glorious musical rendering of the poetical humanitarianism of Schiller.” (Ibid.)

Casals showed the autograph of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, a gift from Zurich, to some of his biographers. Conte, La Légende de Pablo Casals, 124.


Pablo Casals to the Secretary-General of the United Nations,” 15 July 1963. Fortas Papers. See also appendices 10, 12–14.
El Pessebre’s explicit Christian subject matter (predicated in European classical music and Catalan heritage) is antagonistic to a global mission for peace and unity. The world is obviously divided among many different religious lines, a source of much conflict and war. Despite this contradiction, in 1963 Secretary-General U Thant invited guests to reflect on “how best to encourage the peaceful and orderly progress of [world] decolonization,” through the appreciation of the musical feast provided by one of the “musical giants” of the century: “Maestro Casals conducting the first performance in these halls of the oratorio, El Pessebre, which he himself has composed. Celebrating as it does the arrival of the Prince of Peace on earth, it is a particularly fitting way in which to celebrate this great day” (italics added). 369

Placed in a historical context, one journalist remarked that Casals’ musical conservatism centered on nineteenth-century repertory, with his foundational tutoring in “Wagner, Richard Strauss and Brahms,” and his special devotion to “Bach, with Mozart and Beethoven and the early Romantics following.” 370 Indeed, these remarks reflect Casals’ musical bill of fare. However, the question this chapter raises is whether El Pessebre implicates something beyond purely musical choices. How does the oratorio’s invocation of Christian iconicity relate to Casals’ musical orthodoxy and professed spiritual and political heterodoxy? 371

371 † “Casals grieves also for the state of his beloved music. He turned grave when a visitor commented that the festival [Casals of Puerto Rico] program contained nothing written in the last half century: It is because I want to give music, and the greatest music, and you can’t give what is written today as good music. In the modern style, for me there is nothing good. It’s an error. For that error my friend Arnold Schoenberg is very responsible...” John Hess, “Love for All—Is That The Casals’ Secret?” New York Times, August 7, 1966.
† Casals also stated: “...I do not understand sound films, it seems absurd, and, besides, I understand that film, what is said to be truly film, must be silent...” Irene Polo, “La Polémica del cine. Pau Casals,” in Pau Casals, Escrits i Discursos: Pau, Pau i Sempre Pau’ ed. Josep Figueres (Barcelona: Angle Editorial, 2010), 69.
Musically speaking, around the eighteenth century, scholars, musicians, bureaucrats, and reformers began to inform a process to arrive at a “German musical canon.”\(^\text{372}\) Music, treated as a product of self-development, purportedly reached its apex with Beethoven, symbol of the greatest achievement of formal perfection (i.e., historical, cultural, spiritual progress).\(^\text{373}\) The mythical universalist aura formed around Beethoven influenced most literati of the era and beyond, including Casals:

I’ve always had the desire to see all the peoples of the world united by ties of love and confraternity and enjoying peace affirmed on bases of justice and democratic freedom, and in which there may be protected the rights and dignity of man. I have faith that man is evolving towards this climate of purity of spirit and the elevation of ideals. Taking advantage of the means of modern radio and television media, my idea of securing the simultaneous interpretation and dissemination to every community in the world where there is an orchestra and choir Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, is based on my conviction that this great music will help in the achievement of this ideal.

I seized the opportunity to me extended last October, due to my desire to advocate that men stop the apocalyptic race that propels their desire of preponderance through nuclear testing for destructive purposes. I went before the United Nations, the most important hope for peace, and there threw the idea of urging the world to commune with Beethoven and Schiller as a vehicle for the message of joy and peace that the world craves.\(^\text{374}\)

Hence, Casals’ faith in European music universality and Kultur (culture) acted as an intellectual springboard for the musico-religious-ethnic syncretism of *El Pessebre*. The oratorio comprises a peculiar configuration of the German musical idiom with symbols of Catalan cultural heritage and Christian iconicity, i.e., the Nativity scene. The work’s Catalan heritage features prominently Joan Alavedra’s award winning poem *Pessebre*. Casals also gives reference to Abbey of Montserrat, *Pau i Treva de Déu*, and other indicia of Catalan culture.

\(^{372}\) Musicologists have generalized that around the eighteenth-century scholars, musicians, bureaucrats, and reformers began to gradually inform the process of “German musical canon” formation, circumscribing musical works that came to represent a “national patrimony,” whose qualities posed it as universal. Such heritage included the works of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms (the three Bs) among others.

\(^{373}\) Gur, “Music and ‘Westanschauung,'” 359. Some imagined the end of music history, others, like Wagner, suggested a “turning point” where “no great instrumental music could (or should) be composed after Beethoven, and especially after the Ninth Symphony with its concluding choral movement,” (ibid).

Pro-forma for its time, classical composers sought to establish a nexus with the Beethovenian tradition, while building originality by referencing their own national features (e.g., literature, history, folklore, etc.), to guarantee their ascendancy to the canon. Through the genesis and launching of El Pesebre—a vehicle for a global musical ministry—Casals followed that prescription and cast himself in the role of itinerant apostle.

Casals earned many converts. Paul Quintanilla, son of Spanish exile and painter Luis Quintanilla—who visited Casals in Puerto Rico in March 1957—recalled that his father “felt impelled to see that artist of genius, fellow Spaniard, and moral symbol whose very humanity most greatly represented to the world the disaster which had fallen on Spain, in the same way a devotee will make a pilgrimage to the most holy of holy sites.”375 Marta Casals also served as an ardent defender of Casals’ apostolic vision, once telling a Puerto Rican student that “music [was] not a business but a priesthood.”376

These viewpoints reflected a general consensus prevalent in many public assemblies—including the United Nations—that Casals was a symbol of unconditional devotion to humanity, and that his artistic selections (repertoire, interpretation, collaborations, etc.) embodied universal musical, moral and religious values. After all, for nearly three decades, Casals had been speaking publicly against Gen. Francisco Franco, even boycotting nations supporting the Spanish dictatorship.

Yet there existed an evident irony in the fact that this “musical cleric” jet-set the world aboard private charters and chauffeured limousines, dispensing gala functions at extravagant settings like the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York, and acquiring souvenirs for his vast

collection of cultural relics. As noted by Leonard Lyons “[t]he Casals’ modern house, on the beach at Isla Verde, where he takes his morning walk, is adorned with mementos of his remarkable career: a museum vase presented to him in Papan, a lute from a Swiss museum, Yemenite talismans, pictures with Schweitzer and with a quartet including Hindemith and Schnabel.” Casals’ home in San Salvador, Spain, included a lock of hair from Felix Mendelssohn, an original manuscript by Johannes Brahms, the death mask of Enric Granados, along with other “relics.” The eccentricity of Casals’ life, multinational assets, and collection of exotic and valuable objects, evidence Casals’ aristocratic background, financial accessibility, and desire to assemble a significant patrimony for a planned museum in Catalonia (at the site of his coastal mansion in San Salvador). The site would be a durable dedication to his name and legacy.

Some had argued that Casals’ humanitarian mission also worked as an effective plan of self-promotion. One such opinion appeared in Nathaniel Chaitkin’s 2001 dissertation “Gaspar Cassadó: His Relationship with Pablo Casals and his Versatile Musical Life,” wherein the author argues that Casals’ self-aggrandizement strategies often included partial or unverified statements about third parties (musical peers) that were misleading and disingenuous. In one instance (1949), to steal the journalistic spotlight from Gaspar Cassadó, without evidence Casals went so

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377 “In the years of 1961-62 this Committee [Friends of the Conservatory of Puerto Rico] hosted a banquet in homage to Maestro Pablo Casals by reason of his world crusade for peace, whose attendants donated a base $100.00 per cover.” Memorandum from Carlos Passalacqua, Executive Director to Rafael Durant, Administrator of PRIDCO to the Ford Foundation. 31 May 1966. Abe Fortas Papers.


379 About three years ago, Maestro Casals instructed his lawyers in Spain to create the Foundation and do all the necessary steps to give his home and lands to this Foundation and have this museum instituted during his lifetime” ... “the greatest problem as he [Lawyer Ramon Lloveras] sees it, is the big house of Maestro Casals in San Salvador, with all its memorabilia and many works of art – many of them very valuable! This house, with its surrounding land – about 6 or 7 acres – will be left to a Foundation that will make the house a museum! Naturally, the house and the land (which is right on the coast, and very valuable now) are worth a lot, and although this house would probably be exempt of taxes in Spain because it will be dedicated to cultural purposes, it will not be exempted here because it is not in Puerto Rico!” Marta Casals to Abe Fortas, November 9, 1970. Abe Fortas Papers.
far as to allege his pupil’s involvement with Hitler, Mussolini and Gen. Franco. Casals made a similar charge against his former friend, Alfred Cortot, in the process of contributing biographical information for Albert Kahn’s *Joys and Sorrows: Pablo Casals* (1970). Cortot’s son, inflamed, took legal measures against Casals and the French publisher—the case appears to have been settled out of court through Casals’ charitable donation of F.1500, along with formal apologies.

While condemning musical acquaintances and dictatorial regimes, during his international artistic boycott Casals failed to reflect on what could be perceived as his own transgressions. For example, he refused concerts in Russia, Italy, Germany and Spain yet maintained a strong allegiance to German art music, indeed, promoting it as a peace-making

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380 Diran Alexanian and Casals published complementary letters in the *New York Times* on March 6, 1949, protesting against Cassadó’s warm reception in the United States after an alleged collaboration with the Führer.

† “In their letters, both Casals and Alexanian emphasize Cassadó’s supposed misuse of Casals’ reputation. By doing so, they turn Cassadó’s simple press release into an attack on Casals, one of the world’s most admired and beloved public figures. This not only made it seem as if Cassadó was actively attacking his former teacher (when in fact it was the other way around), but also shifted the attention of the public away from Cassadó and onto Casals, with whom sympathy was certain to lie. Whatever Casals’ motives were, these letters have a calculated tone, and he and Alexanian appear to be using political tactics, which seems very much at odds with Casals’ image as an artist and humanitarian,” Nathaniel Chaitkin, “Gaspar Cassadó: His Relationship with Pablo Casals and his Versatile Musical Life,” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2001). UMI 3008040: 14.

‡ “Whatever Casals’ motivations for attacking Cassadó as he did, the results were devastating, both personally and professionally, for his student. It would take several years for the two men to reestablish their friendship, and Cassado’s career would never be the same. It seems fair to conclude that Casals was deeply hurt by what he perceived as a betrayal by his protégé and close friend; his angry reaction was emotional, and his accusations not entirely based on fact. Though it is not possible to be certain about the nature of Cassadó’s wartime activities, examination of the situation in Italy during the conflict does suggest that Cassadó was not the collaborator which he was made out to be.” (Ibid, 18).

381 “As regards the Cortot affair, one seems to be coming close to a settlement out of court. He has asked through his lawyers that Stock should pay to some charity a sum of F.1500 and give him a letter of apologies promising that the passages he objects to shall be omitted in any reprints – all of which is acceptable – but also saying that those passages are erroneous, which obviously is impossible. The lawyers are trying to find the text of a statement that will satisfy Cortot, you and Stock.” Albert Kahn to Abe Fortas, 23 May 1970. Abe Fortas Archives.
Further, Casals saw no problems with the Passiglis’ (cousins-by-marriage) continual operation of Florentine musical institutions under Mussolini’s dictatorship.

Casals’ third engagement with the United Nations occurred in 1971. In this instance, he grabbed the limelight by composing a “Hymn to the United Nations.” The text for the hymn was contributed by W. H. Auden, a peace activist and former member of the International Brigades that fought against Gen. Francisco Franco in Spain. For their musical collaboration, both artists received the UN Peace Medal. (Appendix 27)

As early as 1956 Casals’ name had surfaced as a potential candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize, however, the proposition had failed to gain sufficient support. Questioned by a reporter in 1972, Casals denied any personal ambitions to the prize, coveting the homage on account of domestic and national respect: “I never dreamed of the possibility of receiving the Nobel, because I’ve never done anything in order to get a reward. This award I would envision only in the sense that it would be a source of distinction and satisfaction for all whom I love and to my people.”

Referring back to the “Hymn to the United Nations,” Casals revealed his aspiration for permanent international projection: “An anthem is a symbol, it’s like a flag. The important thing in a hymn is that it symbolizes a value shared by many people. The hymn should be short, there is no reason why it should last long. I believe that my composition will be the official hymn of the

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383 “The premiere of the opera Orsiolo (II Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, 4 May 1935) was secured by the personal intervention of Benito Mussolini on behalf of the Florentine Festival wishing to premiere the opera. The Festival’s Artistic Director Alberto Passigli, unable to obtain a firm commitment from Pizzetti, appealed directly to Il Duce to persuade the composer.” Franco Sciannameo, “In Black and White: Pizzetti, Mussolini and ‘Scipio Africanus,’” The Musical Times (Summer 2004), 25-50: 32-33.


UN” (italics added). Recent controversies surrounding the applicability of Casals’ hymn as the UN’s official anthem are touched upon later in this chapter.

Casals’ journey from professional musician to musical apostle culminated with *El Pessebre* being performed before the United Nations. The road would be littered with contradictions at the expense of colleagues and with disrespect for diversity in cultural and religious values. Perhaps most problematic is that the United Nations was largely a result of several decades of German aggression in Europe, with mythical overtones. Yet, Casals leveraged German tradition, combining it with his own Catalan and religious identity to thrust himself to the forefront in his self-proclaimed mission for world peace. In so doing, Casals expressed himself through what is herein named aural-messianic *Catalonisme*.

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386 Figueres, in *Pau Casals*, 259.
Casals and the United Nations

Casals’ performances and compositions for the United Nations can be understood in view of three ideological alignments: political liberalism (democracy), commitment to global peace, and moral universalism.

Casals unequivocally subscribed to political liberalism. He advocated music to the “cause of freedom and democracy.” While in Puerto Rico, Casals had aligned himself with Operation Bootstrap, which among other things, advocated American political liberalism (democracy).

As to global peace and security, Casals shared philosophical ties with Nobel Peace Prize winner (1952) Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965). In the summer of 1958, Casals and Schweitzer published a joint appeal for nuclear disarmament: “I hope that the United States and Russia will overlook political differences in the long-range interests of mankind. It is incredible that civilized men can continue to build new and more destructive weapons instead of devoting their energies towards making this a happier and more beautiful world.” Because the United Nations’ primary charge was maintaining international peace and security this was consistent with Casals’ peace mission:

His commitment to peace, as is known, is clearly linked with his commitment to his country and the Catalan culture and with the defense of human rights and liberty. As this compilation makes clear, his commitment is launched by the support of the Republic, the popular will, which he believes must always be abided by when expressed through regimes and institutions; with support for the popular Olympics that the uprising destroyed; and, subsequently, as his support of the refugees. In other words, from the beginning the concept of peace and solidarity of Casals matches the current notion of peace understood as a process, as a positive peace, peace as something more than the absence of war, and especially peace with the conception of human security, which puts the person first, in particular in its attempt to diminish the suffering of the people by

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387 Casals, Joys and Sorrows, 224.
388 Ibid., 284.
ensuring their physical safety, at the center of the responsibilities of States and international organizations.\footnote{Josep Figueres, \textit{Pau Casals, Escrits I Discursos: Pau, Pau i Sempre Pau!} 11.}

Casals believed in moral universalism, arguing that music played a fundamental role in the spread of an upright social order: “In a word, we must realize that music is not a diversion but a philosophy; the most pure and the most \textit{universal} of all philosophies; it is a moral education, the most effective of human civilizations” (italics added).\footnote{“Pau Casals S’Acomiada de Barcelona,” \textit{Imatges}, November 25, 1930 in \textit{Pau Casals, Escrits i Discursos: Pau, Pau i Sempre Pau!} ed. Josep Figueres, 67.} Casals’ faith in moral universalism derived in large part from his musical background in German art music—whose associative claims of global fellowship had been elevated through Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony. In transnational social contexts, the UN Charter and its various treaties also aimed to construct a universal ethics (moral) and an international legal code for nation-states as well as individuals—forming an international society. These approaches have been advocated by groups such as the English School of Solidarity, which views the UN as a fundamental institution for the establishment of internationally accepted minimal standards for humanity.\footnote{Jennifer Sterling-Folker, “English School Approaches,” in \textit{Making Sense of International Relations Theory}, ed. Jennifer Sterling-Folker (CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006), 305. “English School Solidarists, argue that there is at least the potential for mutual respect and enforcement of international law and universal ethics based on shared values and norms.” (Ibid., 307).}

Interestingly, at first instance Casals did not consider such ideological alignments with the United Nations in light of its toleration of the Spanish military regime, which Casals ardently opposed. In April 1951 Casals dismissed the UN’s invitation to join the third anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights because of his “opposition to the Assembly’s decision last year revoking the ban against sending Ambassadors to Franco’s Spain.”\footnote{* “Casals Rejects Bid to U.N. Music Festival Because of Assembly’s Reversal on Spain,” \textit{New York Times}, November 30, 1951. † “Under the circumstances, it won’t be strange to you if I say that the UN voting in favor of Franco does not seem compatible with such celebration and, therefore, I must, with all my feeling, decline your invitation.” Letter to Benjamin V. Cohen. “Resposta al Secretari Adjunt de Les Nacions Unides B. Cohen, April 9, 1951, in \textit{Pau Casals, Escrits i Discursos: Pau, Pau i Sempre Pau!} ed. Josep Figueres, 140.}
Perhaps, it was the growing list of celebrities who endorsed the UN mission that persuaded Casals to reconsider his position. In December 1951, UNESCO’s Courier featured an article by Albert Einstein defending the pedagogical power of cultural initiatives to advance humanitarian norms among all UN Member States. He added: “UNESCO has accordingly instituted this third celebration for the purpose of drawing attention far and wide to these fundamental aspirations as a basis on which to restore the political health of the peoples.”

Possibly influenced by such publications, or persuaded by his cousin Franco Passigli (UN aide and Italian media RAI envoy), Casals accepted Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld’s invitation to perform. Alvise Passigli—son of Franco Passigli—recalled his father’s collaboration with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in the organization of Casals’ concert, scheduled for October 24, 1958 (the UN’s thirteenth anniversary).

Casals was morally strident, which meant that his contradictions had to be rationalized on noble grounds. For example, Casals justified his UN performances on account of a potential nuclear war. He claimed no change in his “moral attitude or in the restrictions imposed upon [him]self,” clarifying that his musical boycott became “secondary in comparison to the great and perhaps mortal danger threatening all humanity.”

To further explain why he was breaching his embargo, he distributed a print message that was made available to UN attendees at the entrance of the New York General Assembly Hall (1958). A UN Interoffice Memorandum indicates that

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396 “The invitation from Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld was brought personally by Franco Passigli, son of Casals’ friend Alberto Passigli, who had succeeded his father as director of the Amici della Musica in Florence and joined the United Nations staff in 1957.” Kirk, Casals, 506.
397 “I am the son of Franco Passigli and the grandson of Alberto and his wife Clara Passigli. Clara was the connection to the Rochat family. Therefore, Pablo Casals was a cousin of Clara. My father Franco was the one who organized Casals’ concert at the UN, along with Mrs. Roosevelt in 1958.” Alvise Passigli, September 18, 2011 in conversation with the author.
398 Casals, Joys and Sorrows, 284.
Casals’ subsequent 1963 Peace Message (Figure 13) re-states the original (1958). In the message Casals called upon “our Creator” and music as a “wonderful universal language which is understood by everyone and [that] should be a source of communications among men” (italics added). Casals overlooked one of the major fault lines in the history of humanity, invoking his religious and ideological views to combat “misunderstood nationalism, fanaticism, political dogmas and the lack of liberty and justice.”

Casals asked people to embrace the UN as the world’s arbiter for peace. In concert Casals and Polish-American pianist Mieczysław Horszowski featured Bach’s Sonata No. 2 in D Major, followed by *El Cant dels Ocells* (The Song of the Birds), a Catalan Christmas folk song. This was followed by live broadcast performances by violinists Yehudi Menuhin and David Oistrakn, and the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

The *New York Times* reported the momentous significance of Casals’ appearance—whose last concert in the United States had been in 1928—before an audience that included “United Nations delegates, New York and foreign music critics and music lovers who were able to force their way into the overcrowded chamber.” The successful reception of the performance was noted through tumultuous applause given to the eighty-one-year-old cellist. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld voiced an acceptance of music’s transcending power: “Following the Honegger Symphony, Sec. Dag Hammarskjöld, offered ‘homage and thanks’ to the musicians

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397 “When Mr. Casals came in in 1958, he wished to make a public statement which was eventually agreed should be not spoken but printed and made available at the document counters only. It was not distributed at the seats. In presenting the practice of inserting the same Peace Message (slightly amended from time to time) in each programme. His current text is attached and it is proposed to place this again at the document counters in the hall (A copy of the 1958 sheet is also attached).” United Nations, “Interoffice Memorandum. From Jean d’Arcy (Director of Radio and Visual Services Division) to Mr. Hernans Tavares de Sá (Under-Secretary for Public Information),” 4 October 1963. See Appendix 11.

Note: the aforesaid memo archive did not include the 1958 message.

398 Figure 13.

who, he said, speak to us today of those things that can be told in music’s universal tongue”....“In the thirteen years that it had been available to governments, the machinery of the United Nations has shown itself capable of more than once in more ways than one of narrowing the premises of war and conflict as well as broadening the base of harmonious action.”

**Casals’ El Pessebre**

During his exile in France Casals commenced the oratorio *El Pessebre* (The Manger), combining features of European classical music, Christian iconicity, and Catalan heritage, which taken together constituted an encrypted intimation to peace.

For *El Pessebre* Casals adopted the text of fellow exile, Joan Alavedra—with whom Casals shared residency in Perpignan, France, along with Alavedra’s wife (Montserrat), children (Maria and Macià), and Frasquita de Capdevila. Formerly a journalist and radio columnist, Joan Alavedra y Segurañas (1896–1981) had served as Secretary to the President of the newly re-constituted State of *Generalitat de Catalunya* (1932)—under the Spanish Republic (1931). For the re-inauguration of the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, Casals conducted Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony.

The origin of “Pessebre” stems from Alavedra’s poetic rendition of a 1933 domestic Nativity scene. As told by his grand-daughter: “Christmas has always been an important moment for my grandfather, time for tradition, the Manger and poetry, the celebration of the birth of the son of God, in the heart of this scene of primitive simplicity, made of shepherds, millers and

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401 “A few days after the establishment of the new government, I conducted my orchestra at a ceremony celebrating the proclamation of the Republic. The concert took place in the great palace of Montjuich in Barcelona, and seven thousand people were present. We performed Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony.” Casals, *Joys and Sorrows*, 207.
kings, a true picture of humanity.” Subsequent years (the Spanish Civil War, 1934–39) constituted a period of great political unrest wherein Catalonia’s future vacillated, until squelched by Gen. Franco’s ascendance to power. Casals, Frasquita de Capdevila, and the Alavedra family fled to France where they remained through World War II. Because of disruptions, Catalonia’s most traditional poetry contest—the Jocs Florals (Floral Games)—were temporarily relocated to Perpignan, capital of the Pyrénées-Orientales, where many exiles then lived. And, in 1943, Alavedra’s Pessebre took first place.

The Jocs Florals appeared in 1859, showcasing Catalan Renaixença (Renaissance) poets, who configured as an ideal citizen a “ready-made peasant who yet spoke modern, musical and elegant Catalan.” The epoch gave rise to Catalanism, “a reactionary movement, imbued with strong fundamentalist traits.” Its most famous figure, the poet-priest Jacint Verdaguer, wrote “Ode to Rafael Casanovas,” a text famous for its homage to this hero of the ten-week siege of Barcelona. In the context of Catalanian history, two conflicts continue to be enacted in the imagination of Catalans because of their connection to the preservation of the Catalan state: the War of the Reapers, which lasted from 1640 to 1652; and the 1714 summer siege of Barcelona.


403 “The events of April 1931 resulted in the provisional establishment of the Government of Catalonia, headed by President Francesc Macià.” On October 6, 1934, President Companys unilaterally declared a “Catalan State of the Spanish Federal Republic,” but the uprising was aborted. From October 1934 to February 1936, with the Statute suspended, the office of the President of the Government was occupied by individuals appointed by the central government with the title of governors-general of Catalonia. After the Popular Front emerged victorious in the election of 16 February 1936, the suspension of the Statute was lifted. Companys was released from prison and returned to his post as President until his ultimate defeat by the forces of General Franco in 1939. Generalitat de Catalunya, “The Republican Government of Catalonia,” accessed March 20, 2012, http://www.gencat.cat/generalitat/eng/guia/antecedents/antecedents16.htm.

404 Michael Eaude, Catalonia: A Cultural History (New York: Oxford Press, 2008), 61; (ibid., 64). See Appendix 5.1. “Romanticism arrived late in Catalonia” and many asserted its cultural rebirth would lead to a new nation. † Xavier Febrés, L’Ora de Catalunya, 21 October 1959.
Eaude explains that “[i]n the middle of the Thirty Years War, the Catalans rose against the Spanish King Philip IV, and his minister, the Count-Duke Olivares in 1640.” The War of the Reapers ended with Catalonia’s surrender in 1651, Roussillon and Cerdanya were annexed to France, in 1659. The subsequent territorial war concluded on a minor note, wherein Catalonia’s leaders took the wrong side of the War of Spanish Succession, and, as a result, “Catalonia was left high and dry, and after a ten-week siege, Barcelona fell to Philip V’s army on 11 September 1714.”  

Hence, the history of the *Jocs Florals* and its 1943 setting in the Pyrénées-Orientales—to this day known as “French-Catalonia”—held such a prophetic symbolism for Catalans that Casals decided to memorialize “Pessebre” (the winning poem) in a large scale musical setting.

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405 Eaude, *Catalonia: A Cultural History*, 60.
For this purpose, Casals wrote a massive oratorio which would support his missionary work: “It will be an immense message of peace [italics added], which will travel the earth, and by which I can tell what I have in my heart. This will be a message of continuity, after all the ruptures. And I will use it in the entire world, from capital to capital. The sardana will remind the world that the work is born from the heart of two Catalans in exile.”

H. L. Kirk wrote that Alavedra’s focus on the Nativity scene resonated with Casals’ own family recollections, especially Els Pastorets, music composed in partnership with his father—Carles Casals, El Vendrell’s church organist—in celebration of a Christmas pageant (1883). As to Alavedra’s poem, Casals said: “The text is very ours, very Catalan, and very universal.”

Casals invoked his Catalan identity, advantageously positioned as a symbol of global unity. He imaginatively reconciled the nationalist-universalist dichotomy by suggesting (analogously to Schiller’s “Ode to Joy” in Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony) “Pessebre” and the Jocs Florals as precedents for global cultural understanding: “Poets and orators of Catalan language, an old Catalan artist who has lived under many skies and travelled to many countries, salutes you fraternally today. Salutes you and encourages you to work and persevere. Be faithful to the spirit of our land, in order to be faithful to the eternal principles of brotherhood and humanity.”

Casals argued that Catalanisme had “always pursued a sense of universality; it has found itself flagging to the four winds, open to all influences, wherever they come, while representing a

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406 Gemma Durand, “Pau Casals et Joan Alavedra.”
407 *“One manuscript that still exists is the first musical collaboration between father and son, music for the Christmas pageant written in 1883 for the Catholic Center in Vendrell. The overworked father invited Pablo to contribute some melodies for a four-scene “Adoration of the Shepherds” in which, with suitable histrionics, the youngster played the role of the devil who attempts to thwart the shepherd’s arrival in Bethlehem. The tableau was repeated during several seasons.”* Kirk, Casals, 34.
408 †*“It’s been some months that I worked have been composing the music for a magnificent poem: the Poem of Pessebre by Joan Alavedra, which won the Flor Natural of the Jocs Florals in Perpignan. The theme is very ours, very Catalan, and at the same time, very universal. The work is of an unexpected magnitude, and I’ve been enthusiastic about it, so now I have to go ahead and the finish.”* “Resposta a la Consulta de la Generalitat,” April 1940, in Pau Casals, Escrits i Discursos: Pau, Pau i Sempre Pau! ed. Josep Figueres, 92.
useful contribution. Moreover, as Goethe said, ‘it is deepening the particular that the general is achieved.’ Why should we give up our language if this language already in use in the thirteenth century served Ramon Lull to write his immortal books?\footnote{409} Johann Wolfgang von Goethe illustrates another example of Casals’ Catalanian-Germanic assemblage.

*El Pessebre* is the result of Casals’ effort to interpret Catalan heritage in the more generally recognized and prestigious profiles of European classical music and Christian iconicity. Was Casals trying to top the legacies of Bach and Beethoven? In 1954, during conversations with José Maria Corredor, Casals “translated” the syncretic musicopoetic message of the oratorio:

> The libretto of this oratorio is by our friend Joan Alavedra, and, in fact, he was inspired by the same idea [Jesus’ death simultaneously invoked in his birth]. Naturally the music adapts itself to this poetical theme. When they are dancing the *Sardana* in front of the porch at Bethlehem, paying homage to the newly born child, the “Santons” (Moslem religious ascetics) standing by already know that the child will be crucified. Thus the *Sardana* already announces the sacrifice of the redemption.\footnote{410}

**Analytical Features**

In “Pablo Casals: An Examination of His Choral Works,” Carlos Vázquez-Ramos stated that *El Pessebre* “symbolized Pablo Casals’ ultimate effort to convey peace for the world through music,” adding his personal style to typical oratorio features (e.g., aria, recitative, chorus, etc.).\footnote{411} Marta Casals affirmed: “If you want to know Casals, know his oratorio.”\footnote{412}

*El Pessebre’s* five major parts include “Prologue,” “On the Way to Bethlehem,” “The Caravan of the Three Kings,” “The Manger, and “The Adoration of the Shepherds.” Vázquez-

\footnote{410} Corredor, *Conversations with Casals*, 116.
\footnote{411} Vázquez-Ramos, “Pablo Casals,” 124-125.
\footnote{412} Marta Casals in conversation with the author, July 2009.
Ramos suggested that Casals’ brother Enric authored the orchestration, the opulence of which is expressed through its two-hour duration, the requirement of five soloists (soprano, alto, tenor, baritone and bass), as well as a mixed choir of 200 classically-trained voices that, sparsely used, highlight dramatic moments of the oratorio, especially the finale. These are no small demands for the performance of Casals’ masterwork, whose results may be interpreted as projection of musical and personal grandeur. The oratorio is nearly prohibitive in non-European settings, despite its global commitment. El Pessebre was a peace message available only to those who could devote substantial resources to its performance.

Of the hybridity of El Pessebre the following features can be found:

(a) European classical aestheticism and styles informed by German Baroque and Romantic music;

(b) Catalan components such as folk modes, rhythms, and a “skirl of oboes and high-pitched beating of a small hand drum,” such as the gran cassa (small Catalan hand drum), Tam-Tam, castanets and three campanes (bells). Additionally, Mov. XXI, Section B, names three kings, Melchior, Gaspar, and Balthasar, referencing the “Three Kings of the Orient” whose day is celebrated each January 5 in Barcelona. Section C, outlining the offering of the boy shepherd to the child, employs the sardana, “played by a Catalan flabiol. According to Catalanian folklore, the sardana is a symbol of brotherhood, of mutual interdependence and

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413 “Dr. von Tobel explains that Casals wrote all vocal lines, an orchestral piano accompaniment of the oratorio, and a manuscript version that von Tobel called the ‘autograph.’ In 1948, Pablo Casals’ brother Enrique worked on the orchestration.” Vázquez-Ramos, “Pablo Casals,” 46.

414 Packman, “Musicians’ Performances,” Ethnomusicology, 428. See Chapter 2 (p.107). The European symphony orchestra with its massive forces and large-scale works often acted as a discursive proxy for unmatched advancement, refinement and quality.


democracy. In the *sardana*, anyone who decides to participate is accepted whether or not they have a dancing ability….It also represents Casals’ own ideals of union and peace.”

(c) As to Christian elements displayed through the music, the final movement, “Gloria,” represented Casals’ “hope for a world united in peace with no more war and no more sin,” achieved by the aural effect of bringing orchestral and vocal forces back together—in the home key of F-Major. The slow but gradual volume and tempo increase provides an overall feel of “solemnity and calmness.” Textually, Casals’ *Crusade for Peace* motto shows up in the final recitation by the Angel: “Peace to all men of good will. Peace!” The oratorio ends on a collective utterance “Pau!” (Peace). As a word with varying etymological significances, in Catalan most directly signifying peace, it is important to note that the expression coincides with Casals’ first name. (Appendix 5.2)

Casals once confessed his desire to make Bach’s *St. Matthew’s Passion* his “musical testament,” arguing that it was written on a “dual basis” (neither Protestant nor Catholic), thus sitting above religious creed. Casals further noted that great creations, although tied to specific epochs, “projected themselves towards the future.” Casals’ theory of transcendental aesthetics, made it seem as if music history objectively inscribed those composers whose works had survived a process of natural selection. His constant patronage and active endorsement, however, negate this historical determinism.

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418 Ibid., 122.
419 The meaning of *pau* may be “Paul” the apostle; the Latin “pax” from *pax romana*, the peace that existed between nationalities within the Roman Empire; the kissing of a tablet by all participants at a mass depicting the Crucifixion; and lastly, the goddess of peace from Roman mythology. Oxford University Press, accessed March 2, 2012, http://web.ebscohost.com.weblib.lib.umt.edu:8080/lrc/flatdetail?sid=36640b4b-e36e-48ba-bd24-92d6818bc5cc%40sessionmgr11&vid=4&hid=9.
420 Ibid., 117.
421 “We might prefer Bach to have given it [to St. Matthew’s passion] confessional unity, so that the work would have ascribed immediately to one or the other creed. Bach has written it in a dual basis, and we must accept it as such.” (Ibid., 118)
422 Corredor, *Conversations with Casals*, 119.
The musical elements, structure, program notes, and promotion of *El Pessebre* confirm that Casals’ intent lay beyond a temporal and locally relevant musical work, regardless of whether such objective was realistic or justifiable. Features of *El Pessebre* resonate with standard interpretations of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony—as noted by Trevor Pelletier—“describing the growth of the human race from creation to transcendence to Elysium by way of acceptance of universality and brotherhood in Schiller’s [*Ode to Joy*] poem. The music implies this theme and, the text and human voices make it concrete.”

*El Pessebre’s World Premiere*

Casals originally envisioned the premiere of *El Pessebre* in Spain at the conclusion of World War II, in anticipation of Allied forces (United States, France, United Kingdom and Russia)—which never happened. Instead, the United States formed an alliance with Spain throughout the Cold War forcing Casals and Alavedra to find alternative sites for the oratorio’s debut. Mexico sufficed as a favorable choice given its hospitality to Spanish exiles.

Casals had last visited Mexico in 1919 accompanied by his first wife, Susan Metcalfe-Casals. He paid a second visit in January 1956, via San Juan, Puerto Rico—birthplace of his mother, as well as then fiancée Marta Montañez. In 1959 Casals attended the II International Cello Competition and the I Casals Music Festival (January 18–February 1, 1959). Ramón Rodrígues reported that on February 2, 1959 the Symphony Orchestra of Xalapa played *Los Reyes Magos y Sardana*, a segment of Casals’ oratorio. The first complete premiere of *El

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† USCIS, File of Pau Casals. The divorce was concluded in Chihuahua, Mexico on May 17, 1957.

Pessebre took place in Acapulco on December 18, 1960, directed by Casals himself, with his new wife Marta Casals in the soprano role. In 1962, Chilean conductor Victor Tevah conducted the second performance at the same location.\textsuperscript{426}

On April 19, 1962 the San Francisco Memorial Opera House hosted El Pessebre’s American debut, marking the commencement of Casals’ Peace Crusade which included a performance before the UN General Assembly on October 24, 1963—with the Festival Casals’ Orchestra and the Cleveland Orchestra Chorus.\textsuperscript{427}

Three significant performance sites of El Pessebre were in/near Casals’ homeland: the monastery of St. Miguel de Cuixà in 1966 during a proclamation of the Pau i Treva de Déu; Barcelona in 1967; and, Montserrat in 1971.\textsuperscript{428} With respect to Montserrat, Casals stated: “Full of feelings as you may already suppose, you will see linked in my oratorio certain names (the three kings) and those of the Holy Mountain. I tell you with joy, excitement and a deep longing, that this audition affixes itself to the highest place this oratorio was aimed for, Montserrat, spirit and heart of Catalonia.”\textsuperscript{429}

The Montserrat Monastery is one of the world’s most famous sites of Catholic pilgrimage for a number of reasons: it is the site of an ancient statute, the Black Madonna—Virgin of Montserrat, patron-saint of Catalonia.\textsuperscript{430} At Montserrat, Saint Ignatius de Loyola offered his confessions and laid down his battle sword (military identity) in 1522, putting himself at the

\textsuperscript{427} Kirk, \textit{Casals}, 530
\textsuperscript{428} Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra, Concert Program 1979–80. Abe Fortas Papers.
\textsuperscript{429} Vázquez-Ramos, “Pablo Casals,” 41.
\textsuperscript{430} “The monastery was first founded amid its windswept crags back in 1025. For centuries pilgrims have come to pay tribute to ‘La Moreneta,’ an ancient statue of the Virgin Mary, and the patron of Catalonia.”
service of the Catholic Church.\footnote{Ron Hansen, “The Pilgrim: Saint Ignatius of Loyola,” in \textit{An Ignatian Spiritual Reader}, ed. George Traub, 24-44.} And, it is also the inspirational site for Jacint Verdaguer’s “Virolai” dedicated to the Virgin, hymn of \textit{Escolania}, the Monastery’s eminent Boys’ Choir.\footnote{“La Escolania is the most important of the monastery’s cultural institutions, it also bear the title of oldest conservatory of music in Europe.” Vázquez-Ramos, “Pablo Casals,” 127.}

Casals’ choice of Montserrat as his dedicatory institution is not accidental. The site’s importance would likely enhance Casals’ own cultural capital by association. The mountain itself is enveloped in the myth of the Holy Grail. Even [Heinrich] Himmler was fascinated by the legend of the Holy Grail:

As in the \textit{Indiana Jones} films, some Nazis took seriously the possibility of power they could wield on finding it. Wagner placed, in \textit{Parsifal}, the secret hiding-place of the Holy Grail on the Mountain of Montsalvat. It may have been Wagner himself, but is more likely to have been the Catalan admirers of Wagner, who spread the idea that Montsalvat was Montserrat. Wagner became the object of a cult (\textit{Wagnermania}) in Catalonia; his operas were for decades the most popular at Barcelona’s Liceu.\footnote{Eaude, \textit{Catalonia: A Cultural History}, 12. See also: INS Escola Industrial i D’Arts i Oficis de Sabadell, “Young People Tracing the Industrial Revolution,” \textit{Comenius Project} (2010 – 2012), accessed December 17, 2012, http://blocs.xtec.cat/projectesinternacionals/files/2009/05/Ancien-R%C3%A9gime-CLIL-unit-Student-2.pdf.}

Wagner’s craze also inspired the \textit{Orfeó Català} and Modernist iconography in performance venues like the \textit{Palau de la Música Catalana}, as well as newspaper articles, concert programs, sculpture, architecture, and more. Not surprisingly, Casals’ \textit{Catalanisme} included a strong background on Richard Wagner,\footnote{“A typographer named Señor Fluvià, a Wagner enthusiast who was a member of the Orfeo Gracieno, the choral group that met weekly in rooms above the Café Tost [where Casals played], loaned Pablo copies of \textit{Parsifal}, \textit{Tristan}, and \textit{Ring} scores and went over favorite portions with him.” Kirk, \textit{Casals}, 53.} as well as numerous choral works Casals dedicated to Montserrat (“the mystical mountain”): “Over the years I have dedicated my religious compositions to the monastery. I have refrained from the publication of almost all my other works. The monks of Montserrat, however, have published my religious music. They sing my compositions to the monastery, which is a great joy for me.”

\footnote{“….It was when he [Hans Richter, conductor and former musical assistant to Richard Wagner] spoke about Wagner that I [Casals] was most thrilled, for I knew how intimate the two had been. Whenever he quoted any observations Wagner had made to him during rehearsals, I collected them as a treasure. I gazed at him, taking in every word….Yes, after his [Wagner] death I bought a large part of them.” Corredor, \textit{Conversations with Casals}, 49.

§ “….With Bauer, Kreisler, and John McCormack, the founded the Beethoven Association in New York in an effort to combat the growing wartime boycott of German music.” Kirk, \textit{Casals}, 316.}
Masses and my Rosary every day.” Vázquez-Ramos—who visited to the monastery around 2001—confirmed that “in accordance with old tradition, every day at one o’clock in the afternoon the choir sings Montserrat’s hymn, Virolai, and at six o’clock every evening they sing Casals’ Salve Montserratina.”

Sitting at the confluence of Modernity and the consolidation of the German nation (1871)—with a distrust for industrialization and a desire for Pan-Germanism—Wagner suggested that “the German spirit was ‘resurrected’ in the last half of the eighteenth century by Winckelmann, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Mozart, and Beethoven.” German intellectuals (persuasively) advocated the recapturing of Germaneness through artistic institutions and creations to counter the supposed corruption of human souls—Nietzsche used “decadence” and “degeneration” as qualifiers for Modernity (1888). German discourses fostered and influenced endless debates in many other sites across Europe, encompassing France, Italy and Catalonia. Proponents celebrated the redemptive qualities of Bach’s and Beethoven’s music, conveyors of spiritual nirvana (“sublime”; “pure” or “absolute” music), universal in nature and application.

Celia Applegate (“Saving Music,” 2005) wrote that a “conviction that there is something special about the conjunction of music and Germans has, for good or ill, informed the concert schedules, travel plans, career decisions, institutional reforms, public and private spending, movie scripts, and innumerable other things, even government policy (in the fascinating case of

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435 Casals, Joys and Sorrows, 86.
436 Vázquez-Ramos, “Pablo Casals”: 128. Also see Vázquez-Ramos discussion of Casals’ 13 choral hymns dedicated to Montserrat.
438 For example, in 1937, Wilhelm Zenter wrote a journalistic piece making distinctions between German and American music: “Employing stereotypes and sensationalist imagery, he characterized German music with phrases such as the ‘immortal beloved,’ a ‘child of the gods,’ and an ‘echo of a higher world’ which, with its ‘flowers of heavenly beauty,’ transforms the German listener into a ‘metaphysician’ who mystically experiences the ‘certainty of the highest world order.’” Sponheuer, in Music & German National Identity, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, 37. (University of Chicago Press, 2002): 37.
the postwar occupation of Germany), all of non-Germans, for at least a hundred years, if not longer.” Casals, a cultural-intellectual product of Pre-World War I, did not escape the rule.

Casals’ desire for a nobler application of music and a transcending legacy, influenced by European classical music, Catholicism and Catalanism, provided the foundations for El Pessebre—the main vehicle for his global peace mission. As such, Casals attempted to create for himself an archetype of “artist as musical apostle.” Paul Barolsky’s article, “Dante and the Modern Cult of the Artist” offers a critical discussion of the artist–hero–theologian model of Dante Alighieri—another intellectual staple of Casals’ aristocratic background. The connection between artists and spiritual enlightenment had a long historical tradition dating back to the Middle Ages: “Dante’s exposition of doctrine throughout his Comedy makes of it a kind of summa theologica in the tradition of St. Thomas Aquinas. As much as we dwell on Dante’s status as pilgrim journeying toward God, he never allows us to forget, however, that he is poet, that his pilgrimage is the creation of poetic fantasia, which gives shape to the hell, purgatory, and paradise he envisions poetically.”

Thence begins Casals’ crusade for peace.

In his missionary persona Casals often referenced himself as a quixotic hermit, fighting oppression with his cello and conductor’s baton. In this perhaps, he was not far from some self-realization: at times oblivious to the world around him, Casals missed major political, intellectual and social changes—decolonization, cultural relativism, anti-positivism, etc.—and thus continued to proselytize via El Pessebre until his death in 1973.

441 Once referring to sculptor Ernst Christens, Casals said that he was “a hermit like myself in Prades, comforted and happy with engraving, music and science” and added: “I have a body like Sancho Panza, and a way like Don Quixote.” Conte, La Légende de Pablo Casals, 70.
In his apostolic mission Casals declared that “[e]very musician should be familiar with the name of Montserrat, for Montserrat is a vital part of our heritage from that past, without which our modern culture would be quite inconceivable” (italics added). Barolsky argued that the rapprochement of art and religion began with a Modernist “quest for artistic perfection” as indicative of “spiritual perfection” not just on the part of the artist but also as a type of social phenomena, with the genesis in cultural-intellectual history: “This aggrandizement of the artist is central to what in the nineteenth-century came to be called the religion of art.”

Casals’ linkage of Montserrat to past and modernity merits detailed attention. Montserrat, site of Loyola’s conversion, influenced the Modern world around. Although no direct evidence is known that Casals aspired to mimic Loyola, a comparison of journeys, in the context of Christian mysticism and the heritage of Montserrat Monastery, may offer valuable insights to the understanding of Casals’ peculiar musical syncretism—aural messianic-Catalonisme.

Loyola’s transformative ties to Montserrat, his apostolic mission and the practice of mnemonic technologies (Spiritual Exercises)—with special focus on sound (and oral culture)—find many equivalents in Casals’ life. For Casals, as for Loyola, music was prominent yet constrained to serve a purpose, giving moral responsibility and access to the individual.

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442 Casals, Joys and Sorrows, 86.
443 Barolsky, “Dante and the Modern Cult of the Artist,” 4, 1.
† “A monumental series of biographies of painters, sculptors, and architects from Cimabue to Michelangelo, organized to demonstrate the overall progress of art toward perfection, Vasari’s book is seen as the foundation of art history, which is part of a broader phenomenon that I wish to call the cult of the artist.” (Ibid).
Music and Religiosity

Loyola and Mystical Epistemology

As a Basque soldier Loyola participated in an armed struggle in Pamplona in 1521, from which he suffered severe wounds to his leg and arms. During convalescence, the book *Vita Jesu Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony brought Loyola close to “folk Christianity”—entailing simple Christian observances within the reach of ordinary people.

After his recovery, Loyola decided to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his way, he made a stop at Montserrat, where he offered his confession and bestowed upon the altar his soldier’s sword. He then spent a year in neighboring Manresa, often retiring to long meditations in a nearby hermit’s cave.444 Loyola’s meditative experiences brought him to special interpretations of “the foremost aspects of Catholic orthodoxy, of the *Holy Trinity* functioning like *three harmonious keys* in a musical chord, of how God created the world from white-hot nothing, of how Christ was really present in the Eucharist” (italics added).445 Loyola formed a new vision of Catholicism, more flexible, accessible, and indwelling in the earthly world.

In 1523 Loyola conducted studies in Paris, and in 1537 he stopped in Rome where he was formally ordained. There he founded, with other colleagues, the influential Society of Jesus (Jesuits). Departing from monastic customs, Loyola’s organization focused on active engagement with society through works of piety that served the general population. It provided health aide, supplied food for the poor, tended to orphanages, and organized secular education—all the while delivering religious ministry.446

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445 Ibid.
446 Ibid., 39.
The Society of Jesus grew into a powerful organization of international reach, founding schools and universities around the globe (albeit carrying a legacy of colonial interests). For his outreach activities, Loyola is credited with taking a distinctive humanistic approach to religion engaging “the cultures of the world, its learning, arts, and professions. In this engagement with the secular culture of its time, Ignatian spirituality found an even more profound application of its conviction that contemplation and action can fuse into a harmonious act of virtual prayer.”

As shall be examined shortly, such elements are also found in Casals’ mission.

Loyola’s early meanderings—from Montserrat to Manresa, to Barcelona, to Rome, to Venice, to Jerusalem, to a series of Spanish university towns, and then to Paris—allowed him to grow in “spiritual discernment,” through a simultaneous “inner and outer pilgrimage.” During these journeys, Loyola devised a particular set of meditational instructions, the Spiritual Exercises, intended to shape individual attitudes and behaviors towards the “support of the work of bringing forth God’s reign [Ad majorem Dei gloriam] into the ordinary routine of the world,” and “according to one’s vocation and one’s talents.”

In Ignatius de Loyola, Powers of Imagining, Antonio de Nicolás sees the Spiritual Exercises as an old form of knowledge invocation deeply connected to medieval mysticism and oral traditions: “The Spiritual Exercises to do not teach doctrine nor morals. When used by an experienced master, they prepare a person to experience and to discern the effects that accompany the practice of living the ‘memory’ of Christ’s life, death, and resurrection.”

Nicolás argues that the Ignatian power of imagining is connected to a holistic world model:

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448 Ibid., 60.
The third ingredient of the Scientific Revolution [the mechanistic model] was the Hermetic tradition stemming in part from the Neoplatonic literary revival of the fifteenth-century Renaissance with its interest in numerology, and in part from even older Christian and non-Christian Gnostic sources in antiquity, particularly in Egypt and in the Middle East. Greatly dependent on this tradition were alchemy, astrology, and the science of mnemonics or memory. All of these sciences touched upon religion at one extreme and magic at the other. Its practitioners saw themselves as *magi*, agents of divine appointment “engaged in solving cosmic riddles.”

Utilizing the power of imagining and memory, a spiritual guide “urges the retreatant not only to see and hear but to put himself in the story. Thus, in the contemplation on the nativity, after seeing all the persons in the story, the exercitant is encouraged to consider herself ‘a poor little unworthy slave, and as though present, look upon [the Holy Family], contemplate them, and serve them in their needs with all possible homage and reverence.’” The expectancy is that during meditation an individual immerses into a biblical scene, incarnating biblical personages whose mystical insights (divine discernment) point to the fulfillment of the greatest glory of God: “Information, however, is the power to act or re-enact, and in so being is feeling, sharing, learning from, and commanding in a mysterious way, the powers that fill the cosmos.”

Loyola’s tradition, Nicolás argued, is founded in Christian cosmology and the customs revived in the sixteenth century by Boethius, which permitted Spanish mystics to share with Greeks “an ancient semantics and technological text inseparable from the text of music as world harmony.” The *Spiritual Exercises* thus invoke “mnemonic technologies” of folk and oral traditions. Nicolás states that an oral culture organized as it is by criteria of sound, deploys technologies of “listening and remembering.” By this approach, signs are interpreted and information transmitted. He adds that “beyond information there is a whole world of experience measured as proportion by the rhythms of the oral chant, verse, and voice cadences…[a]n audial

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452 Nicolás, *Powers of Imagining*. 
culture takes the ear as a primary sense, and all its texts are ruled by the correspondence between the innate auditory sense of harmony and tone, and certain arithmetic properties and ratios.”

So strong was Loyola’s belief in the aural power of music that he permitted plainchant [unaccompanied monophonic unison chant] but forbade choir [singers performing in parts] for the Order.

The cosmological social order (i.e., harmonia mundi) proposed by Loyola is summarized by Hellwig: “The meditations are very clear in their implication that the task that Jesus received from God is not to save souls from the world, but to save the world, to refocus and reintegrate all creation by drawing the human race back into its proper relationship to God—and therefore proper relationships within the human race and all the created universe.”

Casals and the Redemptive Power of Music

In El Pessebre Casals devised a syncretic mnemonic message—aural messianic-Catalonisme—combining European classical music, Christian iconicity, and Catalan heritage to usher a cosmological (universal) social order.

Paralleling Loyola, Casals also underwent a spiritual journey. The religious element had been a part of Casals’ cultural upbringing in Spain (his father having been the church organist of El Vendrell) and there is no question that religion greatly influenced his life and musical output, perhaps in ways not always discernible to Casals himself. He so described his encounter with Spanish mysticism:

I went through a period of religious mysticism. Coming out of the École Municipale de Musique [in Barcelona], through Rue de Fernando, I would walk inside the Sant Jaume

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453 Nicolás, Powers of Imagining.
church and look for a dark corner where I could pray and meditate in peace—and, often, as soon as I got out of the church I hurried back again, more anguished than ever. I felt that here was my only hope of salvation….it was a mental revulsion in the face of a horrible world. My religious fervor did not do any good. I used to notice so many signs of ‘officialdom’ in the Church, and nothing to appease my ardor and exaltation...  

Despite his close affiliation with the Montserrat Monastery and mystical Christianity, Casals claimed that he practiced an institutionally-untethered form of religious piety, having preserved from that period an essentially religious mind: “As far as I am concerned, and since my youthful religious crises, I have kept up a sort of personal and intimate dialogue between my conscience and the Divinity.”

Like Loyola, Casals often described himself (and was described by others) as a pilgrim and a hermit (e.g., “the hermit of Prades”). He habitually retold interviewers and biographers of his musical journeying from a humble youth, surrendering to a musical talent “presaged” by his mother (reconfirmed by French conductor Charles Lamoureux), to being deeply troubled by the afflictions of the world, to becoming an international travelling artist—also entailing a physical accident nearly ending his career; he subsequently formed a type of “musical ministry” dedicated to Catalan workers (Associació Obrera de Concerts, 1925–1939), impeded by Gen. Franco’s upheaval, whose troops landed in Barcelona, midway through the Casals Orchestra’s rehearsal of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony. Forced into exile—a position of alien landlessness—he protested

456 Corredor, Conversations with Casals, 29.
457 † “There are some people who go through religious phases cyclically. With me they did not recur, although I think I possess an essentially religious mind. All religions have admirable ways of preaching fraternity, and elevating the moral sense of human race, giving us hope and consolation. As far as I am concerned, and since my youthful religious crises, I have kept up a sort of personal and intimate dialogue between my conscience and the Divinity” (italics added) Corredor, Conversations with Casals, 29.
458 ‡ ...It is because I want to give music, and the greatest music, and you can’t give what is written today as good music. In the modern style, for me there is nothing good. It’s an error. For that error my friend Arnold Schoenberg is very responsible...” John Hess, “Love for All—Is That The Casals’ Secret?” New York Times, August 7, 1966.
459 ‡ Casals also stated: “...I do not understand sound films, it seems absurd, and, besides, I understand that film, what is said to be true film, must be silent...” Irene Polo, “La Polémica del cine. Pau Casals,” in Pau Casals, Escrits i Discursos: Pau, Pau i Sempre Pau’ ed. Josep Figueres, 69.
458 When asked whether such musical deeds were apostolic in nature Casals replied: “Ah! Completely. A terrible effort I had to undertake, without any material interest, to sustain the thirty plus annual concerts of Orchestra Pau Casal and the Associació Obrera de Concerts.” Figueres, Pau Casals, 67.
political tyranny and social injustice through a performance embargo against dictatorial regimes.\footnote{459}

Casals equated his routine practice of Bach’s preludes and fugues to religious observance and advocated its benefit for the spiritual development of humanity. As such, the “religion of music” usurped the “good values” rightly associated with people to say that only through musical practice may one become a “good person”: “In Barcelona I’m dedicated to the task of bringing music to the masses of the people, thereby helping to raise the aesthetic culture of my fellow citizens.”\footnote{460}

Casals held a faithful devotion to Western art music then presented as “world music.” Indeed, once pressed by a journalist, Casals stated that it displeased him to observe the “racial characteristics” of different peoples reflected in music but noted that “although all nations can produce good music in greater or lesser scale…it must be recognized that in quantity and quality, the best music has been produced by the German composers.”\footnote{461}

In a 1925 interview Casals elucidated his belief on the redemptive, pedagogical power of music: “It is just how Nietzsche and Goethe believed, and as is the truth around the world. Look

\footnote{459} “She [Pilar de Casals] didn’t talk about my ability either; but she was convinced that I had a special gift and that everything should be done to nourish it.” Casals, \textit{Joys and Sorrow}s, 26. Many titles of books addressing Casals further this conception, e.g., \textit{Casals: Pilgrim in America}, \textit{Casals: Cellist in Exile}, \textit{Casals: Cellist for the World}, etc.

\footnote{460} “And since that [“Modern”] aesthetic manifestation is essentially and in form nothing more than vexatious to the senses, something we could even call anti-art, all of the impostors are making gestures of admiration in order to be considered a part of the elected few...” Quintanilla, “Waiting at the Shore.”

\footnote{461} “My first thought was: ‘Thank God, I’ll never have to play again!’” Casals, \textit{Joys and Sorrow}s, 105.

\footnote{4} “In the summer of 1936 the volcano erupted. I was in Barcelona at the time preparing to conduct a concert. By strange coincidence, it was scheduled to take place in the very hall at the palace of Montjuich where – a little more than five years before – I had conducted Beethoven's Ninth Symphony to celebrate the proclamation of the Republic. And again I was to conduct a performance of the Ninth – this time at a government ceremony entitled ‘Celebration for the Peace of the World.’ The final rehearsal took place at the Orfeó Catala on the evening of July 18. I shall never, never forget that day... At the end I told my dear friends, who were like a family to me, ‘The day will come when our country is once more at peace. On that day we shall play the Ninth Symphony again.” (Ibid., 219).


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for example how much is being done everywhere behind the cause of peace, and, the most secure peacemaking instrument is music... on the day when all people in the world shall find themselves engaged with the mission of music, their spirits will know serenity and finish shall be the follies of war. You know the legend of Orpheus, which with his harp tamed and soothed the beasts: and so it is true."462 With respect to its pedagogical application—music to edify a docile citizenry—Casals’ “Theory of Peace” included directives for early music instruction on the assumption that “if each individual feels this way about peace, then society will be ready to work for a peaceful world.”463

Through performances, lectures, interviews, and biographies Casals asserted his role as a musical magi, even implicating that music’s importance demanded political management.464 Like Loyola, Casals found some consolation in a “restorative mission” for the world.

Via El Pessebre, arguably the most important work in the artist’s repertoire,465 Casals set forth his musicopoetic vision for universal brotherhood: “As a man, my first obligation is to the welfare of my fellow men. I will endeavor to meet this obligation through music – the means which God has given me – since it transcends language, politics and national boundaries. My contribution to world peace may be small. But at least I will have given all I can to an ideal I hold sacred.”466

464 “I consider myself a priest, spreading throughout the world the beautiful religion of music, as I also spread some ideas in this regard….My religion seeks to promote music to the great masses of people. The music is an invaluable factor in the aesthetic culture of the human being: it encourages good feelings, softens the heart, makes men less evil; it enhances the sensing of beauty. And because it exerts such influences it is collectively beneficial and intensely necessary to all sectors of society. An issue of such importance undoubtedly constitutes a political concern, which governments should consider and resolve in accordance with their possibilities.” Leandro Reynes, “Declaracions a Caras y Caretas,” August 21, 1937, in in Pau Casals, Escrits i Discursos: Pau, Pau i Sempre Pau! ed. Josep Figueres, 80-81.
466 Casals, Joys and Sorrows, 286.
Hence, Casals’ emulation of Ignatian cosmology—the “sense of a wholly integrated universe, society, and personal life”—is reflected in El Pessebre through features he believed transcendent and redemptive. Like Loyola’s Spiritual Exercises, Casals hoped El Pessebre’s performance would bring listeners to partake in the indwelling discernment of a higher God, restoring humanity to its proper relationship with the Cosmos: “The purpose of ‘El Pessebre’ is to make the hearer feel, knowing that feeling can open the door to thought. And thought and feeling, together, will enable Peace to illuminate the pathway of those who are endeavoring to seek out routes to other worlds without yet having learned to live free and happy in this one.”

El Pessebre’s Critiques

El Pessebre, as a work and in performance, received mixed reviews. Western critics did not fail to notice Casals’ evocation of European masterpieces, through a “declamatory and arioso style” reminiscent of “Mussorgski and of the Wagner of Parsifal,” hence “[n]obody expected anything but what actually did occur. Naturally there were obvious derivations—from the Wagner of ‘Meistersinger’ and from Brahms (one section, ‘The Ox in the Stable,’ repeated note for note the opening theme of the slow movement of the B-flat Piano Concerto). It was obvious too that Casals knew songs from Strauss.” Hence, the work sounded rather conventional.

Given Casals’ background, El Pessebre cannot help but carry the musical, social and cultural assumptions and prejudices of his time. In the global context, notwithstanding the beneficent intent of El Pessebre, Casals’ aural messianic-Catalonisme can be interpreted as a project of cultural evangelism because he did not perceive all musics and thought systems of the world to be created equal.

Casals’ fusion of Catalan heritage to Christian iconicity and European classical music demonstrates his need to associate his “nation” with better-known, esteemed Western cultural entities. It suffices to say that the symbolisms invoked by Casals do not easily translate to cultural formations alien—or even hostile—to Catalonia, Christianity, or European classical music. As research shows, music’s ability to induce specific emotions and thoughts is deeply influenced by age, ethnic identity, religious belief, and a wide range of psychological and social factors. Hence the aural (mystical) effect sought by Casals was highly compromised, indeed misguided.

Arguing for cultural relativism, Christopher Small warned of the deceptiveness of universalist discourses in imagining context-free musical settings: “Each musical performance articulates the values of the members of a social group, large or small, powerful or powerless, dominant or oppressed, rich or poor, at a certain moment in its history, and no style of musicking [i.e., music performance] is more universal or absolute in value than any other.” The post-World War II Israeli embargo on German classical music and language is one such example.

*El Pessebre’s* European, Christian and Catalan features, betray Casals’ professed religious heterodoxy and emancipatory peace mission. His proselytizing is particularly troublesome in light of Gen. Franco’s policies of cultural hegemony over ethnic minorities in

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469 “For example, Balkwill and Thompson (1999) point out that even when the music materials alone are considered, psychophysical and cultural cues need to be distinguished. The implication is that beyond the physical characteristics of music stimuli, emotional responses to music listening are significantly influenced by variables indicating cultural learning.” Gunther Kreutz, et. al., “Using Music to Induce Emotions: Influences of Musical Preference and Absorption,” *Psychology of Music* 36 (2008): 101–136. DOI: 10.1177/0305735607082623.


471 “There was indeed many individuals who boycotted German products; but these individuals could not halt the growth of trade relations between Israel and Germany. One curious effect was that much public hostility was channeled towards German culture—above all, the use of the German language in public functions. To take one example, whereas no official law dealing with the use of the German was ever enacted by the Knesset, there existed a general understanding that in the case of music, a total boycott would be placed on live or radio performances of any vocal works in German.” Jehoash Hirshberg and Na’ama Ramot, “The Tangled Road to Legalization: The Admission of the German language in Musical Performances in Israel,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 96:4 (Fall 2006): 510-521.
Spain (e.g., the proscription of Catalan language and culture in public venues). Michel Eaude described this dissonance as a quest for national autonomy, which often colors Catalans’ reception history, interpreted with excessive (utopic) mythologizing: “Official Catalonia is fond of over-promoting its great figures, its ‘universal Catalans,’ rather than let them stand by themselves.” This “[o]ver-promotion is a tic characteristic of a small nation having to fight for its identity.”472

No doubt Casals’ charisma and prestige helped to obfuscate the historical and geopolitical contingencies of El Pesebre, then promoted by the United Nations (on October 24, 1963), an intergovernmental organization committed to developing “friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.”473

**Casals and the “Catalan UN”**

Basking in the publicity generated by his *Peace Crusade*, Casals was invited to perform for United Nations Day on October 24, 1971,474 where he issued a conflicting peace message over the microphone claiming Catalonia as a society with a “distinct” yet “universal” past—the world’s precedent for peace leagues: “And more, I am a Catalan. Today a province of Spain. But what has been Catalonia? Catalonia has been the greatest nation in the world. I will tell you why. Catalonia has had the first parliament, much before England. Catalonia has had the first United Nations. All the authorities of Catalonia in the eleventh century met in a city of France, at the time Catalonia, to speak about peace.” (Figure 14)

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474 For complete program, see appendices 18, 20, 22.
In this brief excerpt Casals makes reference to *Pau i Treva de Déu* (Peace and Truce of God), an ecclesiastical treaty enacted in Toulouges (Pyrénées-Orientales, 1057), and led by Bishop Oliba of Vic.\(^{475}\) Historian Jeffrey Bowman explains that the treaty represented a continuation (not origin) of medieval legal and political improvements (e.g., the *Visigothic Code*), although ushering some innovations—alternative notions of space and time. For example, the treaty “insisted on the inviolable character of ecclesiastical property and the sanctified character of certain days of the week,”\(^{476}\) the disobedience of which was punishable by excommunication.\(^{477}\) Bowman is careful to point out that the treaty reflected *eleventh-century* “collective anxieties about marriage, peace and property” as well as Oliba’s personal concern over the lands donated by his family to the abbey, whose religious significance cannot be overlooked: “….no one intended such gifts to be quickly forgotten. Giving and receiving property was a process through which donors negotiated their relations with saints, monastic communities and their own predecessors.”\(^{478}\) This pacting process was mimicked in nearby locations, but the extent to which the evidence allows for the construction of a broader social, political or religious movement is debatable.

To *Pau i Treva de Déu* (1057), Catalans often attach the historical significance of *Usatges* (1060), a prototypical form of law preceding the *Magna Carta* (1215). Casals made the following affirmation about this 1060 document:

We had no kings – we were satisfied to have counts as our rulers. And in our constitution in the Middle Ages with these words the Catalan people addressed their ruler: ‘Each of us

\(^{475}\) A member of the comital family of Cerdanya-Besalú, Oliba was also abbot of two important monasteries on either side of the Pyrenees: Santa Maria de Ripoll and Sant Miquel de Cuixà.” Jeffrey Bowman, “Councils, memory and mills: the early development of the Peace of God in Catalonia,” *Early Medieval Europe*, 1999, 99-129: 105.

\(^{476}\) Bowman, “Councils, memory and mills,” 112.

\(^{477}\) “It was forbidden to assail an enemy from the ninth hour of Saturday until the first of Monday; to attack unarmed monks or clerics or anyone travelling to or from church; to violate churches or houses located within thirty yards of a church; to invade the possessions of the church of Elné or of other churches and monasteries, or to remain in an incestuous marriage.” Bowman, “Councils, memory and mills,” 107.

\(^{478}\) Bowman, “Councils, memory and mills,” 128, 122.
is equal to you, and together all of us are greater than you.’ As early as the eleventh century, Catalonia summoned a convocation that called for the abolishment of war in the world. What better evidence of a high civilization could there be than that?”

Eaude has critiqued Casals’ exaggerated discourse that Usatges and Treva represented Catalan magnanimity in times of absolutist France and Castille. He argued that “while it certainly introduced the idea of ‘pacting,’ dear to Catalans’ self-image to this day”, such claims supersede Catalonia’s pretense of diversion from imperialism:

Modern Catalan nationalists are proud that Catalan is spoken in four states: France, Spain, Andorra and Italy. However, nationalist pride should be nuanced; as John Payne points out in his Catalonia, it is only spoken in L’Alguer (on Sardinia and thus part of Italy) because conquering Catalans threatened with prison or death those who refused to speak it. This mirror-image of Franco’s 1940s insistence that only Castilian Spanish be used should make Catalans reflect before rushing to celebrate the geographical range of their language.

Lastly, according to Bowman, growing reliance on coded law and documentary proof arrived with its own set of burdens, wherein documents intended to preserve memory and ensure stability of agreements sometimes “provoked controversy and afforded opportunities for deception.”

The Controversy Surrounding the “Hymn to the United Nations”

In 1971 Secretary-General U Thant commissioned Casals to compose a special hymn based on the preamble of the United Nations to celebrate UN’s 25th anniversary. This would

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479 Casals, Joys and Sorrows, 74. “We Catalans have our own national language – it is an ancient Romance language, completely distinct from Castilian Spanish. We have our own culture – the sardana is our dance, and what a lovely dance it is! And we have our own history. Already in the Middle Ages, Catalonia was a great nation, and her influence reached into France and Italy – even today in both countries you will find many people still speaking Catalan.” (ibid.).
480 Eaude, Catalonia: A Cultural History, 50.
481 Ibid., 57.
482 “Judges rejected documents as unauthentic. Underhanded disputants in England and León stole documents, and litigants in Italy and France conspired to destroy them. Litigants throughout post-Carolingian Europe accused their opponents of presenting inaccurate or forged records.” Jeffrey Bowman, Shifting Landmarks. Property, proof, and dispute in Catalonia around the Year 1000 (New York: Cornell University Press, 2004), 241.
prove not only a difficult task but also a controversial one—as to the future significance of this hymn for the organization. Casals’ notoriety and symbolic stature as a promoter of peace, likely helped to obfuscate the original intent of the hymn as an event-specific song, and instead, brought a mistaken view that it was commissioned as the UN’s official anthem.

Because of the inherent difficulties presented by the formality of the preamble, the United Nations elicited the help of W. H. Auden, a prominent British poet and veteran of the International Brigades (which assisted the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War). On October 24, 1971, the Orchestra of the Festival Casals of Puerto Rico, UN Singers, and the chorus of the Manhattan School of Music premiered the hymn before the General Assembly.\textsuperscript{483}

Some Catalans were quick to claim the hymn as the United Nations’ official anthem. A 2008 online article exemplifies current debates over the song’s applicability as “a hymn to” or “the official anthem of” the United Nations: “Auden and Casals did not receive any gratitude and still suffer unfair censorship. It must be the only known case in history that assassinated a hymn commissioned, edited and released. It is evident that the Spanish government provided some reparations, but the UN is even more responsible for having commissioned the work, officially premiering it, and then, having buried, censored, silenced and banished it, conceding to unspeakable pressures against the authors.”\textsuperscript{484} Marta Casals joined the choir of voices advocating for the posthumous legitimation of Casals’ “anthem.”\textsuperscript{485}

\textsuperscript{483} See appendices 18, 21, 22, 26, and 28.
\textsuperscript{485} “According to her, contrary to the U.S. where anthems are very important because ‘everyone feels their homeland with intensity, there are numerous nations in the Organization of the United Nations’ so nobody can relate to one single anthem. However, Pau Casals’ widow feels that this song should be restored in the name of Peace and that official and private UN acts should start using this anthem as a tradition.” Ariadna Matamoros, “Pau Casals’ widow urges to recuperate the anthem the famous cellist composed for the UN,”\textit{Catalan News Agency}, February 2, 2011.
The United Nations has an official emblem (7 Dec 1946) and flag (20 Oct 1947), but has expressly denied the commission of an official anthem: “Though many songs have been written about the United Nations or related themes, there is no official anthem or hymn written and performed at the United Nations on 24 October 1971, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations, by Catalan maestro Pau Casals.” (Appendix 6)\textsuperscript{486}

Archival documentation confirms the UN’s position (seconded by Casals’ 1972 testimony to Joaquim Ibarz), making explicit the hymn’s circumscribed usage: “Last November, U Thant wrote the Maestro inviting him to undertake the writing of a new hymn for performance at the 1971 United Nations Day concert. In his letter, the Secretary-General explained that although the new song could not be formally adopted as the official anthem of the United Nations, he hoped it would come to be performed on appropriate occasions.” (Appendix 21)\textsuperscript{487} A printed copy of the hymn reads: “Hymn to the United Nations” (Figure 15).

The Secretary-General asked both artists to donate their royalties to a UN charitable organization: “This composition has brought together the vision and talents of Pablo Casals and of the distinguished poet, W. H. Auden. Both responded graciously to my suggestion that they should collaborate on this work; and how they have carried their generosity even further, by agreeing to donate royalties from the new Hymn for the benefit of the United Nations International School.”\textsuperscript{488}

Intentionally or not, the controversy also stems in part from the ambiguity created by Fundació Pau Casals’ website wherein the English version reads “Hymn to the United Nations,” albeit the Castellan version incorrectly notes “Himno de las Naciones Unidas” (“Hymn of the


\textsuperscript{488} Ibid. Appendices 19, 23, 24, and 26.
United Nations”). A small correction would cause both versions to agree with the song’s event-specific intent for which the song was commissioned. (Figure 12).

On 11 October 1976 an event celebrated Casals’ Centennial along with the US Bicentennial: “UN staff members and delegates joined together in the *Sri Chinmoy: The Peace at the United Nations* program to pay tribute to the great cellist.”

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Conclusion

As one of the foremost interpreters of J. S. Bach, Casals partook in the international entreaty of said composer, along with that of others such as Brahms and Ludwig van Beethoven. Did Casals aspire to create an analogous iconic legacy? Did the United Nations embody Casals’ best opportunity for an extended international projection? Did Casals act as a legitimate interlocutor for world peace?

Casals’ wide notoriety and global peace mission earned him, in Catalonia, the oxymoronic title of “Universal Catalan.”\textsuperscript{490} In 1963 Casals stated that “[t]he United Nations today represents the most important hope for peace. Let us give it all power to act for our benefit.” Casals exhorted\textit{ all} to assent to a central global governance—the leadership of the United Nations (the “Supreme Forum”)—which in his estimation would be a benevolent one. In his role as cultural apostle, Casals added his “musical messianism” as the doctrine: “With this objective [unite all people in fraternal ties], I consider it my duty to offer my humble contribution in the form of a personal crusade. Let each of us contribute as he is able until this ideal is attained in all its glory; and let us unify our fervent prayers that in the near future all humanity may be joined in a spiritual embrace.”\textsuperscript{491}

Casals also aspired to have his “Hymn to the United Nations” (crafted as short and emblematic) adopted as UN’s official anthem. In the above-hypothesized scenario (i.e., central global governance), by default the hymn would have become a \textit{World Anthem}.\textsuperscript{492} Perhaps, not

\textsuperscript{490} “Pablo Casals was a global artist. Considered the foremost interpreter of Bach in his specialty and founder of a new school of the cello, the instrument gave rise to a naturality, expression, simplicity and elegance closer to the twentieth century. He features equally as cellist, director and composer, but above all, outstanding advocate of peace and freedom through music. This is the legacy of Pablo Casals.” La Vanguardia.com, accessed October 20, 2012, http://enmemoria.lavanguardia.com/historia/pau-casals-1876--1973-el-catalan-universal.html.

\textsuperscript{491} Pau Casals, “A Peace Message,” United Nations Archives. October 24, 1963. (Figure 13).

\textsuperscript{492} “An anthem is a \textit{symbol}, it’s like a flag. The important thing in a hymn is that it symbolizes a value shared by many people. The hymn should be short, there is no reason why it should last long. \textit{I believe that my composition will be the official hymn of the UN}” (italics added)” Figueres, in \textit{Pau Casals}, 259.
surprisingly, Casals’ widow continues the “crusade for legitimation” of her husband’s hymn even eliciting the reconstituted Catalan Government to support her personal cause. On June 27, 2011 the Cultural Counselor for the Generalitat, Ferran Mascarrel, opened the festivities celebrating the 40th anniversary of Casals’ hymn. The “Hymn to the United Nations” was performed concomitant with its re-publication.493

Notwithstanding its transcendental intent, El Pessebre’s explicit Christian subject matter is incompatible with a mission promoting global peace and unity. The world is obviously divided along many different religious lines and those divisions have been the source of much conflict and war. Promoting a central story from one religious tradition as a means to achieve international harmony is a misdirected effort, indeed, one based on self-conceit and deep-seated cultural prejudices.

The role of artists in multilateral organizations such as the United Nations can also be argued as an effort towards intergovernmental diplomacy, that is, a soft (subliminal) mode of ideological persuasion: “Soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment. A country’s soft power rests on its resources of culture, values and policies.”494 For Casals, UN performances afforded a unique platform for his aural messianic-Catalonisme. The arrangement may have been enticing: the institution positing itself as the arbiter for world peace, predicated in Catalonia, with Casals providing the musical–religious doctrine. It is thus entirely conceivable (indeed likely) that Casals believed himself predestinated to complete a Beethovenian global peace project.495

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495 “Time has always given to everyone the glory he deserves,” Corredor, Conversations with Casals, 139.
Both the United Nations and Casals, however, bumped into challenges of cultural relevancy that subordinate universalist agendas to the multivocality of competing interests: “As an intergovernmental organization, the UN is the creation of its member states; it is they who decided what it is that they will allow this organization to do and what resources – financial or otherwise – they will provide.” The survival of the United Nations demands pluralist cultural and ideological discursiveness in order to address the representational rights of diverse citizenries lacking in egalitarian decision-making authority (e.g., the United Nations’ most powerful branch, the Security Council a/k/a G-5, is made up of only five permanent members: China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States).

Many received news of Casals’ death on October 22, 1973 with a mournful, yet modest, acceptance: “Now Pablo Casals has followed W. H. Auden to an earthly grave and a deserved respite from a world in which, all too often, his kind of gift was not appreciated. For Pablo Casals ended no wars, overcame no great catastrophes, cured no diseases and set no sports records. All he did was play music, and ask that the world play with him. That’s what he gave an ailing world for three quarters of a century, a little music to help it through its turbulent path to nowhere.”

Casals’ aural messianic-Catalonisme, although garbed as a beneficent idea, unilaterally promoted his ideological and religious leanings which, operating as music, alienated diverse global constituencies. If the Society of Jesus may be said to be the capstone of Loyola’s journey, the same may be said for El Pessebre in Casals’ journey. Both aspired to a universal model, transcendent of cultural and historical significance.


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Figure 12. Fundació Pau Casals, website entries.
Accessed April 5, 2012
http://paucases.org/?idIdioma=en&idSeccion=-PAU-CASALS-Chronology-&id=6
A PEACE MESSAGE

By Pablo Casals

During the celebration of the anniversary of the United Nations in October 1958, I was granted the privilege of appearing before that supreme forum. There, where the causes most profoundly affecting the human conscience are discussed, I used two means of communicating the oppressions which weigh on my spirit. And I used the same two means to restate my faith in the great gifts with which our Creator endowed man whom He created in His own image, a faith which persists despite my spiritual disquiet.

I used music and my voice to draw attention to the suffering which afflicts mankind because of the great and perhaps mortal danger threatening us. This is what I said at the time and which to this day holds the same urgency for me:

"If at my age I have come here for this day, it is not because anything has changed in my moral attitude or in the restrictions that I have imposed upon myself and my career as an artist for all these years, but because today all else becomes secondary in comparison to the great and perhaps mortal danger threatening all humanity. The extraordinary scientific discoveries of our century, which some great intellects, in their thirst for knowledge, have achieved, are now being exploited for the construction of instruments of monstrous destructiveness. Confusion and fear have invaded the whole world; misunderstood nationalism, fanaticism, political dogmas and lack of liberty and justice are feeding mistrust and hostility that make the collective danger greater every day; yet, the desire for peace is felt by every human being in the world. This desire has been manifested again and again in the face of the peril menacing all of us, by many distinguished personalities, in scientific writings in the world Press, and above all by that great citizen of the world, Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

"The anguish of the world, caused by the continuation of nuclear danger, is increasing every day; all realize the horrifying consequences of a nuclear war, which would cause not only irreparable material and physical destruction, but also moral and spiritual degradation. How I wish that there could be a tremendous movement of protest in all countries, and especially from the mothers, that would impress those who have the power to prevent this catastrophe.

"It is my deep conviction that the great masses in these countries, as in every other country, want the understanding and mutual co-operation of their fellow men. It is for the Governments and those in power to see to it that the achievement of this desire will not become impossible and thus cause the terrible frustration felt by all those who are not living in unconsciousness.

"It seems to me that all those who believe in the dignity of man should act at this time in order to bring about a deeper understanding among peoples and a sincere 'rapprochement' between conflicting forces. The United Nations today represents the most important hope for peace. Let us give it all power to act for our benefit.

"And let us fervently pray that the near future will disperse the clouds that darken our days now.

"I repeat, music, that wonderful universal-language which is understood by everyone should be a source of communication among men. I once again exhort my fellow musicians throughout the world to put the purity of their art at the service of mankind in order to unite all people in fraternal ties.

"With this objective in mind, I consider it my duty to offer my humble contribution in the form of a personal crusade. Let each one of us contribute as he is able until this ideal is attained in all its glory; and let us unify our fervent prayers that in the near future all humanity may be joined in a spiritual embrace."

24 October 1963

Figure 13. Casals’ 1963 Peace Message.
The United Nations’ Archives.
Dag Hammarskjöld Library
THE WORDS OF PAU CASALS AT THE UNO
October 24, 1971

This is the greatest honour of my life.

Peace has always been my greatest concern. I learnt to love it when I was but a child. When I was a boy, my mother—an exceptional, marvellous woman—would talk to me about peace, because at that time there were also many wars.

What is more, I am a Catalan. Today, a province of Spain. But what has been Catalonia? Catalonia has been the greatest nation in the world. I will tell you why. Catalonia has had the first parliament, much before England. Catalonia had the first United Nations. All the authorities of Catalonia in the Eleventh Century met in a city of France, at that time Catalonia, to speak about peace, at the Eleventh Century. Peace in the world and against, against, against war, the inhumanity of the wars. So I am so happy, so happy, to be with you today. That is why the United Nations, which works solely towards the peace ideal, is in my heart, because anything to do with peace goes straight to my heart.

I have not played the cello in public for many years, but I feel that the time has come to play again. I am going to play a melody from Catalan folklore: El cant dels ocells. Birds sing when they are in the sky, they sing: "Peace, Peace, Peace", and it is a melody that Bach, Beethoven and all the greats would have admired and loved. What is more, it is born in the soul of my people, Catalonia.

Figure 14. Casals’ 1971 Peace Message.
The United Nations’ Archives.
Dag Hammarskjöld Library
Figure 15. Hymn to the United Nations.
The United Nations’ Archives.
General Conclusion

So much has been written about Casals—at least thirty-six biographies and numerous other publications covering his life—that it is difficult to imagine what might have been left unsaid. This dissertation brings to light three facets of Casals’ life and legacy, previously undocumented or misrepresented. In particular, moving from personal, to national (Puerto Rico), to international spheres, it becomes apparent that Casals aimed to construct a legacy extending beyond Catalan borders and the span of his lifetime. To this end, he spared no efforts in collaborating with dozens of biographers and journalists, issuing calls to the media, to world leaders, and to anyone who would listen.

In his biographical collaborations, Casals omitted inconvenient truths about his life (and about his first wife) that would have impacted his popular image as an enlightened artist advocating human rights and world peace (“artist of conscience”). Evidence herein demonstrates that Casals at times would not hesitate to lie or defame his partners and colleagues to position himself in a better light elevating his profile.

Through Puerto Rico’s Operación Serenidad Casals’ image simultaneously promoted the Commonwealth and himself. Yet, despite his intent to emancipate Puerto Ricans from American exploitation, he proceeded to impose European classical music as a way of “elevating” Puerto Rican education and culture. In so doing, Casals trampled on local culture and became a tool for American development policies (neo-colonialism).

In his engagement with the United Nations to promote his peace mission, Casals disseminated his ideological and religious leanings, alienating diverse constituencies. Indeed, El Pesebre reflects Casals’ deeply rooted pre-World War I cultural-intellectual background, paradoxically seeking global historical and cultural relevancy.
Casals’ increasing notoriety brought him many benefits, including financial rewards (the sale of books, films, recordings, museums, etc.) and social advantages. Most importantly, it raised him to the level of an icon—as the world’s greatest cellist and a symbol of musical humanitarianism. Noble as Casals’ causes may have been portrayed, they do not justify his use of lawyers, confidants, family members, and musical peers (sometimes blindsided, sometimes complicit with Casals’ plans) to gain public trust and to build a (contested yet) taken-for-granted heritage based on deception, misdirected beliefs, and deep-seated cultural prejudices.

Casals was not just a quixotic musical apostle; he was also an artist deeply invested in the safe-keeping and perpetuation of his name, repertoire and public image. Although this research makes no claim to have covered all facets of a life spanning nearly one hundred years, it can be viewed as the commencement of a critical and necessary scholarly contextualization of Casals’ legacy—a controversial and shifting one.
SS Byron, May 4, 1904

My beloved,

Sometimes, I suffer so much because you are not by my side. I feel an amazing happiness when I forget this sad reality and when I think about you. I remain so long in these ecstatic moments from the moment I left you that sometimes I have been through our whole life together. I wish that this letter could be already close to you. I do not even know when I will be able to send it to you!

The first days of the trip were splendid. Very calm and no one was sick. But since, the sea is choppy and it makes the boat swing. Almost all the passengers have been sick, I am one of the exceptions and I am very happy to realize this. From the first day I got the cabin just for myself. Bauer has the one next door; it must be the best on the boat.

The night we left was very cold and I put the “slippers”, they are very beautiful and very warm, in spite of my innocent teasing I like their shape and color. I think that I was just used to say that I prefer grey.

Let me begin with the moment when I heard your heart for the first time, and thanks to the extraordinary prediction that Mrs. Farquar made one or two days before I met you.

Let’s begin with our encounter in Baltimore and our trip to New York, and my first visit in New Rochelle. After that, I can remember almost every time we have met, almost every word, and every movement of our eyes. My thoughts go so fast, so often, that I can see you at the same time in different places at different occasions. Our night walks, I can see you waiting for me at the train station (!!), we are playing music together or we are playing the small pool. Our races, the last days and afternoons in the Bronx Park and so many other dear memories. I see myself in the woods, my arm around your waist and full of life and happiness, running free just like little children.

I have just been chased out of the smoking room, it is midnight and they turn off the lights at this time. I’m writing in a notebook now and I want to talk to you more my darling Susite. You’re so absent!

I have known the other passengers just for two days now, but I like being alone and I manage to do so most of the time. I ate some of our chocolate the day before yesterday.

Do you remember that you gave me an entire package? I ate almost half of it but I will make it last. I will eat only little bits of it at a time. I practice playing the cello three hours per day and the rest of the time I am on the deck looking at the sea and thinking about my Susite. I also read
Daniel Cortis that I like a lot although it is not something new. It reminds of Balzac and Goethe in “Werther” but the novel is well written.

I read someone else but not much, because I cannot focus my thoughts on what I read. My thoughts are somewhere else and that is where I like them to be.

On one of the levels of my washstand I put two enlarged pictures of my mother. What an adorable idea you have had! I love you!

I do not have your portrait because I do not want to show you to strangers.

I often need to have a look at the pictures and the beautiful frame given by Lydia. But I don’t want to show them. Have you received the ones of me that Mrs. Aicco was supposed to send you? You will probably receive them soon. My paper is over; I have got to leave you. I am going to bed. The sea is of letters that will reach the harbor. I like the sound of the wind and of the sea.

I would like to enjoy them with you my love. I will see you soon and I am sending you a tender kiss.

Pablo.

PS. After putting the letter in the envelope I started playing the piano: My beloved by Boëllmann and “En Sourdine,” and during this last piece (written full of love for you), I reopened this letter to ask you one more time not to show it to strangers. This is an intimate letter and it must not be revealed. (14 May 1904)

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498 Pablo Casals to Susan Metcalf, 14 May 1904. UNC Greensboro. Trans. Dorotha Lichmira
APPENDIX 2 – METCALFE TO PILAR DE CASALS (1915)

Stockbridge, Massachusetts, USA June 17, 1915

Dear Mother,

As you must know, Pablo is in Europe on his way to come see you. Mother wrote you a letter a few days ago. I suffer at the thought of the pain you will feel upon receiving it. I want you to know that it was written with the deepest sympathy for you. I would like to be there to speak to you and tell you everything in person as I used to last summer in San Salvador.

I do not believe I need to assure you Mother, that I have loved Pablo and have placed him above everything: family and friends. I am sure you understood this. Last summer, as I told you, Pablo often reproached me that our friends, The Von Glehns in London, had had too much influence on me and on our choice of a house in London. And yet you, dear mother, told me that in the same circumstances, in a big city, would have naturally looked for a house in the same neighborhood as your friends. This to show you that this idea has kept making Pablo unhappy since we got married and all winter the same reproaches spoiled our tranquility and happiness. I am happy that Pablo has the great comfort to be very—to you and to tell you all the things that make him so unhappy. He adores you and thinks the world of you; it is his greatest quality and no one appreciates it more than me. It is a terrible thing to realize that words are powerless to help us understand each other. You and I understood each other far better than Pablo and I. Do you believe me, mother, when I tell you that no one, nothing stood between Pablo and I, nothing that could have separated us. My family and my friends saw that Pablo was everything to me and they were happy for me. Why then has Pablo so often doubted me and humiliated me with his suspicious thoughts?

He will tell you what happened in London upon our return from San Salvador. When we arrived, we went to see our friends the Von Glehns where we stayed less than an hour. As we were walking there, Pablo told me that he was going to devote the whole following day to practicing his cello. While saying goodbye to Wilfred and Jane, Jane asked me, in front of Pablo, if she could come see me the next morning and we agreed that she would come at 11. The next morning at 8, Pablo gets up to go get some clothes in his trunk, and under the pretext that he couldn’t find a pair of pants, he made such a scene I thought he had gone mad. He screamed at me that the meeting I had set up with Jane without consulting him was such a horrible thing that my child would curse me for it someday, then he prevented me from seeing Jane for two days, stating that he needed me to go to the bank. I told him I had a sore throat and that since it was humid it would be better to go in the afternoon, to which he answered that he didn’t care that I had a sore throat and that I had to go out anyway. My illness was then just starting, my glands were very swollen. Pablo ended on these words: “We need to have a separation, I will drive you
to your mother whom you have hurt so much and she will judge you.” Pablo was in a terrible state, he had lost complete control over himself and was screaming for the whole house to hear. I don’t know that it will surprise you that I went to my friends who took care of me for 6 days at their house and that I still wanted to go to America alone, without Pablo. This illness lasted 7 weeks, we feared for my heart and so for 6 weeks I was not allowed to sit up in bed. It is then that we reconciled, because I believed Pablo when he said he recognized how unfair his behavior had been towards me. I then believed we could be happy again together and again I felt how much I loved Pablo. Mother, didn’t you understand through my letters last winter how my whole life and thoughts revolved around Pablo, his career, his health, his comfort? I was enjoying being close to my family, but it was my husband who was my real life, my own thing. Because of my love for him I suffered bitterly from not having had the child I already loved so much. This spring, I told the doctor that I wanted to have a complete inner examination and that if it was necessary to go through surgery to have a child that I wanted to do it. The doctor found my formation to be perfect, that everything was healthy and young and perfectly in place. Lastly, I have decided that we would be happier living on our own in an apartment in New York next winter.

Why didn’t Pablo trust me. He accuses me of things and feelings that do not exist. He told me that I was behaving in such a way with little Loulou so as to make Pablo hate him. Here are the things that offend and humiliate me to the point that I have to distance myself from my husband. And yet he can care for me in such a touching way and have delicate attentions. He took care of me through my illness like a nurse, and I was so moved that I told the doctor, my family, everybody. But us women, when our hearts are bent on doing anything for our husbands, we feel sad and discouraged when we do not get their trust and respect. These two qualities, apart from love, are what make a real marriage and a healthy family life possible. If Pablo feels wronged when I ask Jane to come see me or if I come say good night to my friend in her bedroom after she has gone to bed and stop to talk to her, I am forced to believe that Pablo will never be happy. Mother, you know I am a healthy and honest person, I felt you perceived me as such. After a year of being married during which I loved my husband so much, he said the following thing to me: “You are having a love affair with your friend, you went to her bedroom after she had gone to bed, you slept with her and I understand that after sleeping with her you cannot sleep with me. If we want to live together, this friendship needs to be thrown out the door.”

Here is what your son told me, me! It was his last speech. The friendship that I have with Maria is a noble and pure one. Pablo himself told me last winter that it was a beautiful friendship and that he thought that after being with her and speaking to her I was always in a good mood. Unfortunately, Pablo’s speech has disgusted me and made me understand that even though he has a noble, pure and good mother like you, Pablo has spent too many years with a bad wife whom he didn’t have the strength nor will to leave and he has lost the ability to recognize that us wives, when we love our husbands, we don’t want to be treated like mistresses but like companions worthy of their trust and respect.
Dear mother, I am sorry, my disillusion is a bitter sorrow. I know now that Pablo is not capable to cure it anymore. I suffer for me, for you and for Pablo as well. Yours Faithfully, Susanne.\textsuperscript{499}

\textsuperscript{499} Susan Metcalf to Pilar de Casals, 17 June 1915. Smithsonian. Trans. Lise Lalonde.
April 1st, 1918

Pablo,

I cannot force you to a meeting that would certainly be painful for both of us. Before your departure last year I wrote you a letter dated May 6\textsuperscript{th}. This letter was a question from a wife to her husband. This question, asked in the state of the greatest pain a person may feel, should have received an answer as truthful and direct as the feeling that inspired it demanded. You received this letter, didn’t you? And yet you never answered. Twelve months have passed and you haven’t answered, and you do not wish to answer now. Do you not have the courage? You tell me that you “can speak in definitive terms only for what is good.” What is good is never far from the truth and the truth is what I want. Since you told me your opinion of me the day I left you, your behavior proves that you have no affection for me. What I still wanted from you was sincerity, which I would have respected. It was to hear you repeat what you had said to me, that I was fake, a lie, and mean, that I had betrayed you.

Who should have new points of views after twelve months apart? No, Pablo, I do not have new points of view, no different views about what a spouse and his wife must give each other, of tenderness, of intelligent and fortifying compassion, of desire for mutual respect and complete devotion. I gave you all this Pablo and you didn’t understand. There are no friends who could have contributed to our happiness, nor to our unhappiness. The terrible thing is that you didn’t understand and that you are satisfied not to. I know that you are in pain but where there are strong feelings there is strong courage. Your silence has been cruel in its weakness and unworthy of the qualities that are in you. This letter is the truth without the shadow of anger; pain and disillusion do not leave any room for it. Susan.\footnote{Susan Metcalfe to Pablo Casals, 1 April 1918. Smithsonian. Trans. Lise Lalonde.}
APPENDIX 4 – EMMET TO DE GLEHN (1918)

The poor little darling is under a great strain this summer as the mails from Spain are so bad [and] it isn’t healthy for her to have no outlet [and] she won’t speak to any of us [and] of course she won’t put any strain or worry on Kob. She has told me that I have had my “last chance” [and] has deep resentment or rather grievance that I should ever have altered my attitude toward Pablo on acct. of anything she said or did. She and I are so different that though I always understand all her mental process by means of perfect affection for her she hasn’t enough of that for me to understand mine [and] any way it is hard always for her to imagine another point of view.

She is, however, so great that I believe, as Kob said, “she will yet pull it through.” She talks openly to Maria and as M. and I have just the same point of view [and] language about her affair I feel that Susie is getting mislead. I want her to have the sort of comfort I should like to have been able to give her [and] that of course comforts me a great deal [and] Maria is such an old darling [and] so wise [and] good. As I didn’t get off last week, I have had a week of her visit [and] it was a delight to see her pleasure in the house [and] place [and] children. We have had the most wonderful summer so far I ever remember.

….I realize how impossible it is to give you any real idea in letters of Susie’s affair [and] my attitude towards it. If ever I see you again I can tell you just what I think [and] why. I see now that Susie is strained [and] sore [and] anxious [and] she wants silence [and] above all not to be told what she is to do. Her reserve about making that situation understood causes her to put out ruckles which appear like dislike or distrust [and] that is what she sometimes does with Pablo and which results in time in a brain storm. If she can only get the trick of taking his faults more lightly [and] humorously for the sake of the love she has for the adorable part she can’t do without [and] not allow her irritation to try [and] force his faults into the open [and] to an issue I think it will all be different. I have proved that, being with them so often myself. If she will only do at the time what she does 6 months later [and] let him talk it over as much as he wants. She hates that but he doesn’t and I wouldn’t.

That is why, though, I can nobble his code. I always can understand what he feels [and] I know more than ever now. Better still she should never let the irritation come to the breaking point, if she can only through her tremendous affection for him leave a little more analytical power of thought [and] not go so much by waves of violent feeling.

She told me that I have never helped her life and bitterly blamed me. I only speak of it to show you why I hope so much that she can do it [and] that we have been much too hard on our judgment of the essence of Ps character. He is as unpredictable as a child in his conduct good or bad. I have always told her that; but when it came to the breaking point have always decided that she must have analyzed it [and] must know more than anyone else about it. I simply couldn’t
imagine anyone could go for so long as she did last summer if she were not really sure what she meant otherwise.

I should have done as I always did before –protected her privacy [and] lied [and] camouflaged it in every possible way. I cannot feel that I have been disloyal. I have always been extra careful [and] fair to P. [and] to tell anyone I spoke to of his fine qualities; but I did not think it fair that people should misunderstand [and] blame Susie as some did. She authorized all that [and] I discussed it with her before taking any step.

I never had such a disappointment as feeling that I had to give up the joy I had in the thought of their marriage. I would take it back on almost any terms, as he has never been anything but lovely to me [and] most of my intercourse and companionship with her has depended on him. He always loved having me around [and] made me feel I was welcome. Always wanted to share things with me [and] give me pleasure. All that I know against him comes from or through her. It never pays to whoop anyone else’s nigger.

….Please don’t think from anything I have written that things are really wolfish between my precious little darling [and] me. Nothing in me to her can ever be different [and] that is part of the agony if I can keep it. We have perfectly nice outward intercourse as you see from her letter, only she doesn’t want the sort of intimacy we have always had [and] perhaps it will be better for her life if she doesn’t.

She always has told me her joys [and] her sorrows because as she says “I loved him. And I love him still.” She is intensely reserved but as I said she needs an outlet. She has to show affection when she feels it. I wish you could see Lilli’s baby. She is such a princess. Maria says she looks like a Russian princess [and] she holds herself like the great Catherine. S. took of her.

I must say I admire how Pablo knows what he wants [and] by George he gets it on his terms. I wish I could do that ever. He wouldn’t listen to a serious view being taken of the fracas at the cud. He said it was absurd to suppose he did it intentionally [and] that it would have been horrible if he had. Of course at that point he had a brain storm [and] didn’t know what he did. When those are over he wants to make up. He doesn’t take those things very seriously [and] when he gets them off his chest he is ready for peace [and] then Susie is a mass of indignation which lasts for 6 months or so [and] he knows, or thinks, that there is nothing he can do till she decides to realize that they can’t live without each other. He wrote her this spring that unless she felt differently there could be nothing but pain in their trying to talk about it. That is his point of view [and] what he really believes.

I see why, as I would no more attempt to make overtures of peace with her when she is angry with me than with a Bengal tiger or the Sphinx. The latter at least wouldn’t say anything to hurt anyone’s feelings. What she likes is to be allowed to gradually right herself [and] smooth her
feathers in peace [and] quiet [and] complete confidence we have always allowed her [and] then tacitly resume relations with a certain amount of humorous tolerance.

Kob says it is very hard for her to judge as Susie has never been unreasonable or harsh or inimical or unharmonious in her relations with her for an instant [and] that there must be something in her displeasure which seems very final but that it is really the most unfinal anger in the world. It is awfully hard for S. to realize the effect she gives, as we all have always spoiled her so about it, just because we know she can’t be really spoiled when P. says that he is the person who is going to make her fine. He says this no matter from what point of view he means it, and she can’t live with him if she doesn’t get the upper hand of the only fault she has [and] I believe now from the suffering she has had that she knows she loves him enough to do this [and] to forget she has a self.

She told Maria she couldn’t go to the steamer to see him off as she couldn’t have let him go without her, [and] she decided to take this summer to correspond with him [and] establish her point. Just after I wrote you she got a long letter from him, which she told me she was thankful for, as I brought it up [and] she told me it was what she wanted it to be. She had not had another when I left. He told her he would write all the time, but not to worry if she didn’t get them all, as only few of his mother’s reached him last winter.

He said he was to play a series of concerts in Spain [and] that he King has confessed a degree on him which gives him the title of “Excellency.” Mrs. M. comment was “Il faut que, tu le soigne un feu le teint, Susie.” Susie was very much amused at this [and] said “You never can tell.”

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501 Lydia Emmet to Jane de Glehn, 25 July 1918. Smithsonian.
APPENDIX 5.1 – EL PESSEBRE, EXCERPT.

Pablo Casals

EL PESSEBRE
THE MANGER
DIE KrippE

Poema/Poem/Text: Joan Alavedra

I
Preludi
Prelude
Praeludium

Allegro (Tempo di Sardana) \( \frac{1}{4} = 112-120 \)
vivace

Aufführungsduer / Duration: ca. 120 min.
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APPENDIX 5.2 – EL PESSEBRE, EXCERPT
Does the UN have a hymn or national anthem?

Though many songs have been written about the United Nations or on related themes, there is no official anthem or hymn for the Organization. One such song, or hymn, was written and performed at the United Nations on 24 October 1971, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations, by Maestro Pablo Casals of Spain. The words were written by poet W.H. Auden of the United Kingdom.

The two, though they had never met, were brought together in this unusual collaboration by then United Nations Secretary-General U Thant. For centuries, poets and musicians have sung in praise of war and celebrated victories in battles. U Thant was intrigued by the fact that there existed no hymn to peace. Pablo Casals was a personal friend of his, and when approached by U Thant, he readily agreed to write the music. As the Secretary-General explained, the song was to be based on the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations. Although it would not be formally adopted as the official anthem of the United Nations, U Thant hoped it would be performed on appropriate occasions.

While Casals greatly liked the ideas contained in the preamble, there was no way he could put music to such a document. The task to write an appropriate poem, based on the theme of peace and ideals enshrined in the preamble, fell on W.H. Auden, then regarded as the greatest living English poet. When a representative of the Secretary-General approached the poet, he immediately agreed to write the poem. In three days’ time, Auden finished writing A hymn to the UN, which was then set to music by Casals.

On 24 October 1971, the Orchestra of the Festival Casals, with the Maestro himself as conductor, presented the hymn in a premiere performance at UN headquarters.

A Hymn to the UN

Music: Pablo Casals  Words: W.H. Auden

Eagerly, musician.
Sweep your string,
So we may sing.
Elated, optative,
Our several voices
Interblending,
Playfully contending,
Not interfering
But co-inhering,
For all within
The cincture
of the sound,
Is holy ground
Where all are brothers,
None faceless Others,
et mortals beware
Of words, for
With words we lie,
Can say peace

When we mean war,
Foul thought speak- fair
And promise falsely,
But song is true:
Let music for peace
Be the paradigm,
For peace means to change At
the right time, as the World-
Clock
Goes Tick- and Tock.
So may the story
Of our human city
Presently move
Like music, when
Begotten notes
New notes beget
Making the flowing
Of time a growing
Till what it could be,

At last it is,
Where even sadness
Is a form of gladness,
Where fate is freedom,
Grace and Surprise.
"IT IS THE TRADITION that the Organization marks United Nations Day with a concert including the final movement of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony. Today we shall, for the first time in this hall, listen to the symphony in its entirety.

It is difficult to say anything knowing that the words spoken will be followed by this enormous confession of faith in the victorious human spirit and in human brotherhood, a confession valid for all times and with a depth and wealth of expression never surpassed. However, this concert is in celebration of United Nations Day and it has been felt that a few words may remind us of the purpose for which we have assembled.

When the Ninth Symphony opens we enter a drama full of harsh conflict and dark threats. But the composer leads us on, and in the beginning of the last movement we hear again the various themes repeated, now as a bridge toward a final synthesis. A moment of silence and a new theme is introduced, the theme of reconciliation and joy in reconciliation. A human voice is raised in rejection of all that has preceded and we enter the dreamt kingdom of peace. New voices join the first and mix in a jubilant assertion of life and all that it gives us when we meet it, joined in faith and human solidarity.

On this road from conflict and emotion to reconciliation in this final hymn of praise, Beethoven has given us a confession and a credo which we, who work within and for this Organization, may well make our own. We take part in the continuous fight between conflicting interests and ideologies which so far has marked the history of mankind, but we may never lose our faith that the first movements one day will be followed by the fourth movement. In that faith we strive to bring order and purity into chaos and anarchy. Inspired by that faith we try to impose the laws of the human mind and of the integrity of the human will on the dramatic evolution in which we are all engaged and in which we all carry our responsibility.

The road of Beethoven in his Ninth Symphony is also the road followed by the authors of the Preamble of the Charter. It begins with the recognition of the threat under which we all live, speaking as it does of the need to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which has brought untold sorrow to mankind. It moves on to a reaffirmation of faith in the dignity and worth of the human person. And it ends with the promise to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors and to unite our strength to maintain peace.... We are indeed still in the first movements. But no matter how deep the shadows may be, how sharp the conflicts, how tense the mistrust reflected in what is said and done in our world of today as reflected in this hall and in this house, we are not permitted to forget that we have too much in common, too great a sharing of interests and too much that we might lose together, for ourselves and for succeeding generations, ever to weaken in our efforts to surmount the
difficulties and not to turn the simple human values, which are our common heritage, into the firm foundation on which we may unite our strength and live together in peace.

May this be enough as a reminder of the significance of this day. And may now the symphony develop its themes, uniting us in its recognition of fear and its confession of faith.

In ending, may I express the gratitude of the Organization, and of all of us, to Mr. Ormandy and to the Philadelphia Orchestra for coming to us today and for helping us to celebrate this fifteenth United Nations Day.

Listen to an extract of this speech


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To the Secretary-General of the United Nations
Mr. U. Thant

Dear Mr. Thant:

It is an honor for me to receive your kind letter and to be invited once more to the United Nations.

I am happy and grateful to you for the opportunity to give there, a performance of my oratorio "El Pasebre". I am offering this work as my humble contribution to the ideals of Freedom and Peace in many performances around the world; and I feel that "El Pasebre" will attain its maximum significance, when performed at the United Nations.

It is my fervent desire that the performance will express these sentiments and hopes which we all share.

Please receive my respects and high esteem.

Sincerely yours,

Pablo Casals

cc: Dr. Tavares de Sa
Mr. Lemieux

Pablo Casals
January 24th, 1964

Dear Mr. Secretary-General:

I was very pleased and honored to have your note of January 18th. I am indeed looking forward with great anticipation to the performance in the United Nations on October 24th, with my friends of the London Symphony Orchestra. It is an event that would be treasurable to any artist; I am happy that I could re-arrange my schedule so as to take advantage of the invitation.

Please accept my warmest good wishes, and the hope that we may soon meet.

Cordially yours,

Isaac Stern

The Secretary-General of the United Nations,
Mr. U Thant
United Nations
New York City.
26 July 1963

Dear Mr. Casals,

Thank you for your kind letter of 15 July 1963. I am delighted to have your confirmation that you will be with us on United Nations Day, and that you will give us the opportunity of listening to the performance of your oratorio El Pesebre. I am looking forward with great eagerness to welcoming you once again at the United Nations.

With warmest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mr. Pablo Casals
c/o Festival Casals
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

cc: Dr. Tavares de Sa
Mr. Lemieux
UNITED NATIONS
INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO:        Mr. J. V. Naradahe, Chef de Cabinet

THROUGH:   Mr. Hernane Tavares de Sa

FROM:      Jean d'Arcy, Director

Radio and Visual Services
Division, GIF

SUBJECT:   United Nations Day Concert

4 October 1963

Attached is a copy of the proposed programme for approval.

The concert would start promptly at 3:15 p.m. and, with a twenty-minute
interval, would finish about 5:17.

Inserted in each programme distributed to each sent would be the text of
the oratorio, of which a copy is also attached.

When Mr. Casals came in 1959, he wished to make a public statement which
was eventually agreed should be not spoken but printed and made available at
the document counters only. It was not distributed to the seats. In presenting
his Oratorio for Peace, at its various performances, Mr. Casals has followed
the practice of inserting the same Peace Message (slightly altered from time to
time) in each programme. His current text is attached and it is proposed to
place this again at the document counters in the hall. (A copy of the 1958
sheet is also attached).

May it also be confirmed that the Secretary-General will again wish to
hold a small reception at the end of the concert for the principals and soloists?

If the use of the General Assembly hall for rehearsal on October 23 is
agreed, Mr. and Mrs. Casals will be in the house for rehearsal with the singers
from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., and for a full-dress rehearsal including orchestra from
5 p.m. to 6 p.m. The Secretary-General might wish to use the occasion to invite
Mr. and Mrs. Casals to meet him.

I understand that there is a possibility that the Governor of Puerto Rico
and his wife might be among Mr. Casals' guests.
NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS

UNITED NATIONS

Mail Services
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

(FOR USE OF INFORMATION MEDIA — NOT AN OFFICIAL RECORD)

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS

UNITED NATIONS DAY

Maestro Pablo Casals will conduct a performance of his oratorio "EL PRESPERE" (The Nager) in the General Assembly Hall at this year's celebration of United Nations Day, 24 October.

The oratorio, composed by Maestro Casals, sets to music the poem originally written in Catalan by Joan Alegre. It will be sung in English by Olga Iglesias (soprano), Lili Chookasian (contralto), Paulino Saharrea (tenor), William Warfield (bass), Pablo Elvira (baritone) and members of the Cleveland Orchestra Chorus, of which Robert Shaw is the Director. It will be performed by the Casals Orchestra of Puerto Rico.

The performance will take place in co-operation with Festival Casals of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.
NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS

A wide range of activities has been planned for the world-wide celebration of United Nations Day, 24 October.

They include the broadcasting of messages throughout the world by the Secretary-General, U Thant; the President of the General Assembly, Carlos Sosa Rodriguez; Heads of State, Prime Ministers and other leading personalities.

Flag-raising ceremonies will be held in many countries, as for example in Copenhagen, Denmark, where all flags of Member States will be hoisted in the main square.

The United Nations projects will be formally opened, including an International Labour Organization-Special Fund professional technical training project in Meden, Tunisia.

Essay contests will be held in many schools throughout the world. In the Congo (Léopoldville), 24 October will be proclaimed a national school holiday. In Paris, 1,200 school children will visit the headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Special stamps to mark United Nations Day will be issued in many countries.

An international concert, to be broadcast in 20 European countries, with feature artists from Katowice, Poland; Geneva, and York Minster, England, on a three-way radio hook-up. The concert will open with a programme by the Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra with a famous Polish piano soloist, then move to Geneva where the Orchestre de la Suisse Romande under the baton of an Italian conductor will be heard, and will conclude at York Minster with a cantata by Ralph Vaughan-Williams, entitled "Dona Nobis Pacem", performed by the BBC Orchestra and the Leeds Philharmonic Choir.
Another concert will be held on 24 October at United Nations Headquarters in New York. Pablo Casals will conduct his oratorio "El Pesebre" ("The Manger"), which will be performed by several soloists and by members of the Cleveland Orchestra Chorus.

Other observances will include lectures, exhibitions, window displays, parades, sports contests and the naming of streets after the United Nations. In addition, a special United Nations Day leaflet, published in 43 languages, a photo display set printed in 32 languages, and a school leaflet in English, French and Spanish editions will be widely distributed by United Nations Information Centres and Offices.

* *** *
UNITED NATIONS
Press Services
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

(FOR USE OF INFORMATION MEDIA -- NOT AN OFFICIAL RECORD)

CAUTION: ADVANCE RELEASE
For use on United Nations Day,
24 October 1963

21 October 1963

UNITED NATIONS DAY MESSAGE BY SECRETARY-GENERAL U Thant

Eighteen years ago today the United Nations came into being, born out of the compelling necessity to find some way of ensuring that the horrors suffered in two world wars should not again be inflicted on mankind. Other high hopes found expression in the Charter: that friendly relations might develop and be maintained between nations, that respect for the fundamental rights of all men and women might become deeper and more widespread, and that ways might be found through international co-operation to raise the standard of living throughout the world.

As we look back today on these eighteen eventful and sometimes stormy years, we find cause for hope. Though the air has never been entirely clear of war and threats of war, yet the world today is at peace. The partial Test Ban Treaty has opened the door to further and - I hope - more meaningful steps in the direction of peace and disarmament.

As for fundamental freedoms, there is a growing consciousness in the world that these freedoms are indeed the right of every man and woman and must be fully guaranteed and safeguarded.

Man's yearning for freedom is never stronger than in countries which have not yet attained independence, and discussions continue within the United Nations on how best to encourage the peaceful and
orderly progress of decolonization.

On 19 December 1961, the General Assembly resolved that the decade of the 1960s be designated as the United Nations Development Decade. The United Nations Conference on Science and Technology, held in Geneva in the spring of this year and attended by scientists from 96 countries, discussed ways of applying new scientific techniques to speed up economic development in all countries, at whatever stage of evolution. Next year another major international conference will be held, this time on Trade and Development, in the hope of narrowing the gap between the richer and the poorer nations by means of new approaches to world trade and commerce.

In all these activities, the most important element is the development of human resources. To allow every man to attain his full potential, he must be fed, protected as far as possible from disease, educated, accorded proper respect, trained for some useful function and then given the opportunity to work and earn a decent wage. It is in the effort to ensure these rights for all that we are now banded together in this World Organization, more of us than ever before, for the fifty-one founding nations have now grown to a membership embracing more than double that number and we are well on our way to the implicit goal of universality.

United Nations Day is a fitting occasion for all of us to recall the high hopes with which we set out in 1945, to review the accomplishments - as well as the shortcomings - which have marked the intervening years and to rededicate ourselves to the ideals of peace and tolerance and ever greater co-operation between nations in the years ahead.
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CAUTION: ADVANCE RELEASE

Press Release M/1496
For use on United Nations Day,
24 October 1965.

UNIVERSAL DAY: MESSAGEBY THE PRESIDENT OF THE 19TH SESSION
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, CARLOS SOSA RODRIGUEZ

The United Nations has celebrated its anniversary, year after year, on
24 October. Circumstances and problems have gradually changed, and time has also
altered this Organization, which has had to face difficult moments and dangerous
situations. Today, eighteen years after that historic hour when the foundations
of the United Nations were laid, a new spirit of optimism pervades the debates
of this world parliament.

It is in an atmosphere of diminished international tension that we celebrate
the twenty-fourth of October today. In 1961 and 1962 a threatening climate gave
reason to fear the worst. This year the conclusion of an agreement on the partial
suspension of nuclear weapon tests is contributing to an improvement in the
international situation and makes it possible to contemplate the future with more
confidence and less fear. The role played by the United Nations in those times
of crisis and the calm and unceasing work performed by the Organization through its
manifold services underscore the value of this irreplaceable instrument for
conciliation, understanding among nations and the progress of peoples.

The vital problems of the present-day world are those that most occupy the
attention of the United Nations and its principal organs: disarmament,
decolonization and the economic and social development of peoples.

Humanity's faith in this Organization and the understanding of the States that
make it up should enable the United Nations to fulfil its mission of securing at
the earliest possible time just and peaceful solutions to these three great
political imperatives of today.

I pray that the messages of my successors in the years to come may
continue to reflect positive results in the attainment of these three fundamental
objectives.

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65-21122
UNITED NATIONS
Press Service
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

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Press Release UND/685
23 October 1963

PABLO CASALS ORATORIO TO BE PERFORMED AT UNITED NATIONS
DAY CONCERT IN NEW YORK

United Nations Day celebrations at Headquarters tomorrow, 24 October 1963, will be marked by the performance of the oratorio, "El Pesebre", of Pablo Casals, by the Festival Casals Orchestra of Puerto Rico under his baton at a concert in the General Assembly Hall.

The oratorio will be sung by the Cleveland Orchestra Chorus conducted by Robert Shaw, and by the following soloists: Olga Iglesias, soprano; Lili Chookasian, contralto; Paulino Sararca, tenor; William Warfield, bass; Pablo Elvira, baritone; and Margaret Hauryman, soprano.

The Secretary-General, U Thant, will make a commemorative statement at the opening of the concert. He will speak at 3:15 p.m. The concert will commence at 3:20 p.m. and will end at 5:35 p.m.

The oratorio "El Pesebre" of Pablo Casals, with text by Joan Alavedra, consists of five parts, divided by an intermission after the third part: The Annunciation of the Shepherds, On the Way to Bethlehem, The Caravan to Bethlehem, The Marriage and The Adoration.

The programme will be broadcast by United Nations Radio shortwave service to Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

It will also be broadcast in the New York area by stations WNYC (AM and FM), WKCR-FM, and WNJP-FM.

Channel 13 will carry the entire concert live for television viewers in New York.

In addition, WNHC will broadcast a one-hour excerpt at 9:05 p.m. on 24 October, and WHNL will carry the programme live to radio listeners in Europe and Africa.

Among orchestras that have played in the General Assembly are: the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam, the Symphony of the Air, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Symphony Orchestra and the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra.

* * *
"Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Once again it is my privilege to welcome you here today, on the occasion of the eighteenth anniversary of the Organization.

Traditionally we have been celebrating United Nations Day with a concert and today we are particularly fortunate to have with us one of the musical giants of the century, Pablo Casals. Maestro Casals is conducting the first performance in these halls of the oratorio, El Pesebre, which he himself has composed. Celebrating as it does the arrival of the Prince of Peace on earth, it is a particularly fitting way in which to celebrate this great day. I am sure you would all join me in expressing in advance our most sincere appreciation to Pablo Casals, to the Festival Casals Orchestra of Puerto Rico, to Mr. Robert Shaw, to the Cleveland Orchestra Chorus, to the author of the text of El Pesebre, Joan Alavedra, and to the distinguished soloists who are about to provide us with a musical feast.

In the case of the Maestro, it is his second visit to the United Nations, the first being some five years ago. I welcome him today not only as a great musician, but also as a great human being, who is known the world over as a man of peace and a champion of human rights.

As we settle down to enjoy the music, I feel that we may permit ourselves a moment’s pause for reflection. I am sure that many of you will recall the tense situation in the Caribbean this time last year when we celebrated the seventeenth anniversary of the Organization.

Today we seem to be in a different world. Much of the tension that existed a year ago has relaxed. For the first time there is a feeling of hope, and a confidence that the great problems dividing the world can still be solved with mutual goodwill and understanding. This is a happy development, and we may truly feel that the Angel of Peace is on the wing, and that he is singing the song of peace to which we are about to listen."

* * *
U Thant
Secretary-General of the United Nations
United Nations, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Secretary-General:

May I express to you my gratitude for the spiritual lift you gave us with your message yesterday and for arranging the Pablo Casals concert, which contained some truly celestial passages. It was an honour also to attend your Reception for the Maestro. To hear him speak so warmly about his "dear colleague" (my Father) meant a great deal to me.

With renewed thanks and expressions of my deep esteem,

Faithfully yours,

Mrs. Guido Pantaleoni, Jr.
President
MAESTRO PABLO CASALS AND MRS. CASALS visited Headquarters on 17 April to attend a reception given in their honour by the Secretary-General. The occasion was "Salad Casals" a benefit concert in which the Maestro conducted 100 cells in his own composition "La Sardana" at Philharmonic Hall; the UN International School and the American Symphony Orchestra's free concerts for children were the beneficiaries. On the same day, Dr. and Mrs. Murray Fuhrman (Mrs. Fuhrman is a member of the School's Board of Trustees) gave a luncheon for the Casals. Among the guests were Miss Julia Henderson, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of UNIS; Mr. R. K. Bans, Secretary of the Board; Mr. Desmond Cole, Director, UNIS; Mr. Leonardo Balada, Head of the UNIS Music Department; Mr., and Mrs. Albert Kahn (Mr. Kahn is the co-author of "Joys and Sorrows"); Mrs. Arthur Sandbeck, President of the Heckscher Foundation for Children; Mrs. John Loeb, NYC Commissioner to the UN. The photo at the left was taken prior to the luncheon. The one at the right was taken on the 39th floor; in the foreground, from the left, are: Maestro Casals, Mrs. Casals, U Thant and Maestro Leopold Stokowski, Founder and Director of the American Symphony Orchestra.

At the reception, Maestro Casals said: "It is for me a great pleasure and honor to be once more at the United Nations and in the company of my dear friend, Secretary-General Thant and his most esteemed colleagues. I have long believed that the United Nations represents the most important hope for peace on our troubled earth. I am sorrowfully mindful of the agonies that men and women and children are suffering in the jungles and villages of Viet-Nam and in the tortured areas of the Near East and in other parts of the world. I am conscious of the hunger, oppression and tyranny that continue to torment every continent. I grieve over the fact that, like savages, we fear our neighbours and that we arm against them and they arm against us. If we are to become accustomed to the fact that we are human beings, if we are to make meaningful the knowledge that love should not stop at the border, then indeed it is through the United Nations that we of all lands must act together to achieve a world in which we and our children will live in harmony and happiness.

"The thought of children in all their beauty and innocence is constantly with me, and it has had a special significance for me these last few days. The concert and exhibition with which I have been associated here in New York City have had as their goal the rendering of aid to the United Nations International School and to a series of free concerts for children. What nobler purpose could there be than that of bringing learning and music - and therefore joy - to many children of many nations. Children and young people are our greatest treasure. When we speak of them we speak of the future of the world. Together with the people of all lands we must work to protect that common treasure. And more than that. We must nurture that richness.
1. We have worked out the attached programme with Maestro Casals and his associates and submit it for approval.

2. The estimated duration will be approximately seventy minutes so we do not need an intermission.

3. The United Nations Singers have agreed to augment their numbers so as to provide the size of chorus requested by Mr. Casals—150–200 singers in all.

4. In preliminary discussions with the orchestra contractor it appears that the costs will exceed by several thousand dollars the sum of money available to us for this project. So we may have occasion to take up Mrs. Fuhrman's kind offer to seek help on the financial side.

5. The inclusion of the Dumbarton Oaks Concerto is, I hope you will agree, a felicitous touch. Relations between Casals and Stravinsky, who died a few months ago, had been notably cool for many years. The inclusion of the work, with its UN associations, is therefore a graceful close to a chapter.

cc: Mrs. Fuhrman
Mr. Jankowski
Mr. Cohorel
Mr. Gruneweg

cc: EMP
Dear Mr. Auden,

This office has the responsibility of running the annual United Nations Day concerts, a task made pleasurable this year by the prospect of presenting the new work which Maestro Casals has composed to your poem.

The news from Puerto Rico is that Don Pablo has finished his first draft and is now at work upon the four-part choral writing. It is likely that the orchestration will be done here in New York by other hands.

Meanwhile, some questions arise that need answers from you; and since you are apparently not reachable by telephone I take this opportunity of describing their nature. It may soon become necessary to cable you and ask you to place a telephone call (collect, of course) so that we may settle outstanding points. A copy of this letter is also going to a UN colleague in the office of UNIDO in Vienna, Miss Lisa Doss (Chief of Information Services, P.O. Box 707, A-1031 Vienna, Telephone: 4350), to whom you may safely entrust messages for cabling to me.

Maestro Casals has been good enough to make over to a United Nations cause — specifically, the UN International School — the money which his new composition may be expected to earn during its copyright lifetime. Our legal colleagues are at present working on a suitable form for his signature that will secure this result. May we assume that you too would be willing to allow the United Nations school to benefit from the earnings of the poem? This would be deeply appreciated by the Secretary-General and, indeed, by all of us; though you may very reasonably feel that we have already taken sufficient advantage of your generosity. However, if you do feel able to make this valuable free gift, the technical processes for assignment and collection of the money would be greatly eased.

Mr. W. H. Auden

Hinterholts
A-3041 Kirschätten, bei St. Fälten
Austria
A further question centers upon the release and presentation of the poem for public purposes. We shall have soon to prepare a press release and hope to have it include the text of the poem. We shall protect your copyright by inserting the customary footnote "Copyright 1971 by W.H. Auden". Does this meet with your approval?

It may be that in the course of preparing his musical setting, Maestro Casals has not been able to escape the occasional minor change. When we have the music in hand, I would like to read any changes to you over the telephone and obtain your agreement to them. In any event, the text as released to the press (and as published in the concert programme) will be your own in form and detail — whatever is actually sung in performance.

I am attaching a photocopy of the text as I have received it, to have your assurance that it is accurate.

Finally, the Secretary-General would like very much to know whether you have any plans to visit New York in the coming months; he would very much like to invite you to lunch with him on a suitable day. And is it likely that you will be able to be present with us on 24 October in the General Assembly Hall? That would make the entire occasion more memorable for us all.

Yours sincerely,

George Novash
Chief
United Nations Television
TO:  
Mr. C.V. Narasimhan  
Chef de Cabinet

THROUGH:

FROM:  
George Kovashon, Chief  
Television and Film Section, OH/AVS

SUBJECT:  
UN Day Concert 1971: ABC Telecast of Rehearsal

DATE: 22 September 1971

REFERENCE: 

1. Could you please ask the Secretary-General whether he would agree on Saturday afternoon, 23 October, to look briefly into the General Assembly Hall and say an informal word of thanks to Mrs. Casals, other musicians and singers, who will then be rehearsing?

2. The producers of ABC Television have asked whether they might hope for such an interlude for inclusion in their proposed television programme based on the rehearsal material.

m. Marshon

S. J. agrees

What time please?

23/9

ce mm Marshon
UNITED NATIONS
Press Section
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

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NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS
Note No. 3693
29 September 1971

WORLD FAMOUS MUSICIANS TO PLAY WITH PABLO CASALS AT
UNITED NATIONS DAY CONCERT

A renowned company of musicians associated with Pablo Casals will be
joining the 94 year-old maestro to mark United Nations Day, 1971. They will
perform in the annual United Nations Day concert, to be held in the General
Assembly Hall at 3 p.m. on Sunday, 24 October.

The concert will open and close with the performance of a new hymn to
the United Nations, composed by Pablo Casals with words by W.H. Auden.

The Secretary-General, U Thant, will address the audience.

Soloists participating in the concert will be Isaac Stern, Alexander
Schneider, Rudolf Serkin, Mieczyslaw Horszowski and Eugene Istomin. The Casals
Festival Orchestra will be joined by a large chorus, comprising the United
Nations Singers and the choir of the Manhattan School of Music.

The entire event will be under the direction of the world-famous cellist,
conductor and composer, Pablo Casals, who will be 95 years old on 29 December.
His two previous appearances at United Nations Day concerts have drawn wide
public interest.

In addition to the newly composed hymn, the programme will consist of
music by Bach and Stravinsky. Bach’s Concerto for Two Violins and another
Concerto for Three Keyboard Instruments are scheduled, together with
Stravinsky’s Dumbarton Oaks Concerto (1938).

Last November, U Thant wrote to Maestro Casals inviting him to undertake
the writing of a new hymn for performance at the 1971 United Nations Day
concert. In his letter, the Secretary-General explained that though the new
song could not be formally adopted as the official anthem of the United
Nations, he hoped it would come to be performed on appropriate occasions.

(more)
Maestro Casals requested the preparation of a suitable text, and W.H. Auden responded swiftly and positively to the suggestion that he should write on. (Mr. Auden's text will be made public on 24 October, until which time the copyright remains in the poet's possession). The authors have asked that earnings from the new hymn should go for the benefit of the United Nations International School.

The career of Pablo Casals is remarkable not only for its duration — he was an established concert artist before the turn of the century — but also for its wide range of human and musical interests. Born in Catalonia, he has lived in recent decades outside Spain, for many years in Prades in the eastern Pyrenees of France; and since 1956 in Puerto Rico, where he has directed the Casals Festivals. In 1958, he came to New York to play at the United Nations and in 1963, he presented a United Nations Day performance of his oratorio El Pesebre.

Ilanne Stern has recently celebrated his fiftieth birthday, a milestone in a performing career now in its thirty-fifth year. Mr. Stern is one of the busiest and most widely travelled of concert artists, and his journeys have included three tours of the Soviet Union. He is President of Carnegie Hall in New York, the auditorium he helped to save from demolition in 1960. In 1964, he played the Bruch Violin Concerto at the United Nations Day concert with the London Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Georg Solti.

Alexander Schneider was born in Russia in 1908 and was for many years a member of the Budapest String Quartet, which toured widely in the 1930s and eventually made its home in the United States. He has long been associated with the musical activities of Pablo Casals, both as a violinist and associate conductor. Mr. Schneider is assistant musical director and chief administrator of the Casals Festival of Puerto Rico.

Among the most admired and influential musicians in the world, Rudolph Serkin is a renowned interpreter of the classic and early romantic composers. When asked which musician had influenced him the most, he named Adolf Busch, Arnold Schoenberg and Arturo Toscanini. Mr. Serkin is head of the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia. He appeared as soloist in the United Nations Day Concert of 1969, playing Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra under Rudolf Kempe.
Mieczyslaw Horszowski was born in 1892, in a part of Poland then within the Austrian Empire. In Venice, he studied under the most eminent of piano teachers, Theodor Leschetizky. He has been a close friend and colleague of Pablo Casals ever since they first met in Milan in 1926 and appears regularly at the Casals Festivals in Puerto Rico. Mr. Horszowski is associated with Rudolf Serkin on the faculty of the Curtis Institute of Music.

Eugene Istomin is in his mid-forties, a New Yorker by birth and a pupil of both Rudolf Serkin and Mieczyslaw Horszowski. He has travelled and played widely in many of the world's principal music centres. Mr. Istomin has a 21-year-old association with Pablo Casals, a relationship which began at the Prades Festival of 1950.
PROGRAMME FOR UNITED NATIONS DAY CONCERT

The Casals Festival Orchestra

The United Nations Singers

Chorus of
The Manhattan School of Music

conducted by
Pablo Casals

Alexander Schneider

UNIVERSAL HYMN, text by W.H. Auden
(World Premiere) ................. Casals

Address by the Secretary-General

Concerto in D major for Two Violins ......... Bach
Soloists: Isaac Stern
         Alexander Schneider

Dumbarton Oaks Concerto (1936) .............. Stravinsky

Concerto for Three Keyboard Instruments .... Bach
Soloists: Mieczyslaw Horszowski
         Eugen Istrati
         Rudolf Serkin

UNIVERSAL HYMN (repeated) ............... Casals

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Location/Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>New School Auditorium, 66 West 12th St.</td>
<td>9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Dumbarton; Ceka Concerto</td>
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<td>Bagh Banwarakjold, Theatre, United Nations</td>
<td>3:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Entire Chorus CASALS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>New School Auditorium, 66 West 12th Street</td>
<td>1:30 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Bach: SCHNEIDER</td>
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<td>United Nations Conference Room 14</td>
<td>4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Bach: CASALS; finally, if possible</td>
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<td>Saturday</td>
<td>General Assembly Hall, United Nations</td>
<td>2:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Conference for Producers, Director, all Cameramen, Alto, Accordion, Switcheons</td>
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<td>ALL REQUISITES; LIGHTS, CAMERAS at 2:00 p.m.</td>
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<td>2:30 - 3:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Dumbarton: SCHNEIDER</td>
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<td>3:00 - 4:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Hymn: CASALS</td>
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<td>4:00 - 4:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<td>4:30 - 5:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Bach Double: STERN, SCHNEIDER, CASALS</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5:30 - 6:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Bach Triple: KOZLOWSKI, ISTOWIA, SHKID, CASALS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>General Assembly Hall, United Nations</td>
<td>10:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.</td>
<td>&quot;Kill or Live&quot; (two all</td>
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<td>LIGHTS only -- no musicians</td>
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<td>Chorus call: 1:15 p.m.</td>
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<td>Orchestra: on stage at 2:15 p.m.</td>
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<td>Chorus on stage 2:55 p.m.</td>
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<td>Trombone at 3:05 p.m.</td>
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GH 5 October 1971
11 October 1971

Dear Mr. Auden,

It was with deep disappointment that I learned that you are unable to join us on 24 October for the premiere performance of the hymn to the United Nations on which you and Maestro Ghezzi have so successfully collaborated. I had looked forward to thanking you personally on that important occasion for your moving work which so beautifully expresses the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Hopefully, in time to come, this lovely composition will be performed in public on all appropriate occasions and will provide a long-sustained, readily identifiable United Nations hymn.

I wish also to thank you most warmly for so graciously and generously offering to assign your royalties to the United Nations International School. This School, which is very close to my heart, reaches out to children representing every race, creed and culture, and is a living tribute to the United Nations Charter.

With assurances of my highest esteem, I am,

Yours sincerely,

U Thant

Mr. W. H. Auden
3061 Kirchentetten
Baz. St. Rüthen
Hinterhöhe No. 6
A. O. Austria

cc - Mrs. Fuhrman
Mr. Nasrallah
Mr. Hamid
Mr. Urquhart
Mr. Navahou
Mrs. Mira
Dear Mr. Fortas,

It was a pleasure indeed to speak with you the other day. In reviewing the points you raised on the Casals copyright assignment, with the United Nations Legal Department, I was informed that the Universal Copyright Convention gives the United Nations the right to copyright. I was also advised that the language used in the second paragraph I read to you was suggested by ASCAP as a means of accommodation to the fact that the United Nations is not one of their member accounts. It was therefore suggested that we do the two paragraphs into two separate documents as attached. Please also note that at your suggestion the word “text” was removed from the first section. It was included originally because the intention was to have both the Maestro and Mr. Auden sign the one document at the same time. This, however, is not possible as Mr. Auden is still in Austria and will not be returning to New York until after the Maestro has left.

The attached copy of the Hymn is the first off the press. I thought you might like to have a go at it. We all look forward to seeing you on the 24th.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Mrs. Murray Fuhrman
Special Representative of the Secretary-General

Mr. Abe Fortas
3210 R Street, N.W.
Georgetown
Washington, D.C.
TO: The Secretary-General

FROM: Mohamed Tabiti

SUBJECT: United Nations Day Concert 1971: Reception

DATE: 15 October 1971

I am submitting to you for your approval and comments a tentative list of guests which was received from the Office of Public Information for the reception you are giving following the United Nations Day Concert on Sunday, 24 October 1971, at the South Lounge.

To this preliminary list of 81 guests should be added the Under-Secretaries-General and Assistant-Secretaries-General and their wives (50).

The Artists
Dr. and Mrs. Pablo Casals
Mr. Alexander Schneider
Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Stern
Dr. and Mrs. Rudolf Serkin
Mr. Włodzisław Horszowski
Mr. Eugene Istomin
Mrs. Vera Stravinsky
Mr. Robert Craft
Miss Kay Akester
Mr. and Mrs. Donald Reed
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Hichcock

Musical Administrators, Network Executives etc.
Mr. and Mrs. Carlos Pascual
Mr. and Mrs. Loren Glickman
Mr. and Mrs. James Day
Mr. and Mrs. Ward Chamberlin Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. Ethan Allen Hitchcock
Mr. and Mrs. William Kobin
Mrs. Ann Colbert
Mr. Francis Robinson and Guest
Mr. and Mrs. Humphrey Burton
Mr. and Mrs. Curtis Davis

Mr. Casals' list
Mr. and Mrs. Gabriel Mejia
Mr. and Mrs. Luis Cueto Coll
Mrs. Nellie Betancourt
Miss Marilyn Betancourt
Mr. and Mrs. Aquiles Montanez
Mr. and Mrs. Franco Passigli
Miss Luz Vilarino
Mr. and Mrs. Abe Fortas
Mr. and Mrs. Agustin Blanco
Miss Tati Blanco
Dr. Heber Amaury Rosa Silva and Guest

Those connected with the administration of the concert:
Dr. and Mrs. Murray Fuhrman

Under-Secretaries-General, Assistant Secretaries-General, and Wives

Mr. and Mrs. Brian Urquhart

OPI Officials
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Mr. and Mrs. Ramon Navar
TEXT OF ADDRESS BY SECRETARY-GENERAL, U THANT
AT UNITED NATIONS DAY CONCERT, 24 OCTOBER

Each year on the 24th of October, we mark the anniversary of the United Nations with the performance of great music by master musicians. For an hour or two on that day, we borrow this General Assembly Hall from the delegates and invite musicians to speak to us in the universal language of music, thus filling our hearts with joy and lifting our spirits in harmony. Today we have the rare and memorable privilege of celebrating this birthday with Maestro Pablo Casals and some of his closest musical associates and friends. These distinguished artists require no praise from me. Their eminent names are symbols of the highest musical achievement throughout the world. I speak for us all in thanking them for coming here and sharing with us their consummate artistry.

No less warmly do I express our gratitude to our United Nations Singers and to the Chorus of the Manhattan School of Music, who have joined with them in the first performance of our new Hymn to the United Nations.

This composition has brought together the vision and talents of Pablo Casals and of the distinguished poet, W. H. Auden. Both responded graciously to my suggestion that they should collaborate on this work; and now they have carried their generosity even further, by agreeing to donate royalties from the new Hymn for the benefit of the United Nations International School. This is a cause very close to my heart and, I hope, to yours. Don Pablo is here to conduct the Hymn and thus he receives personally our heart-felt thanks; Mr. Auden is in Europe, perhaps listening to his radio; so let me say "thank you" to both of these great humanists for the work which they have created for us.

(more)
Twenty-six years have gone by since the historic founding ceremony in San Francisco. Those who were alive when the Charter was written are now a minority of the world's people. A full generation has passed; the world has changed and so has the Organization which was created to heal its divisions and balance its forces. The United Nations today is not what the architects of San Francisco had planned it to be. It has fallen short of expectations. This much we can claim: another world holocaust has thus far been avoided and much has been accomplished in improving the lot of billions of men, women and children on earth.

Those of us, who believe profoundly in the principles of the Charter as the civilized and humane way of settling differences among nations, are witnessing with infinite sorrow the gradual erosion of the authority and prestige of this great Organization. Violence and lawlessness continue to prevail in the relations among nations, despite our efforts to keep peace. The gulf between rich and poor remains menacingly wide, despite our efforts to close it. The arms race continues to accelerate at a disastrous rate despite our efforts to halt and reverse it. Millions of human beings still suffer the humiliation of discrimination and injustice despite our efforts to uproot these evils from the hearts of men.

This is no time for cynicism, for disillusionment, for apathy. This is the time when Member States of the United Nations should honour their pledges and breathe new life into the principles to which they have all subscribed. Let us make the necessary adjustment — in our attitudes and in our practices — to the conditions of the world in 1971. Let us muster the moral strength and the wisdom to move forward towards the noble goals on which we all are agreed.

As we gather here today, joining with millions all around the earth, we reaffirm our deep conviction of the need for harmony and balance in our existence.

After bearing the burden of the office of Secretary-General for a decade, I remain firm in my conviction that the United Nations can help mankind achieve the peace which it has always sought. For the United Nations remains indispensable to survival on this planet; it remains our only hope for building the kind of life we all desire for ourselves and for future generations.

Before returning this occasion to our superb musicians, I wish to take this opportunity to pay special tribute to Maestro Casals and to Mr. Auden:

(more)
Don Pablo, you have devoted your life to truth, to beauty and to peace. Both as a man and as an artist, you embody the ideals symbolized by this United Nations Peace Medal. I present it to you with my deep respect and admiration.

Although Mr. Auden is not with us in person, his spirit graces this occasion. In appreciation of his profound commitment to humanistic values in an era which he has characterized as "the age of anxiety", I take great pleasure in presenting to W. H. Auden the United Nations Peace Medal.
UNITED NATIONS DAY CONCERT, 1971

General Assembly Hall
Sunday, 24 October at 3:00 p.m.

The Casals Festival Orchestra
The United Nations Singers
conducting by
Pablo Casals
Alexander Schneider

Soloists
Mieczyslaw Horszowski
Eugene Istomin
Rudolf Serkin

UNITED NATIONS HYMN, text by W.H. Auden (World Premiere) ........................................ Casals 6 minutes
Address by the Secretary-General ........................................................................................................... 6 minutes
Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G .................................. Bach 11 minutes
Dumbarton Oaks Concerto ............................................. Stravinsky 20 minutes
Concerto for Three Keyboard Instruments .................................. Bach 18 minutes
Soloists: Mieczyslaw Horszowski
Eugene Istomin
Rudolf Serkin

UNITED NATIONS HYMN (repeated) ........................................ Casals 6 minutes

* Appearance subject to confirmation. If Dr. Serkin is unable to appear, the Bach Concerto for Two Keyboard Instruments will be substituted.
27 October 1971

Dear Mr. Auden,

I don't know whether you were able to hear the radio broadcast of the UN Day Concert but I think you would have been pleased at the reception accorded the *Hymn to the United Nations* by the audience which heard it in the General Assembly Hall.

During the concert the Secretary-General announced the award to you (as well as to Maestro Casals) of the United Nations Peace Medal; Mrs. Fuhrman has it safely in her possession, to be handed to you at the first opportunity.

The Secretary-General has asked me to arrange a small luncheon here at the United Nations so that he may have the chance to thank you in person.

Despite your reluctance to use the telephone, do you think you could possibly phone me soon after your arrival in this city (office hours 9:14-12:34, extension 2561; evenings 0197-1696) and give me three or four possible dates for the proposed lunch?

There remains the formality of obtaining your signature on two pieces of paper in my possession; by these the copyright of your poem would be assigned to the United Nations and its royalties would go to the benefit of the United Nations International School. Our legal colleagues hope that this matter can be arranged soon.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

George Movehon
Chief
United Nations Television

Mr. W.H. Auden

g/o Curtis Brown Ltd.

60 East 56th Street

New York, N.Y. 10022
52 Carlisle Road, Hove 3, Sussex, Postal code BN3 4FS

The Mayor of New York.

Sir John Stanley,

Dear Sir,

United Nations Day Concert.

Will you kindly send me some programmes and copies of the Hymns sung by the Choirs at that Concert. I thought it was wonderful and am now very anxious to get my Prime Minister Lord Heath, the Lord Mayor of London, and the Chairman of the Royal Albert Hall, London who I am sure hope I will arrange for a London Choir sings the New York Hymn. It will bring us closer together bringing Peace, Freedom and Friendship. I hope the Dove as illustrated will bring this message to the World.

I sincerely thank Secretary-General Mr. Thant for his interesting talk. It was wonderful. It is possible to have a copy of it.

I am very hope that he retires. It will have.
I have every happiness, a great man admired by all.

I am very proud of what the two American flags you sent me. They hang on the walls of my lounge.

I have enclosed a Letter, Greetings and best wishes to the Secretary General of Thant, please send it on to him. We think it's wonderful.

Please return to me the enclosed V.O.A. and your Agency addresses for reference. I look forward to your reply and hoping the flags and copies will come soon. I know they will give great pleasure here. Wishing you my very best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,
Florence M. Atkinson.

Secretary General U Thant.

Dear Sir,

I am writing to thank you very much for your most interesting talk at the New York’s United Nations Day Concert.

also the choir singing. I have asked the Mayor to send me copies of the hymns and prayer programmes. I shall send to our Prime Ministers.

The Lord Mayor of London and Chairman of the Royal Albert Hall London asked him to arrange for a London Choir to sing the Hymns.

I know they will give great pleasure.

Wishing you every happiness in your retirement.

we shall miss you.

Yours very sincerely,

Florence M. Ackenson.
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**Interviews and Personal Communications**

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