

THE DEATH OF ENRIQUE GRANADOS: CONTEXT AND CONTROVERSY *LA MUERTE DE ENRIQUE GRANADOS: CONTEXTO Y CONTROVERSI*

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Resumen:

Enrique Granados (nacido en 1867 en L rida) lleg  a su fin en las aguas fr as del Canal de la Mancha despu s que la nave en que navegaba fuera atacada por un submarino alem n el 24 de marzo de 1916. El compositor regresaba de Nueva York, donde su  pera *Goyescas* se estren  en el *Metropolitan Opera*. Su carrera estaba en pleno apogeo, y cosas a n m s grandes le iban a suceder, sin duda. No obstante, a pesar del hecho de que este incidente lleg  a ser un esc ndalo internacional y provoc  mucha controversia apasionada, el mismo ataque muchas veces ha sido imprecisamente relatado y mal interpretado. Ahora, m s de noventa a os despu s de la muerte de Granados, es apropiado examinar una vez m s este incidente y clarificar exactamente qu  pas  y qu  no pas , y juzgar el impacto de su espantoso fallecimiento entonces y ahora.

Palabras Clave:

Granados; *Goyescas*; Nueva York; Metropolitan Opera; Primera Guerra Mundial; Londres; *Sussex*; Barcelona; Apeles Mestres.

Abstract:

Enrique Granados (b. 1867 in L rida) ended his life in the cold waters of the English Channel after the ship on which he was sailing was attacked by a German submarine on March 24, 1916. He was returning from New York, where his opera *Goyescas* had premiered at the Metropolitan Opera. His career was at its pinnacle, and greater things were no doubt yet to come. Yet, despite the fact that this incident became an international scandal and provoked much outraged commentary, the attack itself has often been inaccurately reported and misinterpreted. Now, more than ninety years after Granados's death, it is appropriate to examine once again this incident and clarify exactly what did and did not happen, and to gauge the impact of his shocking demise at that time and now.

Key Words:

Granados; *Goyescas*; New York; Metropolitan Opera; First World War; London; *Sussex*; Barcelona; Apeles Mestres.

It is a well-known fact that Enrique Granados (b. 1867 in L rida) ended his life in the cold waters of the English Channel after the ship on which he was sailing was attacked by a German submarine on March 24, 1916. This tragedy seems to us all the more bitter because of the circumstances under which it took place: the composer was returning from a successful stay in New York, where his opera *Goyescas*

had premiered at the Metropolitan Opera. His career was at its pinnacle, and greater things were no doubt yet to come. He and his wife were almost finished with an ocean voyage that they had feared all along they would never complete, and they left six orphaned children behind.

Yet, despite the fact that this incident became an international scandal and provoked much outraged commentary, the attack itself has often been inaccurately reported and misinterpreted. Now, more than ninety years after Granados's death, it is appropriate to examine once again this incident and clarify exactly what did and did not happen, and to gauge the impact of his shocking demise at that time and now.

Although scheduled to leave New York and return directly to Barcelona on a Spanish liner (the *Antonio López*) on March 8, events intervened to delay Granados's departure. President and Mrs. Wilson invited him to perform at the White House, and he could hardly refuse the honor. He rescheduled his departure on a Dutch liner, the *Rotterdam*, which would leave on the 11th and arrive in England a little over a week later. After a brief stay in London, he would then cross the Channel to France and take a train south to Spain.

Granados had every reason to feel good about his success in New York, despite obvious disappointment over tepid critical reaction to his opera and its meager run of five performances. For he had still made a small fortune, in the neighborhood of \$4,000 from the Met production, and several thousand more from the piano-roll recordings he made for the Aeolian Co. The publication of his music by G. Schirmer and his public recitals also netted him substantial amounts. In addition to the \$5,100 he had received as a gift from his friends (including Ignacy Paderewski and Fritz Kreisler), this represented a dramatic shift in his finances. It truly seemed that he had turned an important corner in his career, that the years of penury and struggle, difficult though they had been, had paid off and were now a thing of the past. During his weeks in New York, he wrote to his friend Amadeu Vives in Barcelona expressing new-found optimism about the future:

“Per fi he vist els meus somnis realitzats. Es veritat que tinc el cap ple de cabells blancs i que es pot dir que ara començo la meva obra, mes estic ple de confiança i d'entusiasme per treballar més i més... Soc un supervivent de la lluita estèril a que ens sotmet la ignorancia i la indiferencia de la nostra patria. Tota la meva alegria actual, és més per lo que ha de venir, que per lo fet fins ara. Somnio amb París, i tinc un món de projectes”¹.

On the evening before their departure on the *Rotterdam*, Granados and his wife were plagued by dire forebodings, and he unburdened himself to his friend Malvina Hoffman, an accomplished sculptor and one-time student of Rodin. He told her in a nervous voice on the telephone that Amparo was nearly hysterical with apprehension: “Never again will I see my children!” she would cry. When Malvina tried

1 VIVES, Amadeu: “N'Enric Granados i l'edat d'or: Evocació”, in *Revista Musical Catalana*, vol. 13 (1916), p. 182. “At last I have seen my dreams realized. It is true that my hair is full of white, and it can be said that I am only now beginning my work, but I am full of confidence and enthusiasm about working more and more [...] I am a survivor of the fruitless struggle to which the ignorance and indifference of our country subject us. All my present happiness is more for what is to come than for what I have done up to now. I am dreaming of Paris, and I have a world of ideas”.

to reassure him, he said: “No, Malvina, this is the end. You will see that I am not mistaken”². However, the crossing was uneventful and took only eight days. Nonetheless, Mildred Bliss, wife of the First Secretary at the American Embassy in Paris, who also traveled on the *Rotterdam*, stated that Granados came to her stateroom two days before arriving in England to recite (yet again) his premonition of death³.

The Granadoses arrived in London on the 19th and stayed in the Savoy Hotel; they spent a few days sightseeing and visiting friends. Among these was the Catalan sculptor Ismael Smith, who made a clay impression for a life mask of Granados and later designed an “Ex Libris” featuring a *maja* and a guitar-playing *majo*; he also fashioned a small sculpture of Granados playing the piano⁴. Granados hoped to interest either Sir Thomas Beecham or Sir Henry Woods in a London production of *Goyescas*, but nothing came of this.

On March 24 they boarded a cross-channel steamer, the *Sussex*, at Folkestone, destination Dieppe. U-boats had never molested shipping on that route⁵; thus, it would have no escort. To sail from Folkestone to Dieppe would take four hours, two more than traveling from Dover to Calais, but it seemed the safer alternative, because the shorter route was known to be infested with submarines. Ironically, military transports plying the Channel along that route suffered little harm in the war because they were heavily guarded.

The ship left harbor about 1:30 p.m., and the nearly 400 passengers enjoyed a pleasant spring day. Granados discovered a piano in the smoking room and improvised something⁶. Throughout the voyage, the sky was clear and the sea, calm. Perhaps Enrique and Amparo thought the fair weather a hopeful portent and entertained thoughts that their premonitions were baseless—they would arrive home safely after all.

The relatively calm seas, however, allowed the skipper of the *Sussex* to perceive a menacing disturbance in the water at 2:55 p.m. Captain Henri Mouffet saw a torpedo approaching to port at a distance of about 100 yards⁷. No warning had been given, and no assistance was offered by the U-boat. Seemingly unarmed Brit-

2 “Poet & Piano”, in *Medical Newsmagazine*, vols. 11-12 (December 1967), p. 188.

3 This is related by Bliss to Malvina Hoffman. Hoffman’s correspondence is now in the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities. While in New York, Granados practiced on Hoffman’s piano, which had belonged to her late father, Richard, a concert pianist.

4 The bronze life mask is now on display at the Hispanic Society of America, in New York.

5 However, Wilder G. Penfield was a passenger who reported that during the voyage, the *Sussex* “passed through clumps of bales and an occasional raft. The rumor went about that two merchant vessels had been sunk there not very long before.” His account is in: PENFIELD, Wilder G.: “Some Personal Experiences in the *Sussex* Disaster”, in *The Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. 16, no. 29 (1918), p. 680.

6 According to a Mrs. Clarence Handyside, who was with the Granadoses at the time. An account of Granados’s last pianistic essay appears in VILA SAN-JUAN, Pablo: “Los cuatro pianos de Enrique Granados”, en *La Vanguardia Española* (March 24, 1966), p. 48. This article places the piano in the dining room, but John Milton’s research suggests that any piano on the *Sussex* would have had to be in the smoking room, as no other area was large enough to accommodate it. It is this scenario that he presents in his remarkable novel, MILTON, John: *The Fallen Nightingale*. Edina, Minnesota, Swan Books, 2004, also available in Catalan, *El rossinyol abatut*, trans. Mònica Pagès, Lleida, Pagès Editors, 2004, and Spanish, *El Ruiseñor Abatido*, trans. Mònica Pagès, Lleida, Editorial Milenio, 2007.

7 “El *Sussex*”, in *Diario de Barcelona*, (March 27, 1916), p. 4062. This article informs us that the *Sussex* was built at Dumbarton in 1896 and displaced 1,353 tons. It was not a large ship.

ish ships (the so-called Q-ships) had a way of opening fire on U-boats that surfaced, so German submariners stayed submerged as much as possible when attacking. Mouffet immediately gave the order to change course hard to starboard. Had he had only a few seconds more warning, the torpedo would have missed the *Sussex* entirely; as it was, it struck just ahead of the forward bulkhead and destroyed the bow of the ship. However, the *Sussex* remained afloat because the explosion bent the hull inwards, thus forming a barrier that prevented a catastrophic inflow of water. Hundreds of mailbags stored there also helped keep out the sea.

Had Mouffet taken no evasive action, the torpedo would have struck directly amidships, and no doubt the *Sussex* would have sunk quickly and with much greater loss of life. This is especially true because no other ships were in the vicinity, and the *Sussex* would not have been able to call for help. There would have been little time to find refuge in lifeboats and rafts, and those in the water would have died from exposure and drowning long before assistance could arrive, if indeed it ever would have arrived. The loss might well have been total. Still, the *Sussex* was ill-prepared to deal with such a crisis, and there were few serviceable life belts available for the passengers who did not make it into lifeboats or rafts⁸. Such was the complacency induced by the German submariners' previous indifference to Channel shipping in this area.

One survivor, an American professor by the name of James Baldwin, wrote a chilling account of the attack. We get some idea from this what the Granados experienced, and why they reacted the way they apparently did, which is to say, they panicked:

“A short time before the explosion came, I noticed an erect pole-like object in the water three or four hundred yards from the boat. The thought of a submarine conning tower came to mind, but [...] I dismissed the thought as we passed the object. [...] The explosion came without warning or presage. A dull sudden shock, not too loud nor too sharp. It seemed to be double; a shock first, then some seconds afterwards, the explosion proper, followed by a wave of debris and water thrown up and over, from the fore to the aft of the ship. A moment of silence, then hell let loose. My first words to my wife was, “We’re struck, we’re going down!” I set out to find life-belts as others were doing and finally found one that held—after several rotten ones. I then aided her, among the hundreds doing the same thing in much confusion, to a life-boat, but it was already overcrowded with women and children. [...] The scenes around us were harrowing. The water was full of men and women, swimming, sinking, drowning, clinging to spars, boards and other bits of wreckage, crying out in the agony of the last hold on life”⁹.

8 LONGLAND, Jean Rogers: “Granados and the Opera *Goyescas*”, in *Notes Hispanic*, vol. 5 (1945), p. 110, reports that a “week earlier Mr. and Mrs. Reginald De Koven had traveled on [the *Sussex*] and had with difficulty obtained two antiquated life belts for three persons”. However, Edward Marshall, an American journalist on the *Sussex* who survived the attack, reported to *The Times* the following day that “Fifty per cent of those who were thrown into the sea by the accident or jumped in were not wearing lifebelts, although I saw plenty of lifebelts on the ship”. There may have been plenty of them, but they were not in good condition. The ship was actually owned by the French national railway and was flying the French tricolor when it left port.

9 This account is found in Chapter 12: The *Sussex* Affair, by James Mark Baldwin, in volume one of the typewritten Ms “Between Two Wars”. Baldwin (*1861;†1934) was a leading psychologist who wrote books and established programs at leading universities.

The young German U-boat captain, Oberleutnant-zur-See Herbert Ernst Otto “Harry” Pustkuchen¹⁰, in command of UB-29, may have mistaken the *Sussex* for a minelayer because of its wide stern¹¹. He apparently thought the passengers on deck were troops. The ship was painted black all over and bore no markings except for a white stripe painted around the hull. Moreover, he was new to this area and was not familiar with the *Sussex*. So, why did not Pustkuchen finish the job? There would seem to have been little risk in attacking again. Pustkuchen may well have thought that the *Sussex* was mortally wounded and would soon go down; why waste a valuable torpedo? According to Baldwin’s account, the submarine did linger in the vicinity, hoping to snare any vessels coming to assist the *Sussex*. In fact, “the British Admiralty issued a statement on March 30, saying that the destroyer that picked up the survivors was twice fired on by the submarine”¹².

In any event, Pustkuchen may have thought he had struck a military vessel and not a passenger ship. Perhaps it was just that, a mistake, and not a calculated act of cold-blooded murder¹³. That is certainly what the Germans wanted people to believe, but Pustkuchen’s real intentions have become the source of some transatlantic controversy between scholars in the United States and Britain.

English musician and researcher David Walton has taken exception to the view expressed by John Milton and myself in our respective books¹⁴, in which we submit that Pustkuchen probably made a mistake in attacking the *Sussex* and would not have done so if he had understood that it was a target of no military significance. He asserts that there is simply no way that Pustkuchen could have mistaken the *Sussex* for anything other than what it was: a civilian ship carrying mail and passengers. In his opinion, this was yet another example of German barbarity in the First World War, something Americans simply do not quite understand because their involvement came fairly late and did not require the sacrifices that England and France made¹⁵.

It is true that after the *Lusitania* sinking in May 1915, the German high command decided to abandon unrestricted submarine warfare and confine itself to attacking only military vessels. But Walton makes the point that submarine commanders routinely flouted such restrictions and attacked at will, particularly in the English Channel. Of course, as the *Lusitania* itself is proof, civilian vessels were sometimes used to carry war matériel, and Pustkuchen may have suspected this was the case when he decided to attack.

10 For his biography and a photo, see www.peoplehelp.com.au/stories/harry.html [Consulta: 01/11/2009]. He was born in 1889.

11 This was reported in the *Oregonian*, June 14, 1923, in an article entitled “Sinker of *Sussex* Dead”, upon the arrest and testimony of a German admiral then in French custody. The ship was supposedly widened astern to accommodate troops at the beginning of the war, and then it was returned to civilian service when it was sold to the French railway. However, recent research suggests that it never transported any troops at all. Then again, maybe Pustkuchen was just following orders to torpedo all Allied shipping and was made to take the blame when the sinking erupted in an international scandal and propaganda coup for the Allies.

12 *Ibid.*

13 And he and his ship paid the ultimate price. He remained in command of UB-29 until November 2, 1916, then took charge of UC-66, which was sunk on June 12, 1917, by the British trawler *Sea King*. The UB-29 had already been sunk by depth charges, on December 13, 1916. His first command had been UC-5, which was sunk in April 1916.

14 CLARK, Walter Aaron: *Enrique Granados: Poet of the Piano*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2006.

15 See his article, WALTON, David: “Two Last Journeys: Enrique Granados and the ‘Sussex’” in *Newsletter of the Iberian and Latin American Music Society*, no. 18 (autumn 2004), pp. 5-6. Walton was responding to my incomplete manuscript at the time; Milton’s book had just appeared.

We will never know the exact degree of Pustkuchen's guilt for this crime, but it does indeed seem reasonable to believe that he deliberately attacked a harmless civilian vessel and felt confident that his superiors would look the other way.

In any case, the explosion disabled the *Sussex's* wireless antenna, which took a couple of hours to be repaired. The telegrapher, however, was apparently so undone by the attack that he sent off the wrong location of the *Sussex*, and French destroyers searched in vain over twenty miles away from the actual location of the vessel, now dead in the water despite the fact that its engines were still in working order. Finally, the French destroyer *Marie Thérèse* decided to ignore the location broadcast by the *Sussex* and instead sail in the direction in which its signal was the strongest. Thus, it was the first ship to reach the *Sussex*, but only around midnight. Eventually it was joined by many other ships, military and commercial, which ferried passengers and wounded either to Dover or to Boulogne; the ship itself actually made it to Boulogne. Many people were injured in the attack, and fifty lost their lives (twenty-five of whom were Americans).

Among the fatalities were the Granadoses, but that was not definitely known for days afterward. The press and public on both sides of the Atlantic continued to hope that maybe the two would still turn up among the survivors. The Catalan artist Josep Maria Sert went to Boulogne to search for their corpses in a makeshift morgue there. He found nothing, but he was able to recover their personal effects, including the loving cup that Granados had received from his friends upon his departure, though the \$4,100 it contained was gone¹⁶. Granados's American friend and benefactor Ernest Schelling wired another \$4,100 to the Granados children; however, another gift, a sack containing \$1,000 in gold coins, also disappeared and was never replaced.

Eyewitness accounts from some of the survivors who were with Granados at the time of the disaster told the story that no one really wanted to know but strained to hear. Mario Serra, son of the Catalan painter Enrique Serra and friend of the Granadoses, related his experience on the *Sussex* and the final minutes of the composer's life. Many of the passengers were in the dining area at the time of the attack. The conclusive explosion created widespread alarm, especially when a geyser of water spouted in the area¹⁷. People scrambled to escape, and on deck, lifeboats and rafts were filling with those seeking safety. The captain implored them not to panic, but to no avail. Serra tried to persuade the Granadoses to remain on the ship, but they were convinced that their survival depended on leaving it. Reports differ as to what happened next, but they all agree on one point: the two were separated in the water, and Enrique tried to reach Amparo¹⁸. Ironically, Amparo was a good swimmer, but he was not. He embraced his wife, and they

16 This is now in the Granados archive of Barcelona's Museu de la Música [*E-Bmi*].

17 According to MACKENZIE, Compton: *Greek Memories*. Frederick, Maryland, University Publications of America, 1987, p. 146, "In the forward saloon [...] several of the members of an Italian theatrical company died of terror, and their corpses propped up against the tables kept in death their last grimaces [...] The crew had started to cut off the fingers of the dead passengers in order to steal their rings", until a British naval officer drove them off.

18 Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, who traveled with the Granadoses over the Atlantic but took the shorter route across the Channel, later heard from *Sussex* survivors that "They were seen clinging, one to a raft, the other to a chair [...] when Mr. Granados saw his wife clinging to the raft, he tried to reach her, and in so doing threw away the chair. They could not hold on to the raft and they both went down together". This is in a letter of March 20, 1916, from Bliss to Malvina Hoffman. Other accounts claim that 1)

disappeared forever beneath the waves. In the panic and confusion, no one thought or was able to help them¹⁹.

The German government initially denied culpability, claiming the *Sussex* had struck a mine, but fragments of a torpedo were found in one of the lifeboats, and Germany agreed to make amends. Already in May 1916, reports surfaced in the press that the Germans not only regretted the incident but also blamed it on the errant judgement of Pustkuchen. In April, the *New York Times* stated that the German Foreign Minister, Gottlieb von Jagow, had met with a Spanish journalist and said,

“If they prove an error on the part of the commander of a submarine in the *Sussex*, I will regret, as all German people will regret, that such an error caused the death of your compatriot, the composer Granados”²⁰.

Moreover, they were amenable to paying an indemnity to the orphans. This was certainly a positive development, but it did little to mitigate what quickly became an international *cause célèbre*. After all, the Germans were clearly trying to blunt negative publicity and perhaps dissuade Spain from entering the war on the side of the Allied nations, which many Spaniards openly supported.

The Germans were not the only ones to bear the blame. Suspicions have persisted over the intervening decades that perhaps the British had somehow engineered the debacle in order to draw the US into the war²¹. The ship was on a course that it had not followed before, as it bore more to the west, hugging the English shore, before heading for France. Shortly before the attack, the French flag had been lowered so that the ship’s nationality was no longer obvious²². Moreover, the ship bore no markings except for a white stripe painted across the upper portion of the hull. This is an intriguing conspiracy theory, but there is not a shred of evidence to support it. As Walton points out, lowering the flag was standard procedure for such ships once they left port, and there was nothing sinister about it. Moreover, subs were active throughout the Channel, and the ship’s course was obviously no guarantee of evading them. In the event, on April 20 President Wilson did lodge a strenuous protest with the German government, insofar as many of the victims of the attack had been Americans. He threatened to sever diplomatic relations if Germany did not alter its conduct of submarine warfare, but it would be over a year before the United States actually declared war.

The spectacular nature of Granados’s demise brought him and his family a degree of international celebrity and attention they probably would not have received had he died in bed. Certainly the grief ex-

both were in a raft, and when she accidentally fell out, he jumped in to save her, or 2) he was rescued by a raft but returned to the water after hearing her cries for help. Whatever the case, the outcome was the same.

19 From an interview with Mario Serra entitled “Cómo murió Granados (Relato de un superviviente)”, periodical and date unknown (clipping in the Bmi, fons Granados).

20 *New York Times*, April 23 (1916), p. 2.

21 Carol Hess broached this subject in her book: HESS, Carol: *Enrique Granados: A Bio-Bibliography*. New York, Greenwood Press, 1991, p. 33, but no definitive conclusion is possible. See PETERSON, Horace Cornelius: *Propaganda for War: The Campaign for American Neutrality, 1914-1917*. Norman, University of Oklahoma press, 1936; reprint, Port Washington, New York, Kenikat Press, 1968, p. 222.

22 This is reported on p. 183 of the unpublished memoirs of Samuel F. Bemis, an American history professor also on the *Sussex*. Bemis recalled seeing Granados before the attack “walking about the ship in his coat and cap of Astrakhan fur”.

pressed by admirers in France and Britain and the Low Countries was genuine, but it was inseparable from the conflict raging in Europe, which had been the cause of Granados's premature death. The Allies used the tragedy to portray their adversaries as nothing but ruthless barbarians. At least one respected observer thought that the brouhaha threatened Granados's legacy:

“[T]he homage paid to Granados since he died ran the risk of injuring his reputation, and of begetting disappointment where we should have the right to expect a durable sympathy”²³.

Such reservations cast no shadow over the memorials that ensued. Thomas Beecham organized a benefit in London that brought forth eulogies and money from leading citizens and organizations. In the Museu de la Música in Barcelona is an entire book full of condolences: *Telegrams and Messages of Sympathy Received on the Occasion of the Special Representation Given in Honour of the Great Spanish Composer Senor Granados at the Aldwych Theatre London July 24th 1916*. The concert featured Beecham conducting Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio*, with the patronage of various Allied diplomats, English nobility, and prominent musicians such as Sir Hubert Parry and Sir Charles Stanford. It was attended by Prince Henry of Battenberg, the Lord Mayor of London, and the ambassadors of Japan, Italy, and Spain. The program hailed Granados as “the greatest of [modern] Spanish composers” and stated that the proceeds would go to the Granados orphans. Additional donations were welcome.

The book very much resembles a photo album, with cards and telegrams pasted inside. One came from Leo Delibes:

“The hands of the author of *Lakmé* salute the memory of Granados on this day of reparation for the crime of the *Sussex*”²⁴.

The Automobile Club of France, the Lisbon Commercial Association, and even the Royal Society of Painters in Watercolours sent condolences, as did the London Chamber of Commerce and the London Stock Exchange. Sir Hubert Parry, of the Royal College of Music, wrote: “I gratefully take the opportunity of expressing my sympathy with Spain and the family of their famous composer senor Granados”. Granville Bantock also expressed his sympathy. Most of these inscriptions bitterly denounce Germany's methods of warfare, one calling them appropriate for Attila the Hun and others invoking the enemy's “savageness”, “promiscuous barbarity”, “scientific barbarism”, “foulest of outrages”, and “Teutonic barbarities”. Communiqués from individuals and organizations in Spain expressed gratitude to Britain and the British people for their generosity and support.

France honored the late composer at a memorial concert in April at the Salle Rameau in Lyons. Featuring selections by Granados, the program began with the *Hymne à la Justice* of Magnard and concluded with the *Hymne espagnol* and *La Marsellaise*, in a musical expression of solidarity between the two countries. Another French homage took place at the Comédie Française in Paris on June 30, 1916.

23 JEAN-AUBRY, Georges: “Enrique Granados”, in *The Musical Times*, vol. 57 (December 1, 1916), p. 535.

24 “Les manes de l'auteur de *Lakmé* saluent la memoire de Granados en ce jour de réparation pour le crime du *Sussex*”.

In the United States, a benefit concert was presented at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York on Sunday evening, May 7, 1916, to raise money for the Granados orphans. It presented not only compatriots María Barrientos and Pau Casals but also Fritz Kreisler and Ignacy Paderewski. The concert offered several works by Granados, of course, along with selections by Beethoven, Schumann, Schubert, Chopin, Bach, Haydn, and Kreisler himself. The printed program informed the audience that:

“Mme. Paderewski has contributed one hundred of her Polish refugee Dolls which will be sold, after the concert, for the Benefit of the Granados Children”²⁵.

At the end of the concert, the lights were extinguished save for a single candle flickering on the piano, at which Paderewski played Chopin’s Funeral March while the audience stood in respectful silence²⁶.

Naturally, many commemorative events took place in Spain itself. On April 15 a memorial concert was held at Madrid’s Palace Hotel and attended by the Infanta doña Isabel. The program featured Granados’s best-loved Spanish works, the *Danzas españolas*, *Tonadillas*, and *Goyescas*. It concluded, appropriately enough, with two Central European masterpieces by composers who had long influenced Granados: Liszt and Wagner. Shortly thereafter, on May 31, La Sociedad Nacional de Música presented *Goyescas*, *Elisenda*, the *Navidad Suite*, and the *Tonadillas* with Conxita Badia²⁷. The Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, under Enrique Fernández Arbós, traveled to Barcelona in November to pay its respects. The group performed at the Palau de Belles Arts on the first of the month, presenting Granados’s Prelude to Act iv of Goethe’s *Ifigenia a Tauris*, originally composed for one of Adrià Gual’s Teatre Íntim productions. It also performed the now-popular Intermezzo from *Goyescas*. This benefit, a “festival” organized in conjunction with the Orfeó Català, raised 3.569,20 pesetas for the orphans. Barcelona felt the loss of the composer more keenly than any other place. A memorial service for the Granadoses was held on May 2 at the Iglesia de la Casa Provincial de Caridad. Two masses were performed, at 10 and 12 noon. On May 16 a memorial concert took place at the Palau de la Música Catalana that featured several of his students, including Conxita Badia singing the *Tonadillas*²⁸.

The six Granados orphans garnered as much sympathy as the attack had stirred outrage, and money poured in from European benefits and subscriptions²⁹. There was considerable concern throughout the

25 Mme. Paderewski, along with Mme. Casals and Mme. Kreisler, sold the items at various exits from the theater. A copy of this program is in the archive of the Acadèmia Marshall in Barcelona.

26 GRANADOS, Natalia: “*Goyescas* and Enrique Granados”, in *Granados and Goyescas, Catalogue of an Exhibition Honoring Enrique Granados and the American Premiere of Goyescas*. (Boston Athenaeum Gallery, January 18-30, 1982, preface by Carleton Sprague Smith). Boston, Boston Athenaeum, 1982, p. 10.

27 See “Teatros y conciertos: Madrid”, in *Musical Emporium*, vol. 9, no. 77 (March-April 1916), p. 3. The latter concert was reviewed in the following number (May-June) on p. 3. *Navidad* was probably the *Suite llamada de Navidad* for double quintet of flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horn and two violins, viola, cello bass. This is not to be confused with *Navidad de los niños*, but its inspiration is no less religious in nature.

28 Recounted in “Homenatge al Mestre Granados”, in *Il·lustració Catalana: Feminal*, vol. 14 (1916), n.p.

29 A formal and detailed ledger listing both income and expenses during the fund-raising campaign is located in the Bmi, fons Granados. As of January 22, 1917, a whopping total of 129,309.83 pesetas had been collected. The King of Spain, Alfonso XIII, donated the less-than-stunning sum of 1.000 (after all, the Associació de Música da Camera of Barcelona contributed as much), and the French President Poincaré added 500. The Allied Red Cross came up with 2.000. Benefits performed by the Orfeó Català and Sinfónica de Madrid raised 3.569,20. The Met benefit made available an impressive 57.725 pesetas. Two subscriptions launched by the Spanish ambassador in the United States brought in almost half as much (22.334,24 and 6.160,59, respectively).

United States for the plight of the children, and no doubt the incident persuaded many in this country that if the nation did enter the conflict, it would have a moral responsibility to side with the Allies. In view of this, it is ironic that by far the largest donation to the orphans came not from the Allies and its neutral sympathizers but -from Germany itself. It expressed its sincere regret for the incident, reprimanded Pustkuchen, and eventually provided 666.000 pesetas as compensation to the Granados orphans (111.000 each). Since they were mostly still far too young to manage such sums of money, their finances as well as their education were placed in the hands of a three-member committee. This included author Gabriel Miró and one Rafael Rodríguez; Dr. Salvador Andreu i Grau chaired. August Pi i Sunyer agreed to serve as their guardian, and Luis Carrera, as their tutor³⁰.

In addition to all this activity, much ink was devoted in the press to the incident. The French periodicals were understandably vehement. *Le Figaro* lamented the disappearance of a musician who was “so vibrant and harmonious”, while *L’Echo de Paris* wrote that his demise “will be felt bitterly by artists around the world”. *L’Homme Enchaîné* summed it up best: “Granados was one of the purest glories of his country”³¹. Notable French composers such as Debussy, Fauré, Saint-Saëns, and d’Indy published letters in the Spanish press expressing their grief and outrage; all of them recalled Granados’s humanity, pianistic brilliance, and distinctive qualities as a composer³².

The sinking provoked understandable outrage throughout Spain, especially Barcelona. *El Correo Catalán*’s April 10, 1916, issue predicted that public sentiment would sway further now towards the Allies, perhaps altering Spain’s neutral stance by inspiring hatred towards Germany³³. *La Esfera* went beyond mere outrage and suggested an alliance of the neutral nations, especially Latin America, Spain, and the US, insofar as most of the *Sussex*’s passengers were from the latter two countries. It decried what it perceived as the Spanish government’s turning a blind eye to the incident, which in fact it was not going to do, for this was nothing less than a matter of “national dignity”³⁴.

Other alliances were invoked that had less to do with politics and more to do with “race”, variously understood. Some Spanish writers saw the incident as evidence that Spain was naturally allied, through its “Latinity”, with France and against things Teutonic. Francophile Joaquín Nin did not mince his words:

“A los sobresaltos de angustia y contracciones de dolor de nuestros hermanos latinos, los franceses, mezclábamos, instintivamente, la secreta esperanza de conservar intactas las fuerzas vivas de nuestra raza y de nuestro intelecto para una resurrección futura, necesaria, próxima é indudable”³⁵.

30 The *actas* of the Consejo are in the Bmi, fons Granados, and go from 1917 to 1927.

31 These excerpts appear in an undated clipping from a Spanish newspaper (Mm, fons Granados). “[...] tan vibrante y armonioso”, “será sentida amargamente por los artistas del mundo entero”, “Granados era una de las más puras glorias de su patria”.

32 All of these eulogies appeared in *Revista Musical Hispano-americana*, 3 (April 30, 1916), *passim*.

33 Clipping entitled “El caso Granados” (Bmi, fons Granados).

34 GONZÁLEZ FIOL, Enrique: “Las prácticas de la guerra y el derecho de los neutrales”, in *La Esfera*, vol. 3, no. 119, (April 8, 1916), pp. 25-27. “[...] dignidad nacional”.

35 NIN, Joaquín: “Evocaciones sobre Enrique Granados”, in *Revista Musical Hispano-americana*, vol. 3 (May 31, 1916), p. 2 “To the shock of anguish and the contractions of pain of our Latin brothers, the French, we instinctively add a secret hope of conserving intact the vital forces of our race and our intellect for a future resurrection, necessary, soon, and undoubted”.

Granados's "murder" was serving as a catalyst to vault the war, in the minds of many Spaniards, to a new and higher level of ideological conflict, between the racial sensibilities of two mutually inimical groups. However, the "Latin" tent was big enough to include those fighting Germany in Eastern Europe. As Nin went on to say,

"Granados tenía, en cambio, como Chopin, también, la riqueza, la variedad, la espontaneidad rítmica, que tanto avaloran la obra musical; es el elemento vital de la música española, como lo es de la música eslava"³⁶.

Earlier commentators had drawn parallels between Chopin and Granados, but now such comparisons were meant to demonstrate an underlying racial harmony among those countries (races) fighting the Germans, whether they were Latin or Slav. *El Teatre Català* devoted most of its April 15 number to the tragedy, and vehemently protested that this outrage was unworthy of the country of Schiller and Heine, Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner, thereby demonstrating at least residual sympathy with "Teutonic" culture³⁷.

However, none of these polemics would bring Granados back to life. Perhaps the most moving testament to Granados, the meaning of his life and his death, came from the heart of his friend and collaborator Apel·les Mestres, the Catalan poet, playwright, and artist, who wrote the following poetic eulogy.

"En la mort de l'Enric Granados".

Apel·les Mestres

Per guardar tot ensemps amb tes despulles,
ta inspiració, tos ideals, ta gloria,
calía una gran tomba;
y aqueixa tomba, el monstre de la Guerra
—justicier malgrat ell— te l'ha donada.
Dorm en pau allí al fons, allà ont no torban
les lluites homicidas,
la santa pau dels morts.
La tomba és fonda
y és ampla i és sagrada;
l'onada alsantse és el fossar que l'obra,

36 *Ibid.*, 4. "Granados possessed, as did Chopin, the richness, variety, and spontaneous rhythm that so enhance a musical work; that is the vital element of Spanish music, as it is of Slavic music"

See also HESS, Carol A.: *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898-1936*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001, pp. 65-78, for a detailed treatment of race, politics, and aesthetics in Spain during the World War I.

37 However, *España*, no. 63, (April 6, 1916), featured on its cover a drawing of Wagner and Beethoven receiving Granados into heaven, asking not to be blamed for sufferings that they themselves had also endured at the hands of their own people.

la llosa que la clou, un'altra onada.
 Quan de nit les estrelles
 eixint del mar com notes lluminoses
 se desgranin pel cel y magnifiquin
 l'immensitat del firmament, llavors
 ens semblaràn excelses melodies
 sepultades ab tu, qu'al cel envies.
 I per demunt del passatger estrèpit
 d'aqueix gran crim qu'anomenan "la guerra"
 tes derrerres cançons, fetes estrelles,
 ressonaràn eternament més belles,
 en el concert de la bellesa eterna³⁸.

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38 This poem first appeared in *Revista Musical Catalana*, vol. 13 (1916), p. 186. It was later reproduced, with slight editorial changes, in PALAU, Enric: "La tràgica mort d'Enric Granados", in *La Nau*, (March 24, 1928), p. 5. The version here translated (by Ruth Cabré Chacón) is the original. *On the Death of Enrique Granados*. "To save everything along with your remains, / Your inspiration, your ideals, your glory, / required an ample grave; / And that grave, the monster of war / –justly, in spite of himself– gave to you. / Sleep in peace there, in the deep, undisturbed / by homicidal battles, / In the sacred peace of the dead. / The grave is deep / and is wide and is sacred; / The swelling wave opens the grave, / And the next is the gravestone that closes it. / When at night, the stars, / Emerging out of the sea like luminous notes of music, / Spread themselves throughout the heavens and magnify / The immensity of the firmament, then / They will seem like melodies / That, buried with you, you are sending to the sky / Above the passing tumult / Of that great crime they call "the war", / Your latest songs, made into stars, / Will resound eternally more beautiful, / In the concert of eternal beauty".