UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

(Re)made in America: Émigrés, Identities, and Three Los Angeles Orchestras (1933–45)

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Music

by

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Writing a dissertation is a monumental task in the best of times. Well, I can only imagine. In the twenty-two months I worked on this project (August 2020–June 2022), several major crises aligned to create a perfect "dumpster fire" of stress and anxiety— a global pandemic, renewed calls for racial justice, and a tenuous national election, to name only three—adding to the logistical and emotional challenges that a dissertation already presents. However, I am profoundly grateful to have been surrounded by a community of remarkable people who offered a much-needed bastion of stability, serenity, and sanity in spite of everything. There are many whom I would like to personally acknowledge and thank for their help in making this project a reality.

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I am lucky to have an incredible network of family and friends in Orange County. My wonderful parents, Karen and Brendan, graciously welcomed me back home at the start of the pandemic in spring 2020. Their love, patience, guidance, and support have been a constant beacon my entire life, but they have been a particular blessing these past two years. I love them both and am beyond grateful to call them my parents. My sister (Megan), brother (Patrick), and brother-in-law (Randal) provided lots of laughs and encouragement as well, and I am so thankful for each of them. (A special shout-out also goes to my sweet cat, Lola, for being a loyal writing companion and supplying plenty of cuddles along the way.) Two dear local friends, Nolan and Sarah, offered a much-needed social "bubble" during the dark, early days of the pandemic. It has been a pleasure to connect with them on a more regular basis, and I am so appreciative of their unwavering friendship over so many years. My grandfather, Bill, expressed an endless curiosity and enthusiasm towards my project and lent the kindest and most gracious listening ear whenever I would prattle on about the topic (often over socially-distanced coffee and baked goods from Starbucks). Words cannot describe how appreciative I am for his presence and support all these years. Sadly, my grandmother, Anita, never got to see the start of my graduate school career. As an alumnus of UCSB herself, though, I have no doubt that she is smiling down from above.

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This dissertation is worshipfully dedicated to my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. He has touched my life in so many ways these past six years, remaining a never-ending source of comfort, peace, and strength through both the high points and the low. To him, I owe everything, and for him, I am—and will be—forever grateful.

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Studies in Early Modern Opera and Cosmopolitanism with Professor Stefanie Tcharos

Studies in Twentieth-Century American Musical Theater with Professor David Paul

ABSTRACT

(Re)made in America: Émigrés, Identities, and Three Los Angeles Orchestras (1933–45)

by

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Throughout the 1930s and 40s, the United States played host to thousands of European émigrés who were fleeing the spread of fascism in their homelands, namely the dangerous policies of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime. While many of these refugees settled on the East Coast, a surprising majority headed west for the sunny prospects of Southern California and, in particular, Los Angeles. What resulted was a truly remarkable community of some of the twentieth century's brightest musical and artistic minds.

Alongside the mental and emotional tolls of adapting to life in a new country, the issues put forth by American musical institutions—and their surrounding cast of conductors, composers, newspaper critics, arts administrators, patrons, and community leaders—created a vibrant and often dizzying whirlwind of discourse, occasionally leaving the émigrés wondering how best to contribute. The ways in which this played out in Los Angeles specifically present a fascinating microcosm of American classical music culture and reveal the disparate ideologies, objectives, and ambitions that contributed to the identities of local institutions—and the émigrés themselves—during a pivotal juncture in history.

This dissertation examines select moments of intersection between European émigrés and Los Angeles orchestras in the 1930s and 40s, focusing specifically on how four institutions variously built and expressed distinct identities—European, American, or Angeleno—in response to the presence and participation of the local émigré population. Three case studies will illustrate this, some of which have not been explored at length in any previously-published studies: the Los Angeles Philharmonic's September 1936 benefit concert for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, the Werner Janssen Symphony's "non-performance" of Paul Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations in January 1942, and Richard Lert's spring 1942 performances with the Pasadena Civic Orchestra and the American Music Theatre of Pasadena. Making ample use of primary sources and archival documents throughout, this project will reveal on a small scale how émigrés fared within Los Angeles's orchestral community of the 1930s and 40s and how these local institutions—despite differences in professionalism, audience, and funding—were shaped, reshaped, or confirmed during moments of convergence between European and American sensibilities.

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Arnold Schoenberg paced back and forth in the wings of Philharmonic Auditorium. It was the night of Thursday, March 21, 1935, and he was anxiously awaiting the start of the Los Angeles Philharmonic's first concert of the spring season. After a rousing ovation greeted the orchestra's December performance of Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht* (1899, 1917), music director Otto Klemperer invited the Austrian composer to conduct the Philharmonic in a program of his own devising. Schoenberg, who had recently moved to Los Angeles with his family, heartily agreed, hoping that such an appearance could lead to more work opportunities in this still-unfamiliar city. The concert was slated to be an all-Schoenberg affair; the early symphonic poem *Pelleas und Melisande* (1902–03) and three of the composer's Bach orchestral transcriptions would supplement a brand-new suite "in the olden style" for string orchestra. Though noticeably devoid of any of Schoenberg's recent twelve-tone works, the program would still present the best that this European polymath—recently dubbed the "Einstein of composers"—and his oeuvre had to offer.[1] However, the prospect of an all-Schoenberg evening ultimately proved too good to be true. Several factors—perhaps among them the lack of rehearsal time for the surprisingly-technical new Suite—led to some program changes.[2] *Pelleas* was swapped out for Brahms's Third Symphony (1883); the Suite, on the other hand, was postponed until May and replaced with a repeat performance of *Verklärte Nacht*. Nevertheless, Schoenberg's appearance still sparked much excitement in the Los Angeles community. "The musical body of Los Angeles needs

[1] "Dusolina Giannini to Appear as Soloist With Symphony," *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 1935.
[2] Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 141.

badly a stimulant," Miguel de Reus of the *Illustrated Daily News* proclaimed, "something like a needle shower with a good salt rub afterward. Herr Schoenberg can provide it."[3]

Schoenberg undoubtedly felt the anticipation as he waited backstage. Just beyond the proscenium, the composer could hear the audience chattering as they took their seats inside the lavish Auditorium. Bits of Brahms's Third Symphony wafted through the air as the musicians warmed up on stage and made some last-minute spot checks to various problem sections of the work. Perhaps his thoughts turned to the dramatic opening of the Symphony—three chords built on the notes F, A-flat, and F, a supposed allusion to Brahms's motto *frei aber froh* (free but happy). Perhaps he pondered—with some disappointment—his Suite for String Orchestra, wondering if he should make any revisions before the rescheduled premiere in May. *Was the work really that challenging for these professional players?* Suddenly, concertmaster Sylvain Noack appeared alongside Schoenberg, snapping the composer out of his reverie. The lights in the hall dimmed and a hush fell over the crowd. The violinist nodded approvingly to Schoenberg before walking past the proscenium to join his fellow musicians on stage. After acknowledging the audience's applause, Noack turned to the orchestra behind him. The principal oboist sounded out an "A" and the players began to tune, the warm cacophony enveloping the space. Then, silence. Schoenberg paused, took a deep breath, and stepped out onto the stage.

This scene—partially rooted in fact and partially imagined—is just one of many that Schoenberg would have encountered in the environs of Los Angeles. From 1934 until his death in 1951, the father of twelve-tone composition made his home in the City of Angels, composing, conducting, and teaching the next generation of musicians. He raised his family

[3] Miguel de Reus, "Dynamic Figure Will Conduct Orchestra," *Illustrated Daily News*, March 21, 1935.

in the city and even found time to mingle with an impressive array of locals, becoming friendly with Hollywood stars such as Charlie Chaplin and playing tennis with the likes of George Gershwin. Schoenberg's presence was a major win for a city that was relatively young, compared to the metropolitan centers of the East Coast and Midwest, and still searching for its artistic footing. Unfortunately, the reasons that drove him and his family to Los Angeles were far from idyllic. Schoenberg was one of the thousands of European émigrés who fled to the United States throughout the 1930s and 40s to escape the spread of fascism in their homelands, namely the antisemitic and racist policies of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime. While many refugees settled on the East Coast, a surprising majority headed west for the sunny prospects of Southern California and, in particular, Los Angeles. What resulted was a truly remarkable community of some of the twentieth century's brightest musical and artistic minds, including composers, conductors, instrumentalists, singers, critics, teachers, and stage directors. As Dorothy Lamb Crawford puts it in her book *A Windfall of Musicians*, this mass influx of refugees was perhaps "the greatest migration in Western musical history to one concentrated area, in one period, for one reason."[4]

Much has been written about this community of musical émigrés that formed in Los Angeles in the years leading up to and during the Second World War. Books, essays, biographies, program notes, and documentaries have all delved into the lives of these European transplants, unpacking the complexities of their flight from Europe and their various adaptations to American life.[5] However, few sources have closely examined specific

[4] Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), x.
[5] Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, eds., *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians*; Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years*; *Shadows in Paradise: Hitler's Exiles in Hollywood*, directed by Peter Rosen (Kultur Video, 2008), DVD.

events or Los Angeles institutions that supported this community during these years. This has often led to a pervasive myth that the city was a "culturally unfocused" desert in which émigrés found little artistic activity of substance.[6] Others have depicted the émigrés as metaphorical "fish out of water" who were out of touch with the fast-paced world of American entertainment and forced to live out a miserable existence in Southern California while the war ravaged Europe.[7] While this might have been the case for some—Bertolt Brecht, for instance, made known his abhorrence of Los Angeles in his written works—it is far from a universal truth.[8] In reality, several arts organizations in the city provided welcome opportunities for the émigrés to create and perform with a robust community of musicians that was growing by the day, thanks in no small part to the explosion of the Hollywood film industry.[9] Though the amount of support the émigrés received over the years varied by institution and by individual—due to a complex web of local, personal, and artistic factors, among others—in many cases, the opportunities that did emerge led to exciting artistic collaborations that might never have occurred in Europe, such as the Los Angeles Philharmonic's performances with Arnold Schoenberg.

While this mass migration was taking place, the United States as a whole was concurrently grappling with its own issues. Questions of how to create a distinctly "American" music, free from European constraints, had long been a common theme in the

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[6] Catherine Parsons Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles: Transforming the Popular* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 1.
[7] Diane Peacock Jezic, *The Musical Migration of Ernst Toch* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1989).
[8] Ehrhard Bahr, "Bertolt Brecht's California Poetry: Mimesis or Modernism?," in *Weimar on the Pacific: German Exile Culture in Los Angeles and the Crisis of Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 79–104.
[9] Brendan G. Carroll, *The Last Prodigy: A Biography of Erich Wolfgang Korngold* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1997); Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof: Pioneering Concerts in Los Angeles, 1939–1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Kenneth H. Marcus, *Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Musical Culture, 1880–1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles*.

country, spurred on partially by an influx of European emigrants from previous generations.[10] The subject appeared with renewed vigor after the attack on Pearl Harbor and the country's subsequent entry into World War II. Musicologist Annegret Fauser notes that during these years, the United States was painted as a "shining beacon of human civilization and cast [its] involvement in the war as a noble act of defense thrust upon a peace-loving, enlightened society by barbaric enemies abroad."[11] The effect of the war on the arts became apparent almost immediately. Music, in particular, was heralded for its unique cultural and nationalistic power; Russian-American conductor Andre Kostelanetz, for example, called it "a tremendous patriotic force."[12] This was a strange place for the émigrés to occupy. Alongside the mental and emotional tolls of adapting to life in a new country, the issues put forth by American conductors, composers, newspaper critics, arts administrators, patrons, and community leaders created a vibrant and often dizzying whirlwind of discourse, occasionally leaving the émigrés wondering how best to contribute. The ways in which this played out in Los Angeles specifically present a fascinating microcosm of American classical music culture and reveal the disparate ideologies, objectives, and ambitions that contributed to the identities of local institutions—and the émigrés themselves—during a pivotal juncture in history.

This dissertation examines select moments of intersection between European émigrés and Los Angeles orchestras in the 1930s and 40s, focusing specifically on how four institutions variously built and expressed distinct identities—European, American, or

[10] Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History*, rev. ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 2007); Jonathan Rosenberg, *Dangerous Melodies: Classical Music in America from the Great War through the Cold War* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2020); Douglas W. Shadle, *Antonín Dvořák's* New World Symphony (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
[11] Fauser, 2.
[12] Ibid., 53.

Angeleno—in response to the presence and participation of the local émigré population. Three case studies will illustrate this: the Los Angeles Philharmonic's September 1936 benefit concert for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, the Werner Janssen Symphony's "non-performance" of Paul Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations in January 1942, and Richard Lert's spring 1942 performances with the Pasadena Civic Orchestra and the American Music Theatre of Pasadena. In the first instance, the collaboration between the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom—a philanthropic aid organization—and Otto Klemperer's Los Angeles Philharmonic proved a serendipitous meeting ground for an explicit expression and celebration of German heritage, though one that, in the end, found the Guild's anti-Nazi mission at odds with local media and the Hollywood-driven cult of personality. The cases of Janssen and Lert, on the other hand, demonstrate varying institutional expressions of American identity. The former showcases a burgeoning Los Angeles chamber orchestra that took pride in its "100 per cent American" character from the outset, but the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 led to a more insistent and pervasive expression of this, resulting in the cancelation of a premiere by the eminent German émigré composer Paul Hindemith in favor of an "all-American" concert. The final "moment"—which comprises two interconnected events—sees the distinguished credentials of Austrian émigré conductor Richard Lert become a point of pride within the vibrant arts scene of Pasadena. His involvement with the community-centric Pasadena Civic Orchestra and forward-thinking American Music Theatre of Pasadena, whose mission was to present updated English translations of European operas—or opera "in American"—imbued each organization with a greater sense of prestige and allowed a decisive mix of both American *and* Pasadenan qualities to shine through. This project will reveal on a small scale how

émigrés fared within Los Angeles's orchestral community of the 1930s and 40s and how these local institutions—despite differences in professionalism, audience, and funding—were shaped, reshaped, or confirmed during moments of convergence between European and American sensibilities.

Methodology

This project is rooted in an archival approach: each case study was constructed from a wide range of primary source documents housed in both physical archives and online databases. These materials include newspaper and magazine articles, reviews, concert programs, program notes, memoirs, letters, telegrams, receipts, interviews, and other miscellaneous documents. Most of the evidence is rooted in these contemporaneous sources, which allowed me to focus in on the dynamics of local communities as they responded to rapidly-changing political and cultural conditions during the 1930s and 40s.

The reasons for this approach are twofold. First, to my knowledge, none of the project's selected case studies have been explored at length in any previously-published studies on European émigrés, their activities in Southern California, or American wartime classical music culture in general. The information that does exist is scant, comprising only a few passing mentions in a small selection of secondary sources.[13] As such, an archival approach was deemed necessary. I collated and parsed through numerous documents from the time and attempted to reconstruct the story of each "moment." In certain instances, this project provides the first substantial written record of the events in question. While I was

[13] Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians*; Fauser, *Sounds of War*; Volkmar Zühlsdorff, *Hitler's Exiles: The German Cultural Resistance in America and Europe*, trans. Martin H. Bott (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1999/2004).

well aware of the potential dangers of using so much primary source material—biases, misinformation, and errors can abound in contemporary accounts—the rewards greatly outweighed the risks. Throughout the project, though, I tried my best to acknowledge discrepancies, holes, and guesswork whenever possible.

My particular approach to archives also arose out of a different kind of necessity. The bulk of this project was conceived during the height of the global COVID-19 pandemic, which made in-person access to archives and libraries difficult in some cases and impossible in others. Though I received numerous photos and scans of archival documents—thanks to the heroic efforts and generosity of several archivists who continued to work through the health crisis—a large portion of my research materials came from online sources. Newspapers, in particular, were an invaluable repository of contemporary information; articles, reviews, and advertisements from several different Southern California newspapers (most accessed from newspapers.com) appear regularly throughout the project in various forms. In the end, despite the uncertainty of the pandemic—or perhaps *in spite* of it—I was able to gather a remarkable amount of research material.

In several regards, this project took inspiration from the two *First Nights* books by musicologist Thomas Forrest Kelly.[14] Published in the early 2000s, both studies explore the artistic, cultural, economic, and political circumstances behind several notable orchestral and operatic premieres from Western music history, ranging from Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607) to Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring* (1910–13). Kelly draws from a dazzling array of primary source material and assembles his findings largely through narrative, painting a vivid picture of the characters involved and the dramas and triumphs of each performance. This, in effect,

[14] Thomas Forrest Kelly, *First Nights: Five Musical Premiers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Thomas Forrest Kelly, *First Nights at the Opera* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

creates scholarship that is not only impressive in its detail and scope but more immediately accessible to a broader readership. Though my own case studies are occasionally more concerned with the discourse and happenings *surrounding* each event rather than the events themselves, I still took a cue from Kelly's approach in constructing these histories. That is, in piecing together historical events via primary sources, I aimed to do so in a fashion that was both scholastically rich *and* approachable. Almost all of the chapters open with a short narrative, placing readers in the respective time and place of the event and introducing the various characters and issues at hand.

Additionally, this project takes an angle seldom explored in previous studies on European émigrés in the United States. Rather than taking a Eurocentric approach and treating émigrés who fled to America as "outsiders looking in," my dissertation aims to reverse the lens. This project investigates the chosen events primarily from the perspective of the American institutions and players, or as "insiders looking out." My case studies center on the Los Angeles orchestras, piecing together the factors and circumstances that made these meetings between European and American musical culture particularly noteworthy. However, this project still regularly acknowledges the presence, participation, and perspectives of Southern California's rich émigré community. This is especially crucial in the Los Angeles Philharmonic and Pasadena Civic Orchestra case studies since both boasted émigré music directors—Otto Klemperer and Richard Lert, respectively—at the time of the selected "moments." In the end, though, I attempt to engage with the émigrés in a way that other studies seldom do, foregrounding the local *institutions* first and expanding outward.

Perhaps a similar approach can be found in Dorothy Lamb Crawford's 1995 monograph *Evenings On and Off the Roof: Pioneering Concerts in Los Angeles, 1939–*

1971.[15] In this book, Crawford explores the creation and development of the Evenings on the Roof concert series (later Monday Evening Concerts), an organization that became pivotal for the performance and broader acceptance of modern music in Los Angeles. Placing the organization at the center of her study, Crawford allows a vibrant cast of characters and collaborators—several of them European émigrés—to naturally enter and exit the "scene" as the institution's story progresses. My project aims to do something similar.

A small side goal of this project is also to push back against stereotypical narratives and tropes that have become commonplace in previous studies of musical émigrés and their lives in the United States. The "struggle" narrative has typically presented European refugees as figures to be pitied for their failure to find sustainable work opportunities, their unwillingness to adapt to American culture, and their overall artistic decline during the war years. Some sources have also endorsed the spurious belief that Southern California was a cultural "wasteland" in the 1930s and 40s, a view propagated by several émigrés themselves.[16] Of course, pushing back against these narratives does not discredit the difficulties that many émigrés *did* face in the United States or ignore the fact that the West Coast had a less robust concert culture at the time compared to the East Coast and Europe. Rather, focusing exclusively on these tropes deprives émigrés of any agency and devalues both the contributions they made to American culture and the music-making that *was* happening in Southern California during that time. By taking an in-depth look at these Los Angeles institutions and related events, I hope that this project as a whole will tell a new story about Southern California's classical music scene and play a small part—alongside the

[15] Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof: Pioneering Concerts in Los Angeles, 1939–1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
[16] Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians*; Jezic, *The Musical Migration of Ernst Toch*.

work of scholars such as Sabine Feisst and Catherine Parsons Smith—in dispelling the myths found throughout previous émigré scholarship and literature.[17]

Scope

The project as a whole encompasses a span of twelve years (1933–45), but the three case studies and their specifics are located within a smaller span of roughly six years. The earliest event took place in September 1936, and the last occurred in June 1942. Though there are occasional deviations for narrative and argumentative effect, most of the events fall neatly within this general timeframe. The case studies are divided between chapters and presented in chronological order. This was mainly for simplicity, making it easier to write and for readers to follow along, but it also made the most sense in regards to the various issues each case study explores. The Los Angeles Philharmonic's benefit concert, for instance, took place several years before the start of World War II. Here, slightly different concerns came to the forefront as compared to the Janssen Symphony's "all-American" concert in January 1942, which was given in the shadow of Pearl Harbor and the United States's entry into the war. Presenting each event chronologically allowed for call-backs, comparisons, and contrasts throughout the project.

Throughout the dissertation, I consistently use the term "émigré" to refer to any composer, conductor, or musician of European descent who moved to and settled in the United States between 1933 and 1945 in response to the spread of fascism in Europe. However, I am well aware of the subtle connotations and problems with this designation and others in the field. In the 1999 edited volume *Driven into Paradise*, musicologist Reinhold

[17] Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*; Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles*.

Brinkmann recalls an essay by scholars Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer Zenck, and Peter Petersen, who argue that "emigration" is too broad a term and glazes over the specifics and subtleties of each refugee's personal situation.[18] This, in effect, creates "a subversion of the relevant history and of the identity of those people who were forced to flee the Nazis."[19] Brinkmann himself also questioned the appropriateness of the term. He states:

> In later scholarship . . . the term 'emigration' does not suggest expulsion so much as 'voluntary migration' (though it remains questionable whether in regard to Nazi Germany any migration could be considered strictly 'voluntary'), whereas the entire process of the forced expatriation is designated by the term 'exile.' 'Exile,' then, is multivalent, covering the act of expulsion, the process both of leave-taking and of arrival in the new land, and the status of the immigrant.[20]

The terminology—and its implications—is rightly complex for a complex issue. Since my project will focus primarily on the activities of Los Angeles *orchestras* rather than the experiences of the émigrés themselves, the "name-making" process was mostly the result of outside forces, namely newspapers and other contemporary source materials. However, I do not intend for the terms I use to diminish or erase the agency and experiences of individual émigrés. The term "émigré" acts as an umbrella term throughout the project, but there are variances depending on the circumstance (and also the occasional desire to vary word choice). Italian-American author and émigré Laura Fermi states in her 1971 book *Illustrious Immigrants*, "there is . . . no single word descriptive of a group whose motivations and intentions were as varied as those of the European-born intellectuals who came here. Accordingly, I shall avail myself of the existing terms, selecting in each instance the most

[18] Reinhold Brinkmann, "Reading a Letter," in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States,* eds. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
[19] Quoted in ibid., 16n12.
[20] Ibid., 5.

appropriate to the person under consideration."[21] A similar approach was in the back of my mind during the writing process.

Almost all of the émigrés who play a significant role in my dissertation—Otto Klemperer, Paul Hindemith, and Richard Lert among them—were of Austrian or German descent and specifically fled the rise of the Nazi regime. Most settled in Southern California either temporarily or permanently and became U.S. citizens at various points, which was an important distinguishing factor in certain case studies. Several, including Klemperer and Lert, were of Jewish heritage. As the Nazi Party grew in power and influence, this people group became particular targets of hate-based discrimination and persecution at home, which escalated into loss of jobs and livelihoods, physical attacks, and, most tragically, mass extermination.[22] However, I do realize that these specific Austro-Germanic and Jewish experiences are only a small piece of a much bigger and richer picture. Though the largest percentage of émigrés came to the United States from German-speaking lands, thousands of others escaped from Italy, France, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Japan, to name only a few. Furthermore, each member of this group comprised demographics beyond their country of birth and citizenship, encompassing a broad spectrum of ethnic, religious, sexual, economic, and political identities. While the specific reasons for emigration were not central to my case studies and analyses, I did try to acknowledge the importance of the émigrés' individual identities and highlight them when appropriate.

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[21] Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants: The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930–41*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 15.

[22] For more on World War II-era antisemitism and the Holocaust, see Kevin P. Spicer and Rebecca Carter-Chand, eds. *Religion, Ethnonationalism, and Antisemitism in the Era of the Two World Wars* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022), and Laurence Rees, *The Holocaust: A New History* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2017).

Literature Review

With primary sources drawn from an array of archives, institutions, and databases, my project joins a chorus of scholars who seek to understand American musical life during this period of immense cultural and political upheaval.

One of the fundamental sources for this project was Annegret Fauser's 2013 book *Sounds of War*.[23] In this study, Fauser explores the remarkable variety of American wartime music-making and the complex web of cultural and political issues that arose as a result. Several of Fauser's points make their way into my project in various ways, namely her discussion of "Americanized" opera productions and how the country gradually came to be viewed as the "savior" of Western art music from the threat of fascism. Her chapter on émigrés and their integration into American musical life also provided several helpful pieces of information and starting points.

Catherine Parsons Smith's 2007 book, *Making Music in Los Angeles*, was also a key study.[24] In it, Smith examines the foundational role that music played in the lives of Angelenos from the late-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, addressing several specific organizations, ensembles, and individuals—many of them lesser-known—who fostered musical activity in the city's nascent years. She concludes that "music making [in Los Angeles] was truly popular," which challenges the widespread myth of the city as a "culturally unfocused" desert.[25] While this conclusion inspired and bolstered some of my own discoveries, other sections of the book were just as useful. The information on the

[23] Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).
[24] Catherine Parsons Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles: Transforming the Popular* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
[25] Ibid., 1.

Society of Native American Composers (SNAC) and orchestral life in the pre-Los Angeles Philharmonic era were particularly crucial in offering historical context for my project.

Two respective texts by Dorothy Lamb Crawford and Sabine Feisst also laid critical foundations for my study. Crawford's 2009 book *A Windfall of Musicians* sparked the initial idea for this project and offered a generous amount of background information, particularly in regards to specific interactions between émigrés and Los Angeles orchestras.[26] Similarly, Feisst's remarkable 2011 monograph *Schoenberg's New World* was an additional source of inspiration.[27] Feisst paints a fascinating picture of Schoenberg's time in the United States by drawing from a wide swath of primary sources and considering a broad range of his American influences, including composers, performers, musical organizations, publishers, pupils, newspapers, and more. The result is a much richer, more nuanced look at this complex figure than many other studies provide. Feisst's efforts to present a new angle and "story" behind an oft-discussed subject were similar to what I hoped to achieve in my project. With such rich work already in place about individual émigrés, I could focus on telling institutional histories.

Early on, I discovered that secondary literature on the three orchestras in question—the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Werner Janssen Symphony, and the Pasadena Civic Orchestra—is unfortunately scant. Finding substantial historical information about each organization that was objective or non-promotional proved an occasional challenge. This was especially true for the Werner Janssen Symphony and Pasadena Civic Orchestra. No comprehensive source has been written about either ensemble or their respective music

[26] Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
[27] Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

directors at the time, Werner Janssen and Richard Lert. The only exception was a short biography-memoir published in 1965 for Lert's eightieth birthday.[28] Janssen did write an autobiography in the late 1970s (with the assistance of D. Bruce Lockerbie), but, sadly, it remains unpublished.[29] As a result, I had to rely primarily on newspapers, concert programs, and other contemporary documents for information. Occasional items did arise in secondary sources, though, which were culled together and pieced within the "puzzle" of archival materials.

The Los Angeles Philharmonic has a slightly more robust secondary literature than the other two orchestras. Several books were written during the orchestra's early years (the 1920s–40s) and offer a valuable contemporary perspective. While often lacking in detail and nuance, some—namely Caroline Estes Smith's 1930 book *The Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles*—did tie up a few elusive loose ends.[30] Several program book essays from the orchestra's 1981 "Music Made in Los Angeles" and 1991 "*Entartete Musik*" festivals were also valuable for their scholarly approaches and specific relevance to my topic.[31] However, most of the information on the Philharmonic came courtesy of Derek Traub's *Past/Forward*, a two-volume coffee table book published in 2018 as part of the orchestra's 100th-anniversary celebrations.[32] The first volume was especially informative; it provides the most substantial, reliable, and cohesive survey of the organization's history to date. A companion

[28] Vicki Baum and Richard Lert, *In Celebration of the Eightieth Birthday of Richard Lert* (Pasadena: The Castle Press, 1965).
[29] Bruce D. Lockerbie, email to author, July 15, 2021.
[30] Caroline Estes Smith, *The Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles: The First Decade, 1919–1929* (Los Angeles: United Printing Company, 1930).
[31] These include "Fleeing Hitler's Ban: The Composer as Emigrant" by Joseph Horowitz; "The Golden Years: 1934–1969," "Schoenberg in Los Angeles," and "Klemperer and the Los Angeles Philharmonic" by Peter Heyworth; and "Stravinsky in Los Angeles" by Lawrence Morton.
[32] Derek Traub, *Past/Forward: The LA Phil at 100*, eds. Robin Rauzi and Julia Ward (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Philharmonic Association, 2018).

book on the Hollywood Bowl (also by Traub) was published in June 2022.[33] Though the Bowl was not central to my study, this volume—alongside Isabel Morse Jones's 1936 book on the venue—still offered several valuable tidbits on the orchestra and Los Angeles music-making.[34]

A handful of secondary sources also played vital roles in the individual case studies. Information about Hubertus zu Loewenstein and the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom was drawn mainly from the book *Hitler's Exiles* by Volkmar Zühlsdorff.[35] Published in 1999 (and translated in 2004 by Martin H. Bott), the study explores the creation and inner workings of the Guild and subsequent German Academy of Arts and Letters, and discusses several key players involved with both organizations. Zühlsdorff himself was friends with Loewenstein and served as acting secretary of the Guild for several years, which allows for many intriguing details and insights to shine through (notwithstanding a few minor historical errors along the way). Peter Heyworth's impressive, two-volume biography of Otto Klemperer was also a fundamental text.[36] The second volume, in particular, provides an incredibly in-depth and reliable look at Klemperer's dynamic but often-rocky tenure with the Los Angeles Philharmonic. Heyworth further backs up his points with numerous sources and evidence, giving the biography an appreciable layer of scholarly credibility.

For the Werner Janssen Symphony case study, Sandra Lee Johnson's 2003 doctoral dissertation on Paul Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations (and its connected ballet, *The*

[33] Derek Traub, *Hollywood Bowl: The First 100 Years*, eds. Robin Rauzi and Julia Ward (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Philharmonic Association, 2022).
[34] Isabel Morse Jones, *Hollywood Bowl* (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1936).
[35] Volkmar Zühlsdorff, *Hitler's Exiles: The German Cultural Resistance in America and Europe*, trans. Martin H. Bott (Continuum: London, 1999/2004).
[36] Peter Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, Volume 2, 1933–1973* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Four Temperaments) was an indispensable resource.[37] Previous discussions of this work tend to be fraught with contradictions and misinformation. Johnson, however, does an exceptional job at clearing up misconceptions and laying out the facts clearly and convincingly. Her historical survey was especially helpful, disentangling the often-convoluted accounts of the work's creation in a manner that was easy to approach for my own project. Luther Noss's 1989 book *Paul Hindemith in the United States* was similarly insightful and offered several useful reference points.[38]

There is still much work to be done to provide substantial, reliable histories of specific musical institutions, people, and events in Los Angeles, particularly those that intersected with the European émigré population throughout the 1930s and 40s. Though the case studies in my project have been largely overlooked in past scholarship, the above works—alongside numerous primary sources—provided invaluable insights, nuance, and a means to construct a bigger picture of early-twentieth-century musical life in Southern California. Still, I hope that my project will begin to rectify this gap in the literature.

Chapter Outline

Following the introduction, the project opens with a survey of the three institutions at the core of this study—the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Werner Janssen Symphony, and the Pasadena Civic Orchestra.[39] The chapter offers a brief history of each organization, general statistics of the ensemble (its size, level of professionalism, funding model, etc.), and

[37] Sandra Lee Johnson, "Paul Hindemith's *Theme with Four Variations: The Four Temperaments*, Its History, Reception, and Importance," PhD diss., (University of Cincinnati, 2003).
[38] Luther Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989).
[39] A brief overview of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra's sister organization, the American Music Theatre of Pasadena, appears in Chapter 4.

data sets outlining the number of works by émigré composers that each orchestra programmed between 1933 and 1945. The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, it provides the necessary context before launching into the individual case studies, leaving more room to focus on the specific events, figures, and issues in question. Second, as stated previously, few authors have written about these three institutions at length. Though the chapter provides only a brief overview of each, it is—in the cases of the Werner Janssen Symphony and Pasadena Civic Orchestra—the first substantial history of these institutions to appear in print. Similarly, no previous scholarship has outlined how many émigré composers' works were performed by Los Angeles orchestras in the years leading up to and during World War II. The combined historical information and accompanying data sets will provide a starting place for scholars who conduct further studies on Southern California's émigré community or for arts administrators and local historians looking for a clear overview of the subject. Lastly, by opening the project with a historical survey and concert programming trends, I begin to paint a picture of the goals and *modus operandi* of each of these institutions before the start of the war and how their relationship with European émigrés—in the specific case of this project, composers and conductors—manifested and changed throughout the 1930s and 40s.

Chapter 2 presents the project's first case study—the Los Angeles Philharmonic's September 1936 benefit concert for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom. Opening with a brief background of the New York-based Guild and its efforts to establish a chapter on the West Coast, this case study examines one of the few musical events in Los Angeles that explicitly solicited support for the country's burgeoning German émigré population. The concert program, led by music director Otto Klemperer, was a rich and

varied occasion; canonic works by Mozart and Beethoven sat comfortably alongside more recent compositions by local émigrés Arnold Schoenberg and Ernst Toch. However, while the charity aspects of this benefit were widely appealing to philanthropic Angelenos—particularly those in the film industry—the Guild ultimately found its lofty aspirations at odds with the realities of the Los Angeles music scene and the glitz of Hollywood. In particular, Klemperer's participation in the concert was valorized by the local press and quickly became the primary driving force behind the event's success. Meanwhile, the Guild saw certain aspects of its mission (including its anti-Nazi goals) downplayed and even forgotten in the days leading up to the event. Though the concert and the Guild itself would ultimately fail to make a lasting impression in Southern California, I argue that this event still demonstrates a critical moment of identity alignment and expression—both "German" and "émigré"—in the Los Angeles orchestral community before the outbreak of World War II.

Chapter 3 spotlights the Werner Janssen Symphony and its "non-performance" of Paul Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations (1940). Following a brief overview of the complex and fraught history of Hindemith's score and its accompanying ballet (*The Four Temperaments*), the chapter explores an intriguing "non-performance" that took place shortly before Janssen's, when a performance of *The Four Temperaments* was pulled from the American Ballet Caravan's South American goodwill tour in summer 1941. Here, global events—and perhaps the work's perceived lack of "American" elements—sparked initial questions regarding the work's suitability and appropriateness during an international conflict. The chapter then shifts to the planned concert premiere of Hindemith's work with the Werner Janssen Symphony in January 1942, record of which does not appear in any previous studies of Hindemith or the work. Though this performance was poised to be a

major event for the orchestra and Los Angeles's musical community, the premiere was abruptly canceled shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. In its place, Janssen culled together a replacement "all-American" concert program, which presented works exclusively by American-born composers. The rest of the chapter analyzes this turn of events, including the lead-up, performance, and reception of the orchestra's "all-American" concert in January 1942. The "non-performance" of Hindemith's work demonstrates a clear moment when Hindemith's identity as a German émigré was thrown into sharp relief against a post-Pearl Harbor effort to define "Americanness" as those who were "native-born," making little to no consideration for those who had fled Europe and made the United States their adopted home. In the end, while Janssen's replacement concert fit in well with the uncertainty and patriotism of early-wartime America and his underlying desire to foster a "100 per cent American" orchestra that would stand out amidst a predominantly-European market, this position ultimately disadvantaged the perspective and participation of a German émigré such as Hindemith.

The final chapter (Chapter 4) jumps to several months after the Janssen concert. This case study investigates two related events in late spring 1942—the season finale concert of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra and the American Music Theatre of Pasadena's performance of *The Barber of Seville*. Both organizations were headed by the steadfast musical direction of Austrian émigré Richard Lert. As an eminent European opera conductor, Lert's presence not only imbued each institution with prestige and legitimacy but amplified their unique "Pasadenan" qualities, making them a point of pride for the city and more distinctive within the Los Angeles musical community and beyond. The chapter opens with a brief exploration of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra's final concert of the 1941–42 season, which spotlights

Lert's dual aims to foster an accomplished community orchestra and actively promote composers and musicians from Pasadena and the Los Angeles area. This then segues into a performance given by the American Music Theatre of Pasadena, a sister organization that Lert enthusiastically helmed alongside American actor and singer George Houston. The company's June 1942 production of Rossini's *The Barber of Seville* (1816)—presented in English, or "in American," as the local papers quipped—was part of their concentrated effort to freshen up the concept of foreign-language opera and make it understandable, relevant, and accessible for modern American audiences. Though both cases reveal a clear intersection between different and often competing ideas of "Europeanness" and "Americanness," in the end, Lert's involvement in these two events allowed for the identity of the Pasadena community—and by extension, America as a whole—to be put fully and proudly on display.

Why this Project?

My initial curiosity about Southern California's émigré community was piqued as a junior at Cal State Long Beach. For a research assignment in a "Readings in Musicology" class, a peer and I were asked to investigate a black-and-white photograph of four figures gathered around a table in an unidentified living room. This intriguing image sparked numerous questions: when and where was the picture taken? Who were the people at the table? Who was the photographer? What were the circumstances behind the gathering? We immediately recognized Igor Stravinsky sitting in the far left of the picture, but the others were a mystery to us. Our professor (the inimitable Dr. Kristine Forney) informed us that the rest of the group consisted of composer Darius Milhaud, actress and librettist Madeleine Milhaud (Darius's wife), and pedagogue Nadia Boulanger. With that morsel of information,

we set out to uncover more. We learned that Stravinsky and his wife, Vera, had emigrated to Los Angeles from France in 1939 to escape the growing threat of World War II. Several years later, in October 1944, Igor was asked to present a lecture recital at Mills College in Oakland, California, where Darius Milhaud taught composition. (The Milhauds also emigrated to the U.S. from France in 1940 for similar reasons.) The Stravinskys traveled north for the occasion, and Nadia Boulanger even made a trip to Oakland to perform in the recital alongside Igor.[40] Though various sources offered competing answers as to where and when the photo was taken, we ultimately surmised that the Stravinskys and Boulanger were invited to the Milhauds' house on the grounds of the college for a social gathering at some point during this time. We also concluded that Vera Stravinsky was the one who likely snapped the photograph of the proceedings.[41] Guesswork aside, I enjoyed the assignment immensely. It was an absolute joy to do some historical digging, and I was fascinated by the individual stories of the figures in the photo, particularly the fact that Stravinsky and Milhaud—two esteemed European composers—had lived in my home state of California for a significant amount of time. Before I thought to explore the subject any further, though, my attention quickly turned to other matters, among them my undergraduate thesis on a film score by British composer Richard Addinsell. For the time being, the prospects of an émigré-based research interest faded into the background.

Several years later, I took a public history course during my second year as a graduate student at UC Santa Barbara. The readings and discussions about the methods and challenges of presenting history to non-academic audiences resonated with me, especially with my

[40] Stravinsky and Boulanger performed Stravinsky's Sonata for Two Pianos (1943–44) alongside the premiere of his two-piano arrangement of *Scherzo à la russe* (1944).
[41] This was later confirmed in H. Colin Slim's 2019 book *Stravinsky in the Americas: Transatlantic Tours and Domestic Excursions from Wartime Los Angeles (1925–1945)*.

newfound interest in public musicology. For the final project, we were asked to create a hypothetical mode of engaging the general public in a specific aspect of California history. My mind immediately returned to Los Angeles's musical émigré community, a topic that seemed to brim with both historical and personal interest. I decided to create a short, interactive tour with Google Maps that, instead of taking visitors on a virtual trip to Hollywood celebrity homes, would pinpoint where several émigré composers and conductors lived in the City of Angels during the 1930s and 40s. The final (and very rudimentary) mock-up included a short biography of each figure, information about their life in Southern California, a few photos, and a YouTube link to an example of their work. In a summary of the project, I wrote that a similar tool could be employed by arts organizations—the Los Angeles Philharmonic, for instance—to create a bridge between their programming and local history, providing audiences with a unique and accessible look into the musico-historical past of the surrounding community. Besides enjoying the practicalities of the project, I loved delving more deeply into the subject matter and began thinking of ways to explore it further.

My rekindled interest in the Los Angeles émigré community took a natural path after this. Following the public history course, I selected the subject as one of the five topics for my Master's comprehensive examinations. I read more scholarly literature about European musical émigrés, learning about the reasons behind their move to America, how they fared in Southern California, and the communities and collaborations they fostered in the area. (A side effect of this was an obsession with the inevitable and wildly entertaining "who met whom" stories that arose during the process.)[42] I also became aware of various narratives and misconceptions that had been built around this community, including the beliefs that

[42] There are far too many to choose from, but one favorite is the time when Sergei Rachmaninoff showed up to Stravinsky's West Hollywood home—unannounced, in the middle of the night—with a large jar of honey.

Southern California was a cultural "wasteland" at the time and that many émigrés failed to find a suitable artistic foothold in America.[43] Both ideas—and others like it—turned out to be generalizations; the truth was far more complex and nuanced. Though the exam topic only scratched the surface, it was a rich and rewarding experience.

During my exam preparation, I realized the following: relatively little had been written about specific interactions between European émigrés and the musical institutions of Los Angeles, particularly orchestras. A bit more digging seemed to confirm this; most scholarship contained only passing information or nothing at all, focusing primarily on biography or cultural analysis. This seemed like the perfect gap for a potential dissertation. After completing my exams, I began to develop a topic centered on a single institution—the Los Angeles Philharmonic—and its history of programming works by émigré composers throughout the 1930s and 40s. I paid two visits to the Philharmonic's archives in fall 2019 and began compiling program data for what would become a broad archival survey of the orchestra's relationship with the Los Angeles émigré community. At first, the process seemed to be going well. Then, in March 2020, things changed. The COVID-19 pandemic exploded onto the scene, and the world was thrown into lockdown. Almost all plans were abruptly canceled or put on indefinite hold. For the time being, all I could do was binge *Schitt's Creek*, bake an inordinate amount of pastries, and wait.

In summer 2020, once the initial panic of the pandemic had subsided, I took stock of the project. My archival findings were not as robust as I initially believed, and the prospects of conducting more in-person research would now be difficult, if not impossible. Some retooling was clearly in order. I first decided to expand the scope to three Los Angeles

[43] Catherine Parsons Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles*; Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians*; Jezic, *The Musical Migration of Ernst Toch*.

orchestras instead of one, thus taking the pressure off of having to conduct a deep dive into a single institution. Instead of focusing solely on programming, I selected four specific concerts (or "moments") that were particularly revealing in their interactions between European émigrés and these Los Angeles orchestras. The archival focus would remain, whenever pandemic restrictions allowed, but the research would now encompass a broader selection of primary and secondary sources—books, newspapers, and magazine articles among them—many of which were gleaned from online sources. With a new plan in place, it was time to get to work, this time, from the comfort of my own home.

Alongside the specific aims established in the thesis statement, this project aims to achieve two smaller goals. The first is to tell a previously-untold story about musical life in Southern California. As stated earlier, general scholarship on émigrés in America is plentiful, but few have looked into specific concerts, events, and institutions that they participated in, which leaves so much unsaid about this period. Plenty of potential "moments" were left on the "cutting room floor" while creating this dissertation, and scholars would benefit greatly from exploring these stories further and making them more widely known. The second goal is to appeal to a broad audience. By taking a mostly primary source-based approach and reconstructing these moments with a chronological and narrative lens, this project aspires to engage many different types of readers. While most of these will likely be musicologists and cultural scholars in other fields, I sincerely hope it will also engage those *outside* the academy, such as arts administrators, public historians, classical music listeners, and local history enthusiasts. The stories presented here—and the countless yet to be told—have the potential to reach far beyond a niche academic audience. These seemingly small interactions between the European émigré community and the Southern Californian music scene can

paint a more composite and vibrant picture of our country's musical history and the rich array of figures who have graced our shores over the decades.

However, there is much work to be done beyond this. As I worked on this project from 2020 onward, various national and international events provided sobering reminders of the ways in which America still treats the emigrant, the migrant, the "other." Xenophobia towards Afghani refugees fleeing the Taliban and the appalling treatment of South American migrants at the U.S.-Mexico border made one think of the immigration quotas that were put in place in the 1930s, which denied entry to thousands of Europeans and drove them back to their homelands to face the horrors of the Nazi regime. A rise in pandemic-fueled violence towards Asian Americans and those of Pacific Islander descent brought back painful memories of the internment camps that were created in the wake of the attack on Pearl Harbor—only eighty years ago—which forced hundreds of thousands of innocent Japanese Americans to live in barbaric, inhumane conditions. The escalating conflict between Ukraine and Russia and the small but vocal contingent who advocated for the ban of Russian composers in American concert halls—even those completely removed from Putin's regime, such as Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninoff, and Shostakovich—raised some uncomfortable parallels with World War II-era rhetoric surrounding German music.[44] While telling these specific stories will not solve the hurts and issues of our current moment, it will hopefully, in a small way, help humanize the past and make us aware of how we can better welcome and embrace those seeking a place of refuge in these United States. Perhaps this matters more now than ever before.

[44] Margaret Frainier, "Cultural Distinction: What Sergei Rachmaninov's legacy tells us about musicians under the Putin regime," *VAN*, March 10, 2022, https://van-magazine.com/mag/rachmaninov-putin-ukraine/; Alex Ross, "Listening to Russian Music in Putin's Shadow," *The New Yorker*, March 24, 2022, https://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/listening-to-russian-music-in-putins-shadow.

CHAPTER 1

An Historical Survey of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, Werner Janssen Symphony, and Pasadena Civic Orchestra

This chapter offers a brief survey of the three orchestras at the center of the project. As stated in the introduction, the purpose of this is threefold: to lay the contextual groundwork before launching into the individual case studies, to provide a clear history of each orchestra—two of which have not been written about at length before now—and to begin to paint a picture of the goals and *modus operandi* of each institution during this time. The data sets found at the end of the chapter, which outline the number of émigré composers' works that each orchestra programmed from 1933 to 1945, will similarly provide a focused look at how the relationship between these institutions and European émigrés manifested and changed throughout the 1930s and 40s. While scope and time constraints prevented a deeper dive, these short histories will hopefully clear the air for the chapters to follow and inspire further explorations of these three orchestras and other Los Angeles musical institutions.

Otto Klemperer and the Los Angeles Philharmonic

The founding of the Los Angeles Philharmonic marked a turning point in the Southland's long and complicated relationship with symphonic music. Throughout the mid-to-late 1800s, Los Angeles hosted numerous community orchestras, bands, choirs, and music societies—not to mention the occasional touring group that passed through the city—but no high-caliber institution existed that was comparable with the major ensembles to the east. There were several attempts to form one, including a theater orchestra led by Dion Romandy (which gave concerts at the Palace Saloon), a lute orchestra, a women's orchestra, and two

separate philharmonic orchestras.[1] Though all were relatively short-lived, the second philharmonic orchestra (formed in 1892) eventually morphed into the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra in 1898, which presented concerts in the city for twenty-three years.

It was this ensemble that ultimately convinced philanthropist William Andrews Clark, Jr. that the city deserved a full-time, professional orchestra. He found the amateur Los Angeles Symphony to be of lackluster quality, stating that an ideal group "should be a first-class organization . . . the men [should] be engaged by the year, thus relieving them of the necessity of obtaining three or four positions, the programs [should] be of the highest and most varied type, with soloists, and the prices of admission [should] be moderate."[2] After several clashes with the Symphony's board, Clark seized the opportunity to form his own orchestra. He announced his intentions in June 1919 and named his new ensemble the Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles.[3]

The early Philharmonic boasted a mixture of local musicians and outside professionals. Clark was able to recruit several "defectors" from the floundering Los Angeles Symphony, which had been only a "small, secondary job" for some who made their living primarily from playing in theaters and restaurants.[4] He also engaged a number of first-class principal players from other orchestras, enticing them to Los Angeles with an attractive salary.[5] The local nature of the ensemble quickly became a point of admiration. Reviewing

[1] Catherine Parsons Smith discusses these early attempts more in her book *Making Music in Los Angeles*.
[2] Derek Traub, *Past/Forward: The LA Phil at 100*, eds. Robin Rauzi and Julia Ward (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Philharmonic Association, 2018), 15.
[3] Ibid., 22. Early on, the name "Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles" was used interchangeably with "Los Angeles Philharmonic." The second name ultimately won out in the 1930s. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to the orchestra as the Los Angeles Philharmonic throughout this chapter and the dissertation as a whole.
[4] Ibid., 15.
[5] Peter Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, Volume 2*, *1933–1973* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 24n. These included hornist Alfred Brain, Jr., bassoonist Frederick Moritz, trumpeter Vladimir Drucker, and violinist Sylvain Noack, among others.

the orchestra's first concert in October 1919, Carl Bronson of the *Los Angeles Herald* stated, "I counted with pride more than fifty-five of our local musicians in the ninety-eight on the stage and altogether it was an occasion for self-congratulation."[6] The Philharmonic's size was also notable. Caroline Estes Smith, the orchestra's manager, observed, "It only required one glance at the personnel including ten double basses and the long avenues of violins, violas and cellos, to tell that it was easily the largest orchestra ever heard in Los Angeles; because visiting orchestras never carry a full complement of men."[7] Whether it was indeed the largest orchestra Los Angeles had heard or not, early audiences nonetheless responded with amazement, and reviews were quick to praise the massive, high-quality sound of the ensemble. The orchestra's personnel would fluctuate over the years—depending on finances and the needs of the repertoire—but in general, the Philharmonic remained a full-sized symphony orchestra.

The ensemble grew quickly in scope and artistic quality. Clark continued hiring professional players and engaged high-profile conductors like Walter Henry Rothwell, Georg Schnéevoigt, and Artur Rodziński to lead the orchestra. Though tickets and subscriptions were sold to the public, the Philharmonic was able to remain on financially stable footing thanks to Clark's patronage; he consistently underwrote the orchestra's losses for fifteen years.[8] In 1921, exciting new possibilities arose with the opening of the Hollywood Bowl, which provided the orchestra an outdoor performance venue and a chance for thousands of Angelenos to experience live music at affordable prices.[9] The orchestra also embarked on

[6] Quoted in Caroline Estes Smith, *The Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles: The First Decade, 1919–1929* (Los Angeles: United Printing Company, 1930), 59.
[7] Ibid., 56.
[8] Traub, 16. This equated to about $200,000 per year, or $3 million total.
[9] Derek Traub, *Hollywood Bowl: The First 100 Years*, eds. Robin Rauzi and Julia Ward (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Philharmonic Association, 2022).

two tours in 1921 and 1929, but fallout from the Great Depression and, later, uncertainty surrounding World War II, prevented them from touring again until 1956.[10] Still, by the 1930s, the Philharmonic was reaching more listeners than ever before through regular subscription concerts, children's concerts, recordings, and radio broadcasts. What had started as a primarily local ensemble was slowly becoming an institution of renown beyond the city's borders. It appeared that Clark's vision was finally coming true.

Meanwhile, in Europe, conductor Otto Klemperer (1885–1973) had begun looking for new work opportunities. He had moved to Switzerland with his family after the closure of Berlin's Kroll Opera in 1931 and was hoping to build his international stature with an American conducting post. Growing antisemitism in nearby Germany—and Klemperer's anxiety over his Jewish heritage—made finding such a position outside of Europe all the more urgent. Though nothing was currently open at any of the major American orchestras, an opportunity was brewing in Los Angeles.[11] In January 1933, Clark announced that he would withdraw his financial support from the Philharmonic. Then-music director Artur Rodziński was also released from his post after a short and rocky tenure. If finances allowed a 1933–34 season to happen at all, the plan was to engage a handful of guest conductors rather than hire a permanent replacement for Rodziński. The orchestra's future looked bleak, but a public fundraising effort in February 1933, though not wildly successful, convinced Clark to jumpstart the search for a new music director.[12] Klemperer was contacted in April, and, once salary negotiations were complete, he accepted the position as the Los Angeles Philharmonic's next music director in June 1933.

[10] Traub, *Past/Forward*, 33.
[11] Heyworth, 20.
[12] Ibid., 21.

Klemperer's inaugural season was a whirlwind of highs and lows. He moved to Los Angeles in October 1933, leaving his wife and children behind in Europe. Upon arrival, he was confronted with a strange and lonely city. This was especially the case in the early 1930s, since Klemperer was one of the earliest émigrés to settle in Los Angeles. In his two-volume biography of the conductor, author Peter Heyworth states, "Southern California as yet contained no large colony of Central European intellectuals and artists, such as gathered there during the Second World War. Many Jews and opponents of Nazism still remained in Germany in the hope that the regime would not last. . . ."[13] Needless to say, Klemperer adapted to his new surroundings. He generally got along well with Clark, who hosted the conductor at his mansion for the first part of his residency, though Klemperer was taken aback by some of the philanthropist's eccentricities.[14] The orchestra itself was "very good and very nice," but the constantly-shifting roster of players, due to many being employed in the Hollywood film studios, was an unending source of frustration.[15] The orchestra's performance hall—Philharmonic Auditorium, located on the corner of 5th and Olive in downtown Los Angeles—also left much to be desired. The acoustics were reportedly superb, but the hall itself offered little to nothing in the way of dressing rooms or other backstage areas.[16] (It was originally built in 1906 for the Temple Baptist Church and had alternately served as a theater and movie house in ensuing years.) Despite this, Klemperer's first concerts with the Philharmonic on October 19 and 20, 1933, were a massive success. The program of J.S. Bach, Stravinsky, and Beethoven led local critic José Rodriguez to proclaim

[13] Ibid., 23.
[14] This included, among other things, Clark's tendency to appear at breakfast completely in the nude.
[15] Heyworth, 24.
[16] As such, the nearby Biltmore Hotel served as the Auditorium's green room. The Los Angeles Philharmonic later relocated to the newly-built Dorothy Chandler Pavilion in 1964 before taking residence at Walt Disney Concert Hall in 2003, their current home. Sadly, Philharmonic Auditorium was demolished in 1985 to make room for a parking lot. It is currently home to the Park Fifth Tower Apartments.

that it was the first time he had heard the orchestra play "as a genuine ensemble."[17] Klemperer's hiring appeared to be a significant victory for Clark, the ensemble, and the city. Sadly, the celebration would not last. Clark died suddenly of a heart attack in June 1934 and, much to everyone's astonishment, left behind no endowment to guarantee the Philharmonic's continuance. Uncertain of his future in Los Angeles, Klemperer returned to Europe for the summer. Miraculously, the orchestra's board was able to cobble together funds for a fall 1934 season and guarantee a suitable salary for Klemperer. Klemperer returned to the city—this time with his wife, Johanna—that September.[18]

In the following years, Klemperer continued to increase the Los Angeles Philharmonic's stature both locally and nationally. He recruited even more new players and expanded the orchestra's repertoire, presenting the first Los Angeles performances of works by Haydn (the "Clock" and "Farewell" symphonies), Mahler (*Das Lied von der Erde*), and Bach (*St. John Passion*), in addition to the city's first complete Beethoven symphony cycle.[19] He also presented several recent and brand-new works by major contemporary composers, such as Stravinsky, Hindemith, and Schoenberg.[20] Klemperer even appeared regularly with the orchestra at the Hollywood Bowl. Although hesitant to do so at first—he once declared, "I am not a summer conductor"—his first performance in July 1935 drew an enthusiastic crowd of 18,000 listeners.[21] However, there were still plenty of frustrations. After Clark's death, the Philharmonic shifted to a financial model similar to other large American orchestras, which relied primarily on private donations and revenue from ticket sales.

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[17] Heyworth, 25.
[18] Klemperer's children would later join them in June 1935.
[19] Heyworth, 26, 32–3, and 93.
[20] Ibid., 80–9. These included Stravinsky's *Jeu de cartes* (1936–37), Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler* Symphony (1936) and *Der Schwanendreher* (1935), and Schoenberg's Cello Concerto (after Monn) (1932–33).
[21] Ibid., 49–50.

Klemperer detested fundraising and was baffled by the city's seeming disinterest in supporting its musical institutions, even proposing a "voluntary music tax" in July 1936.[22]

Klemperer's tenure with the Philharmonic ended on a dour note. In early 1939, he began to notice alarming changes in his balance, stamina, and mood.[23] Medical tests soon revealed a large, non-malignant brain tumor, forcing him to undergo two surgeries following that summer's Hollywood Bowl season. While the procedures were successful, they left the right side of Klemperer's body partially paralyzed.[24] They also worsened his manic-depressive mood swings. Author and fellow émigré Vicki Baum once called him an ominous, "Hoffmannesque figure with a black patch over one eye" who "tears around like a maniac."[25] His volatile behavior even became dangerous, culminating with a stay at a psychiatric hospital in 1941.[26] Though he had initially planned to return to the Philharmonic after making a full recovery, Klemperer was now seen as a possible liability, and he was pressured to resign from his post in October 1941. He continued to lead concerts in Europe and America in subsequent years—which included the occasional visit to Los Angeles—but his sudden departure signaled the end of an era for the Los Angeles Philharmonic. The following seasons would feature a cadre of guest conductors before the orchestra's next music director, Alfred Wallenstein, was hired in 1943.

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[22] Ibid., 72.
[23] Ibid., 96.
[24] Ibid., 99–100.
[25] Ibid., 108.
[26] Cultural historian Joseph Horowitz recalls the harrowing turn of events: "[Klemperer] confronted the medical director, Dr. Daniel J. Kelly, with such anger that Kelly reluctantly allowed him to leave [the hospital]—and thereupon informed the police, who issued an eight-state warning that Klemperer was 'dangerous.' The *New York Times* ran a front-page story headlined, 'KLEMPERER GONE: SOUGHT AS INSANE.'" (Quoted in Traub, 94.)

Werner Janssen and His Symphony

On November 3, 1940, a new orchestra was announced for the City of Angels. Under the "Sharps and Flats" column of the *Los Angeles Times*, a passing blurb proclaimed, "The founding of the Los Angeles Symphonietta of 36 players by Werner Janssen, conductor, was an event of last week."[27] It continued by noting that the orchestra would present three concerts at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre in January, February, and March 1941, respectively.[28] In the coming weeks, the ensemble's name was changed to the "Werner Janssen Concert Orchestra" before settling on the "Werner Janssen Symphony."[29]

The namesake of the orchestra was the American conductor and composer Werner Janssen (1899–1990). Janssen was born in New York and completed his musical education at Dartmouth College and the New England Conservatory. Following military service in World War I, he began conducting throughout the United States and Europe. One engagement even brought him into direct conflict with Nazi Germany. During a guest conducting appearance with the Berlin Philharmonic in March 1933, the orchestra's management pulled the Gettysburg Address-inspired *Requiem* (c. 1916) of Rubin Goldmark—an American composer of Jewish descent—from the program, much to Janssen's shock and dismay.[30] He later canceled a follow-up appearance with the orchestra in protest.[31] Despite concerns that Nazi Germany would "make trouble for him," Janssen continued to build a reputation both at home and abroad.[32] In 1934, he became the first native New Yorker to lead the New York

[27] "Sharps and Flats," *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1940.
[28] Ibid.
[29] "Three Janssen Concerts Booked," *Los Angeles Times*, December 22, 1940.
[30] Herbert F. Peyser, "Berlin Philharmonic Bans 'Gettysburg' Work Because of 'Trouble With America Just Now,'" *New York Times*, March 30, 1933.
[31] "Janssen Refuses to Conduct in Germany; Displeased Management Warns American," *New York Times*, October 31, 1933.
[32] "American Composer Refuses To Direct Berlin Orchestra," *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, November 1, 1933.

Philharmonic and conducted an acclaimed all-Sibelius concert in Helsinki (which was lauded by the Finnish composer himself).[33] Janssen also served as the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra's music director from 1937 to 1939 and composed in his spare time.[34] His first film score, for *The General Died at Dawn*, was nominated for an Academy Award in 1937 but lost to Erich Wolfgang Korngold's score for *Anthony Adverse*.[35] That same year, shortly after his first marriage ended in divorce, he married the film actress Ann Harding. The couple moved to Los Angeles in spring 1940, setting the stage for the Janssen Symphony's founding later that year.

The month following the *Los Angeles Times* announcement, more details were revealed about Janssen's new orchestra. One characteristic that surprised Angelenos was the small size of the ensemble. The chamber orchestra was still a relatively recent phenomenon, a post-World War I concept that, according to musicologists John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, "represented in part a response to the cost of large orchestras, in part a modernist reaction to what had come to be seen in some circles as the overblown rhetoric of the late Romantic repertory."[36] In fact, few Los Angeles writers knew what to call Janssen's venture. The *Hollywood Citizen-News* called it a "basic orchestra," while the *Los Angeles Times* called it a "classic orchestra of Haydn's day—with modern amplifications."[37] Taking a cue from the *Times*, *The News* explained that there was precedent for such a small group; after all, Johann Peter Salomon's London concerts in the late-1700s featured similar-sized ensembles and

[33] Some sources incorrectly refer to Janssen as the first American-born conductor to lead the New York Philharmonic. There were a handful of other Americans who conducted the orchestra before Janssen, including Henry Hadley and Arthur Bergh.
[34] Gustave Reese and Barbara A. Renton, "Janssen, Werner," *Grove Music Online*, 2001.
[35] Janssen went on to receive Academy Award nominations for several more film scores, including *Eternally Yours* (1939), *Guest in the House* (1944), and *Captain Kidd* (1945).
[36] John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, "Orchestra," *Grove Music Online*, 2001.
[37] "Basic Orchestra To Bow Under Janssen's Baton," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 14, 1940; "Three Janssen Concerts Booked," *Los Angeles Times*, December 22, 1940.

were standard in the works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.[38] Notably, this article also provided the public with the impetus behind the orchestra. "The junior chamber of commerce," the article states, "feels that this return to the classic orchestra, which at the same time will present music with an 'ear to the future,' will bring widespread attention to Los Angeles from the musical world."[39] The phrase "ear to the future" eventually became a component of the Janssen Symphony's motto: "With an accent on the classics, and an ear to the future." Indeed, the orchestra would soon become notable for programming beloved works from the Western canon alongside newer pieces. A 1940 preview brochure outlined this goal more explicitly. It read in part:

> The founding of the Werner Janssen Concerts, a non-profit organization, originated with a musical impulse from musicians of skill and experience and the will to present fine music because they believe in it. It is the major purpose to give to the community a new musical experience. There is a need for a progressive attitude toward music. There is also a considerable public which awaits a practical manifestation of this attitude. We propose to fulfill the need. In presenting our programs we will use literature both vital and extensive—not only the familiar classics universally known to all music lovers, but also those in less-explored fields.[40]

Though this "literature both vital and extensive" would end up mostly highlighting works of the pre- and post-Romantic eras—due to the smaller size of the ensemble—the group's repertoire was intended to be wide-ranging. The borders of the preview brochure offered a tantalizing preview of the possibilities that lay ahead, listing numerous composers from Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart to Sibelius, Schoenberg, and Stravinsky.[41]

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[38] "A Swiss watch symphony," *The News*, December 26, 1940.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Werner Janssen Symphony preview brochure, c. 1940, Werner Janssen biographical file, Art, Music & Recreation Department, Los Angeles Public Library.
[41] Ibid. The full group of composers listed on the borders of the preview brochure is as follows: Beethoven, Haydn, Sibelius, Mozart, Strauss, Ravel, Debussy, Honegger, Stravinsky, [Roy] Harris, Schoenberg, Chopin, Tchaikovsky, Schumann, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Gluck, Berlioz, Wagner, [John Alden] Carpenter, Couperin, and Rameau.

Funding and sponsorship details were also disclosed in late 1940. On December 14, the *Hollywood Citizen-News* announced that Janssen was "heading a new, non-profit musical organization" that would appear "under the sponsorship of the Music Foundation of the Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce."[42] This non-profit (Organized Community Concerts, Inc.) was led by a trio consisting of Janssen, attorney George Olincy, and accountant Walter H. Ingold.[43] Several prominent composers were named as supporters of the orchestra, including Arnold Schoenberg, Roy Harris, Ernst Toch, Edgard Varèse, and Charles Ives, in addition to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, the prominent patron of twentieth-century music. A number of notable Hollywood figures were also listed, such as actors Edward Arnold and Basil Rathbone.[44]

Beyond this newspaper information, though, the Janssen Symphony's financial model remains somewhat of a mystery. Did these composers and Hollywood stars provide monetary donations to help fund the Symphony, or just lend prestige through name association? What was the Junior Chamber of Commerce's role in this? There are few clear, contemporaneous answers regarding how the orchestra received money or paid its players. Janssen himself was ambiguous on the subject. In a 1987 interview with radio broadcaster Bruce Duffie, Janssen stated, "The Janssen Orchestra of Los Angeles . . . never took any money from anybody. How did we do it? It's very boring, but . . . nevertheless it worked, and we gave more first performances of music than six or seven of the other big orchestras put together." He reiterates this point shortly after, declaring that "we did [first performances] for fifteen or twenty years in Los Angeles and never, never took a dime from anyone."[45] Janssen's

[42] "Basic Orchestra To Bow Under Janssen's Baton," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 14, 1940.
[43] "Concert Group Incorporates," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, January 10, 1941.
[44] "Basic Orchestra To Bow Under Janssen's Baton," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 14, 1940.
[45] Werner Janssen, interview with Bruce Duffie, July 25, 1987, http://www.bruceduffie.com/janssen.html.

statements seem to suggest that the only monetary support came from the Junior Chamber of Commerce. (Concert tickets were also sold to the public, which likely provided an additional, albeit small, source of revenue.) The orchestra's printed concert programs might help clarify this theory. Most programs listed several "honorary members," various regional committee members, and "honorary patrons."[46] While evidence could exist to the contrary, the "honorary" designation implies that no money changed hands and that these people were foundational figures in name only. Perhaps Janssen never *did* have to fundraise or solicit money from the general public, relying solely on ticket sales and support from the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Whatever the case, the Janssen Symphony seemingly managed to present concerts with few financial troubles during its years of existence.

Details for the orchestra's first concert fell into place in early 1941. A small article in the *Hollywood Citizen-News* revealed that Janssen was designing a special acoustic shell for the orchestra.[47] Pianist Lillian Steuber was selected as the concert's soloist, and specially-priced tickets were announced for local students.[48] More information about the orchestra's personnel was also revealed. The ensemble would consist of approximately forty "core" players from the Hollywood film studios, alongside a handful of young professional musicians selected from Leopold Stokowski's All-American Youth Symphony Orchestra.[49]

It was also around this time that the orchestra's distinct image began to take shape. On January 6, the *Los Angeles Times* announced that violinist Louis Kaufman would serve as

[46] Werner Janssen Symphony concert program, November 27, 1941, box 1, folder 64, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[47] "Construction of Concert Shell Begun at Ebell," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, January 3, 1941.
[48] "Students to Attend Janssen Concerts," *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1941; "Lillian Steuber To Appear With Janssen's Orchestra," *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1941.
[49] "Symphony Program Lists Film Soloists," *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1941; "Five Young Musicians Join Janssen Symphony Orchestra," *Los Angeles Times*, January 23, 1941.

the Janssen Symphony's concertmaster.[50] The *Hollywood Citizen-News* discussed the implications behind the pick, particularly in how Janssen desired to create a "distinctively American" ensemble:

> Kaufman was selected not only for his technical skill, but also for the fact that he has been acclaimed as a significant American artist. . . . Janssen, with the assistance of Kaufman and other native American artists, aims to present an orchestra distinctively American in personnel which will be second to none.[51]

The *Citizen-News* stated elsewhere that Janssen was actively searching for "American composers with scores suitable for performance by small orchestra" and that it was his "hope to present one new American work on each concert."[52] In an American musical market dominated by European music and artists, this approach was particularly noteworthy. Several articles emphasized the hurdles Janssen had faced as an American conductor. On January 19, the *Los Angeles Times* wrote:

> At the time of his first European conducting trip, Janssen had prejudice to overcome because he was merely an American. In his own country he had to battle preconceived opinions because he was not only a countryman and therefore couldn't possibly be as good as a foreign musician, but he had to come up the hard way through conducting entertainment and theater orchestras.[53]

Another *Times* article, written by its music critic Isabel Morse Jones, praised Janssen's decision to champion American music:

> Why shouldn't we always expect this natural expression of American democracy from every program maker in the land? Because we, the people, have been asleep and carefully covered, submerged if you like, by the European musical tradition. We have accepted the propaganda that Americans do not know much about music and have spent our money and our energy on promotion for foreign-born musicians and the music they have brought with them, to the exclusion of our own. Humanly enough,

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[50] "Concertmaster Picked," *Los Angeles Times*, January 6, 1941. Louis Kaufman was an American violinist and studio concertmaster who performed in the scores of over 400 films. His memoir, titled *A Fiddler's Tale: How Hollywood and Vivaldi Discovered Me*, humorously recounts how Janssen "persuaded" him to join his orchestra.
[51] "Aide Named For Janssen," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, January 11, 1941.
[52] Richard Drake Saunders, "Young Music Artists in Recital Debut," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, January 11, 1941.
[53] "Janssen, Ebell Conductor, Has Unique Outlook," *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1941.

the managers have exploited this idea because they could make money with it.[54] The orchestra itself also made its "distinctly American" intentions apparent in its marketing. Several of the Symphony's early printed materials—brochures, mailers, and concert programs among them—featured a large caricature of Janssen that was drawn by James Montgomery Flagg, the American illustrator best known for his 1917 U.S. Army recruitment poster of Uncle Sam and its famous "I Want You" slogan.[55] With these assertions—both in print and illustration—one can see the first seeds of the Janssen Symphony's "all-American" image being planted. In the coming months, this identity would be asserted even more clearly and insistently, as Chapter 3 will explore.

The Janssen Symphony's opening concert on Sunday, January 26, 1941, was a headlining event, with a large and "highly sophisticated audience" present at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre.[56] The program featured a striking mixture of old and new music, as would become the norm for the orchestra's future concerts. Works by Haydn, Mozart, and Dvořák sat comfortably alongside more recent pieces by Honegger, Stravinsky, and Samuel L.M. Barlow II. Several selections—namely the Haydn, Mozart, and Barlow—were Los Angeles premieres. Reviews for the concert were warm and welcoming of Janssen's ensemble. The day after the concert, critic Bruno David Ussher declared, "Music in America, American composers, in short, musical community life would have advanced more than it has if an orchestra such as Janssen's or, better yet, more than one such group, could have visited the smaller as well as larger cities . . . which cannot yet afford even occasional visits from the

[54] Isabel Morse Jones, "The Week's High Note In Music," *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1941.
[55] Werner Janssen Symphony preview brochure, c. 1940, Werner Janssen biographical file, Art, Music & Recreation Department, Los Angeles Public Library; Werner Janssen Symphony concert program, February 16, 1941, box 1, folder 64, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[56] Richard Drake Saunders, "Janssen Enterprise Accorded Ovation," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, January 27, 1941.

large symphonic orchestras."[57] Jon Kinloch, writing for the *California Eagle*, had a similar assessment: "Compact, reflecting careful rehearsal, this new musical organization bids fair to become one of the Southland's prime joys."[58]

Though everything was off to a smooth start, a brief controversy arose towards the beginning of the Janssen Symphony's second season. In October 1941, Janssen received a letter from the Junior Chamber of Commerce Music Foundation, which had declined to purchase tickets to any of the orchestra's upcoming concerts. The Foundation believed that Janssen's original vision—"a small orchestra, devoted chiefly to modern or little-known music"—had shifted and was beginning to diverge "into the field of general symphonic music."[59] They found this "not conducive to the best civic interest," as it presented a direct source of competition with the Los Angeles Philharmonic.[60] The letter continues:

> Since it is our opinion that Los Angeles can not now, nor for any immediate future time, support more than one symphony orchestra, we must necessarily look with disfavor on a request that we support a new group whose success could come, if at all, only by reducing the effectiveness of the older Symphony. Competition in this field, in our judgment, would ultimately result only in reducing, and not enlarging, the musical offerings of the community.[61]

Janssen addressed the criticism in an irritated letter shortly after, part of which reads as follows:

> May I state for the record, that the orchestra has remained a small orchestra of the size which won your approval, and that a list of 13 First Performances in Los Angeles during our first season of three concerts, indicates a reasonable devotion to 'modern and little-known music.' . . . What did you expect us to play? There is no tenable indication in your letter to throw light on what you seem to feel is a departure from my 'original concept.' I have not departed from it in any way whatsoever. . . . That the Foundation can find us incompetent 'to broaden the musical culture of Los

[57] Bruno David Ussher, "Thanks to Janssen a new and artistic sinfonietta," *The News*, January 27, 1941.
[58] Jon Kinloch, "Reviews," *California Eagle*, January 30, 1941.
[59] Letter from Robert Kingsley to Werner Janssen, October 20, 1941, box 1, folder 8, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

> Angeles,' and at the same time find us 'a direct competition to the Los Angeles Philharmonic,' constitutes an even more serious commentary upon the 'older group' which you are so solicitous to protect from competition.[62]

The controversy died out in the weeks following. Critic Lawrence Morton saw this as a sign of the Janssen Symphony's success. In a December article for *Rob Wagner's Script*, he wrote, "[If Janssen] has wooed a few subscribers or single-seat buyers away from downtown to the Ebell Theater, the Philharmonic had better be frightened. . . . There *is* an audience for new music in Los Angeles. Mr. Janssen got some of it. . . ."[63]

The Janssen Symphony flourished in the following years. They presented three to four concerts per season at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre, alongside performances in Pasadena, Pomona, Long Beach, and other cities throughout Southern California. They were also a frequent guest at the Easter sunrise services held at the Hollywood Bowl and Forest Lawn Cemetery. Short tours around the state became a common occurrence as well, and audiences in Santa Barbara, San Diego, and San Francisco could enjoy the Janssen Symphony over the years. In addition, radio broadcasts were a crucial part of the organization's outreach. In the 1941–42 season, the ensemble appeared in thirteen broadcasts for the KHJ Symphony Hour, presenting more in later seasons. Janssen also supervised several recordings with his orchestra, including the first recording of the *Genesis Suite*, a work he commissioned in 1945.

It is unclear exactly how long the Janssen Symphony lasted. Articles and reviews of the orchestra's concerts were published regularly in local newspapers for about six years,

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[62] Letter from Werner Janssen to Robert Kingsley, date unknown, box 1, folder 8, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[63] Lawrence Morton, "Music Notes," *Rob Wagner's Script*, December 6, 1941, box 1, folder 86, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.

with some occasional gaps.[64] The final press notices of a performance at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre appeared in January 1947.[65] After that, there was very little activity. The Symphony continued to perform at the local Easter sunrise services for several more years before disbanding altogether.[66] There are no concrete reasons for the orchestra's gradual dissolution, but it more than likely had to do with Janssen's increasing responsibilities as music director of the Utah Symphony in late 1946 and his eventual move to the Portland Symphony (now Oregon Symphony) in April 1947.[67] Regardless, during its relatively short existence, the Werner Janssen Symphony made an impact throughout Southern California and beyond due to its thoughtful programming, commitment to American music, and high-quality performances.

Richard Lert and the Pasadena Civic Orchestra

In summer 1936, the Pasadena Civic Orchestra faced a crossroads. After leading the ensemble for seven years, it was announced that founder and conductor, Reginald Bland, would resign. This stemmed mainly from fallout over a city measure Bland had proposed—a one-cent tax subsidy that would guarantee continual public support for the orchestra.[68] Though most of the orchestra's players favored the tax, the board of directors did not. They cited that the city government already gave around $4,000 a year to the institution, which

[64] For instance, no concerts were presented at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre during the 1942–43 season, due to the Second World War, but they resumed in October 1943.
[65] Edwin Schallert, "Janssen Cues Season Start With Violist," *Los Angeles Times*, January 27, 1947.
[66] Some sources (Crawford, 52; Feisst, 156) state that the orchestra lasted until 1952—and Janssen's interview with Bruce Duffie also mentions "fifteen or twenty years"—but period newspaper articles seem to suggest that 1950 was the last year the orchestra performed at the Hollywood Bowl's Easter sunrise service.
[67] "Violinist to Be Guest Artist for Janssen," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, October 16, 1946; "Janssen Takes Portland Job," *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1947.
[68] "Board Accepts Resignation Of Music Leader," *Pasadena Post*, June 4, 1936. Coincidentally, a similar idea was proposed by Otto Klemperer later that summer.

was more than enough in some board members' eyes.[69] Against the board's wishes, a special public vote was scheduled. In a June 14 article, the *Los Angeles Times* painted a grim picture of the orchestra's future if the measure failed to pass:

> If the city rejects it, the Pasadena Civic Orchestra will probably join the band of struggling community orchestras which spend most of their efforts trying to meet the deficits. Southern California music lovers await the results with interest.[70]

The measure was ultimately rejected, but the board of directors, clearly moved by Bland's final concert with the orchestra, recommitted to the institution's continuance.[71] Prophetically, a few columns over from the June 14 *Times* article, an advertisement announced the July 9 appearance of Austrian émigré conductor Richard Lert at the Hollywood Bowl.[72] With the Pasadena Civic Orchestra's future guaranteed, the stage was set for their path to cross with this illustrious European musician.

Richard Lert (1885–1980) was born in Vienna to a singer mother and banker father. He showed musical promise from a young age, playing violin, piano, horn, and organ, and later received formal studies at the Vienna Conservatory and the University of Vienna. Around the time of his graduation in 1908, Lert discovered a love for conducting and honed his skills through posts in the opera houses of Düsseldorf, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, and Mannheim. He was eventually appointed music director of the prestigious Berlin State Opera in 1928. (Klemperer was music director of the city's Kroll Opera at the same time, from 1927 to 1931.) Throughout his European career, Lert became well-regarded for performances of operas by Wagner and Strauss and the oratorios of Handel, the latter of which would play

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[69] W.L. Blair, "Music Plan is Novelty in City Government," *Pasadena Post*, June 2, 1936.
[70] "Pasadena Civic Orchestra Experiment Proves Success," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1936.
[71] E.B. McLaughlin, "Civic Orchestra Will Be Continued, Leaders Vote At 'Last Concert,'" *Pasadena Post*, June 28, 1936.
[72] "Albertina Rasch to Stage Opening Ballet at Bowl," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1936.

heavily into his eventual career in Southern California. In 1917, Lert married Vicki Baum, then a harpist in Darmstadt's opera orchestra.[73] She later became a prominent author and is perhaps best known for penning the 1929 novel *Grand Hotel*.

In summer 1932, Lert and his family left Europe for Los Angeles, where Baum was employed as a screenwriter in the Hollywood film studios.[74] She was enthusiastic about her new surroundings, stating upon arrival, "The next time I go back to my native land, it will be as a visitor rather than as a permanent resident. I am in love with America and the American people, and I want my sons to grow up here."[75] For Lert, moving to the United States held slightly different connotations than Klemperer. Though Lert was of Jewish descent—he was dismissed from his Berlin State Opera post around 1934 for this reason—he painted his emigration more out of obligation to his wife's employment than as a response to the deteriorating situation in Europe.[76]

Lert's European credentials and technical expertise appealed to Southern Californians and he quickly found a professional foothold. He made his conducting debut at the Hollywood Bowl on July 21, 1932, the first of many Bowl appearances in the coming summers.[77] The early years also saw Lert lead the Los Angeles Oratorio Society (the "official" chorus for the Los Angeles Philharmonic), direct opera productions at local colleges, co-found the American Music Theatre of Pasadena, and serve on the faculty of the new Pacific Institute of Music and Fine Art. These were just a handful of Lert's numerous

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[73] Vicki Baum and Richard Lert, *In Celebration of the Eightieth Birthday of Richard Lert* (Pasadena: The Castle Press, 1965).
[74] That same year (1932), Baum's *Grand Hotel* was adapted into a film by MGM Studios (starring Greta Garbo, John Barrymore, and Joan Crawford, among others) and later won the Academy Award for Best Picture.
[75] "Hollywood Ensnares Writer," *Los Angeles Times*, July 13, 1932.
[76] Crawford, 23; Richard Lert, interview with Melinda Lowrey, January 13, 1976, Oral History of the Arts Archive, California State University, Long Beach.
[77] Isabel Morse Jones, "Season At Bowl Assuming Individuality, Character," *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1932.

activities in the area, leading Isabel Morse Jones to dub him in 1940 the "busiest conductor in Southern California."[78] Lert also became a beloved member of the Angeleno community. He was a frequent guest at garden parties hosted by local socialite women and gatherings of European émigrés.[79] Baum and Lert later became American citizens in 1938 and 1939, respectively.[80] In August 1939, the *Los Angeles Times* took stock of Lert's first years in the city:

> When Richard Lert came to Southern California a few years ago he did not pose, put forth ambitious manifestos as to his high estate in Europe, criticize the American public or try to stage a revolt. He was content to look around, listen and fit into the musical scheme here. Whenever he conducted he tried to please. He will end by making musical pleasure a nobler enjoyment.[81]

While this may have led some readers to believe that the émigré conductor had quietly blended into the background, quite the opposite was true. Lert was an eager participant and had found a welcoming artistic home in Los Angeles.

When Lert arrived in Southern California in 1932, the Pasadena Civic Orchestra was still a young organization. The ensemble had formed several years prior from a small group of Reginald Bland's violin students and his daughter's cello students. Soon after, the group began playing with the Tuesday Musicale Club of Pasadena, an organization of amateur and professional women musicians that sponsored the orchestra's first concerts. The orchestra eventually became a permanent institution in 1929 after the founding of the Civic Orchestra

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[78] Isabel Morse Jones, "Pasadena Group in Concert," *Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 1940.
[79] "Luncheon Given," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 16, 1936; "Hunts Invite Celebrities to Musicale in Home," *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1942. A photograph of one émigré gathering in 1935 captured a striking array of figures, including Lert, Klemperer, Schoenberg, José Iturbi, and Pierre Monteux, among others. (Photo appears in Crawford, 49.)
[80] Isabel Morse Jones, "New Music Aspirants in Debut," *Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 1939.
[81] "Sharps and Flats," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1939.

Committee.[82] Bland conducted the orchestra in its first seven years, stepping down in June 1936 after the tax debacle.

The Civic Orchestra consisted primarily of students and accomplished amateurs from Pasadena and the surrounding cities. Getting into the ensemble was competitive. Prospective players had to pass an audition, and local interest remained high; the *Los Angeles Times* took note of the "large waiting lists" that accompanied any open slots in the orchestra.[83] Professionals were occasionally enlisted for performances "lest a concert fall flat through weakness in one section."[84] The players performed on a volunteer basis and were not paid for their services.[85] However, as compensation, the organization provided lessons for each musician with a teacher of their choosing.[86] Through it all, the Civic Orchestra remained a community-focused endeavor. Its players were willing to participate and were in turn rewarded with performance experience and the "satisfaction of serving."[87]

The orchestra was funded through a mix of private donations and local government subsidies. Subscriptions were offered to the general public on a voluntary basis, ranging from $1 to $500.[88] Any monetary contributions would grant the donor membership in the Pasadena Civic Orchestra Association. Though the orchestra regularly asserted that "its future depends upon the support of those who are enjoying these concerts," a large portion of the orchestra's

[82] "Pasadena Civic Orchestra Experiment Proves Success," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1936.
[83] Ibid.
[84] W.L. Blair, "Looking Forward With The Civic Orchestra," *Pasadena Post*, September 4, 1936.
[85] In fall 1940, the Musicians' Union No. 47 ruled that they would not allow the twenty-five union members of the Civic Orchestra to perform with the group unless they were paid for their services. The union players themselves appealed for permission to do so on an unpaid, volunteer basis, but to no avail. Replacement, non-union musicians were found soon after. "Civic Orchestra Prepares To Reorganize As Result Of Order By Union," *Pasadena Post*, November 15, 1940.
[86] "Pasadena Civic Orchestra Experiment Proves Success," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1936.
[87] Pasadena Civic Orchestra concert program, November 2, 1935, Pasadena Museum of History.
[88] "Pasadena Civic Orchestra Experiment Proves Success," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1936.

activities were made possible by money from the city of Pasadena.[89] The city gave the organization approximately $4,000 a year, part of which went towards the conductor's salary and the rental of the Pasadena Civic Auditorium, among other expenses.[90] This subsidy also allowed the orchestra to present its concerts to the public completely free of charge.

As its name implied, the Pasadena Civic Orchestra was viewed as a civic service. The *Los Angeles Times* called it a means to "entertain and educate the community"; similarly, the *Pasadena Post* pointed out that the group "is entirely a community project which does not compete with any professional organization and from which no revenue is gained."[91] The orchestra itself echoed these sentiments, often referring to its performances as "great educational work."[92] Furthermore, by offering concerts at no charge to the community, some saw the Civic Orchestra as part of the gradual "democratization" of orchestral music, a sentiment expressed upon the founding of the Hollywood Bowl in 1921.[93] Over time, this combination of factors allowed the Civic Orchestra to thrive and become a vibrant symbol of community music-making in Pasadena and the greater Los Angeles area.

Following Bland's departure in summer 1936, the orchestra board had in mind several replacements. Though no names were revealed in the press, one was Bland himself, an apparent suggestion from some of the musicians.[94] (Bland was initially not opposed to the

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[89] Pasadena Civic Orchestra concert program, November 4, 1939, Pasadena Museum of History.
[90] W.L. Blair, "Music Plan is Novelty in City Government," *Pasadena Post*, June 2, 1936. The Civic Auditorium was dedicated "to the citizens of Pasadena" in February 1932 and served as a hub for the community's artistic and civic life, hosting concerts, operas, plays, lectures, graduation ceremonies, and numerous other events. The Civic Orchestra first performed at the Auditorium on February 17, 1932 before a large audience, with Albert Einstein among the attendees. The hall has also appeared in several movies, and hosted the Emmy Awards from 1977 to 1997.
[91] "Pasadena Civic Orchestra Experiment Proves Success," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1936; "Civic Orchestra Prepares To Reorganize As Result Of Order By Union," *Pasadena Post*, November 15, 1940.
[92] Pasadena Civic Orchestra concert program, January 5, 1935, Pasadena Museum of History.
[93] "Pasadena Civic Orchestra Experiment Proves Success," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1936; Smith, 141–53; Traub, *Hollywood Bowl: The First 100 Years*.
[94] "Orchestra Future To Be Shaped," *Pasadena Post*, July 21, 1936.

idea but instead formed a separate, "not rival group" in September.)[95] Ultimately, Richard Lert was named Bland's successor. Critics recognized this as a significant win for the orchestra and the community. A front-page article in the *Pasadena Post* lauded the decision:

> Dr. Richard Lert's acceptance of the position of conductor of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra is an important event. It is perhaps the first time that so distinguished a conductor of great professional orchestras and operas has undertaken the development of an orchestra of unsalaried musicians. Pasadena is undoubtedly the place where such an experiment can be successful, under certain conditions.[96]

Though several financial questions lingered—"they cannot produce the funds unless the well-to-do music lovers of the city give them support"—the article ends on a note of hope, stating, "The Pasadena orchestra under Dr. Lert has an opportunity to fill a somewhat different but none the less distinguished place in the field of music. It will be far less expensive than the Philharmonic, but decidedly it will need money."[97]

After the directorship announcement, details for Lert's first season fell into place. On September 9, the *Pasadena Post* revealed that thirty-five new musicians had been accepted into the ensemble.[98] The orchestra's first rehearsal on September 10 was also newsworthy. Sixty-five players showed up, "the largest number to attend a season's initial rehearsal in years." The group proceeded to rehearse Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony (1822) under "the magnetic direction of Lert's expressive fingers."[99] The following month, the full season was announced, with six concert dates set throughout the year.[100] A new training program for certain sections of the orchestra—"when such extra training is deemed essential by Richard Lert"—was also unveiled.[101] This would give musicians an added incentive (alongside the

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[95] "Music Group Being Formed By Director," *Pasadena Post*, September 1, 1936.
[96] W.L. Blair, "Looking Forward With the Civic Orchestra," *Pasadena Post*, September 4, 1936.
[97] Ibid.
[98] "New Musicians Enter Civic Orchestra," *Pasadena Post*, September 9, 1936.
[99] "Musicians Set 'First Night Record,'" *Pasadena Post*, September 11, 1936.
[100] "Six Civic Orchestra Concert Dates In Auditorium Chosen," *Pasadena Post*, October 28, 1936.
[101] "Seek Training For Musician Members," *Pasadena Post*, October 6, 1936.

provided lessons) and gradually increase the quality of the whole ensemble. The result would thus "permit more perfect future concerts," as the *Pasadena Post* wistfully declared.[102]

Lert's appointment at the Civic Orchestra—and Klemperer's at the Los Angeles Philharmonic for that matter—coincided with a time when foreign-born conductors had enormous clout in the United States. In her book *Sounds of War*, Annegret Fauser notes that European conductors such as Eugene Ormandy, Serge Koussevitzky, Leopold Stokowski, and Arturo Toscanini were viewed by Americans as "the arbiters of symphonic taste in the nation."[103] Not only did they hold remarkable sway over the artistic matters of their respective orchestras, but in the American media as well, commonly being promoted as towering figures in various newspapers, recordings, and radio broadcasts.[104] Their influence would only increase after the start of World War II, as will be seen later.

The Civic Orchestra's first concert with Lert was held at the Pasadena Civic Auditorium on Saturday, December 5, 1936. The program, which featured works by Mozart, Rimsky-Korsakov, Felix Mendelssohn, and others, was a resounding success. The *Pasadena Post* wrote in its review the following day:

> If Pasadena was elated when it first learned that Richard Lert, internationally famous orchestra conductor, was to direct the ninth season of the Civic Orchestra, its expectations have exceeded all bounds judging from comments following the first concert played last night to a full house in the Civic Auditorium. . . . The ovation tendered Dr. Lert . . . was proof that music lovers anticipate a splendid season. Their most frequent comment paid tribute to Dr. Lert's mastery of his musicians.[105]

The article also highlighted a tender moment between Lert and the orchestra during rehearsals. At one point, the conductor gently encouraged the musicians, telling them,

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Fauser, 52.
[104] Ibid.
[105] "Enthusiastic Audience Won By Orchestra," *Pasadena Post*, December 6, 1936.

"Remember we are not practicing for a concert; we are playing because we love it."[106] As the *Post*'s reviewer later reflected, "That love of playing was evident last night."[107]

A new era had officially begun for the Pasadena Civic Orchestra. In the following years, Lert helped increase the organization's size, financial stability, and artistic scope. He was especially enthusiastic and grateful for the opportunity to educate young American musicians. In an interview, he later reflected:

> This is the wonderful thing in America, and this [is] what I like. . . . Really, I like it very much, you know—to work with young people. . . . They asked me last year in a meeting . . . whether I prefer big orchestras or not, and I said, 'I don't care too much . . . when it comes to those great orchestras.' [There] is not much work to do in a great orchestra. You go there, they give you a few rehearsals . . . teaching is the important thing![108]

Lert's passion for teaching was further solidified in 1947 when he helped found—alongside émigrés Lotte Lehmann, Otto Klemperer, Arnold Schoenberg, and others—the Music Academy of the West in Montecito, where he taught conducting for six years.[109] Still, the Civic Orchestra remained one of his primary undertakings; he remained the group's music director until 1972, stepping down after a tenure of thirty-six years. The orchestra itself gradually morphed into a professional organization, first reorganizing as the Pasadena Symphony in the 1960s and later becoming the Pasadena Symphony and POPS in 2007. Though these moves signaled the loss of the unique amateur- and community-centric focus of the Civic Orchestra, they were nonetheless a clear testament to Lert's inspired leadership of the ensemble and his dedication to building the musical life of Pasadena over almost four decades. The institution's educational aims would also continue in part with the founding of

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[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Richard Lert, interview with Melinda Lowrey, January 13, 1976, Oral History of the Arts Archive, California State University, Long Beach.
[109] Baum and Lert, 21.

the Pasadena Youth Symphony Orchestra in 1972, which continues to provide professional-level training for the next generation of American music makers.

Émigré Music and Los Angeles Orchestras

In 1949, well after the Second World War had ended, Peter Yates—a Los Angeles-based social worker and amateur musician—criticized the Los Angeles musical establishment for turning a blind eye to the émigré composers who had escaped European fascism and made their home in Southern California during the 1930s and 40s. An unabashed champion of modern music, Yates vehemently believed that these artists deserved recognition not only for their contributions to twentieth-century musical thought but for their contributions to *American*—and more specifically, *Angeleno*—musical thought. He declared, "These are the voices of our city far more truly than the complaints, already lost in time, of those who refuse to recognize or understand them."[110] Yates was especially pointed towards the Los Angeles Philharmonic and Hollywood Bowl, calling it "shameful that our own Philharmonic and Hollywood Bowl orchestras . . . did not commission a single work by a Los Angeles composer!"[111] Yates was no stranger to calling out these two institutions. The previous year, he had criticized Klemperer's successor at the Philharmonic, American conductor Alfred Wallenstein, for fostering a conservative patron base and curating bland programs.[112] To Yates, the émigrés had become a natural part of Los Angeles's diverse fabric, and it was the duty of local music institutions to celebrate these "voices of our city."

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[110] Crawford, 34.
[111] Ibid. Composer and émigré Ingolf Dahl stated similarly in 1943, "It is still a bewildering fact that the city with perhaps the greatest number of important composers per square mile has a public musical 'life' in inverse proportion to its resident and transient talent." (Quoted in Crawford, 213.)
[112] Ibid., 53; Traub, 99.

Indeed, he did so to marvelous effect in his Evenings on the Roof concert series, which was founded in 1939 alongside his wife, pianist Frances Mullen.[113]

Despite what Yates's criticisms might lead one to believe, the Los Angeles Philharmonic and other musical institutions throughout the city *did* program several works written by European émigré composers. Though the amount and degree to which they did so may not have met Yates's standards, émigrés living in Southern California received some representation on programs throughout the 1930s and 40s. The following section will examine the number of émigré works programmed by the three orchestras at the center of this project: the Los Angeles Philharmonic, Werner Janssen Symphony, and Pasadena Civic Orchestra. This will not only serve as a valuable data set for future scholars and administrators—one that has not appeared in any other sources—but set the stage for the following chapters, which will examine specific moments in which the émigrés were thrown into sharp relief against the Los Angeles—and American—musical establishment, and the various identities that were shaped, reshaped, or confirmed as a result.

The data presented here—and in Appendix A—specifically examines a twelve-year span of time, from 1933 (Klemperer's arrival in Los Angeles) until 1945 (the end of World War II), which was, uncoincidentally, the same timeframe that the Third Reich was in power.[114] I classify an "émigré composer" as any European-born composer who moved to and settled in the United States—Southern California or otherwise—during this twelve-year

[113] Ibid., 58, 150, 201, 212–15, and 235. Early seasons featured works by local émigrés Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Toch, Dahl, and Krenek, alongside other contemporary composers. The series also frequently highlighted composers from the Classical and pre-Classical eras, including Bach, Mozart, Gabrieli, Monteverdi, and Gesualdo. Evenings on the Roof later became Monday Evening Concerts in 1954, which still presents concerts to this day. For more about the organization, see Dorothy Lamb Crawford's *Evenings On and Off the Roof: Pioneering Concerts in Los Angeles, 1939–1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
[114] Appendix A: Émigré Composers' Works Programmed by the Los Angeles Philharmonic, Werner Janssen Symphony, and Pasadena Civic Orchestra (1933–45), 204–06.

period. Here, though, I leave the terms of emigration broad. The figures who play directly into my project fled to the U.S. specifically due to racial, religious, or political persecution by the Nazi regime (or fear of such persecution), but numerous others emigrated because of general issues pertaining to the spread of fascism, anxieties over the war, or other personal factors. Though the particular circumstances are fascinating and wide-ranging, emigration as a general concept was the primary concern for these data sets.

I decided only to count compositions that were written *after* each composer emigrated to the United States. The Los Angeles Philharmonic, for instance, programmed Stravinsky's *Petrushka* Suite numerous times throughout the 1930s and 40s. *Petrushka* was composed and premiered in 1911, almost thirty years before the composer's move to America in 1939. As such, I do not include this work or other composers' pre-emigration works in my final data sets. (There are a few exceptions, though.)[115] While there is an argument for including works that émigrés wrote prior to emigration, for the sake of focusing on the composers' musical lives in America, I leave that task to a future project. However, I do include arrangements, orchestrations, and transcriptions in the final tallies as legitimate works. (Schoenberg's 1937 orchestration of Brahms's G minor Piano Quartet is one such example.) Finally, it is worth noting that all of these totals are approximate. Though I tried to be as thorough as possible, information was scant in some cases, or COVID restrictions made it difficult or impossible to cross-reference final tallies. As such, the internet (particularly newspapers.com) became one of the primary sources for confirming specific data points. Regardless, the information offered here is a starting point and hopefully lays the groundwork for more detailed studies.

[115] See Appendix A, 205 (entries 10, 11, and 14).

Between October 1933 and August 1945, the Los Angeles Philharmonic performed approximately sixteen individual works by European émigré composers. (The number increases to twenty-three if one includes repeat performances.) Thirteen of these pieces were premieres—eight were world premieres, two were Los Angeles premieres, two were West Coast premieres, and one was a concert premiere.[116] Klemperer conducted approximately eight of these sixteen works, seven during his tenure as music director (1933–39) and one afterward (the West Coast premiere of Schoenberg's Second Chamber Symphony in February 1945). During the four-year gap after Klemperer's departure, a cadre of visiting guest conductors such as John Barbirolli, Igor Stravinsky, and Miklós Rózsa highlighted the other eight of these sixteen works. Conversely, when Alfred Wallenstein became music director in 1943, he programmed no recent works by émigré composers in the final two years of World War II. While the Philharmonic did not completely "refuse to recognize" émigré composers as Peter Yates believed, sixteen works over twelve years is a remarkably small number for an orchestra that presented weekly concerts and performed a sizable repertoire.

The reasons behind this are many and multifaceted. Some can be pinpointed directly to Klemperer, who had a complex relationship with contemporary music. During his career in Europe, he conducted the local premieres of several important works, including Bartók's Second Piano Concerto (its Hungarian premiere in June 1933) and Berg's Violin Concerto (its Viennese premiere in October 1936).[117] His years at the Kroll Opera also saw stagings of recent works by Stravinsky (*Oedipus Rex*), Hindemith (*Cardillac*), Schoenberg (*Die*

[116] Data gathered primarily from program books stored in the Los Angeles Philharmonic's archives. For a complete breakdown, see Appendix A.
[117] Heyworth, 8–9 and 67–69.

glückliche Hand), and others.[118] Though Peter Heyworth states that Klemperer's devotion to modern music could be partially credited to the urgings of musical figures around him (such as Kurt Weill and Hans Curjel), his activities in Europe still indicate that he was a willing advocate for the music of his time.[119] However, by the time he moved to Los Angeles in 1933, his preferences had changed. Klemperer was now older and less open to new musical experiences, tending to fall back on works he already knew well, particularly those of the Romantic and Classical eras. Whenever Klemperer did venture outside of his specialties, personal taste played heavily into his selections. For instance, in July 1936, he promised the Philharmonic's board that he would program "the best American music I can find."[120] This was a task easier said than done. Klemperer highly disliked the music of Aaron Copland, and though he admired both Roger Sessions and Roy Harris, he only ended up performing a single piece of theirs during his tenure.[121] His resulting American selections ended up showcasing a small group of composers, most of whom have been largely forgotten today, such as Joseph Deems Taylor, John Alden Carpenter, and Joseph Achron.[122]

The lack of works by émigré composers cannot be blamed entirely on Klemperer, as the nature of his surroundings played a significant role in his programming decisions. Los Angeles was further removed from the major American musical centers to the east, such as New York, Boston, and Chicago, making it slightly more challenging to follow national trends in modern music. The Philharmonic itself was also on shaky financial footing throughout the mid-to-late 1930s—due partly to Clark's death—and had a limited budget for

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[118] For more on Klemperer's years at the Kroll Opera, see Volume 1 of Peter Heyworth's *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). See also Rachel Emily Nussbaum, "The Kroll Opera and the Politics of Cultural Reform in the Weimar Republic," PhD diss., (Cornell University, 2005).
[119] Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, Volume 2, 1933–1973*, 77.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid., 78. Sessions's *Black Maskers* Suite (1928) and Harris's *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* (1935).
[122] Ibid., 78n.

newer music. Orchestra management especially frowned upon works under copyright because of the royalty fees they would have to pay the publishers.[123] Listener reception factored into programming as well. Historically, Angelenos had a mixed relationship with modern music, and Klemperer was hesitant to program anything that would intimidate his audiences.[124] Peter Heyworth offers the following example:

> Klemperer's failure to break more lances for contemporary music was due, not merely to his innate caution, but to the conditions in which he found himself. When Schoenberg was about to finish his Violin Concerto, Klemperer wrote to ask Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge's help with putting on a performance elsewhere, because he felt that a twelve-note score would not be acceptable to [Angeleno] audiences.[125]

To Klemperer's credit, he *did* lead seven brand-new and recent works by prominent émigré composers during his tenure at the Philharmonic, including the 1935 world premiere of Schoenberg's Suite for String Orchestra.[126] But still, as Heyworth points out, "[Klemperer's] devotion to new music was more cautious and even ambivalent than was often supposed."[127]

Émigré programming at the Los Angeles Philharmonic stayed consistent after Klemperer's departure in 1939. Several notable works (eight) were heard throughout the guest conductor years, including Stravinsky leading the Los Angeles premiere of his Symphony in C (1938–40) in February 1941.[128] However, the number declined once Alfred Wallenstein became music director in 1943. Though he was more active in championing American-born composers than Klemperer, this interest did not—at least at first—include much room for émigrés or naturalized American citizens, leading to Yates's criticism in

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[123] Ibid., 27.
[124] Catherine Parsons Smith discusses the relationship between Los Angeles audiences and modern music in chapters 12 and 13 of *Making Music in Los Angeles*.
[125] Peter Heyworth, "Klemperer and the Los Angeles Philharmonic," program essay for the "Festival of Music Made in Los Angeles," Los Angeles Philharmonic, November 1981, 63.
[126] See Appendix A, 205 (entries 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13).
[127] Heyworth, 59.
[128] See Appendix A, 204–05 (entries 1, 2, 6, 11, 14, and 16).

1949. In the end, the Los Angeles Philharmonic programmed relatively few (sixteen) works by émigré composers between 1933 and 1945. But the reasons are complicated and cannot be blamed entirely on one person or factor. Plus, the works that *were* programmed are impressive, highlighting pieces by Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Toch, and others.[129]

Conversely, the Werner Janssen Symphony's relationship with the music of European émigrés was even more ambivalent. In its first four years (1941–45), the Werner Janssen Symphony presented approximately nineteen concerts at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre in Los Angeles. On these programs, only four individual works were written by émigré composers.[130] All four were premieres of some sort, fulfilling the second half of the orchestra's promise to keep "an accent on the classics, and an ear to the future." This included the world premiere of Stravinsky's *Danses concertantes* in February 1942 and the Los Angeles premiere of Martinů's Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra (1943) in March 1944.[131] (The tally increases to five works if one includes the post-war commission and premiere of the *Genesis Suite* in November 1945, a jointly-composed work that included contributions from émigrés Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Milhaud, Toch, Tansman, and Castelnuovo-Tedesco.)[132] An additional composition by an émigré was planned for one of the orchestra's Wilshire Ebell concerts—the world premiere of Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations (1940). However, this performance was ultimately canceled in December 1941, an event that will be discussed at length in Chapter 3.

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[129] See Appendix A, 204–05. In later years, the combined efforts of forward-thinking administrators (Ernest Fleischmann and Deborah Borda), patrons (Betty Freeman), resident composers (William Kraft and John Adams), and music directors (Zubin Mehta, Esa-Pekka Salonen, and Gustavo Dudamel) have made the Los Angeles Philharmonic an unabashed champion of contemporary music, drawing large audiences eager for its innovative programming. For more on this gradual shift, see Traub, *Past/Forward*.

[130] Data gathered primarily from newspaper articles (via newspapers.com) and concert programs stored in the Werner Janssen Papers at Dartmouth College. For a complete breakdown, see Appendix A.

[131] See Appendix A, 206 (entries 1–4).

[132] See Conclusion for more on the *Genesis Suite*, 197.

Overall, the number of émigré works performed by the Werner Janssen Symphony during the war years amounts to much less than has been presented in existing narratives of the orchestra. Dorothy Lamb Crawford states in her book *A Windfall of Musicians* that the orchestra gave "many important premieres of works by émigré composers" over the years.[133] This is a slight overstatement. The Werner Janssen Symphony was—and still is—touted as a champion of contemporary music but maintained a much heavier focus on the works of American-born composers rather than European émigrés. To put this in greater perspective, approximately twenty-two of the works performed by the Werner Janssen Symphony at the Wilshire Ebell between 1941 and 1945 were written by American-born composers; thirteen were either world or Los Angeles premieres.[134] While the importance of this group in the orchestral life of Los Angeles and as a champion of modern American music cannot be overstated, its role in the performance and dissemination of new works by European émigrés is much less robust than commonly believed.[135]

A similar narrative has been propagated about the Pasadena Civic Orchestra. Again, in *A Windfall of Musicians*, Crawford opines that this organization would "gather strength from and give steady support to the émigrés."[136] This statement does hold some truth. As will be explored in Chapter 4, Richard Lert's celebrated tenure with the orchestra is a clear instance of a symbiotic "give and take" between a well-regarded European émigré conductor and a beloved Southern Californian institution. The Civic Orchestra provided Lert with a

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[133] Crawford, 52.
[134] These included the world premieres of Leigh Harline's *Civic Center* (1941) and Mildred Couper's Variations on "The Irish Washerwoman" (1945), and the Los Angeles premieres of Samuel Barber's *School for Scandal* Overture (1931), Paul Creston's Saxophone Concerto (1941), and William Schuman's Third Symphony (1941).
[135] Unlike the Los Angeles Philharmonic, it does not appear that the Werner Janssen Symphony repeated any of these émigré works in later performances at the Wilshire Ebell or elsewhere. The only exception I came across was when the orchestra performed Hindemith's Symphony in E-flat in summer 1942, as part of their appearance at the International Society for Contemporary Music Festival in Berkeley, California.
[136] Crawford, 33.

stable job, and Lert provided the group with prestige and technical expertise. However, in terms of supporting other local émigrés and championing their works, Crawford's claim is not entirely correct.

In the first nine years of Richard Lert's music directorship (1936–45), the Pasadena Civic Orchestra performed no compositions by émigré composers.[137] In fact, such a work did not materialize until March 1947, when the orchestra presented the Southern California premiere of Milhaud's *Suite française* (1944).[138] Émigré composers factored more into the Civic Orchestra's programs in later years, but they would still amount to very little overall; between the end of World War II in 1945 and Lert's retirement in 1972, the orchestra only performed nine individual works by European émigrés.[139]

It would be easy to attribute this void in the Pasadena Civic Orchestra's programming to similar reasons as Klemperer's tenure with the Los Angeles Philharmonic—a combination of artistic ignorance and stubbornness on the music director's part. However, there were more practical reasons for this shortcoming. In a taped 1976 interview with Melinda Lowrey, Lert displays a favorable attitude towards modern music, mentioning that he frequently conducted newer operas during his European career.[140] He showcased similar interests in America—after emigrating to Southern California, he frequently attended performances by

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[137] Reginald Bland's final years as music director (1933–36) also contained no works by European émigrés. Data gathered primarily from newspaper articles (via newspapers.com) and a document entitled "Repertoire of the Pasadena Symphony Orchestra, 1936–1972," which is stored in the Richard Lert Papers at the University of Southern California. For a complete breakdown, see Appendix A.

[138] Charles D. Perlee, "Milhaud 'Suite Francaise' Wins Favor of Pasadena Audience," *Pasadena Star-News*, February 10, 1947.

[139] Among these were Stravinsky's *Ode* (1943), Bartók's Third Piano Concerto (1945), Martinů's Rhapsody for Viola and Orchestra (1952), and Toch's *Circus Overture* (1953). Also, like the Werner Janssen Symphony, there appear to have been no repeat performances of these works.

[140] Richard Lert, interview with Melinda Lowrey, January 13, 1976, Oral History of the Arts Collection, California State University, Long Beach. Sadly, few concrete examples could be located outside a scant mention in Lert's biography-memoir. On page 17 of *In Celebration of the Eightieth Birthday of Richard Lert*, Lert mentions that he conducted the operas of Strauss in Mannheim and Hannover, and that Strauss himself attended the conductor's Berlin performance of *Die ägyptische Helena* (1924–27).

the Los Angeles Philharmonic and also held a subscription to Evenings on the Roof.[141] At one point in the interview, though, Lert discusses the difficulties of performing contemporary works in America, citing the great expense of renting and copying parts, as well as the limited rehearsal time. While such music was feasible for larger and more well-funded organizations, it was a particular challenge for the Civic Orchestra due to its smaller budget and amateur-heavy personnel. Lert goes on:

> If someone comes . . . and then brings me a score which is very difficult and at the same time very complicated, I can't ask the Pasadena orchestra for six or eight orchestra rehearsals . . . and the more instruments [sic] and what the music costs to copy parts. . . . This is all very complicated.[142]

Lert's reasoning here is clear. It was simply too difficult, too time-consuming, and too expensive to present new works with players of varying skill levels. Though the orchestra would eventually morph into a professional organization in the 1950s and 60s, for the time being, this meant that many recent pieces by European émigrés (such as Stravinsky and Bartók) were not yet a possibility. Even so, there was not a total lack of new music during Lert's tenure with the Civic Orchestra. Alongside a devotion to classics of the Western European canon, he made a concerted effort to program works by living American composers and, more specifically, composers based in Pasadena and the greater Los Angeles area. For Lert, this was one of the simplest means of assimilating into the music scene of both Southern California and the United States as a whole, an idea that will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

"Decisive for the entire cause": The Los Angeles Philharmonic's Benefit Concert for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom

In September 1936, Otto Klemperer was experiencing a remarkable degree of success in Los Angeles. He was still fresh off conducting the Los Angeles Philharmonic at several Hollywood Bowl concerts in the final weeks of August. These appearances sparked excitement in the local community and showcased striking renditions of works by Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Franck, and others. The August 25 concert even included one of Klemperer's own compositions—the world premiere of his *Merry Waltz*, which he had written in honor of the Hollywood Bowl.[1] Several weeks later, Klemperer was presented with an honorary doctorate of laws from Occidental College. This was a significant occasion: the degree had only been conferred twice in the past eight years, and past recipients boasted such prominent figures as Henry E. Huntington and Edwin Hubble.[2] The ceremony took place on September 24 in front of a small audience of Klemperer's family, friends, and supporters, including conductor Richard Lert, composer Eleanor Remick Warren, *Los Angeles Times* music critic Isabel Morse Jones, and Florence Atherton Irish, who was a leading member of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Women's Committee.[3] In his conferral speech, Remsen Bird, the president of Occidental, lauded Klemperer "for his work in carrying out a difficult cultural assignment in the depression years and for his inspiring leadership of the orchestra."[4]

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[1] "Season End Nearing for Music Fans," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, August 25, 1936.
[2] "Klemperer Will Receive Degree," *Eastside Journal*, September 24, 1936; "Symphony Leader Gets Honorary Degree," *West Los Angeles Independent*, September 25, 1936. Huntington was the founder of Pasadena's Huntington Library, and Hubble had made several notable astronomic discoveries using the Hooker Telescope at Mount Wilson Observatory. (He is also the namesake of the Hubble Space Telescope that was launched in 1990.)
[3] "Occidental Confers Degree," *Eagle Rock Sentinel*, September 25, 1936.
[4] "Klemperer Given Degree," *Los Angeles Times*, September 25, 1936.

Klemperer responded with a word of thanks and "expressed the vital need of music in a world of materialism."[5]

One clear example of Klemperer's "inspiring leadership" had occurred the evening before the Occidental ceremony. On September 23, Klemperer conducted the Los Angeles Philharmonic in an illustrious benefit concert for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom. This organization was established in 1935 to provide financial aid for German émigrés, allowing them to continue their intellectual and artistic work in the United States. The concert—and its program of Mozart, Beethoven, Schoenberg, and Toch—was a resounding artistic success and attracted prominent community members, Hollywood film stars, and local music lovers. Though it occurred several years before the looming shadows of war, the event demonstrated that Angelenos were willing and eager to lend their hands—and pocketbooks—in support of the burgeoning émigré community.

Several aspects of the concert were particularly notable. The first is that it appears to have been one of the few, if only, musical events in Los Angeles whose explicit goal was to offer direct financial support to European émigrés. Other musical benefits appeared in the area throughout the 1930s and 40s, but most were staged to raise funds for the American Red Cross and other war relief organizations. On September 18, 1942, for instance, fourteen-year-old violinist Camilla Wicks presented a benefit recital at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre for "Wings for Norway," an organization that donated warplanes to grounded Norwegian fliers.[6] However, few events matched the scale, reach, and specific objective of the Philharmonic's concert. The rhetoric and messaging surrounding the benefit were also noteworthy. Though the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom was founded primarily to help foster the

[5] Ibid.
[6] Clarence Carpenter, "Camilla Wicks Charms With Her Artistry," *Long Beach Sun*, September 19, 1942.

artistic and intellectual work of German exiles living in America—fighting its battles with "intellectual and spiritual ammunition"—the organization was inherently political.[7] Its founder, Hubertus zu Loewenstein, was a staunch anti-fascist, and the original agenda of the Guild outlined several political goals, one of which was the removal of Adolf Hitler from power. In the days and weeks leading up to the Philharmonic's benefit concert, though, it became clear that certain aspects of the Guild's mission were being downplayed, changed, or even forgotten in the discourse surrounding the event. The concert's success would ultimately have more to do with the participation and presence of Otto Klemperer and the Hollywood film community than the anti-fascist and anti-Nazi purposes of the Guild itself.

This chapter will examine the Los Angeles Philharmonic's September 1936 benefit concert for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, an event that has received little to no scholarly attention in past studies of Klemperer, the Philharmonic, or the Los Angeles émigré community. Opening with a brief background of this New York-based organization and its efforts to establish a chapter on the West Coast, I will explore how the Guild and its anti-Nazi mission were altered after coming into contact with the Los Angeles media and the Hollywood-driven cult of personality. The Guild envisioned itself as a haven for German art and culture in the United States—a facet which became more evident as the concert program came together—but local messaging was far more convoluted, with the event's social aspects and celebrity involvement (including Otto Klemperer's) being amplified as the primary selling points. By the day of the concert, it appears that most of the Guild's core vision had been diluted, and few people seemed to remember what purpose the event was supposed to serve. Though the benefit concert and the Guild itself would

[7] Volkmar Zühlsdorff, *Hitler's Exiles: The German Cultural Resistance in America and Europe*, trans. Martin H. Bott (Continuum: London, 1999/2004), 36–7.

ultimately fail to make a lasting impact in Southern California, this event still demonstrates a key moment of identity formation and expression—both "German" and "émigré"—within the Los Angeles orchestral community in the years leading up to World War II.

Hubertus zu Loewenstein and the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom

The idea for an émigré aid organization in America came from historian, author, and politician Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein (1906–84).[8] Born in Austria-Hungary, Loewenstein came of age during the height of World War I and the volatile Weimar Republic era that followed. He became deeply interested in the workings of government, eventually relocating to Germany and earning a doctorate from the University of Hamburg in 1931 with a dissertation that analyzed and critiqued the concept of the fascist state. Loewenstein also became more politically active around this time. He joined the Catholic Center Party and was a vehemently outspoken critic of Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist (Nazi) Party. In 1930, he joined the *Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold* [Black, Red, and Gold Banner of the Reich], a cross-party paramilitary organization that aimed to defend German democracy against the growing threat of Nazism.[9] Unfortunately, their efforts would be in vain. On January 30, 1933, Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany. Loewenstein and other political radicals were soon targeted as enemies of the state. After his apartment was searched in April 1933, Loewenstein and his wife, Princess Helga zu Loewenstein, decided

[8] Loewenstein's family lineage comprised several emperors—including Frederick I, Elector of the Palatine—hence why he frequently went by the honorific title "Prince Loewenstein."
[9] Zühlsdorff, 9.

that Germany was no longer safe. They fled to Austria before making their way to England and, ultimately, the United States.[10]

Exile did not stop Loewenstein's determination to fight for a democratic Germany. In 1934, while in England, he published his second book, *After Hitler's Fall* [*Nach Hitlers Sturz*], which outlined his vision for the termination of the Nazi regime and a concrete plan for restoring the country.[11] While some of Loewenstein's ultimate goals aligned more with the tenets of Christian socialism than a democratic republic, his plan was convincing and widely embraced. In fact, several readers and supporters pegged Loewenstein to lead the country once Hitler was removed from power. Loewenstein himself was receptive to the idea. A blurb from the *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record* in February 1935—published under the headline "Hitler Foe"—reported that Loewenstein "was willing to become Hitler's successor."[12]

The earliest seeds for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom were planted around this same time. Loewenstein believed that a fundamental precursor to a new Germany would be an "academy in exile." This organization would offer German émigré artists and intellectuals financial assistance, a network of confidants and supporters, and a platform to continue their artistic, literary, or scientific work while in exile. However, the "German" qualifier was not a strict prerequisite; the resulting academy would end up supporting refugees from Austria and other German-speaking countries under the threat of fascism. (For simplicity, though, I will primarily refer to "Germany" and "German émigrés" throughout

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[10] "Hubertus Prinz zu Löwenstein." *Exile. Experience and Testimony* (online exhibition of the German Exile Archive 1933–1945, German National Library). https://exilarchiv.dnb.de/DEA/Web/EN/Navigation/MenschenImExil/loewenstein-hubertus/loewenstein-hubertus.html.

[11] Hubertus zu Loewenstein, *After Hitler's Fall: Germany's Coming Reich*, trans. Denis Waldock (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1934).

[12] "Hitler Foe," *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, February 12, 1935.

this chapter.) To make such a project a reality, Loewenstein realized that he would have to appeal not only to Germans in exile but to any and all "friends of German culture."[13] Indeed, in *After Hitler's Fall*, he implores supporters of a free Germany to help "collect the spiritual treasures of Germany from all over the world, and join in action all those who are now united merely by interest and family."[14] With a general idea in place, it was time to develop a more concrete plan for the Guild and its accompanying academy in exile.

Loewenstein began to discuss his vision during a lecture tour of the United States in 1935. Alongside warning attendees about the dangers of "Hitlerism" and forecasting the dissolution of the Nazi regime—which he predicted would occur within two years—Loewenstein spoke on the critical mission of providing financial assistance to Germany's artistic and intellectual exiles.[15] In his mind, the academy in exile would be the cultural equivalent of a government in exile, fighting its battles not with political agendas and legislation but with "intellectual and spiritual ammunition at its disposal."[16] As Loewenstein reported to the *Sonntagsblatt der New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herold* [*New York State Sunday Newspaper and Herald*]:

> Modern Germany is no longer a home to German culture, to German intellectual life. The real Germany survives only outside the Reich's borders, wherever Germans are able to live in freedom. My idea is to unite all these Germans, not into a political Reich, but rather into a spiritual and intellectual one.[17]

Despite Loewenstein's public statements, the organization was still envisioned as a political entity. German émigré Volkmar Zühlsdorff, one of Loewenstein's close friends and eventual

[13] Zühlsdorff, 18.
[14] Hubertus zu Loewenstein, *After Hitler's Fall: Germany's Coming Reich*, trans. Denis Waldock (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1934), 67.
[15] "German Prince Foresees Fall Of Hitler's Regime," *Los Angeles Times*, February 23, 1935.
[16] Zühlsdorff, 36–7.
[17] Ibid., 21.

acting secretary of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, later reflected, "[The Guild's] long-term goals . . . were to be identical to those of a government in exile: the overthrow of the iniquitous regime and the return of the expellees to their homeland."[18] This is a significant point. Alongside its primary function of providing financial and artistic support to exiles, Loewenstein's ultimate goal for the organization appears to have aligned with the vision outlined in his book *After Hitler's Fall*—that is, the removal of Hitler from power. As will be seen shortly, this facet would become an almost incidental part of its larger purpose and would be downplayed and even forgotten in the context of the Los Angeles Philharmonic's benefit concert.

With help from the Austrian writer and journalist Richard Bermann, Loewenstein soon set up an aid organization called the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, which would solicit financial support from charitable Americans and other "friends of German culture." The organization would act as a monetary "backbone" for the future academy in exile, building the necessary funds and resources to allow the academy to offer scholarships to exiled artists, writers, and scientists. The Guild was officially established in New York City in April 1935. In the following months, it recruited board members, hired an administrative staff—all unpaid volunteers—formed committees, and discussed how best to accomplish Loewenstein's vision.[19] An April 1936 pamphlet outlines the organization's purpose more clearly. The Guild would seek to organize and finance a "German Academy of Arts and Letters" and, concurrently, bring the work of exiles to broader public awareness. This would be accomplished through establishing agreements with publishers and art

[18] Ibid., 36.
[19] For more on the history and founding of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, see Volkmar Zühlsdorff's book *Hitler's Exiles: The German Cultural Resistance in America and Europe*.

galleries, subsidizing translations of German literary works, and organizing book guilds, among other measures.[20] The plan was that the Guild would eventually work in tandem with the Academy; the former would "[furnish] material aid for exiled intellectuals" while the latter would go about "preserving, as nearly as possible intact, the identity of a culture in the best tradition of a nation of poets, philosophers and thinkers."[21]

Even though the Guild was not meant to be a charity organization, they did acknowledge early on that donations were needed for it to function as intended. The pamphlet notes a minimum fundraising goal of $25,000 [~$502,000 in 2022],[22] continuing:

> The task which confronts the Guild is large, and the remedy must be heroic. It is perhaps the first time in history that so many eminent men and women find themselves outcasts, doomed to discontinue their work unless some means of aiding them can be found.[23]

In funding an "academy in exile"—and in building a knowledgeable, more compassionate American public for German refugees—the Guild hoped not only to serve established figures but to extend a hand to the younger generation of German creators and thinkers.[24] Older and more established bourgeois individuals like Thomas Mann and Otto Klemperer were

[20] The Guild's goals, as outlined in this pamphlet, exhibited a clear bent toward the literary realm. This was perhaps intentional. In contrast to the largely visual- and aural-based creations of exiled artists and musicians—which could more easily resonate with an American audience—some émigré writers and authors expressed the difficulties of sharing their craft in the United States, largely due to the language barrier.
[21] "The American Guild for German Cultural Freedom: A Plan of Action," April 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[22] Monetary amounts in brackets indicate the approximate conversion to USD as of January 2022, which accounts for inflation. These conversions are courtesy of the CPI Inflation Calculator from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm).
[23] "The American Guild for German Cultural Freedom: A Plan of Action," April 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[24] It is also worth noting that, while many of the Guild and future Academy's members, patrons, and scholarship recipients were Jewish or of Jewish descent, German (or German-speaking) heritage was the unifying factor amongst those involved with the organization.

heralded as the ideal role models. In a Guild "Statement of Purpose" document, this vision to bridge the generations was made urgently clear:

> For centuries world civilization has been enriched by the contributions of a free German culture. . . . That free German culture is represented today by Thomas Mann, Otto Klemperer, Fritz von Unruh, Rene Schickele[25] and other such men of great talent. They are the scholars of the traditional and cultural Germany whose thought finds root in classic forms of those German masters of the past. . . . If these younger men and women of talent, these writers, artists and musicians are not helped, spiritually and materially, at this time the bridge between a free German culture and world civilization will be destroyed. After men like Thomas Mann, Otto Klemperer, Fritz von Unruh and Rene Schickele, who, what?[26]

The "who" and "what" was later answered in 1938, when the German Academy of Arts and Letters began offering scholarships. Indeed, alongside more established recipients (like Bertolt Brecht and Hanns Eisler), monetary assistance was also awarded to a swath of younger émigrés, including Ernst Krenek.[27] Though not an eventual recipient of an Academy scholarship, Otto Klemperer became much more than an aspirational figurehead in the Guild's mission. With the Guild established and in motion by early 1936, it would soon find itself crossing paths with the burgeoning exile community in Southern California and, more specifically, Klemperer and his Los Angeles Philharmonic.

The Guild in Los Angeles

From the beginning, Loewenstein intended for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom to have a wider reach throughout the United States, beyond the confines of its New York offices. The Guild's 1936 "Statement of Purpose" confirms this, outlining the

[25] René Schickele was a German-French writer and essayist. His grandson is Peter Schickele, the American composer and humorist who is best known for his music written under the pseudonym "P.D.Q. Bach."
[26] "Statement of Purpose," subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[27] Zühlsdorff, "Appendix 5: Recipients of German Academy in Exile scholarships, 1938–40," 222–23.

desire "to form local committees of exiled German artists, scholars, musicians, writers, publishers and critics, as well as native sympathizers, in all important exile centers. . . ."[28] These auxiliary chapters of the Guild would, in effect, better serve the émigrés and their surrounding communities, all while continuing to advance the organization's core mission. While New York remained the Guild's administrative center, Loewenstein began establishing local chapters during another U.S. lecture tour in early 1936. His sights immediately turned toward Los Angeles. The city was rapidly becoming a vibrant hub of émigré activity, making it an ideal proving ground for the organization.[29] He also hoped to appeal specifically to the Hollywood film community—directors, producers, and actors—and help secure their financial support for the organization. To his relief, Loewenstein found the city to be enthusiastic and sympathetic towards his cause. Hollywood, in particular, had taken a "warm interest" in the émigré community, as many Americans in the industry had worked alongside numerous exiled actors, writers, and crew members in recent years.[30]

With Angelenos' interests piqued, it was time to start raising money in earnest. The Guild held its first-ever fundraising event on April 26, 1936, at the Victor Hugo Restaurant in Beverly Hills. The occasion attracted an illustrious crowd of Hollywood elite, ranging from Irving Berlin and Oscar Hammerstein II to James Cagney and Norma Shearer.[31] Dinner was priced at $20 a plate [~$400], with proceeds going to "the benefit of the victims of the Nazi

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[28] "The American Guild for German Cultural Freedom: A Plan of Action," April 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[29] In *A Windfall of Musicians*, Dorothy Lamb Crawford writes that there were three main "waves" of emigration to the United States throughout the 1930s and 40s (page x). The first was in 1933, after Hitler was named Chancellor of Germany. The second was in 1938, following the annexation of Austria (the *Anschluss*) and Mussolini's "Manifesto of Race." The last was in 1940, following the Nazi occupation of France. Loewenstein's trip to Los Angeles would have fallen between the first and second "waves."
[30] Zühlsdorff, 47.
[31] Jonathan Miles, *The Dangerous Otto Katz: The Many Lives of a Soviet Spy* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2010), 156–57.

regime in Germany."[32] Several speeches were heard throughout the evening. The dinner's patron, Bishop John Joseph Cantwell, gave an opening address followed by words from actor Fredric March and screenwriter Donald Ogden Stewart. Loewenstein himself issued a passionate decree that "culture is dead in Germany" and told of the thousands of Germans who had been exiled from their homeland simply because "they believed in freedom of art, thought, and religion."[33] The dinner guests were deeply moved by these first-hand accounts. "Hollywood," reported gossip columnist "Tip Poff" of the *Los Angeles Times*, "was very attentive, very well-behaved, very restrained, and exceedingly impressed. . . ."[34] All in all, the event was a success. Over 300 people attended—"quite a turnout for a discussion of big, international subjects," the *Times* quipped—and the earnings provided the Guild some of its earliest funds in establishing the German Academy of Arts and Letters.[35]

But Loewenstein had even grander plans. To make the Guild more widely known in Los Angeles, he envisioned various cultural events that would bolster fundraising efforts and officially cement his organization's presence in the west. After traveling to the East Coast for several speaking engagements, Hubertus and Helga Loewenstein returned to California in July for an "extended vacation."[36] While relaxation was undoubtedly on the docket, the Guild remained the primary task at hand. The summer months saw the Loewensteins continue to build support for the Los Angeles chapter. They rented a house in Santa Monica and expanded their circle of contacts, hosting several garden parties for friends and supporters.

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[32] "Prince to Discuss Hitler Regime At Benefit," *Illustrated Daily News*, April 17, 1936.
[33] "Culture Declared Dead in Germany," *News-Pilot*, April 27, 1936.
[34] Tip Poff, "That Certain Party," *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1936.
[35] Zühlsdorff, 48.
[36] Their cross-country road trip had a few, quite literal bumps along the way. On July 11, under the headline "Royal Pair Stranded," the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the Loewensteins and their traveling companion, Richard Bermann, had to be towed fifty miles into the town of Blythe, California after their car broke down on the way to Los Angeles.

On July 23, Helga was a featured speaker at a Hollywood League Against Nazism meeting held at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre.[37] Perhaps in a move to rouse more American women to support the anti-Nazi cause, her lecture on "The Woman in New Germany" offered a female-centric perspective of life in Nazi Germany.[38] In a profile for the *Illustrated Daily News*, she stated, "You American women do not know how lucky you are. You have freedom of speech, actions. . . . American women cannot realize that German domestic life hearkens back to medieval times. Now a woman isn't to be educated there, since Hitler came into power."[39] The paper also proudly recalled how Helga had once punched a Nazi soldier "because he called her a dirty name," giving her the endearing moniker "The Boxing Princess."[40] In these early Los Angeles events, the Loewensteins' anti-fascist, anti-Nazi, and anti-Hitler beliefs were laid bare for the general public and echoed by the local press. In the coming weeks, though, this discourse would be toned down as preparations for the Guild's first "official" event began to take shape.

While support for the Guild and the émigré community was overall warm and receptive, the Loewensteins' presence in Los Angeles was not without the occasional controversy. Shortly after the Hollywood League Against Nazism meeting, Oscar Lawler, a Los Angeles lawyer, hosted the couple at his residence in early August.[41] This irritated one

[37] The organization, also known as the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, was cofounded by Loewenstein and Czech émigré Otto Katz. (Coincidentally, this organization held a fundraising dinner at the Victor Hugo Restaurant on April 23, three nights before the Guild's event.) Though it had a robust following for several years, the League disbanded in 1939 once it was discovered to be a front for the Communist Party USA. The League ultimately reformed into the American Peace Mobilization, which opposed sending American aid to the Allied powers prior to the country's entry into World War II. Katz was later discovered to be a Soviet spy who alternatively went by the aliases "Rudolf Breda" and "André Simone." For more, see Jonathan Miles's book *The Dangerous Otto Katz: The Many Lives of a Soviet Spy* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2010).
[38] "League to Hear Bavarian Exile," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1936.
[39] Eleanor Barnes, "Royal Boxer," *Illustrated Daily News*, July 23, 1936.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Lawler had served as Attorney General during President William Howard Taft's administration.

Konrad Burchardi, who served as chairman of the German-American Bund, a local pro-Nazi organization. On August 11, Burchardi sent a letter to Lawler in which he belittled the "self-styled 'Prinz' Hubertus Loewenstein," calling him a "fugitive from justice exactly like Al Capone was before the law caught up with him."[42] He further accused Loewenstein of "travelling here under the mask of a good Catholic and making wilfully [sic] distorting speeches regarding the German situation. . . ."[43] Though Burchardi claimed that the letter was sent purely "for your [Lawler's] information only" and "not written to criticise you or your action," the hostile intent was clear.[44] Lawler responded two days later with a brief, but caustic takedown:

> Your impudent and scurrilous communication of August 11 concerning guests at our home merits only the reply that courtesies of our household are based upon the commendation of esteemed American friends rather than upon the traducings of alien strangers. My estimate of the character assassin is a zero with the ring rubbed out. From its name and the names of its 'political committee', I gather that your organization is engaged in promoting German political propaganda; it is appropriate to add that I have no sympathy for Hitlerism, Communism or any other European political importation.[45]

Though Burchardi reportedly sent a copy of his original letter to Loewenstein—likely as an intimidation tactic—Lawler still forwarded it to the prince, adding, "More might well have been written, but words would probably be wasted on persons having the characteristics demonstrated by the Burchardi letter."[46] It is unclear what Loewenstein thought of the

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[42] Letter from Konrad Burchardi to Oscar Lawler, August 11, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Letter from Oscar Lawler to Konrad Burchardi, August 13, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[46] Letter from Oscar Lawler to Hubertus zu Loewenstein, August 13, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.

incident, but it no doubt lit a fire, bringing the fight closer to his adopted homeland and confirming the dire need for the Guild's reparative work. The time seemed ripe for another big cultural event that would cement the organization's presence on the West Coast once and for all.

For Whose Benefit?: Concert Preparations and Changing Rhetoric

The first earnest discussions about a benefit concert for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom seem to have occurred in July 1936. Based on the scant evidence that survives, Loewenstein's initial idea was to have Otto Klemperer lead the Los Angeles Philharmonic in a performance of Mahler's "Resurrection" Symphony (1888–94). This plan was softly confirmed in a July 27 letter that Klemperer received from Bruno Zirato, an assistant to the impresario Arthur Judson. The letter reads in part:

> You certainly can have the entire Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra for the opening concert on September 29th for the German Academy for Arts and Science. If this new society has no political affiliation, you can also use the name of the orchestra, but in any event you always can say in your advertisements and publicity, 'members from the Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra'. The cost of the entire orchestra, that is 108 players and stage hands, will be $4,129 [~$83,000] for a concert and three rehearsals. This will be $31 for the minimum and a little more for the first desk men. . . . In regard to engaging the Schola Cantorum chorus, please ask the manager of the German Academy to get in touch with the manager of the Schola. . . .[47]

On paper, the proposal seemed a perfect fit. Klemperer was a recent German émigré and high-profile artistic figure celebrated for his work with the Los Angeles Philharmonic. He also claimed a direct association with the Guild. Early in its founding—though the exact timeline is unclear—Klemperer agreed to become a member of their European Council. This subsection of the Guild, based in London, aimed to act as a "cooperating unit through which

[47] Letter from Bruno Zirato to Otto Klemperer, July 27, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945.

the younger German men and women of talent, now in exile, may be kept together spiritually, if not in a physical sense."[48] Indeed, Klemperer's participation in the benefit concert would be a major victory for the Guild. Not only was he an ideal example of the "free German culture" they were actively trying to cultivate, but his appearance would all but guarantee a robust turnout from Guild supporters and local music lovers alike.

Mahler was also an apt programming choice. The composer's music was a specialty of Klemperer's, and the "Resurrection" Symphony would send out an inspirational message of hope, perhaps even envisioning the restoration of a pre-fascist Germany. Mahler's Jewish heritage may have also influenced the decision; the composer had faced antisemitic persecution during his career in Vienna, and now, twenty-five years after his death, his music was one of the targets of Nazi censorship.[49]

Quickly, though, the feasibility of performing Mahler's massive work on such short notice came into question. On August 1, Klemperer sent a letter, in German, to Loewenstein, informing him of the great expense of the venture:

> Enclosed I send you the answer from New York. I must add that Mahler's Second Symphony would require something like $1,200 [~$24,000] for extra musicians on account of the enormous forces required [in the orchestra]. I would estimate that the expenses for the chorus would cost between $1,500 and $2,000. For this special occasion, it might be possible to get the [vocal] soloists for free (alto and soprano solo, two singers). You see that unfortunately it would add up to a huge expense. Please let me know if it is sustainable on this basis. . . .[50]

[48] "Statement of Purpose," subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge. Alongside Klemperer, the Council boasted other illustrious émigrés such as Thomas Mann, Max Reinhardt, Franz Werfel, and Ernst Toch.

[49] For more on antisemitism during Mahler's life, see K.M. Knittel, *Seeing Mahler: Music and the Language of Antisemitism in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010).

[50] Letter from Otto Klemperer to Hubertus zu Loewenstein, August 1, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945. Many thanks to Derek Katz for providing this translation.

As a result, the Mahler idea was scrapped. However, the Guild was still determined to stage a benefit concert with Klemperer and the Philharmonic. A September 2 Guild memorandum officially set a date for the end of that month:

> The success of the enterprise [establishing the Guild on the West Coast] is . . . dependent upon its successful launching, which is planned for September 23, at the Philharmonic Auditorium. The [Los Angeles] Philharmonic orchestra will present a program, including compositions by great contemporary German musicians now in exile and will be conducted by Klemperer.[51]

The hope was that the event would supply the Guild's first official source of revenue. A base goal of $5,000 [~$100,400] was set, which, if met, would be put towards scholarships and a small operating fund. Based on the large and enthusiastic Hollywood turnout at the April benefit dinner, Loewenstein aimed to tap into that community for further support. This was especially the case when it came to selling the expensive orchestra-level seats at Philharmonic Auditorium. As the memorandum notes:

> [There] are 168 seats in the front orchestral section, which it is hoped that they will be able to dispose of at $25.00 [~$500] each. . . . [If] Louis B. Mayer could be induced to call together some of the studio heads for a luncheon at which Prince Loewenstein could present his plans, that among them they could figure out a means of underwriting the sponsor seats referred to. The balance of the house, with the exception of a few five dollar seats, will be ordinary concert prices of fifty cents [~$10] to two-fifty [~$50].[52]

With a general plan in place, the *Hollywood Citizen-News* was the first to announce the benefit concert on September 3:

> What promises to be one of the most important social functions to take place in Los Angeles this month will be the forthcoming special concert of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, with the noted Otto Klemperer conducting, at the Philharmonic Auditorium the evening of Sept. 23. Prominent society folk of Southern California, together with noted educators and lovers of cultural art, are sponsoring the event in an endeavor to restore some of the lost cultural activities among exiles of foreign countries now under strict censorship. . . . [Proceeds] from the post-season

[51] Guild memorandum, September 2, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 8, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[52] Ibid.

> concert will be used to present scholarships and to help publish the works of exiled authors, artists and scientists now residing in the United States.[53]

Similar articles were published in the following days. Most if not all local papers were transparent in describing the intentions of the Guild and their benefit concert—to provide financial support for German émigrés and help rekindle the artistic and intellectual activity that had been lost in their exile from Europe. Some framed the cause more explicitly than others, hoping to tap into a sympathetic readership by highlighting the effects of the Nazi Party's censorship. The *B'nai B'rith Messenger* laid bare that German exiles "have been crushed by existing harsh and unfair treatment under the present regime in Germany."[54] Similarly, the *Jewish Community Press* stated that the émigrés' "native Germany has refused to recognize their great work and has stifled their efforts to bring their creative work to light."[55] Such blatant language had precedent in the Guild's internal documents. The April 1936 "Plan of Action" pamphlet states, "One of the most unfortunate results of National Socialism in Germany has been the stifling of the free practice of scholarship and the arts."[56] Further, one of the Guild's purposes was as follows:

> To foster the traditions of free Germanic culture and in particular, to provide a medium through which German writers, scholars and artists in all fields may express themselves freely in the tradition of German culture and scholarship unhindered by political censorship and oppression whenever such censorship and oppression may exist in the homelands of German speaking people and in particular, free of the suppression and censorship of the German National Socialist Party and its allies.[57]

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[53] "Otto Klemperer Will Conduct at Sept. 23 Event," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 3, 1936.
[54] "Otto Klemperer To Conduct Post Season Concert," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, September 11, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945.
[55] "Refugee Concert At Philharmonic," *Jewish Community Press*, September 18, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945.
[56] "The American Guild for German Cultural Freedom: A Plan of Action," April 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[57] Ibid.

However the Los Angeles press framed it, news of the Guild and its benefit concert had clearly touched a nerve. After the *Hollywood Citizen-News* announcement, donations began pouring in. As Loewenstein had hoped, a sizable portion came courtesy of the Hollywood film industry. These contributions were often generous. Herman Mankiewicz, for instance, wrote a check to the Guild for $500. Likewise, Charlie Chaplin donated $150, and Mary Pickford donated $50.[58] Other local figures such as Lucien Brunswig and Franco Bruno Averardi also lent their support.[59] Tickets for the concert were also a hot commodity. Both celebrities and the general public flocked to reserve seats, with particular interest from the German, Jewish, and émigré communities. Letters from Loewenstein to Leon Lewis—the Guild's acting treasurer—reveal ticket requests from Eddie Cantor, Samuel Goldwyn, and Peter Lorre, among others.[60] The response was such that the *Illustrated Daily News* reported that "advance reservations are strong and indicate an appeal for the cultural type of entertainment," later ascribing it to "definite proof of the standing Otto Klemperer and the Philharmonic orchestra have in the community."[61]

When the idea of a benefit concert first arose, Klemperer was reportedly enthusiastic. He had just completed the Philharmonic's summer season at the Hollywood Bowl (on August 28) and was planning to take an extended trip to Europe before the start of the orchestra's winter concert series in January 1937.[62] However, he gladly agreed to delay his travels to participate in the event. Local news outlets highlighted the generosity of this

[58] Various letters, September 1936, subseries F, box 28, folders 8–9, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[59] Ibid. Brunswig was a local businessman who owned the Brunswig Drug Company and helped found the USC School of Pharmacy. Averardi was an Italian émigré who helped establish the Italian department at UCLA, teaching both language and literature courses.
[60] Ibid.
[61] "Emery Darcy Acts as Soloist," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 11, 1936; "Flood of Reservations for Concert," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 22, 1936.
[62] "Klemperer Delays His Trip to Give Concert," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 11, 1936.

gesture. The *Los Angeles-Herald Express* declared that "[Klemperer] is graciously giving his time and talent toward making the concert an outstanding event in musical and social circles of this city."[63] A substantial follow-up article described the conductor in an even more sympathetic light. Headlined "Human Side Of Klemperer Is Revealed"—and accompanied by a picture of Klemperer observing his two children at the piano—the article painted the conductor as a family man who was opening his heart to lead the benefit. It read, in part:

> However austere the aspect of an exiled life must be, from out [of] Klemperer's own domestic circle wafts the aroma of appreciation for his own that is highly edifying as a matter of deep human interest, for Papa Klemperer is really committed to the fact that he would like nothing better than for Lotte, his 12-year-old daughter, and Werner, his 16-year-old son, to apply themselves professionally to music. . . .[64] But touches of human interest have been as tragic to others as they have to Klemperer and he is lightening his heart in a determined effort to assist his fellows in the presenting of one of his greatest programs, with the full Philharmonic orchestra, in a pre-seasonal concert at the Philharmonic auditorium. . . .[65]

Los Angeles Times columnist Lee Shippey reported further on September 18 that Klemperer was beginning the American citizenship process and desired to finish "as speedily as possible."[66] Shippey continues:

> [Klemperer] wishes to be an American and an Angeleno, and it will be to Southern California's interest to keep him here. If we are to make this the center of the world we must have the things which spell civilization to the most enlightened people. They will not live where they are out of touch with the best of music and art. It is not merely the music lover who must support the Philharmonic Orchestra—it is every citizen who wishes to live in a real city, offering him and his children the best, in which one may rub shoulders with greatness as well as money.[67]

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[63] "Mrs. Frank Tuttle Opens Home To Aid Philharmonic," *Los Angeles Herald-Express*, September 3, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945.
[64] Though the article goes on to state that Werner Klemperer was planning to study medicine, he eventually became a prominent film and television actor. He is best remembered as Colonel Klink in *Hogan's Heroes* (1965–71), and won two Primetime Emmys for the role in 1968 and 1969, respectively.
[65] "Human Side Of Klemperer Is Revealed," *Los Angeles Herald-Express*, September 19, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945.
[66] Lee Shippey, "The Lee Side o' L.A.," *Los Angeles Times*, September 18, 1936.
[67] Ibid.

Particularly notable is how Shippey framed Klemperer's citizenship desires—not only did the conductor "[wish] to be an American," but an *Angeleno* as well. Becoming an American citizen was already a definite mark of loyalty to the United States, and the fact that Klemperer also sought Los Angeles citizenship demonstrates his desire for a long-term commitment to the city and the Philharmonic. Whether Klemperer actually expressed his citizenship desires in such a way remains uncertain—perhaps Shippey's phrasing made for better press—but the sentiment is still interesting and undoubtedly provided Angelenos yet another reason to rally behind their beloved music director.

Following the initial concert announcements, logistics started to fall into place. Particularly instrumental in this process were the efforts of the concert planning committee. This group—likely assembled by Loewenstein, with additional input from local friends and supporters—comprised eleven members of the Los Angeles community, Loewenstein included. Each was a prominent local figure, variously active in the fields of education, law, finance, film, and religion, among others. Its members—as outlined in the *Hollywood Citizen-News* on September 3—were as follows. For context, I have added a brief biographical description alongside each name:

- Hubertus zu Loewenstein
- Rufus von KleinSmid—president of the University of Southern California (1921–47)
- Edgar Magnin—rabbi at the Wilshire Boulevard Temple[68]
- John Joseph Cantwell—archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles and founder of the Catholic Motion Picture Actors Guild of America
- Attilio Henry (A.H.) Giannini—doctor, banker, and film financier[69]

[68] The Temple was previously known as Congregation B'nai B'rith from 1862 to 1933. Magnin was also a charter board member of the Hollywood Bowl.
[69] Giannini also served as president of United Artists from 1936 to 1938. His older brother, A.P. Giannini, founded the Bank of Italy in San Francisco, which later became Bank of America.

- William H. Hays—politician and chairman of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA)[70]
- Ernst Lubitsch—film director, producer, writer, and actor[71]
- Frank Tuttle—film director and writer[72]
- Tatiana Tuttle (née Smirnova Zermeno)—ballet dancer, married to Frank Tuttle
- Joseph Scott—attorney and community leader in Los Angeles[73]
- Anne Banning—philanthropist and co-founder of the Assistance League of Southern California[74]

While the planning committee clearly aimed to include some of the most esteemed Angelenos—lending credence and credibility to the Guild and its inaugural West Coast event—it is fascinating to observe the wide-ranging makeup of this group. The committee members were remarkably diverse, not just in terms of their occupations but their backgrounds, nationalities, political leanings, and religious affiliations. Some exhibited more problematic associations in retrospect. KleinSmid, for instance, was an avowed proponent of the eugenics movement, a highly unfortunate sentiment considering the similar racial doctrines espoused by the Nazi Party.[75] Even so, there is little doubt that this inclusive group was intentional on the part of Loewenstein and the Guild, uniting people from radically different walks of life under a common cause.

[70] Hays was the namesake of the "Hays Code" (formally known as the Motion Picture Production Code). From the 1930s to the 60s, the Hays Code dictated which content was morally acceptable for films created in the United States.
[71] Lubitsch was an émigré of an earlier generation, having moved from Germany to Hollywood in 1922. He was the one to inform Salka Viertel that the Hollywood League Against Nazism was overrun with communists, an incident which she recounts in her memoir, *The Kindness of Strangers*.
[72] Tuttle was also an avowed member of the Communist Party USA and appeared before the House of Un-American Activities in 1951.
[73] The English-born Scott emigrated to the United States in 1889, where he practiced law and became highly involved in the Los Angeles community, co-founding its Chamber of Commerce and serving on the city's school board. In 1945, he was Joan Barry's attorney in her paternity lawsuit against Charlie Chaplin.
[74] Anne Banning was married to Hancock Banning, a businessman and land developer who purchased Catalina Island in 1892 and helped turn it into a popular tourist destination.
[75] In response to growing calls to address systemic racism, the University of Southern California removed KleinSmid's name from its Center for International and Public Affairs building in June 2020, along with a bust of its former president. The building was renamed in November 2021 after Joseph Medicine Crow, a Native American historian, World War II veteran, and alumnus of USC.

On September 3, the same day as the first concert announcement in the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, an open house was held at the Bel Air home of Frank and Tatiana Tuttle. Several committee members were present, alongside Klemperer, to discuss initial plans for the benefit.[76] Seven days later, another concert-planning event was held, this time hosted by the Loewensteins. This "elaborate reception" boasted an even more impressive array of figures, including Herman and Sara Mankiewicz, Peter Lorre and his then-wife Celia Lovsky, Fritz Lang, Cedric Hardwicke, and Berthold Viertel.[77] Klemperer, Ernst Toch, and a handful of committee members were also in attendance. Logistics were fleshed out further over a lunch catered by the Vendome Café.[78]

As news of the concert spread, it became clear that the message was beginning to shift. While most concert-related articles from the local press did mention how the event would benefit intellectual and artistic exiles from Germany, the results varied widely. The most unambiguous language tended to appear in Jewish publications. On September 18, for instance, the *Jewish Community Press* and *B'nai B'rith Messenger* published articles under the respective headlines "Refugee Concert At Philharmonic" and "Concert For Benefit of Nazi Victims."[79] Several non-Jewish papers also made the concert's purpose clear. The *Los Angeles Times* announced that the concert would "aid exiles"; the *Los Angeles-Herald*

[76] "Farewell Concert September 23," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 4, 1936.
[77] "Princess Entertains With Reception," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 10, 1936.
[78] The total cost of catering the reception was an eyebrow-raising $102.40 [~$2,000]. $75 went towards food and service while $24.40 was spent on drinks. (Trommer's Beer was the drink of choice; six were ordered out of nineteen drink orders.) According to the invoice from the Vendome, the Loewensteins "expressed complete satisfaction with our arrangements and service." Vendome Café invoice, September 11, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 8, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[79] "Refugee Concert At Philharmonic," *Jewish Community Press*, September 18, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945; "Concert For Benefit of Nazi Victims," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, September 18, 1936.

Express similarly stated that it would "aid artists."[80] However, other news outlets downplayed the exile component. Some relegated that information to the body text or published headlines that vaguely referred to the event as a "post-season concert," a "special symphony program," or a "farewell concert."[81] The last was a particularly popular choice, acknowledging that the concert would be Klemperer's last appearance in Southern California before his trip to Europe.

One of the most notable shifts was how the Los Angeles press began to tout the event. Many papers promoted the concert not just as a philanthropic benefit but as a glitzy social occasion.[82] The *Hollywood Citizen-News* jumpstarted the trend, calling it "one of the most important social functions to take place in Los Angeles this month."[83] Others quickly followed suit. The *Los Angeles Times* proclaimed that this "Farewell Concert Holds Social Significance" and that the occasion was "scheduled to attract a large gathering of society and music lovers."[84] The *Los Angeles Examiner* observed the great demand for tickets, predicting "not only a social success, but also a financial one."[85] Several papers also reported on the various garden parties and planning receptions leading up to the concert. These short blurbs often featured photographs of the illustrious attendees accompanied by headlines such as

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[80] "Post-Season Concert to Aid Exiles," *Los Angeles Times*, September 5, 1936; "Philharmonic Concert To Aid Artists," *Los Angeles Herald-Express*, September 5, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945.
[81] "Post Season Concert," *Los Angeles Evening News*, September 14, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945; "Special Symphony Program," *Los Angeles Examiner*, September 20, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945; "Farewell Concert September 23," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 4, 1936.
[82] Social capital was an underlying theme of numerous benefits, fundraisers, and other philanthropic efforts throughout America's classical music history, especially those staged by wealthy socialite women. For more, see Joseph Horowitz's 2007 book *Classical Music in America: A History* and the 1997 edited collection *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860* (eds. Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr).
[83] "Otto Klemperer Will Conduct at Sept. 23 Event," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 3, 1936.
[84] "Farewell Concert Holds Social Significance," *Los Angeles Times*, September 6, 1936; "Post-Season Concert to Aid Exiles," *Los Angeles Times*, September 6, 1936.
[85] Princess Conchita Pignatelli, untitled article, *Los Angeles Examiner*, September 9, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945.

"Attending Garden Party For Philharmonic" and "Philharmonic Concert Discussed at Reception."[86] The September 16 edition of the *Los Angeles Times*, for instance, featured a large photo of Celia Lovsky and Helga Loewenstein—both with teacups in their hands—seated in the Loewensteins' backyard alongside Peter Lorre.[87] Other papers showcased attendees such as Dorothy Dudley, Tatiana Tuttle, Ernst Toch, and Otto Klemperer.[88]

Klemperer's role also became a central selling point, and numerous newspaper headlines were directed specifically at his participation. "Klemperer to Conduct at Benefit," trumpeted the *Illustrated Daily News* and other local outlets.[89] A *Hollywood Citizen-News* article highlighted the fact that Klemperer was generously donating his time to the city, which was published under the headline "Klemperer Delays His Trip to Give Concert."[90] Klemperer's significance was also subtly confirmed outside the press. In the days leading up to the concert, Guild supporters and members of the general public received several promotional materials in the mail, including a preview copy of the concert program (see figure 2.1). Amidst the ornate lettering on the front cover, one's eyes are immediately drawn to Klemperer's name, which stands out as the largest and boldest piece of information. A brief aside at the bottom—in a curiously small font—notes that the concert was being given under the auspices of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom.[91]

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[86] "Attending Garden Party For Philharmonic," *Los Angeles Examiner*, September 21, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945; "Philharmonic Concert Discussed at Reception," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 11, 1936.
[87] "Discussing Concert Plans At Tea," *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 1936;
[88] Untitled photograph of Celia Lovsky, Dorothy Dudley, and Peter Lorre, *Los Angeles Evening News*, September 15, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945; "Philharmonic Concert Discussed at Reception," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 11, 1936; "Special Concert Will Aid Artists," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 16, 1936.
[89] "Klemperer to Conduct at Benefit," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 10, 1936; "Otto Klemperer To Conduct Special Concert Wednesday," *Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 1936.
[90] "Klemperer Delays His Trip to Give Concert," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 11, 1936.
[91] American Guild for German Cultural Freedom benefit concert pamphlet, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945.

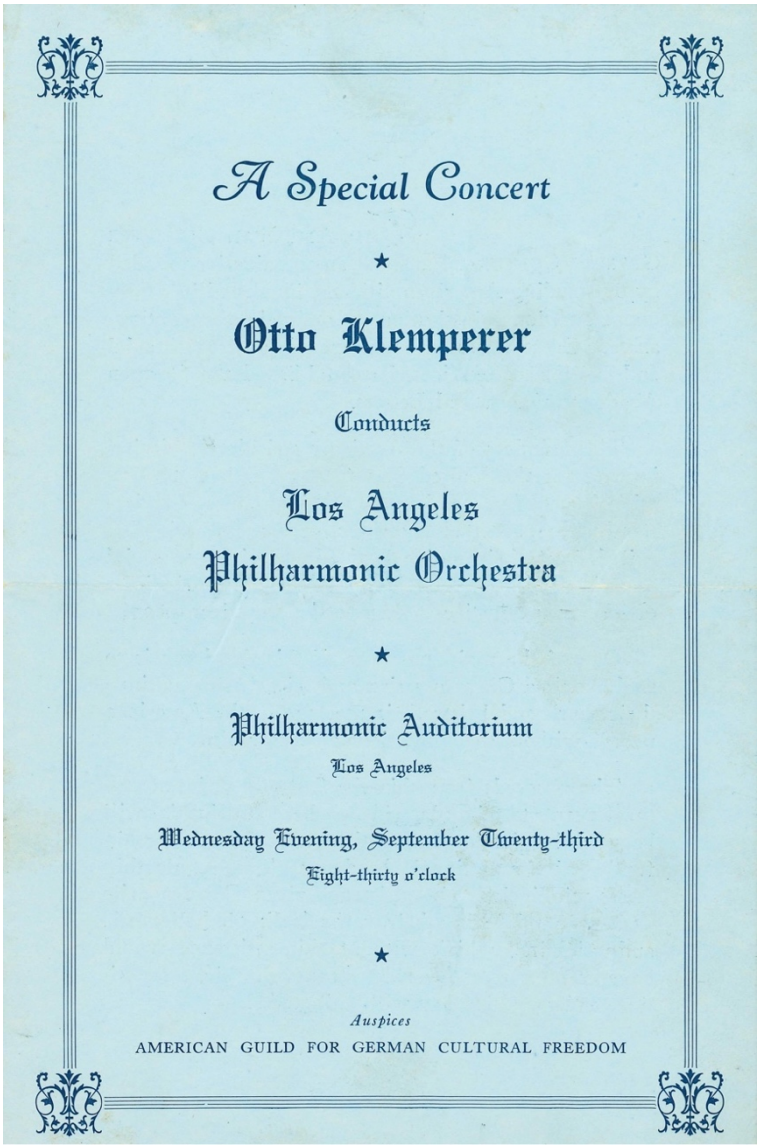

Figure 2.1: Preview program for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom's benefit concert, which was mailed out in advance. Courtesy of the German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945.

While the purpose of the benefit concert was still evident—raising money for German émigrés—certain aspects were now being amplified over others. In some instances, the social elements were placed at the forefront, which undoubtedly appealed to Hollywood celebrities and members of the Los Angeles elite. Klemperer, in his dual role as an esteemed conductor and soon-to-be American and Angeleno, was also being heralded as the leading figure, standing above everyone else involved. Whether this had to do with local media

sensationalism or the Guild's own marketing plan is uncertain. Perhaps this was simply part of the larger twentieth-century trend of the celebrity conductor, in which various media—film, recording, radio, and eventually, television—would greatly expand the reach of conductors and, as a result, elevate some to star status.[92] Regardless, it is clear that a compromise was taking place. By appealing to such a broad audience—Hollywood celebrities, community figures, émigrés, Germans, Jews, and local music lovers among them—wires were getting crossed as various elements of the benefit concert spoke differently to different groups of people. Even though many who were invested in the event could claim several of these identities and communities, which often overlapped and melded into one another, it is difficult to pinpoint one single, unifying factor that was bringing all these figures together. What appealed to Fritz Lang (an Austrian-German Jewish émigré film director) about the concert, for instance, would have been vastly different than what stood out to Canadian-American actress Mary Pickford. In any case, the Guild was seeing, in real-time, fundamental aspects of its mission—especially its anti-Nazi and anti-Hitler goals—being downplayed at the expense of the distinctly-Hollywood cult of personality.

As the concert date grew closer, the question of repertoire rose to the front of everyone's minds. Though the idea of performing Mahler's "Resurrection" Symphony was dismissed early on, the September 2 Guild memorandum includes little to no program details, other than that the concert would consist of "compositions by great contemporary German musicians now in exile."[93] Details were likely ironed out at the various committee receptions,

[92] Examples from the mid-twentieth century include Leopold Stokowski, Arturo Toscanini, and Leonard Bernstein, among others. For more on the growing role of the conductor in American musical life, see Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History*.
[93] Guild memorandum, September 2, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 8, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.

and on September 7, the *Hollywood-Citizen News* finally announced that the program would feature works by Mozart, Beethoven, Schoenberg, and Toch.[94] Several days later, the *Illustrated Daily News* elucidated:

> In arranging his program for the special post-season concert on Wednesday evening, September 23rd, at which he will conduct the Philharmonic orchestra, Otto Klemperer has selected a variety to please all types of music lovers. From the old school, and whose music will live through the generations, Klemperer chose the overture 'Magic Flute' by Mozart and the Third Symphony (Eroica) by Beethoven. For variety, Klemperer will conduct the 'Song of the Wooddove' [sic] from the 'Gurrelieder' by Schoenberg, said to be the most modern of all composers. Ernst Toch's O.P. 60 for orchestra and soloist [Music for Baritone and Orchestra] is melodic and of the modern trend.[95]

The program was an ideal vehicle for Klemperer's musical strengths and preferences, which were heavily rooted in the Austro-Germanic repertoire of the Classical and Romantic eras. Mozart's Overture to *The Magic Flute* (1791) and Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony (1802–04), in particular, were natural choices, as Beethoven and other German composers were explicitly brought up in the Guild's internal documents. One portion of their "Statement of Purpose" reads as follows:

> Germany gave the world such genius as that of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Wagner, Bach, Handel, Schumann, Beethoven, Brahms, Dürer, Holbein, Schreyer and a host of others. Their influence, particularly on English and American culture, has been profound.[96]

The Mozart and Beethoven selections also hearkened back to a notion Loewenstein had expressed in his book *After Hitler's Fall*—that of finding a place to "collect the spiritual treasures of Germany," safe from the threat of Nazism.[97] The concept of saving (or "collecting") German culture would become a common theme in the following years. After

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[94] "Philharmonic Concert Near," *Hollywood-Citizen News*, September 7, 1936.
[95] "Klemperer Secures a Varied Bill," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 16, 1936.
[96] "Statement of Purpose," subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[97] Loewenstein, 67.

the start of World War II, several musical figures believed that America had a unique and noble calling to be a bastion for the Western classical tradition. Annegret Fauser notes that "American commentators constructed their country as the stronghold of world culture, for other Allied nations such as the Soviet Union were seeing their musical treasures pillaged and destroyed by the German army."[98] In June 1942, for instance, conductor Serge Koussevitzky declared, "America holds her traditions and culture from the Old World and now has been given the flaming torch of all the suffering and suppressed peoples to carry, to keep burning until peace. And then, America will be able to restore the cultural wealth which was entrusted to her, and which she alone can save from destruction."[99] Though the benefit concert preceded the spread of these ideas by several years, early hints were still present at the Guild's founding. The April 1936 "Plan of Action" pamphlet included the following sentence:

> In undertaking to find this means the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom is actuated by the desire to preserve the great heritage of German culture, rather than by any wish to serve partisan aims, whatever their merit.[100]

The concept of "collecting" German culture could also be applied to the two living composers on the program: Arnold Schoenberg and Ernst Toch. Though both were born in Austria rather than Germany, they were, like Klemperer, of Jewish heritage and forced to leave their respective occupations in Germany after the rise of the Nazi Party.[101] (Both were also currently living in Los Angeles.) Additionally, Toch's Music for Baritone and Orchestra (1932) and the excerpt from Schoenberg's *Gurrelieder* (1900–03, 1910) fit well with

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[98] Fauser, 138.
[99] Ibid., 138–39.
[100] "The American Guild for German Cultural Freedom: A Plan of Action," April 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 7, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[101] Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*; Jezic, *The Musical Migration of Ernst Toch*. Mozart, too, was born in Austria (Salzburg) rather than Germany.

Klemperer's personal tastes. As discussed in Chapter 1, the conductor's relationship with modern music was complicated, and his Philharmonic programs over the years tended to showcase "tamer" works by a select group of living composers. Though several Los Angeles papers attempted to prepare readers for Schoenberg's "radically different" music, both modern selections on the benefit program were inspired by the tonal, late-Romantic language of Strauss and Mahler, making them easily palatable for the Angeleno audience.[102] Further, showcasing Schoenberg and Toch's output would serve as an aspirational symbol for the Guild, highlighting the types of creative work they eventually hoped to fund through their German Academy of Arts and Letters.

While there is little concrete evidence to suggest that the benefit concert program was built specifically to showcase the idea of "collecting" German culture, Loewenstein's desires and the Guild's founding documents still lend credence to the idea. By selecting two works from the Austro-Germanic canon—"music [that] will live through the generations"—and two works by living émigré composers continuing that tradition, the Guild was essentially declaring itself to be a refuge for both past and present Austro-Germanic art music in the United States.[103] Not only would it foster the artistic and intellectual activity of living émigrés but, as Fauser puts it, act as a "custodian of the arts," preserving the beloved and time-tested works of the past, free of artistic censorship.[104] This, in effect, would advance the Guild's charitable mission and help counteract the influence of Nazi propaganda in America.

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[102] "Schoenberg's Music to Be Heard Here," *Los Angeles Times*, September 17, 1936; "Schoenberg is promised a hearing," *Los Angeles Evening News*, September 16, 1936, German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933–1945; "Schoenberg Avers His Musical Works Written For Audiences of Future," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 17, 1936.
[103] "Klemperer Secures a Varied Bill," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 16, 1936.
[104] Fauser, 135.

Loewenstein saw the latter as a particularly crucial element in the Guild's work. In a September 2 letter to Leon Lewis, he wrote:

> The strength of the Nazi propaganda outside of Germany is largely based on the fact, that the people of German descent . . . get nearly exclusively Nazi news, Nazi book[s], Nazi pictures and so on. . . . We have to realise, that the Nazi dictatorship reached far beyond the German borders. . . . [Though] all the best brains of Germany are exiled, [these] very important forces are powerless, because they are disconnected.[105]

By showcasing the best of the Austro-Germanic musical tradition, it was hoped that the benefit concert would play a foundational role in the eventual triumph over Nazi rhetoric.

Final concert details coalesced in the days leading up to the event. Baritone Emery Darcy and mezzo-soprano Clemence Gifford were engaged as soloists, and Schoenberg and Toch met with Klemperer to go over the scores of their respective compositions.[106] The two composers, Klemperer, and Loewenstein, even found some spare moments to enjoy the natural beauty of Los Angeles, and a photograph was snapped of the group walking together in the Santa Monica Mountains.[107] Rehearsals began two days before the concert. The first was held on Monday, September 21; a second rehearsal occurred the following day before the final dress rehearsal and concert on Wednesday, September 23.[108]

Outside the backstage hubbub, anticipation was building in the Los Angeles community. Publicity materials—including the aforementioned preview program—were mailed out in advance to Guild supporters and members of the general public. Leon Lewis

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[105] Letter from Hubertus zu Loewenstein to Leon Lewis, September 2, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 8, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[106] "Klemperer to Conduct at Benefit," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 10, 1936; "Emery Darcy Acts as Soloist," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 11, 1936. Toch was reportedly the one who connected Loewenstein to both Klemperer and Schoenberg in Los Angeles.
[107] A cropped version showing only Klemperer appeared in several news articles leading up to the concert. The whole photo appears on the cover of Dorothy Lamb Crawford's book *A Windfall of Musicians.*
[108] Rehearsal schedule, subseries F, box 28, folder 9, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.

arranged for additional advertising to appear in the *Jewish Community Press* and also convinced Isadore Lindenbaum, a host at Los Angeles' KFWB radio station, to dedicate his entire September 22 program to promoting the benefit concert.[109] A follow-up article in the *B'nai B'rith Messenger* provided a summary:

> Synonymous with the great names Beethoven and Mozart are the names of Schoenberg and Toch. These two world famous composers are now living in Los Angeles and last Tuesday evening Ernst Toch was introduced over radio station KFWB at 5:15 to 6:30 by B'nai B'rith Radio Chairman Isidore [sic] Lindenbaum. Isabella [sic] Morse Jones, music critic of the Los Angeles Times, discussed the magnificent compositions of Toch while during her talk some of the music was played to illustrate her subject. Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein, who only a few weeks ago broadcast a message of great import on the same program as secretary of the national organization of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, appeared at this time in connection with explanation of the special Philharmonic Concert Wednesday evening which was conducted by Otto Klemperer to raise funds to enable exiled German artists, authors and composers to continue their work in the United States without limitations of censorship.[110]

Meanwhile, Angelenos continued to request tickets eagerly; the press touted the "flood of [ticket] reservations" right up until the day before the concert.[111] The event was clearly gearing up to be a significant occasion for the city, the Philharmonic, and the Guild. Loewenstein predicted as much. In his September 2 letter to Lewis, he noted:

> The concert of the 23rd of September will be the inauguration of the work. Its moral and financial success might become decisive for the entire cause.[112]

By September 23, the stage was set, and the Guild was ready to officially launch its noble mission in Los Angeles and on the West Coast as a whole.

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[109] Letter from Leon Lewis to Hubertus zu Loewenstein, September 21, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 8, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[110] "Rare Treat on B.B. Radio Program," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, September 25, 1936.
[111] "Flood of Reservations For Concert," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 22, 1936.
[112] Letter from Hubertus zu Loewenstein to Leon Lewis, September 2, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 8, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.

The Benefit Concert

On the evening of Wednesday, September 23, 1936, a large and enthusiastic crowd trickled into Philharmonic Auditorium in downtown Los Angeles. Walking underneath the auditorium's massive cantilevered balcony and sky-lit dome, each concertgoer was handed a program for the evening. The visual design recalled the preview program that was mailed out in the preceding days, with some slight differences (see figure 2.2). Once again, Klemperer's name stood out as the most prominent item on the cover, and the Guild's role was relegated to a small note at the bottom of the page. Though far from invisible, the Guild was clearly of secondary importance. Otto Klemperer and his Los Angeles Philharmonic were—according to the program, at least—the stars of the evening.

The Guild reasserted itself in the remainder of the program. In all-caps, the top of the program listing proclaimed that the event was the "INAUGURAL CONCERT" of the organization. Four short paragraphs on the back cover also summarized the purpose of the Guild and its reasons for holding the concert. Though this information was also present in the preview program, this was likely one of the first times the Guild's mission was made apparent to a larger public. The summary read as follows:

> The American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, an organization founded by outstanding American citizens, interested in a permanent national institution to maintain the continuance of German culture, unhampered and free of racial and political prejudices, has established the German Academy of Arts and Letters.
>
> The founders of the Academy consider it of vital interest for the United States, to strengthen the creative forces of peace, decency and international understanding represented by these artists and scientists exiled from their native land for religious or racial reasons, or due to their belief in the same principles of liberty and justice so dear to the American people.
>
> One of the main purposes of this Academy is to enable exiled German artists and scientists to continue their work and bring their message to the American people without the limitations of censorship.
>
> The proceeds from this, the first of a series of cultural events to take place in Southern California, will be used by the local committee for the scholarship funds, of

the national Academy. The scholarship funds will include the assistance given German exile authors in publishing their works dealing in belletristic and scientific, which without this assistance would have been lost to the world. Works of music, composition, and the allied arts will be included.[113]

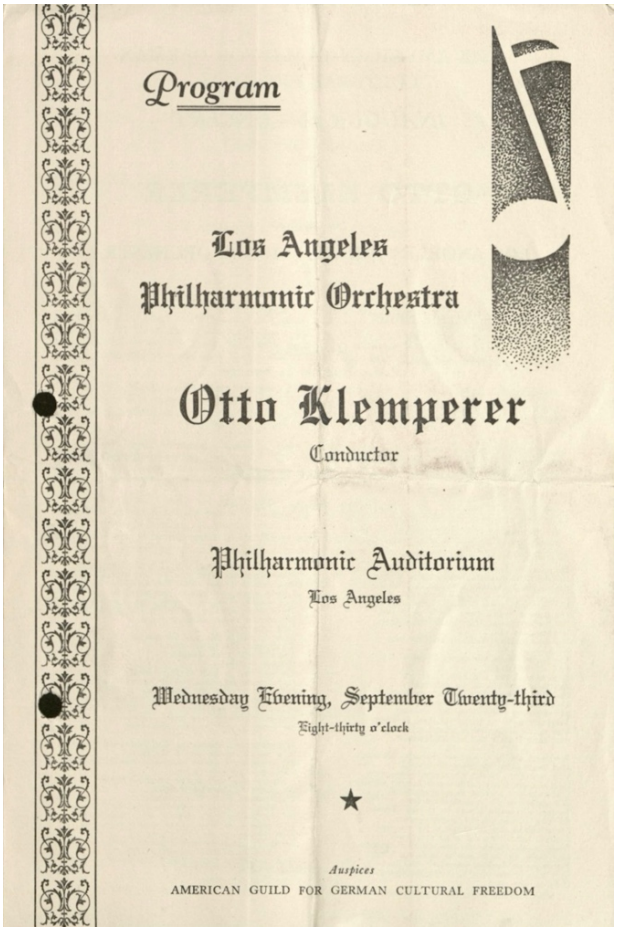

Figure 2.2: Front cover of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom's benefit concert program (September 23, 1936). Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), Special Collections and Archives, University Library, California State University, Northridge.

Though implied in phrases such as "unhampered and free of racial and political prejudices," notably absent from this summary is any explicit mention of the Guild's anti-Nazi stance. There is also no hint of the Guild's ultimate goal—to overthrow Hitler—or the fact that Loewenstein had expressed, just a year-and-a-half prior, an interest in serving as Hitler's

[113] American Guild for German Cultural Freedom benefit concert program, September 23, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 9, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.

successor.[114] While understandably neutral in tone so as not to scare off potential supporters or casual listeners, this summary is still a fascinating snapshot of how the Guild was presenting itself in the current moment, especially in light of the mixed messaging leading up to the concert.

As the concertgoers mingled, the orchestra members began to find their seats onstage. Earlier that morning, the *Illustrated Daily News* offered an enticing preview of who would be in attendance. The paper teased an audience of "distinguished Southland society and Hollywood motion picture celebrities," highlighting many of the friends and supporters mentioned earlier, alongside others such as Fredric March, Mervin LeRoy, and Paul Muni.[115] Internal Guild documents report that George Gershwin, Marian Spitzer, and Virginia Faulkner had also bought tickets.[116] Additionally, Schoenberg and Toch were present to hear their respective compositions.

Just after 8:30 pm, the lights dimmed, and Otto Klemperer appeared onstage to an uproarious standing ovation. After recognizing the enthusiastic response—Isabel Morse Jones noted in her review that, "The audience would not allow him to begin until he had acknowledged their applause by something more than the usual quick genuflexion"—Klemperer turned to the orchestra and launched into a lively reading of Mozart's Overture to *The Magic Flute*.[117] Jones later praised the rendition, noting its "light Mozartean touch which . . . is only possible [with] a virtuoso orchestra like the Los Angeles Philharmonic."[118]

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[114] "Hitler Foe," *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, February 12, 1935.
[115] "Notables to Attend Music Event," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 23, 1936.
[116] Various letters from Hubertus zu Loewenstein to Leon Lewis, September 1936, subseries F, box 28, folders 8–9, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge; Richard Crawford, *Summertime: George Gershwin's Life in Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019), 454.
[117] Isabel Morse Jones, "Music Event Given at Auditorium," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1936.
[118] Ibid.

After the Overture's boisterous conclusion and the audience's grateful applause, Loewenstein appeared onstage to introduce the evening's three speakers, each a different Los Angeles religious leader. This move subtly highlighted the Guild's intent to build bridges between people of different backgrounds—in this case, religion—a goal which was also apparent in the makeup of the concert planning committee. The first speaker was Reverend Martin McNicholas, the soon-to-be priest of St. Anselm Catholic Church. He had stepped in for Bishop John Joseph Cantwell, who was called away on business at the last minute. McNicholas "spoke briefly regarding the aims and objects of the society, commending its intent to promote cultural and especially artistic freedom. . . ."[119]

Following McNicholas's speech, baritone Emery Darcy joined Klemperer and the Philharmonic for Toch's Music for Baritone and Orchestra. Composed in 1932, the work sets two poems from Rilke's *Book of Hours*, utilizing the colorful palette of the orchestra to gently support the soloist. The performance—its United States premiere, as the program noted—was rapturously received, and the audience goaded both Darcy and Toch onto the stage for several bows. Critics lauded the work in their reviews the following day. Harry Mines of the *Illustrated Daily News* wrote,

> The Toch offering was a brilliant, dynamic thing which built constantly in grandeur and beauty. Power and dignity it had. There was a thrill to this music that stirred everyone in the audience judging by the fine reception which was accorded the orchestra, Darcy, and later, the composer himself, when Toch appeared on the stage for a bow.[120]

Jones credited Darcy's performance specifically, stating that the vocalist "sang valiantly the difficult rhapsodic baritone [theme] which was mainly unaccompanied. It was bitter, [acidic]

[119] Richard Drake Saunders, "Two Notable Concerts Offered Music Lovers; Singer, Pianist Score," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 24, 1936.
[120] Harry Mines, "Benefit Concert Given," *Illustrated Daily News*, September 24, 1936.

music, strong with suffering."[121] Not all assessments were positive, though. While Florence Lawrence, the conservative critic of the *Los Angeles Examiner*, highlighted the work's "varying moments of aural appeal," she opined that it contained "startling assaults to the musical credibility."[122] Despite this, the performance was received well overall.

After the applause had subsided, Rabbi Edgar Magnin gave the second address of the evening. His speech was accorded special mention in the press the following day. The *Los Angeles Herald-Express* called it "eloquently stirring."[123] A small portion quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* echoes some of the sentiments expressed in the Guild's "Plan of Action"—that the organization, and America as a whole, was now a "cathedral" for German culture:

> Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin stirred his audience with words of rejoicing 'because we live in America where there is liberty, where we know that genius is not national or racial but of the universal mind and where we can as we are doing at this moment erect a cathedral of civilization.'[124]

Klemperer, the orchestra, and mezzo-soprano Clemence Gifford then presented "Song of the Wood Dove," a twelve-minute excerpt from Schoenberg's massive, early-twentieth-century cantata *Gurrelieder*. The selection received a rousing ovation upon its conclusion. Reviews were also positive. Carl Bronson praised the "impressive performance," noting how it "emphasized the composer's pictorial skill in the deft handling of effusive color. . . ."[125] Similarly, Jones wrote, "The haunting melody and the marvels of the Schoenberg orchestration, rich in color and poetic content, moved the audience visibly."[126] Gifford's vocal performance received particular attention. Richard Drake Saunders stated, "Clemence

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[121] Isabel Morse Jones, "Music Event Given at Auditorium," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1936.
[122] Florence Lawrence, "Music Contrast Significant At Philharmonic," *Los Angeles Examiner*, September 24, 1936.
[123] Carl Bronson, "Cultural Guild In Inspiring Meet," *Los Angeles Herald-Express*, September 24, 1936.
[124] Isabel Morse Jones, "Music Event Given at Auditorium," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1936.
[125] Carl Bronson, "Cultural Guild In Inspiring Meet," *Los Angeles Herald-Express*, September 24, 1936.
[126] Isabel Morse Jones, "Music Event Given at Auditorium," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1936.

Gifford deserves equal commendation for her fine singing. . . . Her voice was of lovely timbre, infused with the poignant emotion requisite to the selection."[127]

Though Schoenberg was present, he remained at his seat during the applause. "[The] audience looked in vain for Herr Schoenberg," reported Mildred Norton, "whose proverbial shyness would not let him appear, although the applause lasted for several minutes."[128] Unlike how other papers characterized the *Gurrelieder* excerpt in the lead-up to the concert, Norton was also the only reviewer to correctly point out—with some disappointment—the cantata's tonal, late-Romantic language and how it was not representative of Schoenberg's current, twelve-tone style:

> Less [representative] than his later period, it exuded a Wagnerian romanticism, especially in the solo part. . . . However [enjoyable] the work, it is not Schoenberg at his most mature, and not the Schoenberg that one might have hoped to hear.[129]

After intermission, one final address was given by Reverend Dean Beal, who "put the concluding touch of emphasis to a movement toward the achievement of the ideal [before] a fully representative audience applauded with unmistakable concurrence."[130] Klemperer and the orchestra then presented a "masterful" rendition of Beethoven's Third Symphony, followed by an explosion of applause and multiple curtain calls, bringing the evening to an inspiring close.[131]

Critics were almost unanimously positive in their appraisals of the concert; words such as "impressive," "brilliant," "superb," and "dynamic" were peppered throughout their various follow-up reviews. Carl Bronson opened his review with the following statement:

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[127] Richard Drake Saunders, "Two Notable Concerts Offered Music Lovers; Singer, Pianist Score," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, September 24, 1936.
[128] Mildred Norton, "Klemperer wins new plaudits," *Los Angeles Evening News*, September 24, 1936.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Carl Bronson, "Cultural Guild In Inspiring Meet," *Los Angeles Herald-Express*, September 24, 1936.
[131] Ibid.

> The American Guild for German Cultural Freedom was appropriately dedicated to its high ideals in an inspiring atmosphere at Philharmonic auditorium last night, with Conductor Otto Klemperer directing the full personnel of the Philharmonic orchestra, Emery Darcy, baritone, and Clemence Gifford, contralto, as soloists, and an array of speakers who seemed to understand the preserving of the artistic.[132]

Philharmonic administrators also thought the concert was a triumph. William McKelvy Martin, the orchestra's assistant manager, later wrote in a letter to Loewenstein:

> I did not have an opportunity to greet you after the concert of September 23rd but my congratulations for the success of the evening are no less sincere because of the time which has elapsed. I believe that the concert made a profound impression upon all who were present, and did more to establish interest in the movement for the fostering of German culture in the United States than could have been done in any other way.[133]

Oddly, only two reviewers recognized that three of the figures involved in the program were European émigrés. Isabel Morse Jones referred to Klemperer as "the first 'exile' to be presented" on the evening's program and noted how both Toch and Schoenberg were "banished from Germany and now resident in Southern California. . . ."[134] Similarly, Mildred Norton observed in her review:

> Three ex-patriates from the land of Hitler, each one a commanding figure in the world of modern music, combined their respective artistry last night to create a concert in Philharmonic auditorium that demonstrated—more clearly even than did the inspirational speeches . . . the universality of genius when pitted against the [querulous] tyranny of temporal political pedagogues.[135]

This is perhaps not surprising. With the concerted efforts to appeal to an elite Los Angeles public in the preceding days and weeks, it seems that relatively few people remembered who the concert was actually supposed to benefit—the German émigrés forced to flee Nazi

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[132] Ibid.
[133] Letter from William McKelvy Martin to Hubertus zu Loewenstein, October 24, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 10, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[134] Isabel Morse Jones, "Music Event Given at Auditorium," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1936.
[135] Mildred Norton, "Klemperer wins new plaudits," *Los Angeles Evening News*, September 24, 1936.

persecution. Klemperer, in particular, was elevated to top-billing status by the local press when the focus should have been solely on the Guild's mission and its celebration of Austro-Germanic musical achievement, both past and present. Though, again, these shifts were not without precedent in the early days of the celebrity conductor phenomenon and media sensationalism in general, the result was that most of the figures involved—and the Guild itself—were left to stand in Klemperer's shadow. In the end, the glitz, glamor, and "Hollywood" of it all were the true winners of the evening.

Postlude

By all accounts, the benefit concert was a smashing success. However, behind the scenes, trouble was brewing. According to a post-event statement from the Southern California Music Company Ticket Office, it cost about $3,336.32 [~$67,000] to stage the concert, including everything from advertising to hiring the soloists. Nearly half of the Auditorium's 2,866 seats had been sold, and final box office receipts equated to $3,077.06 total [~$61,700]. This ultimately left a not-unsubstantial deficit of $296.26 [~$6,000].[136] Several belated donations from the public helped put a dent in this amount, but the debt kept growing as rogue bills piled up, including a puzzling $6 charge from the Atlantic & S.P. Transfer Co. concerning the transportation of an organ from Schaber's Cafeteria to Philharmonic Auditorium[137] The settling of accounts continued well into the fall. At one

[136] "Income and Expense Statement," subseries F, box 28, folder 9, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[137] It is uncertain why an organ was needed in the first place. Perhaps some reductions were made to the massive instrumentation of Schoenberg's *Gurrelieder*—in order to make the "Song of the Wood Dove" more feasible with the standard forces of the orchestra—and an organ was rented to help fill out the sound of the missing instruments. Atlantic & S.P. Transfer Co. invoice, September 24, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 10, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.

point, the delay prompted a letter from the Los Angeles Department of Social Service, informing Loewenstein of "the fact that you have not filed a report of Receipts and Expenditures with this Department covering the above mentioned project [the benefit concert]."[138]

On November 11, the Guild's financial matters were raised during a Hollywood League Against Nazism meeting. Supposedly, the idea had been tossed around that the League might be able to alleviate some of the outstanding deficit from the concert. But after the meeting, attorney Charles J. Katz wrote to Leon Lewis:

> It was the consensus of opinion of the executive committee that it would be an improper diversion of the funds of this organization to attempt to apply them in satisfaction of that deficit. This, because the Hollywood League against Nazism did not participate in the staging of the concert.[139]

Instead, a few members of the League generously volunteered to send personal checks to Loewenstein, and by December, it appears that the shortfall was almost eradicated—a Guild memorandum on December 10 notes a "total deficit" of $1.58 [~$31.00].[140] However, the Guild's financial troubles seem to have continued. A letter from William McKelvy Martin to Lewis on December 15 mentions "amounts due [to] the Southern California symphony Association" and two additional bills, one of which Martin was "particularly concerned over."[141] Unfortunately, the paper trail ends after this December 15 communication.

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[138] Letter from Los Angeles Department of Social Service to Hubertus zu Loewenstein, November 2, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 10, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[139] Letter from Charles J. Katz to Leon Lewis, November 12, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 10, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[140] Guild memorandum, December 10, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 10, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[141] Letter from William McKelvy Martin to Leon Lewis, December 15, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 10, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.

Though the benefit concert was deemed a "considerable social and artistic success," as Volkmar Zühlsdorff notes, the deficit foreshadowed a disastrous start to the Guild's nascent Los Angeles chapter.[142] After September 23, there was no further mention of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom or any Guild-sponsored events in local newspapers. The benefit concert program had proudly proclaimed that the evening would be "the first of a series of cultural events to take place in Southern California," but, in the end, this grand vision did not come to pass.[143]

Despite its failure to gain a foothold on the West Coast, the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom was able to continue its work on the East Coast. The German Academy of Arts and Letters was officially launched in the following months—its first activities appear to have taken place in New York in December 1936—and it was able to furnish scholarships for numerous writers, scientists, and artists over the years.[144] Ultimately, though, the Guild and the Academy ceased all activities on January 10, 1941, almost eleven months before Germany would declare war on the United States.

All in all, the Los Angeles Philharmonic's 1936 benefit concert for the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom is a distinctive cultural moment in the history of Los Angeles orchestral life. Though the overlapping identities of those involved were variously—and concurrently—built, reworked, and displayed, and often dependent on wildly-shifting priorities and perspectives of a broad cast of characters, it still demonstrates a clear and unique instance of German and émigré identity being asserted in Southern California prior to

[142] Zühlsdorff, 48.
[143] American Guild for German Cultural Freedom benefit concert program, September 23, 1936, subseries F, box 28, folder 9, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), California State University, Northridge.
[144] For more on the German Academy of Arts and Letters, see Zühlsdorff, *Hitler's Exiles*.

World War II. Also notable is that, in this instance, the concept of "Americanness" had yet to fully enter the cultural fray. As the following chapters will demonstrate, questions of American identity—that is, who qualifies as an "American"—would gain increasing prominence in the following years as the country inched closer to war. The resulting discourse would, in turn, play a critical role in the musical and artistic decisions made in both Los Angeles and the country as a whole. For now, though, while the Guild's benefit concert was not met with the artistic and financial success Loewenstein had envisioned, it still set the stage for future events in which overlapping local, national, and international identities would rise to the forefront once again. That being the case, perhaps in a strange, roundabout way, the benefit concert *was* a success, marking a significant cultural moment that would ultimately become, in Loewenstein's words, "decisive for the entire cause."

CHAPTER 3

"100 per cent American": The Werner Janssen Symphony and the "Non-Performance" of Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations

Sunday, January 11, 1942, was a gorgeous day in Los Angeles. After ringing in the new year with temperatures in the fifties and low sixties, the weather had warmed to a balmy seventy-nine degrees, more than enough to allow a small crowd of Angelenos to comfortably mill about outside the Wilshire Ebell Theatre. The gathering was eagerly awaiting the start of the Werner Janssen Symphony's second performance of the 1941–42 season, an "all-American" concert that would comprise an entire afternoon of works by living American composers. Alongside the music of John Powell, Roy Harris, and Joseph Deems Taylor were two Los Angeles premieres by Walter Piston and Jerome Kern. Additionally, the concert would also highlight the world premiere of a brand-new work by Franz Bornschein called *Moon Over Taos*, which was commissioned by Werner Janssen specifically for the occasion.

The Janssen Symphony's concert provided a much-needed respite from the harrowing events of the past month. Though war had been raging overseas since 1939, the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 brought Los Angeles closer to a global conflict than perhaps ever before. Prior to the event, the threat seemed far removed from the serene havens of Hollywood and Beverly Hills. But the proximity of the tragedy—and the very real possibility of another attack—shook the city out of its sense of security. In the weeks following, Angelenos nervously went about their day-to-day lives. Most activities continued as usual, though some were curtailed for safety. Pasadena's famous Rose Parade, for instance, was

canceled for the first time since its founding in 1890.[1] Concerts and other cultural events were also affected, but the general consensus was that the arts were needed now more than ever. "In a time of unparalleled stress and turmoil," proclaimed Richard Drake Saunders of the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, "moments of solace, comfort and relief are doubly important. And there is no balm for the soul to compare with that of good music."[2] As a result, many concerts were adapted rather than canceled outright. Some organizations entertained the idea of extra performances to accommodate workers in the defense industry.[3] Others moved their concerts to the afternoons to avoid blackouts and evening travel restrictions. The Janssen Symphony was one such group; their January 11 concert quickly became an afternoon event "to cooperate with the Army in its wish that where possible large gatherings convene in the afternoons rather than at night."[4] It seemed that, against all odds, the arts would triumph over a formidable adversary. "In the difficult days that are here," Saunders concluded, "music and musicians are ready, willing and able to play their parts, and aid the people in the all-important factor of morale."[5]

Once the Theatre doors opened, the auditorium quickly filled to capacity. While the Janssen Symphony's previous concerts had attracted sizable crowds, some local critics were surprised by the unusually large turnout for a program consisting entirely of American music. Bruno David Ussher highlighted this fact in his review for the *Pasadena Star-News*, which was published under the headline "Werner Janssen's All-America Program Draws Large

[1] "Rose Parade, Game Cancelled," *Pasadena Post*, December 15, 1941. The Parade would be canceled twice more during World War II (in 1943 and 1945, respectively). It then enjoyed an uninterrupted run until 2021, when it was again canceled due to the COVID-19 pandemic.
[2] Richard Drake Saunders, "Music Need In Time of Stress Cited," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 13, 1941.
[3] Bruno David Ussher, "'Concerts as usual,' leading L.A. managers declare," *Daily News*, December 10, 1941.
[4] "Janssen Concerts Rescheduled For Afternoons," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 18, 1941.
[5] Richard Drake Saunders, "Music Need In Time of Stress Cited," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 13, 1941.

Audience."[6] The *Westwood News Press* reported, perhaps with some tabloidesque exaggeration, "Sceptics prophesied the turn-out would not be great, or even enthusiastic. They were wrong on both counts, for the program brought forth a capacity audience to the Wilshire Ebell Theater. . . ."[7] Saunders's review opened with a similar observation: "The tradition that the public will not attend an all-American musical event was exploded by yesterday afternoon's concert by the Janssen Symphony. . . ."[8] Whatever critics may have expected, the concert had attracted a public eager for a short, albeit blissful escape from the frightening reality of recent world events.

Amidst the excitement, few in the audience were likely aware of an incident that had transpired several weeks prior. Before taking on its "all-American" theme, that afternoon's concert was conceived as a very different event. In true Janssen Symphony fashion, the original program was planned to showcase a mixture of canonic works, recent favorites, and brand-new pieces. Of particular note was the world premiere of the "Theme with Four Variations" by eminent German composer and émigré Paul Hindemith. Taken from his recently-composed score for the ballet *The Four Temperaments* (1940), this concert premiere was gearing up to be one of the highlights of the orchestra's season. However, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, plans changed. Almost immediately, Janssen switched the entire concert program to one that exclusively featured works by living, American-born composers, removing and replacing any pieces that did not fit the bill. As a result, Hindemith and his work were unceremoniously cut from the program and all but forgotten.

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[6] Bruno David Ussher, "Werner Janssen's All-America Program Draws Large Audience," *Pasadena Star-News*, January 17, 1942.
[7] Untitled review, *Westwood News Press*, January 16, 1942, box 10, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[8] Richard Drake Saunders, "All-American Music Event Draws Crowd," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, January 12, 1942.

This chapter will examine a pivotal moment of intersection and conflict between European émigré and American identities, centered around the Werner Janssen Symphony's "non-performance" of Paul Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations. I open with a brief history of the concert work and its connected ballet, *The Four Temperaments*. Though fraught with complications and frustrations from the start, the resulting collaboration between Hindemith and choreographer George Balanchine displays the creation of a work in which questions of nationality, emigration, or place of residence were neither an issue nor a concern. However, the ballet quickly became entangled in global politics—a sign of things to come—when it was pulled from a South American goodwill tour by the American Ballet Caravan in summer 1941. The chapter will then shift to the appearance, disappearance, and replacement of Hindemith's work on the Werner Janssen Symphony's January 1942 concert program. This occurrence is significant not only because it has not been documented in any previous studies of Hindemith or his output, but because it demonstrates a clear moment when Hindemith's identity as a German émigré was suddenly thrown into sharp relief against a post-Pearl Harbor America and the "100 per cent American" image that Janssen and his orchestra had strived to project from their founding. The effects of this are apparent by exploring Janssen's revised "all-American" program, which will conclude the chapter. This event—and the press discussion surrounding it—can be viewed as part of a larger cultural shift towards explicitly defining "Americanness" as those who were "native-born," making little to no consideration for the European émigrés who had made the United States their adopted homeland in the 1930s and 40s. Though Janssen's concert fit in perfectly with the uncertainty of early wartime America and his underlying desire to foster a truly "American" orchestra that would stand out amidst a predominantly-European market, this position

ultimately disadvantaged the perspective and participation of a German émigré such as Hindemith.

A Brief History of Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations

Before discussing the Werner Janssen Symphony's "non-performance," it is worth providing a brief historical survey of Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations. Not only will this lay the necessary contextual groundwork before exploring its specific relation to the Janssen Symphony, but it will also reveal an earlier instance of when Hindemith's piece was confronted with questions of relevance and suitability in relation to the volatile wartime situation in Europe. For the sake of focus, these two sections will paint the long and often-complicated development of the work in broad strokes; musicologist Sandra Lee Johnson chronicles this with much greater depth and nuance in her 2003 dissertation.[9]

Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations was initially conceived in 1940 as the score for a ballet titled *The Four Temperaments*. Structured in five movements, the music is essentially a miniature concerto scored for solo piano and string orchestra. The first movement presents an opening theme followed by—as the title suggests—four variations, each of which reimagines the theme in a variety of moods and colors. In the ballet, these variations are staged as a representation of the four bodily humors according to the ancient Greeks: melancholic, sanguine, phlegmatic, and choleric. In its purely-concert form, the work is often referred to simply as the "Theme with Four Variations," though the phrase "According to the Four Temperaments" is occasionally added in reference to the ballet.

[9] Sandra Lee Johnson, "Paul Hindemith's *Theme with Four Variations: The Four Temperaments*, Its History, Reception, and Importance," PhD diss., (University of Cincinnati, 2003).

The Four Temperaments ballet was created with George Balanchine and marked the first official collaboration between Hindemith and this famed Russian-American choreographer. Hindemith's first attempt to work with Balanchine occurred in 1937. The composer had recently resigned from his post at Berlin's Musikhochschule due to increasing pressure from the Nazi Party and was receiving income from a combination of concert appearances and sheet music sales.[10] Enthusiastic about Balanchine's recent staging of Stravinsky's *Jeu des cartes* (1936–37), Hindemith reached out to the choreographer in hopes of a collaboration.[11] Though Balanchine was receptive to the idea, these initial discussions did not amount to anything.[12]

Another earnest attempt to collaborate arose in fall 1940. Shortly after Hindemith and his wife, Gertrud, had emigrated to the United States and settled in New Haven, Connecticut—where the composer had been hired to teach at Yale University—Hindemith sent a letter to Ernest Voigt, his American manager at Associated Music Publishers, Inc. Hindemith asked Voigt to gauge if Balanchine was still interested in a collaboration and had the publisher pass along an offer to write the choreographer a "danceable nameless suite."[13] Though it is unclear exactly when Balanchine's response was received, he reportedly agreed to the general plan. On October 1, Hindemith sent another letter to Voigt, in which the scenario for *The Four Temperaments* first appears:

> I am thinking of doing it like this: a little instrumental introduction, not danced, [with a] simple, straightforward theme. The four different variations (dances) based on this piece, corresponding to each of the temperaments, so one melancholic, one sanguinic,

[10] Johnson, 133.
[11] Ibid., 135.
[12] At one point, the idea was to choreograph Hindemith's previously-written *Symphonic Dances*, with a scenario based on the Children's Crusade of 1212. (Johnson, 143–45.)
[13] Johnson, 147.

> one phlegmatic, and one choleric. The entire work will provide about ¼ hour of music and contain plenty of opportunity for dancing of all kinds. . . .[14]

With a scenario in place and Balanchine onboard, Hindemith eagerly got to work on the score. However, difficulties quickly arose. Balanchine had yet to sign an official contract (which Voigt had sent on October 7) and repeatedly failed to respond to any communications from Hindemith or Voigt. Voigt was openly frustrated by this. In late October, he wrote a forceful letter to Balanchine, reminding him of his obligation to the project: "In view of our having come to a verbal understanding by telephone, I am at a loss to explain your failure to return to me the contacts as agreed. . . . [Hindemith] did this work at your request which I conveyed to him by telegram. May I hear from you promptly?"[15] Despite this, Hindemith continued composing throughout October, ultimately finishing the score on November 1. A few days later, Hindemith notified Voight of the finished product, with a dash of his characteristic wit: "The last load [*Ladung*] of the Balanchine is going off to you this afternoon, and with that my part of this thing is done. Incidentally, the entire thing is quite good and worthy of a better cause (!). Now he can hop (hop and have hops . . .)."[16]

After several more exasperating attempts to contact Balanchine, the choreographer finally reemerged in mid-November. Balanchine signed the contract and provided the agreed-upon payment, much to the relief (and chagrin) of Voigt and Hindemith.[17] No immediate plans were made for a staging of *The Four Temperaments* ballet, but to guarantee a near-future performance, the contract stipulated that the work would be "reserved for your

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[14] Quoted in ibid., 149. Throughout this chapter, I make ample use of Sandra Johnson's translations of Hindemith's letters, rather than those found in *Paul Hindemith in the United States* (Luther Noss, 1989) and the *Selected Letters of Paul Hindemith* (ed. and trans. Geoffrey Skelton, 1995).
[15] Quoted in ibid., 153.
[16] Quoted in ibid., 154.
[17] After receiving his payment, Hindemith wrote to Voigt, "Thanks for the check and letter. It is hard to believe, but apparently something is working with the Russians again!" Johnson, 155.

[Balanchine's] exclusive use for the 1940/41 season ending May 15, 1941. . . ."[18] Hindemith's music did receive a hearing shortly after this, though. According to Balanchine's biographer, Bernard Taper, the isolated score was first performed at one of the choreographer's private Sunday musicales in his New York apartment.[19] However, details on this "soft premiere" are scant. While the biography reports that violinists Samuel Dushkin and Nathan Milstein were among the musicians involved, almost no other sources confirm this or state when the performance occurred.[20]

An Early Cancelation: The American Ballet Caravan's South American Tour

The idea of staging *The Four Temperaments* lay dormant until early 1941. Around the start of the new year, Balanchine's American Ballet company joined forces with Lincoln Kirstein's Ballet Caravan.[21] The combined troupe—called the "American Ballet Caravan"—was to embark on an extended goodwill tour of South America in summer 1941, sponsored by the U.S. State Department. By all accounts, *The Four Temperaments* was slated to appear on the tour program. In an April 25 letter to Voigt, Hindemith was enthusiastic, albeit skeptical, about the idea of a possible performance:

> If the camels of the caravan carry my *Four Temperaments* into the deserts of our sister Pan-American republics, the astonishment will be as little as it has been for a long time over all of Balanchine's blitzkrieg tactics. Nevertheless, I would like very much to hear how he finds the piece. It would be good if you could get the sheik to let me know. Inshallah! [God willing!][22]

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[18] Quoted in Johnson, 152.
[19] Bernard Taper, *Balanchine: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 208.
[20] If this event did occur, it is also unclear who performed the solo piano part. Taper reports that it was Nicholas Kopeikine, but Balanchine was a skilled pianist and early on, he had asked Hindemith to "Write something for a piano with a [few] strings that I can play at home." Nancy Reynolds, "Listening to Balanchine," in *Dance for a City: Fifty Years of the New York City Ballet*, ed. Eric Foner and Lynn Garafola (New York: Columbia University Press), 161.
[21] For more on the American Ballet Caravan and the creative partnership between Balanchine and Kirstein, see James Steichen, *Balanchine and Kirstein's American Enterprise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).
[22] Quoted in Johnson, 157.

The idea came closer to reality the following month. On May 18, an article in the *New York Times* confirmed that *The Four Temperaments* would be included on the tour:

> George Balanchine has created three new ballets for the tour. One of them has music especially commissioned by him from Paul Hindemith, now teaching at Yale. . . . The score contains the following description: 'Concerto for piano and strings based on theme and variations for the four sentiments, sanguinic, melancholic, choleric and phlegmatic.'[23]

A New York dress rehearsal was soon scheduled for May 29; the exclusivity clause in Balanchine's contract, initially set to expire May 15, was extended to May 30 specifically for the occasion. Hindemith outlined the performance plans in a letter to his German publisher, Willy Strecker:

> The little ballet that I wrote for Balanchine in the fall . . . is coming out on the 29th in New York as a kind of dress rehearsal for the Ballet Caravan's South American tour. It should be very good. I should conduct [it], but as always with these ballet chaps everything else will be arranged five minutes before the performance.[24]

It turns out that Hindemith's initial doubts were correct. Shortly after writing the letter to Strecker, the dress rehearsal performance was abruptly canceled, as was the ballet's ensuing appearance on the South American tour. Different sources report varying levels of progress on the ballet at the time of its cancelation. A 1983 catalog of Balanchine's works states that the ballet was "partially choreographed" and that designer Pavel Tchelitchev had already prepared sets and costumes.[25] Others report that the original *Four Temperaments* scenario had been altered for the tour. The revised ballet was to have been presented under the title *The Cave of Sleep*, with inspiration taken from the sketches of sixteenth-century Flemish

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[23] John Martin, "The Dance: Bon Voyage: American Ballet Caravan Is Revived to Make Extended South American Tour," *New York Times*, May 18, 1941.
[24] Quoted in Johnson, 158.
[25] *Choreography by George Balanchine: A Catalogue of Works*, various authors and editors (New York: The Eakins Press, 1983), 175.

anatomist Andreas Vesalius.[26] Hindemith was undoubtedly disappointed by the cancelation, but he quickly turned his attention toward more pressing matters, such as his upcoming summer teaching engagement at Tanglewood.[27] However, before sending his letter regarding the New York dress rehearsal to Strecker, Hindemith added a handwritten aside in the margins. The note reads, "Meanwhile postponed until autumn," insinuating that the ballet would be staged once the American Ballet Caravan returned from their tour.[28]

Two possible reasons for the cancelation appear in Taper's biography of Balanchine. Taper first writes about the poorly-received performances of *Balustrade* in January 1941 (and the elaborate costumes Tchelitchev created for it), which may have still been fresh in Balanchine's mind.[29] The choreographer could have decided that the goodwill tour was not a suitable place to present another Tchelitchev collaboration, thus avoiding the potential for more negative press. The second reason, Taper believes, was that Hindemith disapproved of the ballet's changed title (*The Cave of Sleep*) and anatomy-based scenario.[30] While both reasons lie within the realm of possibility, there is no solid evidence to support either.

More than likely, the cancelation was due to recent war developments in Europe. On May 24, 1941—five days before the troupe's dress rehearsal in New York—a Nazi battleship (the *Bismarck*) engaged a British battlecruiser (the *Hood*) near the Denmark Strait. The ensuing skirmish was devastating. After a direct hit from the *Bismarck*, the *Hood* exploded

[26] The May 18 *New York Times* article confirms the name change.
[27] Luther Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 76.
[28] Johnson, 162.
[29] Taper, 197. The ballet was staged by Balanchine for the Original Ballet Russe and set to Stravinsky's Violin Concerto (1931).
[30] Ibid., 208.

and sank, killing most of its crew onboard. The following day, U.S. news outlets reported the tragedy to a shocked public.[31]

With the country teetering dangerously close to war, there is little doubt that the American Ballet Caravan's tour was already under intense scrutiny from the U.S. government. The State Department would have meticulously orchestrated each element of the tour in order to paint the United States in a positive light and assure amicable relations with the South American host countries (and any potential future allies). President Franklin Delano Roosevelt outlined the importance of this mission to Nelson Rockefeller, the Coordinator of Latin American Commercial and Cultural Relations. In an April 1941 letter, Roosevelt requests that Rockefeller include the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, in any affairs pertaining to South America so that "our foreign relations may be conducted [in a manner that will] advance the security and welfare of the country. . . ."[32]

The other ballets scheduled to appear on the tour program seemed to reflect this agenda, falling into two general categories. The first showcased works with American themes and music by living American composers, such as *Time Table*, which was set to Aaron Copland's *Music for the Theatre* (1925). The second category showcased ballets accompanied by the music of canonic European composers. *Divertimento*, for instance, featured several works of Rossini that had been arranged into a suite by Benjamin Britten.[33] Altogether, the tour program seemed to intentionally (or unintentionally) paint the United States as both a fountain of new, American musical creativity and as the "savior" of the

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[31] "Nazis Sink Hood, British Sea Giant," *Los Angeles Times*, May 25, 1941; "New Nazi Battleship Bismarck Sinks the Hood In North Atlantic Duel; British Give Chase; R.A.F. Flies To Crete, Blasts 14 Air Transports," *New York Times*, May 25, 1941.
[32] Quoted in Johnson, 163.
[33] Among the other ballets on the tour program were *Juke Box* (with music by American composer Alec Wilder) and *Concerto Barocco* (set to J.S. Bach's Concerto for Two Violins in D minor [c. 1730], BWV 1043). "The Repertory," *New York City Ballet*, https://.nycballet.com/discover/ballet-repertory.

Western art music tradition from European fascism, both common beliefs touted throughout America in the 1930s and 40s.

After the sinking of the *Hood*, it is possible that the appropriateness of *The Four Temperaments* came into question. In its early stages, the ballet seemed the perfect choice for an international goodwill tour. Despite being thematically connected with the ideals of ancient Greece, the work was otherwise "unmarked" in terms of suggesting any specific cultural or political identities. Later, though, this might have been an issue. *The Four Temperaments* did not fit in categorically with the other ballets on the tour program. It did not display a clear American theme, nor was its music by a canonic European composer or a living American composer. Despite emigrating to the United States in 1940, Hindemith was still considered a German. This was further cemented by the fact that he had yet to apply for American citizenship, which he would not do until 1946, well after the war's conclusion. Ultimately, this lack of "Americanness" in both the ballet's scenario and the composer's identity may be what led the ballet to be deemed unsuitable for the goodwill tour. Sandra Lee Johnson believes similarly. She writes, "Although the United States had not yet fully declared war against Germany, it was clear that, in view of the *Hood*'s demise, the recent work of a German émigré composer could not be promoted as music of America or permitted on the tour."[34] She continues that a performance of the work might have sent a "mixed message," both to America's longtime ally Great Britain and any possible allies in South America.[35] Whatever the reason, the American Ballet Caravan ultimately toured South America in summer 1941 without Hindemith's music on its program.

[34] Johnson, 164.
[35] Ibid.

This ballet debacle also foreshadowed the numerous ways in which the war would influence American cultural life. Annegret Fauser calls World War II "a defining moment in American history, when ideas about national identity were consolidated both in internal discourse and in internationally oriented propaganda."[36] Throughout these crucial years, feelings of patriotism, combined with an increasing desire to present the country as a free bastion of Western civilization, would bring questions of national and musical identity to the forefront. With this came the issue of who and what should be defined as "American." Was it those who were born and raised in the country? Was it those who were naturalized citizens of preceding generations? Or, was it those who were calling the United States their adopted homeland, either temporarily or permanently? In any case, this incident with the American Ballet Caravan exhibits some surprising parallels to a similar event that would occur several months later, which would see Hindemith and his work become tangled in these issues for a second time.

Shrinking finances and the increased possibility of the United States entering the war forced the American Ballet Caravan to return from its goodwill tour in October 1941.[37] Plans for a fall staging of *The Four Temperaments* looked more and more unlikely as several members of the company, including Lincoln Kirstein, were drafted into the U.S. Army in the following months.[38] Further, Balanchine's exclusivity clause for the ballet had expired back in May, and the choreographer seemingly forgot to extend it to allow for a fall performance. By all accounts, it appears that Hindemith's music was now untethered to a contract and available for performance.

[36] Fauser, 1.
[37] Johnson, 166.
[38] Ibid., 167.

Werner Janssen, Pearl Harbor, and the "Non-Performance" of Hindemith

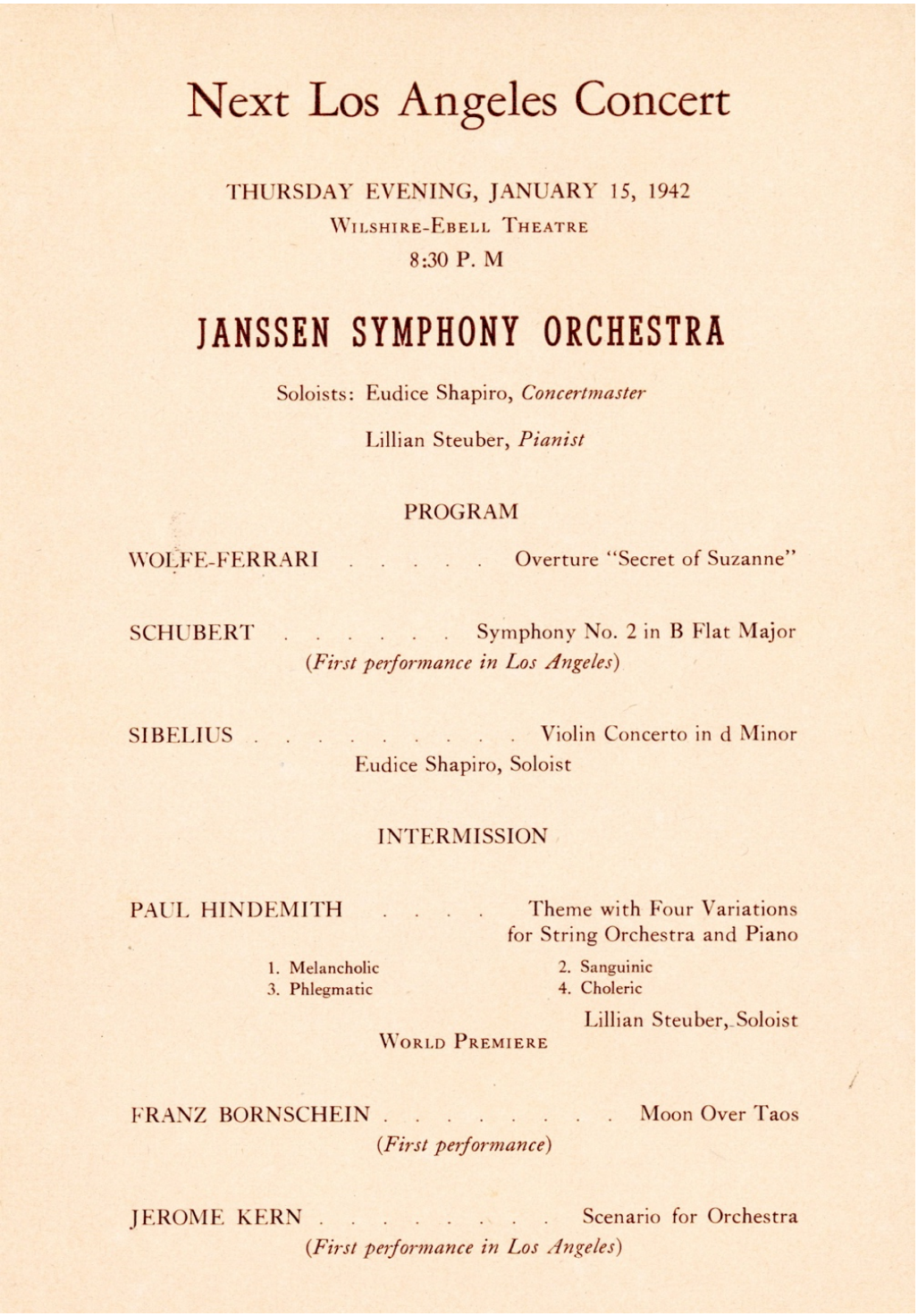
After *The Four Temperaments* failed to receive a fall 1941 staging in New York, prospects for a concert performance of Hindemith's music from the ballet surfaced on the opposite side of the country. On October 18, the Los Angeles-based periodical, the *Pacific Coast Musician*, announced the following: "Lillian Steuber, young American pianist . . . has been engaged by Werner Janssen to play the world premiere of a Hindemith Concerto under his baton Jan. 15."[39] A large advertisement several pages later confirms that this "Concerto" was indeed the Theme with Four Variations, Hindemith's score for *The Four Temperaments* (see figure 3.1).[40]

Figure 3.1: Advertisement for the Werner Janssen Symphony's performance of Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations (from the Pacific Coast Musician*, October 18, 1941).*

[39] "Steuber in the East," *Pacific Coast Musician*, vol. 30, no. 20, October 18, 1941.
[40] Advertisement, *Pacific Coast Musician*, vol. 30, no. 20, October 18, 1941.

Though a performance was now apparently in the works, it is not clear how Werner Janssen became aware of Hindemith's score or how he was able to secure the concert premiere for his orchestra. There seems to have been no attempt on Balanchine's part to retain the rights for *The Four Temperaments* in the fall, and Hindemith did not appear to be actively searching for parties interested in a concert performance. One possibility is that Hindemith and Janssen had met at the 1941 International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) Festival, held in New York City from May 17 to May 27.[41] Janssen's whereabouts complicate this theory, though. Several newspapers reported that, at the time, Janssen was en route to South America for a tour with his orchestra.[42] However, this brings up another intriguing idea—that Janssen encountered Balanchine while the American Ballet Caravan was on their own tour of the continent. The ballet company's tour lasted from June 1941 until early October, and Janssen's orchestra returned to the U.S. on July 20, so there is a definite possibility that the two groups crossed paths at some point during their respective trips.[43] If so, perhaps Balanchine made Janssen aware of Hindemith's score and its current availability. Unfortunately, no firm evidence confirms any of this. Whatever the circumstances, though, the opportunity to present the world premiere of a new Hindemith work was undoubtedly an exciting prospect for Janssen and his Los Angeles orchestra.

[41] "1941 New York," *International Society for Contemporary Music*, https://iscm.org/wnmd/1941-new-york/.
[42] "Musical Glimpses Across Nation," *Oakland Tribune*, May 11, 1941.
[43] "South American Concert Tour Ends," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1941; "Itineraries Undertaken By Balanchine's American Companies During His Lifetime," *The George Balanchine Foundation*, https://balanchine.org/catalogue-page/itineraries-undertaken-by-balanchines-american-companies/.



Next Los Angeles Concert

THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 15, 1942

WILSHIRE-EBELL THEATRE

8:30 P. M

JANSSEN SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Soloists: Eudice Shapiro, *Concertmaster*

Lillian Steuber, *Pianist*

PROGRAM

WOLFE-FERRARI . . . . . Overture "Secret of Suzanne"

SCHUBERT . . . . . Symphony No. 2 in B Flat Major
(*First performance in Los Angeles*)

SIBELIUS . . . . . Violin Concerto in d Minor
Eudice Shapiro, Soloist

INTERMISSION

PAUL HINDEMITH . . . . Theme with Four Variations
for String Orchestra and Piano

1. Melancholic
2. Sanguinic
3. Phlegmatic
4. Choleric

Lillian Steuber, Soloist

WORLD PREMIERE

FRANZ BORNSCHEIN . . . . . Moon Over Taos
(*First performance*)

JEROME KERN . . . . . Scenario for Orchestra
(*First performance in Los Angeles*)

Figure 3.2: Leaflet announcing the Werner Janssen Symphony's January 1942 concert, which was included with the orchestra's program on November 27, 1941. Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.

Word of Hindemith's new work spread following the *Pacific Coast Musician* blurb. At the Janssen Symphony's season-opening concert on November 27, 1941, a leaflet tucked into the printed program offered the audience a tantalizing preview of the orchestra's next performance in January 1942 (see figure 3.2 above).[44] Alongside works by Wolf-Ferrari, Schubert, Sibelius, and others, the leaflet officially announced that the concert would feature the world premiere of Hindemith's "Theme with Four Variations for String Orchestra and Piano" with soloist Lillian Steuber.[45] Underneath the title of Hindemith's piece, the leaflet also listed the names of the four variations—melancholic, sanguinic, phlegmatic, and choleric—a subtle connection to the yet-to-be-performed *Four Temperaments* ballet.

In late November, several other notices about the premiere appeared in Los Angeles papers. The *Los Angeles Times*, for instance, highlighted it as part of Lillian Steuber's winter performance schedule:

> Following a trip to eastern music centers where she was heard in several recitals, Lillian Steuber . . . is being heard in Santa Monica, Ojai and other California cities with the Penstemur Trio, in a recital of her own at the Vista del Arroyo in Pasadena Dec. 8, and as soloist with the Werner Janssen Orchestra Jan. 15 when she will participate in the world premiere of Hindemith's Theme and Four Variations for strings and piano.[46]

Additionally, a prominent article about Janssen's orchestra was published in *TIME* magazine on November 10. The short feature teased upcoming first performances of works by Hindemith and Stravinsky: "Conductor Janssen . . . [has] four more concerts scheduled (and

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[44] Werner Janssen Symphony concert program, November 27, 1941, box 1, folder 64, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.

[45] Lillian Steuber was a Southern Californian-born pianist. She received musical training in Los Angeles and New York and quickly became a well-regarded soloist both nationally and internationally. Steuber had performed with the Janssen Symphony twice prior—at their inaugural concert on January 26, 1941, and on a radio broadcast in August that same year. Steuber later taught at the University of Southern California (1946–76) and recorded an album with Jascha Heifetz in 1966 (featuring violin sonatas by Howard Ferguson and Karen Khachaturian). She also recorded several Beethoven sonatas for the 1971 *Peanuts* TV special, *Play It Again, Charlie Brown*.

[46] "Recitals Arranged for Lillian Steuber," *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 1941.

four for children), with two newsworthy world premieres up his sleeve—new works by Paul Hindemith and Igor Stravinsky."[47] The Hindemith work was, of course, the Theme with Four Variations; the Stravinsky work would be *Danses concertantes*, which was commissioned by Janssen and set to be premiered with the orchestra in February 1942. Notably, the article makes no mention that Hindemith and Stravinsky were European émigrés currently living in America. While both were internationally-renowned composers and likely did not need such qualifiers, it is still interesting that, at this point in time, neither Hindemith's nationality nor his place of residence was an issue. It would only be later that questions of identity and nationality would become a point of concern. In any case, the forthcoming premiere of Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations was clearly gearing up to be a notable local event.

Several weeks after the program announcement, though, world events took a drastic turn. On December 7, 1941, hundreds of warplanes from the Japanese Navy Air Service attacked the U.S. Naval Station at Pearl Harbor near Honolulu, resulting in over 2,000 casualties. The news spread rapidly, sending the country into a frenzied mixture of panic, grief, and anger. The following day, the United States declared war against the Empire of Japan. Three days after that, on December 11, Germany declared war on the United States. America had officially entered World War II.

Pearl Harbor was a monumental turning point, marking the first time in modern history that a major foreign power had attacked a U.S. territory. The attack was a sharp wake-up call to all Americans. In his book *Dangerous Melodies*, historian Jonathan Rosenberg reports, "Before the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, there was never a time when more than 17 percent of the American people supported a declaration of war

[47] "Music: Discord in Los Angeles," *TIME*, November 10, 1941.

against Germany or Japan."[48] The attack was particularly sobering for those living on the West Coast, which had, until now, seemed far removed from the conflicts overseas. Actress, librettist, and émigré Madeleine Milhaud even opined, "Until Pearl Harbor, the Californians were unaware of the war, unlike the New Yorkers."[49] Some émigrés saw the event as a strangely welcoming moment, forcing the United States to directly engage with the fascist powers that had uprooted their lives. Darius Milhaud (Madeline's husband) proclaimed in February 1942, "America has the mission to save the world, and . . . the only hope for my poor country, France, to live again, depends on the American Victory, and we pray for it."[50] Others hoped the event would spark a change in public perception of the refugee plight, particularly the more callous views. Though Benjamin Britten—who lived in the United States for only a short time during the war—acknowledged that the Americans "have been terribly kind to us," he also observed that "there is only one thing in common with them at the moment—that is they are all *American*—& chauvanistically [sic] so, I'm afraid."[51] This was a theme within the larger state of American politics and culture at the time. "Up to that point, isolationism dominated the public discourse," Fauser writes, "and the Roosevelt administration's hostility to refugees from Europe extended into larger spheres . . . including musicians."[52] While the attack on Pearl Harbor was indeed devastating, many émigrés were optimistic that it would mark the beginning of the end of European fascism and the triumphant restoration of their homelands.

[48] Jonathan Rosenberg, *Dangerous Melodies: Classical Music in America from the Great War through the Cold War* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2020), 169.
[49] Quoted in Fauser, 181.
[50] Quoted in ibid., 182.
[51] Quoted in ibid., 183–84.
[52] Fauser, 182.

The effects of Pearl Harbor on the musical realm became apparent almost immediately. Eleven days after the attack, conductor Andre Kostelanetz commissioned three American composers to each write a musical portrait of an "outstanding" American figure, believing that the gesture would help "[reaffirm] the democracy in which we live and the people who have made our country great."[53] The resulting compositions—all premiered by Kostelanetz and the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra in 1942—were Virgil Thomson's *Mayor LaGuardia Waltzes*, Jerome Kern's *Mark Twain (A Portrait for Orchestra)*, and Aaron Copland's *Lincoln Portrait*, the last of which has remained a popular concert staple to this day. Other organizations followed suit in the coming months. The Detroit Symphony Orchestra presented a "Festival of Allied Music" in March 1942, and conductor Hans Kindler began including American composers' works on his National Symphony Orchestra programs. Much to everyone's surprise, Arturo Toscanini even conducted an all-American program with his NBC Symphony Orchestra in November 1942.[54]

Some problematic works were quickly addressed and excised from the repertoire. Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904–07), for instance, was removed from major opera houses in New York and Chicago due to its Japanese setting and characters. It would not be heard again until after the war ended.[55] Another operatic staple, Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* (1862–68), faced a similar fate. Its themes pertaining to the "glorification of German art" (and possibly its antisemitic characterizations) led the Metropolitan Opera to ban the work from its stage during the war years.[56] The decision sparked a heated debate. Some found the ban ridiculous, citing the "hysteria of the last war" and Americans' increased capacity for

[53] Quoted in ibid., 53.
[54] Fauser, 51.
[55] Rosenberg, 177–78.
[56] Ibid., 181.

logic and reason.[57] Others thought the decision was reasonable, particularly in regard to the opera's explicitly nationalistic undertones.

Outside of these two examples, though, works by Germans and other Axis-associated composers experienced surprisingly little pushback in America during the Second World War. Compared to the First World War, in which a wave of anti-German musical sentiment swept the nation, some Americans saw the current war as a fight against an ideology (Nazism) and a regime (Hitler) rather than a people group.[58] As such, Germanic and Italian music was relatively safe during the war years.[59] Despite the *Meistersinger* ban, the Metropolitan Opera continued to present other Wagner favorites throughout the 1940s, such as *Tannhäuser* (1843–45), the *Ring* cycle (1848–74), and *Parsifal* (1857–82).[60] Several conductors reasserted their beliefs about the "universal" nature of music. Serge Koussevitzky called it "the most powerful medium against evil" and cited its abilities to not only "heal, comfort and inspire" but also "protect the fundamental values for which our armies are fighting."[61] As music director of the San Francisco Symphony, Pierre Monteux continued to program works by Richard Strauss, declaring, "When a piece of music is finished, it no longer belongs to the composer or his country, but to the people throughout the world."[62] On a similar but more flippant note, Bruno Walter declared:

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[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 174. For more on anti-German sentiment in the arts during and between World War I, see Rosenberg, *Dangerous Melodies* and Laura Tunbridge, *Singing in the Age of Anxiety: Lieder Performances in New York and London between the World Wars* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018).
[59] In a March 1942 letter to his brother-in-law, Kit Welford, Benjamin Britten observed the following about America after the start of the war: "There has been a certain effort to ban German & Italian music, which hasn't luckily succeeded, & apart from some ludicrous restrictions on enemy aliens (99 percent refugees of course . . .) people have kept their heads." (Quoted in Fauser, 184.)
[60] Rosenberg, 180. This is a curious move, considering the nationalistic themes and antisemitic characterizations present in these works as well.
[61] Quoted in Rosenberg, 184.
[62] Quoted in Larry Rothe, *Music for a City, Music for the World: 100 Years with the San Francisco Symphony* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books LLC, 2011), 98.

> I detest Strauss as a person and I abhor everything for which he stands. . . . But Strauss is a genius and some of his works are masterpieces. I cannot in all honesty boycott masterpieces because I detest their composer.[63]

American composer and radio commentator Joseph Deems Taylor expressed similar lines of reasoning. During an intermission talk for the New York Philharmonic in April 1941 (pre-Pearl Harbor), he stated, "Let's not be Nazis. Let's not be a nation of witch-burners; let's not burn books, either literally or figuratively; let's not boycott artists, because of the race to which they belong."[64] However, at the same time, Taylor declared that the Axis powers had "relinquished their claim to classical music," echoing the view of America as the "savior" of Western classical music.[65] Taylor was also a fervent ally of émigré composers and performers. From September 1941 to May 1942, Taylor hosted a weekly radio program called *America Preferred*, which offered "a tribute to those musical artists of foreign birth who have elected to make America their homeland. . . ."[66] Fauser explicates further in *Sounds of War*:

> Playing ironically with Nazi rhetoric in one broadcast, Taylor described these weekly presentations as 'a reminder of the welcome and loyal host of foreign-born musical artists who have found in America not only what Mr. Hitler calls *Lebensraum*—'room to live'—but also room to breathe, to breathe the fresh air of American tolerance and individual liberty.'[67]

Though Taylor's statements and actions are full of paradoxes—pleading for tolerance and compassion while simultaneously proclaiming that the enemy nations no longer had a right to the Western classical tradition—such rhetoric was in line with American sentiment after the country entered World War II.

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[63] Quoted in "Erika Mann Protests," *New York Times*, February 15, 1942.
[64] Quoted in Fauser, 70.
[65] Fauser, 138–39.
[66] Quoted in James A. Pegolotti, *Deems Taylor: A Biography* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), 254.
[67] Fauser, 69.

The Janssen Symphony had also resisted banning works by Axis-associated composers. Several of their early concerts throughout 1941 and 1942 featured music by Strauss, Wagner, and others.[68] Many concertgoers appreciated this gesture. On December 10, two days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Larry Bachmann—a producer at MGM Studios—wrote a letter to Janssen, praising his orchestra's programming:

> I want to tell you how much I have enjoyed your concerts and how much I'm looking forward to the next two. I have been exceptionally pleased, as have a number of my friends, that you have shown—along with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and other leading musical institutions—no mass war hysteria and the pure stupidity of banning the music of composers of the Axis powers. Three Sundays ago Deems Taylor gave a most enlightening and intelligent talk on that very subject during the intermission of the New York Philharmonic program. There are troubled times ahead for all of us. It is good to know that music—along with religion, science and other kindred arts and philosophies—can rise above the brutish force and horror that has been thrust upon us. . . .[69]

The timing of this sentiment turned out to be extremely unfortunate. That same day, an article appeared in the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, announcing a change to the Janssen Symphony's upcoming January concert. In place of the previously-announced program, the December 10 article stated that Janssen and the orchestra would instead present an "all-American" concert that would consist entirely of works written by American composers. Janssen explained his reasoning in the article:

> 'In view of the war situation, I cannot find it in my heart to play anything but American compositions at my next concert. . . . Works by Bornschein and Kern have already been announced, as I have one or more American works on every concert. The rest of the program will be announced as soon as I can make my decision from the list of music I am now examining.'[70]

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[68] These included Strauss's *Rosenkavalier* Waltzes (1910–11) and Wagner's Prelude to *Tristan und Isolde* (1857–59).
[69] Letter from Larry Bachmann to Werner Janssen, December 10, 1941, box 1, folder 8, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[70] Quoted in "Declaration of War Changes Musical Plans," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 10, 1941.

As a result, the planned works by Sibelius, Schubert, and Wolf-Ferrari—a Finn, Austrian, and Italian, respectively—were now deemed unsuitable for the concert's "all-American" theme. Unfortunately, this meant that Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations was also cut from the program. The *Citizen-News* article confirmed this:

> An all-American program will be given at the next concert of the Janssen Symphony Orchestra, according to [an] announcement made by Conductor Werner Janssen, in place of the originally scheduled diverse program including [the] premiere of Hindemith's 'Theme and Variations for Piano and String Orchestra.'[71]

All things considered, the cancelation of a planned performance was not that unusual in the grand scheme of Hindemith's life and work in the United States. In her research on Benny Goodman, musicologist Elisabeth Reisinger reports that Hindemith's Clarinet Concerto (1947), which Goodman commissioned in the early 1940s, was "postponed until after the war."[72] Perhaps such cancelations were an unfortunate coincidence. As Fauser observes:

> The agendas of government employees, orchestra conductors, individual composers faced with the draft, propaganda warriors, and medical professionals in military hospitals wove a complex fabric of musical production in which serendipitous alignments and ideologically crossed purposes could lead to musical commissions, their performances, and their cancellations in ways that sometimes defy logic.[73]

However, in this seismic cultural moment following Pearl Harbor, something was different. Right after Janssen's quoted statement on his orchestra's program change, the *Hollywood Citizen-News* article took a sudden shift in tone:

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[71] "Declaration of War Changes Musical Plans," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 10, 1941.
[72] Elisabeth Reisinger, "How the 'King of Swing' Became my Pilot Study for Commissioning Classical Music," *Performers as Patrons of New Music* (blog), January 9, 2020, https://ppnm.hypotheses.org/64. The work would ultimately materialize in 1947 and receive a first performance in 1950, with Goodman as soloist and Eugene Ormandy leading the Philadelphia Orchestra.
[73] Fauser, 8.

> Personnel of the Janssen Orchestra is 100 per cent American, all but two (both naturalized for many years) being American born.[74] [Oboist] Charles Strickfaden is a captain in the flying corps and has been called to the colors.[75] Violinist Ambrose Russo is also on call. Janssen himself, New York born, served four years in the infantry during the last war. His son, Werner Janssen Jr. has just graduated from Culver Military Academy, leading the honor class, and will proceed at once to active Army service.[76]

The *Los Angeles Times* reported similarly. On December 14, a short article stated, "Werner Janssen, a veteran of the last World War, served three years in the infantry. His orchestra of 45 members is composed of 39 men and seven women—all Americans."[77]

While the Janssen Symphony had projected an "American" image from its founding in late 1940 and early 1941 (as discussed in Chapter 1), the lines between "American" and "non-American" were suddenly being made more explicit than ever before. Here, "American" musicians are clearly—and even insistently—defined as those who were either born in the country or naturalized citizens of a previous generation. Past or present military history is also touted as a particularly honorable and noble American calling. Such clear definitions would become increasingly apparent in other musical organizations nationwide. As the war progressed, Fauser notes that all-American ensembles began to be "celebrated as a national and nationalist achievement."[78] For instance, music critic Olin Downes of the *New York Times* later called it a "blessing" that the Metropolitan Opera's 1942–43 season featured

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[74] One of the two was undoubtedly the Janssen Symphony's principal hornist, Alfred Brain, Jr. Brain was born in London in 1885 and moved to the United States in 1922, becoming an American citizen in 1930. He played principal horn with the Los Angeles Philharmonic for fifteen years (after being hired by Otto Klemperer) and performed on the soundtracks of several Hollywood films. Brain also came from a notable family of horn players. Among them was his nephew, Dennis Brain, who was principal horn of the Philharmonia Orchestra and commissioned several important works, including Hindemith's Horn Concerto and Britten's *Serenade* for Tenor, Horn, and Strings.

[75] Charles was the younger brother of Kenneth Strickfaden, an electrician and special effects technician who became well-known for his work on Hollywood films such as *Frankenstein*, *The Wizard of Oz*, *The War of the Worlds*, and *Young Frankenstein*.

[76] "Declaration of War Changes Musical Plans," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 10, 1941.

[77] "Janssen Schedules American Program," *Los Angeles Times*, December 14, 1941.

[78] Fauser, 33.

only American singers.[79] All-American ensembles quickly became proof of the country's artistic capability and even superiority within a heavily European-dominated market. An orchestra like the Janssen Symphony—though slightly ahead of the wartime curve in promoting its "Americanness"—naturally fell in line with national trends.

For Hindemith and other German émigrés, navigating the aftermath of Pearl Harbor would become trickier as their identities and loyalties were brought more directly into question. Even though the artistic realm did not, by and large, see the massive wave of anti-German sentiment that had swept the nation during World War I, in the United States as a whole, the attack still sparked an increased suspicion toward German refugees.[80] Much to the dismay of those hoping for reconciliation, many Germans—and other émigrés from Axis-power nations—living in America were forced to register themselves as "enemy aliens."[81] Paul and Gertrud Hindemith did so in early 1942 and had to receive permission from the authorities whenever they wanted to travel outside New Haven.[82] Surprisingly, Hindemith did not seem to mind. He later reflected in 1946, "[We] never had any difficulties. We were neither put into concentration camps nor were we made to feel that we were, after all, the enemy aliens."[83]

These suspicions were a far cry from Hindemith's earlier reception in the United States. When he had toured the country in previous years, American newspapers frequently touted his German heritage and celebrated his defiance of the Nazi Party. For instance, during his first Southern California appearance in 1939, in a program with Otto Klemperer

[79] Ibid.
[80] Rosenberg, *Dangerous Melodies*; Tunbridge, *Singing in the Age of Anxiety*.
[81] These included Lotte Lehmann, Ezio Pinza, Béla Bartók, and Ernst Krenek. (Fauser, 33–34, 62, and 203.)
[82] Fauser, 214.
[83] Quoted in ibid.

and the Los Angeles Philharmonic, a headline in the *Daily News* boldly proclaimed, "Exiled Composer To Conduct." The article continued by telling readers how Hindemith had been "expelled from his native Germany because his music was declared to be 'degenerate.'"[84] After Pearl Harbor, though, newspapers tended to brush past Hindemith's German identity, with many simply referring to him as a "great master" or "contemporary genius."[85] Though elevating certain artists to the status of "masters" or "geniuses" is a common theme in the history of Western classical music, this shift in descriptive language still suggests that wartime America was attempting to distance itself from projections of "Germanness," while paradoxically presenting itself as a free safe-haven for the Western classical tradition.

This identity making and re-making would also play a central role in Hindemith's music written in the United States. Several of his 1930s compositions, written pre-emigration, explicitly reference his German heritage, such as the folk music-inspired viola concerto *Der Schwanendreher* (1935) and the opera *Mathis der Maler* (1933–35), which is based on the life of German Renaissance painter Matthias Grünewald. However, this changed once Hindemith emigrated to the United States. Unlike émigré composers from Allied countries—Milhaud, for instance—who could more freely include national elements in their music, German émigrés occupied a more tenuous position.[86] To prove that they were "good Germans," they could not draw on the folk music of their native country at the risk of being viewed with suspicion. Instead, they had to either downplay any elements of their German

[84] "Exiled Composer To Conduct," *Daily News*, March 20, 1939. For more on other composers (particularly those of Jewish descent) who were labeled as "degenerate" [*Entartete*] by the Nazi regime, see Michael Hass, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
[85] Fauser, 210.
[86] For more on Milhaud's experiences in the United States, see Fauser, *Sounds of War* (esp. Chapter 4) and Erin K. Maher, "Darius Milhaud in the United States, 1940–71: Transatlantic Constructions of Musical Identity," PhD diss., (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016).

musical heritage or avoid them entirely.[87] Alternatively, they could choose to re-appropriate German elements for an American context. A prime example is Hindemith's orchestral work *Symphonic Metamorphosis* (1943), which takes as its inspiration the music of nineteenth-century German composer Carl Maria von Weber but incorporates "American" elements, including a "jazz" fugue and fleeting references to "The Star-Spangled Banner." German émigrés could also directly engage with American themes. Hindemith's 1946 oratorio *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd* does precisely this, setting the poem of the same name by Walt Whitman in its original English. Overall, Hindemith was willing to play his part as an "enemy alien" since his circumstances in emigrating were largely choice-driven, in contrast to other friends and colleagues who had fled Europe for their lives. Fauser notes:

> Hindemith's self-representation as a 'good German'—and one willing to put up with the inconveniences of 'enemy alien' status while keeping his head beneath the ivory-tower parapet—was in part inevitable because he could not claim the moral high ground available to many of his compatriots: the flight from racist genocide.[88]

The Theme with Four Variations was a natural expression of the artistic choices Hindemith faced in the United States. As we have seen, the concert piece—and by extension, *The Four Temperaments* ballet—took a neutral approach to any expressions of national identity. It does not display any potentially-problematic German characteristics or themes, referencing instead classical Greek subject matter.[89] It also does not showcase any "Americanisms." One could argue that there are perhaps some jazzlike characteristics in Hindemith's harmonic and rhythmic writing—not unlike the *Symphonic Metamorphosis*—but these allusions are not

[87] Fauser, 180.
[88] Ibid., 216.
[89] Perhaps the work was Hindemith's concerted attempt to more explicitly align with current neoclassical trends, or, perhaps it was a larger remnant of nineteenth-century Germany's fascination with and appropriation of ancient Greek culture. For more on the latter, see Jason Geary, *The Politics of Appropriation: German Romantic Music and the Ancient Greek Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

explicit enough for it to have been considered an "American" work. In an alternate universe, this middle-ground approach to any expression of musical and national identity should have allowed the Theme with Four Variations to sit comfortably within American musical life and simultaneously fulfill the unspoken expectations of a German émigré composer. In the wake of Pearl Harbor, though, this suddenly posed a problem. That is, the work's very lack of any clear, definable, and specifically "American" characteristics made it an inappropriate choice for Janssen's "all-American" program. While similar reasoning could explain the cancelation of *The Four Temperaments* on the goodwill tour, this later incident demonstrates—perhaps even more clearly—how the work's potential artistic strengths may have ended up working against itself in a moment of national and international crisis.

However, the primary reason behind the work's cancelation with the Janssen Symphony was undoubtedly the issue of Hindemith's national identity and citizenship. Once the "all-American" announcement blatantly defined the American musicians of Janssen's orchestra as those either born in the U.S. or citizens who had been "naturalized for many years," one can assume that the *composers* on the originally-announced program—Wolf-Ferrari, Schubert, Sibelius, Kern, Bornschein, and Hindemith—were placed under similar scrutiny.[90] Hindemith was not only a German but a "non-American"; he was neither American-born nor a naturalized citizen. As such, this would have immediately disqualified

[90] Though the Hindemith cancelation was the only work to receive direct mention in the Los Angeles press, it is also worth noting the two other living composers who were also cut from the program: Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari and Jean Sibelius. Removing Wolf-Ferrari's *Secret of Suzanne* Overture might have been a way to avoid expressing any potential sympathies with fascist Italy, even though the composer did not identify with Mussolini's politics. Sibelius's political leanings were more ambiguous. Finland itself aligned with Nazi Germany after 1941, but Sibelius himself never made his political positions clear. In the end, though, it is likely that both cancelations had more to do with the fact that neither Wolf-Ferrari and Sibelius were American-born nor previously-naturalized American citizens. For more on Sibelius's World War II-era politics, see Antti Vihinen, "Sibelius, the Nazis and the Political Culture of Finland," *Sibelius Reconsidered* (presentation, Fifth International Jean Sibelius Conference, Oxford, UK, September 2010), https://sibeliusone.com/sibelius-reconsidered/.

him from a place on Janssen's program. Clearer parameters and rhetoric regarding American composers would appear shortly in the Los Angeles press (as will be discussed further below), but in the meantime, it was apparent that Hindemith's German heritage and defiance of the Nazi Party—once celebrated in Los Angeles and the greater United States—did not fit the post-Pearl Harbor conception of "Americanness." As a result, Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations could not be touted as "American" music on the Janssen Symphony's upcoming "all-American" concert.

Building an "All-American" Program, Defining an "All-American" Composer

After the December 10 program change announcement, preparations for the Janssen Symphony's "all-American" concert began to fall into place. One of the first logistical adjustments was the date and time of the concert, which was moved from Saturday evening, January 15, to Sunday afternoon, January 11, primarily due to safety concerns.[91] Repertoire additions and substitutions quickly followed. As Janssen stated to the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, the previously-announced works by American composers Franz Bornschein and Jerome Kern—*Moon Over Taos* (1941) and *Scenario for Orchestra* (1941), respectively—would remain on the new program; the rest would be announced in the coming weeks.

Finding a replacement for Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations was one of the first orders of business. In lieu of Hindemith's work, it was announced that Lillian Steuber would present the world premiere of *Vitamins*, a newly-commissioned work for piano and orchestra by the American film composer Leigh Harline.[92] However, by the end of

[91] "Janssen Concerts Rescheduled For Afternoons," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 18, 1941.
[92] "Sharps And Flats," *Los Angeles Times*, December 14, 1941. Harline is perhaps best known for scoring the animated Disney films *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* and *Pinocchio*. The Janssen Symphony premiered a concert work by Harline, called *Civic Center*, in its first season to great acclaim.

December, both *Vitamins* and Steuber's appearance were cut from the program without explanation. Whether this was due to Harline's inability to finish the work on time, a scheduling conflict with Steuber, or simply a change in Janssen's programming preferences, remains uncertain.[93] The concerto slot soon fell to the Janssen Symphony's current concertmaster, Eudice Shapiro.[94] Like Steuber, Shapiro was slated to appear at the original January concert, performing Sibelius's Violin Concerto (1904–05). On December 28, the *Los Angeles Times* revealed that she would instead perform Walter Piston's Violin Concerto (1939) with the orchestra.[95] An accompanying statement by Janssen opined that it was "one of the most difficult works written for the violin."[96]

The rest of the program fell into place after the start of the new year. Two recent short works—Roy Harris's *Farewell to Pioneers* (1935) and William Schuman's *American Festival Overture* (1939)—were selected to appear alongside several movements from Joseph Deems Taylor's *Through the Looking-Glass* Suite (1918–19, 1923). However, further substitutions surfaced in the days leading up to the concert. Schuman's Overture was quietly replaced by John Powell's *In Old Virginia* (1921), a change which may have had to do with the challenge of obtaining orchestral parts for Schuman's work on such short notice. Additionally, it was announced that the young American actress Bonita Granville would

[93] A January 17 article in the *Pacific Coast Musician* mentioned that the work would be rescheduled for a performance "in the near future." By all accounts, the work was not rescheduled (nor does it appear to have been composed at all). Vernon Steele, "Sound Track," *Pacific Coast Musician*, vol. 31, no. 2, January 17, 1942.
[94] Shapiro was born in Buffalo, New York in 1914 and received musical training at both the Eastman School of Music and the Curtis Institute. She had moved to Los Angeles in 1941, hoping to find work in the film studios, and ultimately became the first female concertmaster of a studio orchestra (at RKO Pictures). She also replaced Louis Kaufman as the Werner Janssen Symphony's concertmaster after their first season. Ljiljana Grubisic and Jill Blackledge, "In Memoriam: Eudice Shapiro," *USC News*, September 21, 2007, https://news.usc.edu/17846/In-Memoriam-Eudice-Shapiro/.
[95] The work is known today as Piston's First Violin Concerto; Piston would go on to compose a second in 1959–60. Throughout this section, when discussing "Piston's Violin Concerto," I am referring to his first.
[96] "Janssen Group to Offer All-American Program," *Los Angeles Times*, December 28, 1941.

appear as a narrator for Deems Taylor's work, but a later editorial revealed that this statement was made in error.[97] With that final replacement, the program for Janssen's "all-American" concert was set.

Considering the program in hindsight, Janssen's repertoire selections seem surprisingly tame for an "all-American" concert. Few, if any, of these works were explicitly nationalistic or patriotic in tone, taking instead a more neutral route with works either inspired by the country's natural beauty or—as in the case of Piston's Violin Concerto—works that had no extramusical connections or program. The selections as a whole exhibited a strong Southern bias—two of the six works were inspired by the American South (Powell's *In Old Virginia* and Kern's *Scenario for Orchestra*), while two others honor the Southwest (Harris's *Farewell to Pioneers* and Bornschein's *Moon Over Taos*).[98] The most peculiar choice, though, was Taylor's *Through the Looking-Glass* Suite, which took inspiration from the literary works of English-born author Lewis Carroll. (The *Daily News* made the tenuous claim that the work was supposed to represent Taylor's native New York.)[99] Strangely, neither California nor the West Coast received any representation at all on the program. There are several possible explanations for this. Perhaps these works were the ones on hand at the time or ones that were able to be acquired quickly after the sudden program change. Perhaps personnel factored into the decision, considering which players would now be unavailable for the concert due to the draft or other wartime duties. Or, perhaps it simply played into Janssen's musical preferences and a desire to avoid presenting a concert that

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[97] "Janssen Will Offer 4 Firsts at Concert," unknown newspaper, box 10, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College. Granville was most famous for playing the titular character in a series of *Nancy Drew* films.
[98] For more on American music inspired by landscapes, see Beth E. Levy, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) and Denise Von Glahn, *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003).
[99] Bruno David Ussher, "All-American program," *Daily News*, January 6, 1942.

devolved into a cheap display of jingoism. Whatever the case—as odd as the selections are in retrospect—this was clearly the program that Janssen thought was most suitable for the current moment.

Outside of the repertoire and logistical changes to the concert, the press discussion surrounding the "all-American" aspects of the program is particularly revealing and can provide further insight into the "non-performance" of Hindemith's work. Most newspaper writers tended to use the "all-American" moniker that appeared in the initial program change announcement on December 10, but there were a few variations. The *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, for instance, referred to it as a "[program] containing American works exclusively."[100] One particularly striking—and problematic—designation appeared in the *Daily News*. On January 6, the paper remarked that the concert would feature the works of "six native American composers."[101] While this might have led some readers to believe that the concert would showcase music by Indigenous Americans, in actuality, the phrasing referred to the fact that all of the selections were by white, American-born composers.[102] The *Hollywood Citizen-News* more or less confirmed this, declaring that the program "will include musical works of American-born composers only."[103]

Perhaps it was no coincidence that the phrasing of the *Daily News* article echoed the name and rhetoric of a prominent local organization—the Society of Native American Composers (SNAC). Formed as the California Society of Composers in 1936, this group

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[100] Alfred Price Quinn, "Music," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, January 2, 1942.
[101] Bruno David Ussher, "All-American program," *Daily News*, January 6, 1942.
[102] Along similar lines, it cannot be ignored that Janssen's final "American" selections did not include any works by women composers or composers of color. While sadly not unusual in the grand scheme of American concert life in the 1930s and 40s, this was still a notable oversight, especially considering the remarkably diverse talent pool in Los Angeles, comprising such composers as William Grant Still, Mary Carr Moore, and Elinor Remick Warren.
[103] "All-American Music Event Scheduled Here," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, January 5, 1942.

comprised several American composers based in and around the Los Angeles area. The original organization was fraught with complications, though, and fell apart in 1938 over what Catherine Parsons Smith called "the ugly issue of whether the foreign-born, even longtime residents and naturalized citizens, could be considered 'American' composers."[104] Some of its members regrouped and formed the Society of Native American Composers later that same year. The new Society took on an explicitly nationalistic tone and adopted several corresponding parameters. One of these was a clear requirement that all members had to have been born in the United States.[105] Among the SNAC's founders was Richard Drake Saunders, a local composer, program annotator, and music critic of the *Hollywood Citizen-News*. Saunders called the SNAC "definitely nationalistic in its formation and intention," and habitually fostered openly-xenophobic rhetoric in his writings.[106] In 1936, for instance, he stated:

> The real fact is that European trained artists have long held a virtual monopoly, which they are desperately afraid of losing. If the American public takes to American works, it will obviously soon progress to taking up American performers, and the third-rate Europeans who have long flooded this country will find their jobs non-existent. . . .[107]

This attitude was peppered throughout Saunders's music criticism as well. In a preview article for a Janssen Symphony concert in October 1943, he wrote:

> Since he founded his orchestra, Janssen has made a point of playing at least one work by an American composer on every program—not merely works written by some refugee whose background remains entirely European, but works representative of this country in concept and atmosphere, by composers either born or educated here.[108]

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[104] Smith, 232.
[105] Ibid., 233.
[106] Quoted in ibid.
[107] Quoted in ibid., 232.
[108] Richard Drake Saunders, "Janssen Opens Fall Symphony Season at Ebell," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, October 23, 1943.

Notably, in this article, Saunders widens the parameters for who is considered an "American" composer, extending it to those who were not just born, but educated in the country. (It is also ironic that this particular 1943 concert was scheduled to feature the Los Angeles premiere of Hindemith's Symphony in E-flat.) Though an education-related qualifier was not present when Janssen's "all-American" concert was first announced—"American-born" was the only one—hints of this would still crop up in the press discussion leading up to the event, as will soon be discussed.

Several people were critical of the Society of Native American Composers during its short existence. One of these was music critic Bruno David Ussher, a German émigré of a previous generation. Ussher was not enthused with the rhetoric espoused by the Society. In 1940, he expressed his bafflement over the group's restrictive membership policies:

> I am wondering whether the spirit of true Americanism as distilled in the ink of official signatures necessarily differs when used in the bureau of vital statistics from that of the immigration office. Sometimes I wonder, too, whether the real nationality of music does not come with the emotional perception and expressional objective of the composer, rather than with the mere facts of locality of birth.[109]

Oddly enough, Ussher was the one who later penned the *Daily News* article that referred to the "six native American composers" on Janssen's "all-American" program.[110] Whether this was a subtle jab at the Society or an earnest attempt to characterize the concert's featured artists, remains uncertain. Even so, it seems that despite the SNAC's restrictive beliefs and membership requirements, their language had still made its way into common parlance in Los Angeles, even appearing in the words of its sharpest critics.

The Society of Native American Composers experienced several notable successes—including sponsoring the Federal Symphony's 1940–41 season—but its existence was

[109] Quoted in Smith, 234.
[110] Bruno David Ussher, "All-American program," *Daily News*, January 6, 1942.

ultimately short-lived.[111] War concerns and issues surrounding its leadership led the group to disband in 1944. Though the Society played no discernable role in the formulation of the Janssen Symphony's "all-American" concert, their very existence at the time—and their locally-based attempts to define what makes an "American" composer—still exhibits some striking parallels to ideas that were being propagated and grappled with in the lead-up to Janssen's event.

Outside of the "native American" phraseology, other Los Angeles news articles highlighted specifically "American" qualities of the composers on Janssen's program. Newspaper writers and critics made sure to mention the composers' places of birth; others also discussed where they currently lived, their places of work, and their educational backgrounds.[112] Such traits fell neatly in line with the orchestra's "100 per cent American" image that was asserted in the December 10 program change announcement.[113] Previous military experience was also celebrated when applicable. Alongside Janssen and several orchestra members, two of the concert's featured composers had served in the First World War. The January concert's program notes—which Saunders wrote—mention in passing that Roy Harris's musical education was "interrupted by war service."[114] Similarly, Saunders notes that Walter Piston played saxophone "in a Navy band during the first World War."[115]

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[111] Smith, 234.
[112] "Janssen Group to Offer All-American Program," *Los Angeles Times*, December 28, 1941; Bruno David Ussher, "All-American program," *Daily News*, January 6, 1942; "All-American Concert Due at Ebell Theater," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, January 10, 1942. Some articles were particularly quick to point out that composer Franz Bornschein was born in Baltimore and taught at Peabody Conservatory, perhaps to assuage any pedantic readers who thought he was either a recent Jewish émigré or previously-naturalized American citizen.
[113] Declaration of War Changes Musical Plans," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 10, 1941.
[114] Werner Janssen Symphony concert program, January 11, 1942, series 1, Franz C. Bornschein Papers, Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University.
[115] Ibid.

Perhaps these simple qualifiers helped subtly confirm that the event would truly be an "all-American" affair.

Several reflections on the concert's theme, artists, and repertoire also appeared in the press in the days leading up to the concert. Some of the most blatantly-patriotic assessments appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, courtesy of music critic Isabel Morse Jones. Jones had long been an advocate for the performance of American music in Southern California, and the Janssen Symphony's upcoming concert proved yet another opportunity for her to sing the praises of American-born composers. On December 28, Jones wrote the following blurb for the *Times*:

> [The] all-American program by the Janssen Orchestra . . . [is] in line with the natural trend. We know that we have talent, experience and ability among our own people. They have proven it elsewhere. Now circumstances will favor their being known at home. Our lives and their living will be richer for it. . . . War will hasten the cultural self-determination of cities. We will look to our own composers and performers, perforce. . . . That is one bright outlook for 1942 and I hope there will be more.[116]

Jones penned a similar, more strongly-worded assessment for the *Times* on January 11, which was published the same day as Janssen's concert:

> Southern California may prefer American-born leadership in music; but . . . it will not exert itself; if we will not show our preference by attendance at concerts given by Americans; by insisting upon having at least one American composer upon each concert-list; by defending the American musician at least to the point of giving him an even break in the stiff competition with Europeans of vastly more opportunity and aggressiveness . . . by not becoming . . . inflated by enthusiasm on the part of the general public for the rare individuals of foreign extraction who really excel. If not we will lose our musical freedom here on the western frontier, give over our power to commercial institutions organized for profit, show ourselves unfit to dominate our own field, look sadly back upon the early democratic days of orchestra, opera, concerts in prize-fight auditoriums and the presentation of our own soloists, as the golden days which we are only permitted to enjoy in retrospect.[117]

[116] Isabel Morse Jones, "The Week's High Note In Music," *Los Angeles Times*, December 28, 1941.
[117] Isabel Morse Jones, "The Week's High Note In Music," *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1942.

Whether implicitly or explicitly, there is little doubt that in the days leading up to the event, the local press was staking a claim. In the language they used to promote the composers and artists involved in the Janssen Symphony's "all-American" concert, the media made it irrefutably clear who was included (American-born composers and artists) and who was excluded (foreigners, recently-naturalized Americans, and émigrés). Underneath this, though, there is a slight insidiousness to how anyone outside this circle is couched. In the panic and anxiety that arose following the attack on Pearl Harbor, there is a general sense that the newspapers were attempting to reassure their Angeleno readership that everyone involved with Janssen's concert was indeed American born, American bred, and American educated (minus the orchestra's two European members who had been "naturalized for many years"). While none of the press notices and articles were explicitly xenophobic or racist in tone, the word choices and blatant re-emphasis on the "Americanness" of the orchestra's personnel and programming seem to imply that anything *outside* this frame—Hindemith included—was unacceptable in this current cultural moment.

The "All-American" Concert

After weeks of planning and preparation, the day of the concert, January 11, finally arrived. A capacity audience filled the Wilshire Ebell Theatre, eager to hear the orchestra's much-hyped "all-American" program. The proceedings began around 3:30 pm, as Werner Janssen led a performance of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Oddly, in all its efforts to project itself as a decidedly "American" ensemble, opening its concerts with the national anthem does not appear to have been a regular occurrence for the orchestra. Only one previous review states that their February 1941 concert opened with "a new and smoothed-out version

of the 'Star Spangled Banner.'"[118] Needless to say, opening with the National Anthem would become a regular occurrence during the war years.[119]

The rest of the program followed the National Anthem. Powell's *In Old Virginia* was paired with Harris's *Farewell to Pioneers* before the first half was rounded out with four of the five movements from Deems Taylor's *Through the Looking-Glass* Suite.[120] After intermission, Eudice Shapiro performed Piston's Violin Concerto—noted as a Los Angeles premiere—which was followed by the world premiere of Bornschein's *Moon Over Taos*. The concert then closed with another local premiere, the *Scenario for Orchestra*, a suite of numbers from Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II's 1927 musical *Show Boat*. Kern himself was present at the concert and brought onstage at the end of the performance to acknowledge the audience's grateful applause.[121] By all accounts, Kern was the only composer to attend the event. Franz Bornschein seems to have had another engagement elsewhere, as Janssen sent him a telegram the day following the concert, which read, "Your work had great success before packed house. The flautist played it beautifully and took three bows on it. May I keep this set of parts, as I want to do it on radio in April? Hearty congratulations and best wishes, Janssen."[122]

On the whole, Janssen's all-American concert was a resounding success and lauded by both audience and critics alike. Richard Drake Saunders observed that "Conductor,

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[118] Isabel Morse Jones, "Two 'Firsts' on Program by Janssen," *Los Angeles Times*, February 17, 1941.
[119] In August 1941, James Petrillo—then-president of the American Federation of Musicians—ordered the entire AFM to play the National Anthem "at the beginning and at the conclusion of all programs at symphony concerts, park concerts, hotel engagements, dance engagements, theater engagements, Hollywood studios, radio engagements, and so forth." (Quoted in Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: "All-Girl" Bands of the 1940s* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000], 43.)
[120] For more on these and the other works on the program, see Appendix B.
[121] Alfred Price Quinn, "Janssen Concert a Triumph," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, January 16, 1942.
[122] Telegram from Werner Janssen to Franz Bornschein, January 12, 1942, series 3, container 9, folder 5, Franz C. Bornschein Papers, Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University. Capitalization and punctuation added by author for clarity.

soloist, and players were accorded warm and prolonged plaudits."[123] Similarly, Isabel Morse Jones stated, "It was an interesting, well-prepared and sympathetically played concert list, applauded enthusiastically by a large audience."[124] Though Bruno David Ussher derided some of the repertoire choices, he commended the program overall. "Rarely has Los Angeles heard an all-American program chosen so judiciously and representatively," he remarked.[125] An anonymous review in the *Westwood News Press* praised the concert as well:

> American music has too long been regarded as a forlorn step-child, so we are always glad to take notice of any fading out of the conception that music must enjoy ocean travel before it can find a place on our American shores. Evidently Werner Janssen champions a countermovement and believes music, good music, can be produced right here in America.[126]

Yet another reviewer, Florence Lawrence of the *Los Angeles Examiner*, framed the audience's response to the concert as a sign of successful patriotic engagement:

> Janssen . . . has been boldly in favor of playing the native composers ever since starting this series of concerts. Yesterday's offering was a fine example of vivid pictorial and well written numbers to which the audience reacted with musical and patriotic enthusiasm.[127]

Though a deep dive into the repertoire choices of Janssen's "all-American" concert lies outside the scope of this project (see Appendix B for a brief "program note" of each work), the reception of one particular composition deserves some further consideration.[128] Piston's Violin Concerto was the only "absolute" work to appear on Janssen's program; that is, the

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[123] Richard Drake Saunders, "All-American Music Event Draws Crowd," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, January 12, 1942.
[124] Isabel Morse Jones, "Janssen Honors Fellow Americans," *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1942.
[125] Bruno David Ussher, "Werner Janssen's All-America Program Draws Large Audience," *Pasadena Star-News*, January 17, 1942.
[126] Untitled review, *Westwood News Press*, January 16, 1942, box 10, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[127] Florence Lawrence, "Giannini and Janssen in Concerts," *Los Angeles Examiner*, date unknown, box 10, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[128] Appendix B: About the Werner Janssen Symphony's "All-American" Program.

work was not based on any extramusical idea, place, or theme, American or otherwise.[129] Overall, the piece was met by the Los Angeles press with an attitude ranging from lukewarm appreciation to outright scorn. Bruno David Ussher had the following to say in the *Daily News*:

> Walter Piston's fragmentary, harsh music is hardly a good violin concerto. . . . But here is again one of those emotionally and thematically nondescript compositions, expressing presumably that much calumnied 'spirit of today,' as if 'today' had neither roses nor lovers. As a title, I propose: 'Life in a Cactus Bed in the Desert.' Of course, Piston is skillful. Indeed, the Harvard professor is so skillful that he can make almost plausible the French 'douleur' of the slow movement.[130]

Other reviews were similarly negative. The *Pacific Coast Musician* called the work "'modern' to a fault," stating further, "This work is highly exacting from a standpoint of [technique] but offers little else of musical interest."[131] Hal D. Crain of the *Christian Science Monitor* believed differently, calling the Concerto "a work of heroic proportions. . . . It bristles with technical difficulties, all of which were triumphantly surmounted by the performer."[132]

Despite varying opinions of the actual work, critics across the board praised Eudice Shapiro's performance. Alfred Price Quinn observed (with a dash of misogynistic language):

> Eudice Shapiro . . . played [the Concerto] in stunning fashion. Here was playing which measured up to and even soared above the standards often set by more publicized foreign importations among women violinists, and I have heard practically all of them. Remarkable for its vigor, security of technic and intonation, virility and warmth of tone, Miss Shapiro's playing on this occasion was a top-flight achievement.[133]

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[129] Composed in 1939 and dedicated to Massachusetts-born violinist Ruth Posselt, Piston's Violin Concerto (No. 1) was premiered at Carnegie Hall on March 18, 1940, with Posselt as soloist and Leon Barzin leading the National Orchestral Association. Posselt would later present the New York premiere of Hindemith's Violin Concerto (1939) in January 1941.
[130] Bruno David Ussher, "Vital and beautiful playing by Janssen orchestra," *Daily News*, January 12, 1942.
[131] "Janssen Symphony Concert," *Pacific Coast Musician*, vol. 31, no. 2, January 17, 1942.
[132] Hal D. Crain, "Los Angeles Concerts," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 17, 1942, box 1, folder 40, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[133] Alfred Price Quinn, "Janssen Concert a Triumph," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, January 16, 1942.

If any "American" elements were present in Piston's Concerto—either stylistically or programmatically—this was lost on the Los Angeles audience. While Isabel Morse Jones did frame the work in her review as "energetic . . . and economical as the New England the composer was born in," this was only in passing; no other reviewers attempted to overtly connect the work to the concert's "all-American" theme, other than the fact that Piston himself was New England-born and a professor at Harvard.[134] Similarly, Richard Drake Saunders's program notes do not allude to any "Americanisms" in the Concerto. His description of the third and final movement, for instance, presents an objective, straight-forward rendering of musical events:

> III. Allegro con spirito, 2/4 time. The movement is fast and lively, begun by full orchestra which quiets down for the entry of the solo violin. A subsidiary theme is a little quieter, of more restful character. The development is bright, culminating in a brilliant cadenza and a showy climax.[135]

In the end, critics seemed more torn on the artistic and stylistic merits of Piston's work than any perceived lack of "American" elements. However, to at least one audience member, this absence proved a problem. Following the concert, an anonymous reviewer published a sharp critique of the work. The full review reads as follows:

> Still more proof of the bankruptcy of the concerto form was offered by the Shapiro-Janssen performance of Walter Piston's *Violin Concerto*. Even the twentieth century seems unable to rehabilitate this genre in spite of all that contemporary pioneers have done to push back the boundaries of music. If any *American* composer would have seemed qualified to accomplish that rehabilitation, it would have been Piston, because of his keen sense of form, his taste, and his highly cultivated craftsmanship. Piston is without question one of the top-flight American composers; it was his work alone, disappointing as it was, which brought distinction to Mr. Janssen's unhappy all-American program. Yet it is to the conductor's everlasting credit that he undertook to introduce to us a major work of this so-unappreciated composer—and with so extraordinarily talented a soloist as Eudice Shapiro. But even Mr. Janssen's enthusiasm (with his orchestra sounding better than ever before) and Miss Shapiro's

[134] Isabel Morse Jones, "Janssen Honors Fellow Americans," *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1942.
[135] Werner Janssen Symphony concert program, January 11, 1942, series 1, Franz C. Bornschein Papers, Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University.

> impeccable performance could not imbue the work with qualities which the composer had not put into it.[136]

In a strange way, this brings the "non-performance" of Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations full circle. Here, it seems that Piston's work—which took over the concerto "slot" from Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations—is being criticized for lacking any clear, discernable "American" qualities. Even though the reviewer believed it was one of the high points of "Mr. Janssen's unhappy all-American program," they ultimately found the work to be a disappointment, citing Piston's failure to "rehabilitate" the concerto form with an American lens.[137] While Hindemith's "non-American" identity may be the predominant explanation for the "non-performances" of his music with both the American Ballet Caravan and the Werner Janssen Symphony—rather than explicit, anti-German sentiments—there is still the fleeting possibility that the Theme with Four Variations was deemed unsuitable due to a similar absence of overt "American" elements. Whatever the case, it is evident that Janssen's "all-American" concert disadvantaged the participation and perspectives of those outside its parameters, specifically, anyone who was not born in the United States or previously naturalized.[138] In its insistent efforts to showcase "100 per cent American" talent, it turns out that the concert's sharp focus ended up working against itself, also disadvantaging any *elements* that were not "American" enough, such as the "fragmentary, harsh music" of Walter Piston.

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[136] Untitled review, unknown newspaper, date unknown, box 10, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Almost two years later, the Janssen Symphony presented another "all-American" concert at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre, on December 12, 1943. Meant to acknowledge Bill of Rights Day, the program featured works by Gail Kubik, William Schuman, and, interestingly, Villa-Lobos. Janssen programmed the Brazilian composer's *Chôros No. 10* (1926), which Richard Drake Saunders thought "[emphasized] Americanism in the proper, comprehensive meaning of the word." For this concert, at least, it seems that "all-American" now referred to the *Americas*—both North and South—as a whole. Richard Drake Saunders, "Ebell Music Program Applauded," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, December 13, 1943.

Postlude

After the January "non-performance," Janssen made little effort to reschedule Hindemith's Theme with Four Variations for a future concert. The orchestra's season ended in February 1942 before they transitioned to presenting a series of live radio broadcasts for the KHJ Symphony Hour.[139] One of these was, coincidentally, another "all-American" program that featured Lillian Steuber performing Edward MacDowell's Second Piano Concerto (1884–86).[140] Meanwhile, Hindemith's work itself received no further mention in the Los Angeles press. The *B'nai B'rith Messenger* did refer to it one last time on January 2, but only in passing.[141] By all accounts, it seems that the Theme with Four Variations had been unceremoniously forgotten.

However, there was one final, albeit fleeting, attempt to program Hindemith's work. In August 1942, the Janssen Symphony was invited to perform at the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) Festival in Berkeley, California.[142] The group was slated to perform Hindemith's Symphony in E-flat (1940) on one of its two concerts, but a brief exchange between Ernest Voigt and Hindemith in early June suggests that the Theme with Four Variations was being weighed as a possible substitute. Scant information exists outside these letters, but they nonetheless indicate some irritation towards Janssen and the work's continued failure to receive a hearing. On June 12, Voigt wrote:

> To begin with, I hear today from Werner Janssen, who is conducting the [ISCM] Festival concerts, that your Symphony [in E-flat] will not be on the program.

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[139] "Janssen To Open Radio Series," *Pasadena Star-News*, April 8, 1942.
[140] The program (given May 28, 1942) also featured works by Morton Gould, Bornschein (possibly the repeat performance of *Moon Over Taos* that Janssen requested in his telegram to the composer), and Cole Porter, among others. "Nelson Will Head Safety Move," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 28, 1942.
[141] Alfred Price Quinn, "Music," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, January 2, 1942. The notice read as follows: "Lillian Stuber, pianist, who was scheduled to play the world premiere of Hindemith's Theme and Variations for piano and string orchestra, will appear at a later concert." (This "later concert" was her appearance with the orchestra on their KHJ Symphony Hour broadcast on May 28, 1942.)
[142] "1942 Berkeley," *International Society for Contemporary Music*, https://iscm.org/wnmd/1942-berkeley/.

> Although he does not say so, I believe it is because of the large instrumentation it calls for and his orchestra comprises only about fifty men. Instead he is going to do your Theme and Variations for piano and strings which will be a 'first performance.' Knowing my 'Pappenheimers,'[143] I will not count even that chicken until it's hatched and scratching! . . . Maybe we will end up by not having anything on the program. 'Geschmeisz' [Vermin] is right! . . .[144]

Hindemith, too, seemed tired of the whole debacle, though he appeared more annoyed at the prospects of making a cross-country trip to hear a performance of his music. In his previous letter to Voigt, written on June 8, he drolly stated:

> You already know my opinion of the International Society [of Contemporary Music], and it is not altered by the planned performance of a symphony. . . . Go there for the performance? A very friendly suggestion, but in Europe, even if the fare cost only three marks, I never paid to attend performances of my things at any music festival, and I intend to observe this exemplary custom here, too. The whole thing would be a matter of around 500 dollars for each of us, and with all due respect to my beautiful compositions, I should prefer, if I must throw money away, to spend it on more pleasurable things and without an accompanying rabble of musicians. . . . I know the musical bunch out there [sic] from earlier times and am pretty certain that only in cases of direst peril would I undertake a four-day rail journey on their account.[145]

Sandra L. Johnson-Pomeraning believes that, overall, Hindemith's frustrations were well-founded in the context of previous collaborations:

> The wrangling with [choreographer Léonide] Massine and Balanchine across several years to write music for their respective dance companies, and then to have the projects dropped, explains the mocking tone in Voigt's [June 12] letter echoing Hindemith's own about whether Janssen's project [the ISCM concert] under consideration was another false start. Hindemith was supporting not only himself and Gertrud but also his mother in Frankfurt and other family members. Impelled by his publishers, he did everything possible to gain performances of his works.[146]

Ultimately, Janssen's orchestra presented Hindemith's Symphony in E-flat at the ISCM Festival concert, and the Theme with Four Variations was forgotten yet again. The work

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[143] Refers to the idiomatic German expression "Ich kenne meine Pappenheimer" ("I know my people"), which is used in the sense of knowing someone's weaknesses. Many thanks to Derek Katz for this information.
[144] Letter from Ernest Voigt to Paul Hindemith, June 12, 1942, Hindemith-Institut Frankfurt.
[145] Quoted in Geoffrey Skelton, ed. and trans., *Selected Letters of Paul Hindemith* (Binghamton, New York: Vail-Ballou Press, 1995), 179–80.
[146] Sandra L. Johnson-Pomeraning, email to author, January 16, 2021. Used with permission.

would not resurface until seven months later, when it finally received its world premiere in Winterthur, Switzerland, on March 10, 1943.[147] Two more performances in Switzerland were given—in Geneva and Basel, respectively—before the work returned to the United States.[148] It was accorded an American premiere by the Boston Symphony Orchestra in September 1944, with Lukas Foss on piano and Richard Burgin conducting. Previous sources have often touted this Boston performance as the world premiere of the concert work.[149] However, as Johnson proves in her dissertation, this was not the case; the Winterthur, Switzerland performance was, in fact, the first performance. Years later, Lukas Foss even claimed that the concert premiere was given at Yale under Hindemith's baton, but this seems unlikely.[150] Regarding *The Four Temperaments*, it took several more years for the ballet to receive a stage performance. It was finally presented by Balanchine's Ballet Society at the Central High School of Needle Trades in New York City on November 20, 1946, over six years after the work's completion.

Following the Janssen Symphony's summer ISCM concerts, the war situation had escalated. Several players entered the military, causing Janssen to cancel the 1942–43 season. In a letter to Bornschein, Janssen reflected bittersweetly on the hiatus:

> We have found it necessary to call a temporary halt to our ambitious schedule for the reason that over 22 members (mostly first chair men) have entered the service and 3–4 will follow shortly. Our new season has been called off, I am sorry to say, for I am left without an orchestra and there are no men available that will match in quality the calibre of men I have had. I am proud to say because of the youth of our members about 60 per cent is in the service. I am both happy and sad about it all.[151]

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[147] Sandra Lee Johnson, "Paul Hindemith's *Theme with Four Variations: The Four Temperaments*, Its History, Reception, and Importance," 172.
[148] Ibid., 177.
[149] Noss, 111; Skelton, ed., 175.
[150] Lukas Foss, interview with Caitriona Bolster, November 11, 1976, interview no. 30/64, transcript, page 14, Oral History of American Music: Paul Hindemith Oral History, Yale University.
[151] Letter from Werner Janssen to Franz Bornschein, November 28, 1942, series 3, container 9, folder 5, Franz C. Bornschein Papers, Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University.

Months before this, the orchestra held what would be its final Wilshire Ebell concert—until October 1943, at least—on February 8, 1942. That afternoon brought a triumphant return to their founding motto: "With an accent on the classics and an ear to the future." As such, the program showcased two "classics" by Tchaikovsky and Richard Strauss—aligning once again with its unwillingness to bow to "mass war hysteria" and ban the music of Axis-power composers—paired with two recent works by José Iturbi and Samuel Barber.[152] The concert's highlight was undoubtedly the appearance of Igor Stravinsky, who conducted his *Pulcinella* Suite (1920, 1922) and the world premiere of *Danses concertantes*.[153] There is a subtle irony to the timing of this event. Barely two months after Hindemith's work was cut from Janssen's "all-American" program, the February 8 concert saw a recent European émigré and yet-to-be-naturalized American citizen (Stravinsky) leading the premiere of a brand-new work with Janssen's orchestra. Of course, the circumstances were markedly different this time. The initial panic and patriotic fervor, sparked by the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, had largely subsided. Stravinsky was an émigré from America's allies (Russia via France) and generally did not have to face the same identity hurdles that Austro-Germanic émigrés did.[154] Most importantly, Janssen was obligated by contract to perform Stravinsky's new work, which had been directly commissioned for his orchestra's 1941–42 season. Still, it appears that the "non-performance" of Hindemith's work was now a distant memory. Once again, a European émigré—and a "non-American" at that—was allowed to take center stage with Werner Janssen and his "100 per cent American" orchestra.

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[152] Letter from Larry Bachmann to Werner Janssen, December 10, 1941, box 1, folder 8, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[153] To bring the events to an even "fuller circle," Balanchine choreographed Stravinsky's *Danses concertantes* for the Ballet Russe de Monte-Carlo in 1944. It premiered in New York on September 10 of that year, and was later rechoreographed for the New York City Ballet's Stravinsky Festival in 1972.
[154] For more on Stravinsky's life, work, and identity in the United States, see Slim, *Stravinsky in the Americas: Transatlantic Tours and Domestic Excursions from Wartime Los Angeles (1925–1945)*.

CHAPTER 4

The "Preferred City": Making "Americanness" with Richard Lert and the Pasadena Civic Orchestra

Wednesday, April 8, 1942, was a packed news day in Pasadena. Flipping through the day's edition of the *Pasadena Star-News*, readers would have encountered stark reminders that war was still a fresh and terrifying new reality. Various headlines captured both the highs and lows of the international conflict: "Japanese Gain in Bataan, Nazis in Libya As Marshall in England," "British Air Fleet Thunders Over Channel," and "Roosevelt Calls Off Talk With Vichy Envoy."[1] Closer to home, the news was slightly more subdued. Wedding announcements and a pleasant blurb about the springtime blooms at the Huntington Library Gardens demonstrated that life in Southern California was continuing as normally as possible.[2] One notable feature article discussed the arrival of 1,246 Japanese and Japanese-Americans at the Santa Anita Racetrack, home to one of the earliest "civilian assembly centers" to open in California. The article informed readers how "evacuees" were "served three hot meals daily" and included a picture of four Japanese children gleefully playing Monopoly.[3] Despite the author's attempt to paint the event in a positive light, though, the internment of almost 120,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans from February 1942 to March 1946 remains one of the tragic dark sides of the United States' involvement in World War II.[4]

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[1] "Japanese Gain in Bataan, Nazis in Libya As Marshall in England," "British Air Fleet Thunders Over Channel," "Roosevelt Calls Off Talk With Vichy Envoy," *Pasadena Star-News*, April 8, 1942.
[2] "Huntington Library Gardens Bloom Anew," *Pasadena Star-News*, April 8, 1942.
[3] "Four Trains Bring 1246 Evacuees From San Diego," *Pasadena Star-News*, April 8, 1942.
[4] For more on the internment of Japanese and Japanese-Americans on the West Coast during World War II, see Greg Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

On page eighteen of the paper, readers were greeted with an eye-catching sight: a full-page advertisement announcing an upcoming local performance of Handel's *Messiah* (see figure 4.1).[5] An accompanying blurb states that the concert would be presented at the Pasadena Civic Auditorium on April 12 at 3:00 pm and feature the Pasadena Festival Chorus, the Pasadena Boy Choir, the Pasadena Civic Orchestra, and several "outstanding soloists."[6] The performance would also mark—almost to the day—the 200th anniversary of the oratorio's first performance (in Dublin on April 13, 1742).[7]

Further, this special concert would mark the conclusion of the seventh-annual Pasadena Music Festival, a beloved event that spotlighted local ensembles and performers over several days of concerts, all of which were offered to the general public free of charge. To Pasadena citizens, the Music Festival was a yearly reminder of the high-quality cultural offerings to which their city could lay claim. The *Messiah* advertisement stated as much, calling the Festival "another milestone in the annual cavalcade of cultural events fortunate Pasadenans enjoy—one of the dominating reasons why Pasadena so justly deserves the title of Preferred City."[8] The fact that the Festival was happening at all was also a small victory. After a brief organizational kerfuffle in October 1941, the governing bodies of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra and Music Festival were united into a single organization, the Pasadena Civic Music Association. While this was mainly accomplished to "assure economy and efficient management and . . . eliminate the difficulties caused by the presence of two groups working in the same field," such a move helped preemptively stabilize the two institutions

[5] "Pasadena Music Festival," *Pasadena Star-News*, April 8, 1942.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

during an economically and politically volatile time.[9] In spite of this, the Music Festival charged forward, and organizers of the *Messiah* concert hoped that the performance would act as a triumphant finale to this cherished local tradition and a much-needed respite from news of the war. "Today, in a world gone mad . . ." the advertisement proclaimed, "[Handel's *Messiah*] rises exultantly, expressing the faith of men's souls in a beneficent Almighty."[10]

At the top-left corner of the advertisement, a small, rounded headshot is superimposed over a backdrop image of Handel's manuscript (which is opened, perhaps uncoincidentally, to a page from the chorus "Glory to God . . . and peace on earth").[11] Surprisingly, the headshot is not of *Messiah* composer George Frideric Handel, but of Austrian émigré conductor Richard Lert, who was scheduled to preside over the oratorio performance and several other events during the Festival. Since his emigration to the United States in 1932, Lert had established himself as a prominent and respected figure in the musical sphere of Southern California. His presence became especially well known in Pasadena. He headed the Pasadena Bach Society and helped found the city's Music Festival, which got off to an auspicious start in 1936 when Lert conducted the Southern Californian premiere of Beethoven's *Fidelio* in May of that year.[12] Though Lert could not quite boast the same level of name recognition as some of his fellow Los Angeles émigrés such as Otto Klemperer, Igor Stravinsky, and Arnold Schoenberg, Pasadenans embraced Lert's presence and deeply appreciated his contributions to their local music scene.

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[9] "Music Society Gives Premier Civic Concert," *Pasadena Post*, November 16, 1941.
[10] Pasadena Music Festival advertisement, *Pasadena Star-News*, April 8, 1942.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Isabel Morse Jones, "'Fidelio,' Beethoven's Only Opera, to Feature Festival," *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 1936.

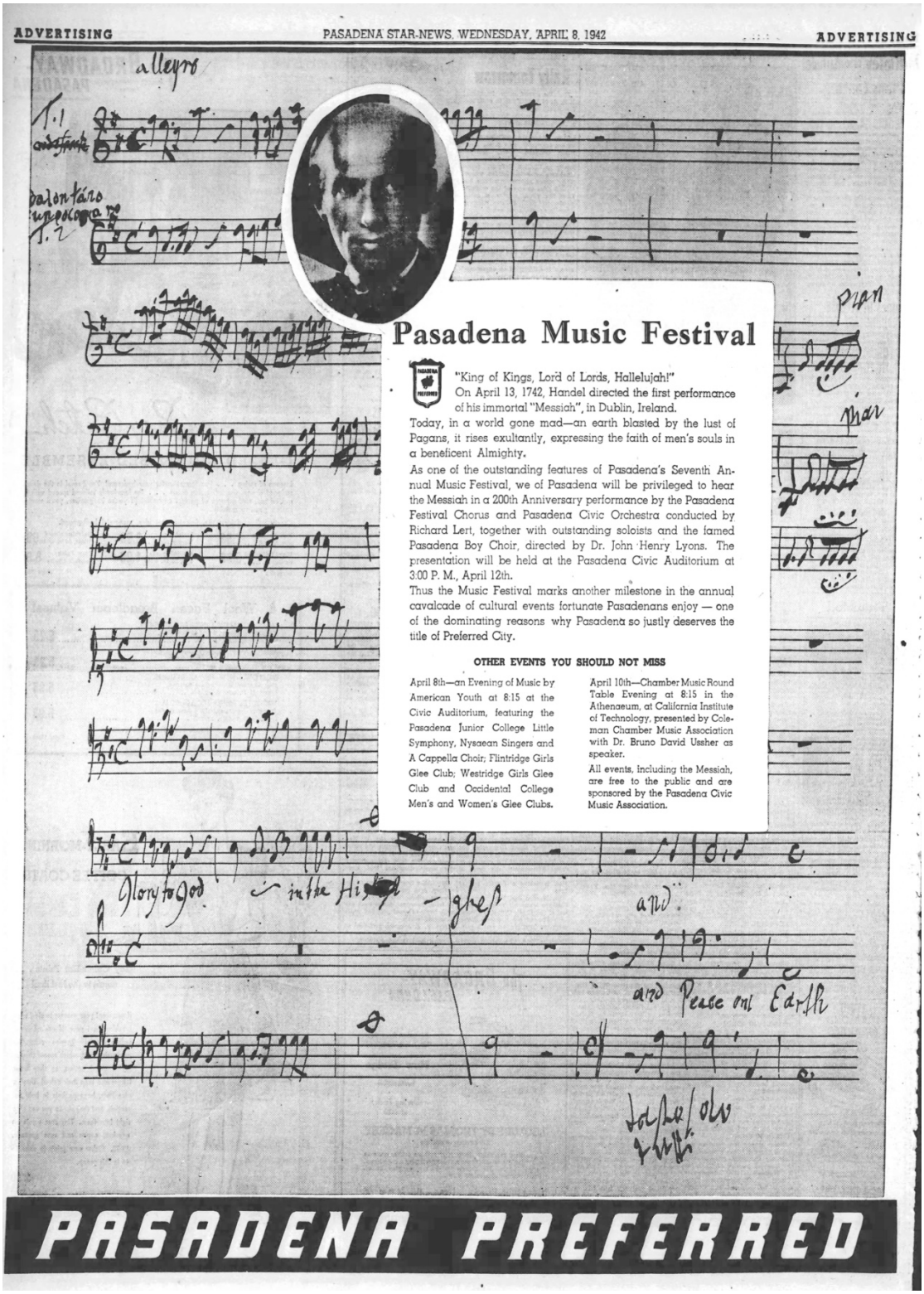

Figure 4.1: Advertisement for the Pasadena Music Festival (featuring Richard Lert) from the Pasadena Star-News *(April 8, 1942).*

Lert's value was particularly evident in his directorship of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra and the American Music Theatre of Pasadena. His assured command of the orchestral and operatic repertoire, not to mention his enthusiasm for working with young musicians, made him the ideal candidate to lead these two small but vibrant institutions. Beyond the tangible musical results of his respective tenures, Lert's presence in Pasadena would also demonstrate a remarkable "give and take" between the émigré and his adopted community. On one hand, leading these two institutions provided Lert a prime opportunity to assimilate into Southern Californian musical life, allowing him to cultivate their artistic endeavors and, over time, bring out their unique, local characteristics. On the other hand, Lert's Austrian heritage and illustrious European credentials lent the Civic Orchestra and American Music Theatre a greater sense of prestige and legitimacy, which serendipitously fed into Pasadena's "Preferred City" mentality. As a result, Pasadena would not only come to appreciate Lert's high level of music-making but fully embrace Lert himself, welcoming his presence in their community with open arms.

The effects of this symbiotic relationship are particularly evident in two events that occurred in spring 1942. The Pasadena Civic Orchestra's final concert of their 1941–42 season—the first case study of this chapter—showcased the fruits of Lert's tireless work with this group of accomplished amateurs and young professionals. The concert offered a characteristic example of the Civic Orchestra's programming philosophy under Lert, placing beloved European classics comfortably alongside more recent pieces. Taking this a step further, though, Lert made a deliberate point to highlight local talent; works by Pasadena- and Los Angeles-based composers factored strongly into his programs, as did soloists who were currently based in or had roots in Southern California. This, in effect, imbued the Civic

Orchestra with a distinctly "Pasadenan" flavor, allowing it to distinguish itself and stand confidently alongside the larger and more professionalized musical organizations of greater Los Angeles. Similarly, Lert's involvement with the American Music Theatre of Pasadena and their English-language production of Rossini's 1816 opera *The Barber of Seville*—the second chapter's case study—displayed a related opportunity for Pasadena to assert its unique musical identity. Formed in 1940, this company was co-founded by Lert and American actor George Houston in a concerted effort to freshen up the purportedly "old-fashioned" concept of foreign-language opera and make it understandable, relevant, and accessible to Pasadena audiences. However, the rhetoric and press discussion surrounding the performance would ultimately reveal larger issues concerning what it meant to foster a truly "American" institution and art form. Though both events showcase differing attempts to reconcile European, American, and Pasadenan traditions during a precarious wartime moment, Lert would effectively foster the artistic activities of these two institutions and bring out their distinct, local qualities in ways that were fully embraced and celebrated in Southern California and in America at large.

The Pasadena Civic Orchestra's 1941–42 Season Finale Concert

The Pasadena Civic Orchestra's concert in May 1942 was a double cause for celebration. Not only did it cap a busy year of rehearsals and concerts—which had highlighted beloved works by Beethoven, Mozart, and others—it also marked the conclusion of Richard Lert's fifth season with the ensemble. The season was, by all accounts, a success, but recent months had been particularly trying. Plans to mount a holiday performance of J.S. Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* (c. 1733–34) in December 1941 were suddenly thrown into

jeopardy after the attack on Pearl Harbor and the U.S. entry into World War II. Though logistical concerns and the possibility of blackouts threatened to cancel the proceedings, Lert and the Civic Orchestra forged ahead with their preparations. Creative problem-solving was a necessity in these volatile times. The war had made it "practically impossible" to receive scores from Europe, so several choral parts were sent from New York and supplemented with photostatic copies from the Huntington Library's music collection.[13] Blackouts did interrupt some of the ensemble rehearsals, but adjustments were made accordingly.[14] As with the Civic Orchestra's past concerts, it was also reaffirmed that the performance would be offered for free to the public. Roland Maxwell, president of the Pasadena Civic Music Association, stated, "[We feel] that the presentation of this beautiful Christmas music to the public without charge is an important duty during these days of stress."[15] The resulting performance on December 21 was a triumph. "Pasadena's community music is progressing steadily," declared Isabel Morse Jones in the *Los Angeles Times*, "This performance was a demonstration and a promise."[16]

After two more main-season concerts in early 1942 and a successful run of the Pasadena Music Festival—which was capped by the *Messiah* performance—the Civic Orchestra announced its intention to present their season finale performance on May 17. Initial notice of the concert appeared in the May 7 edition of the *Pasadena Star-News*, promising "a program of unusual popular appeal."[17] The *Los Angeles Times* revealed more three days later. Readers were told to anticipate several classics, including the first movement

[13] "Bach Oratorio Due Today At Auditorium," *Pasadena Post*, December 21, 1941.
[14] "Music Association Gives Oratorio Sunday," *Pasadena Post*, December 16, 1941.
[15] Quoted in ibid.
[16] Isabel Morse Jones, "Orchestras, Chorus Take Cognizance of Christmas," *Los Angeles Times*, December 22, 1941.
[17] "Orchestra Plans Final Concert," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 7, 1942.

of Brahms's Fourth Symphony (1884) and Richard Strauss's *Rosenkavalier* Waltzes (1910–11). The concert would also highlight the world premiere of a brand-new violin concerto by local composer Harlow Mills.[18]

Mixed programming such as this had become a staple of the Civic Orchestra's concerts in recent years. Early in his tenure with the Civic Orchestra, Lert made it a personal goal to champion the music-makers of his adopted homeland, and specifically, his new hometown of Pasadena. In November 1937, the *Pasadena Post* reported that "Encouragement of native-born American composers and interpreters of music is one of Richard Lert's enthusiasms and aims as conductor of [the] Pasadena Civic Orchestra. . . ."[19] This was a bold move. Local soloists had always been a regular presence in the orchestra's past concerts, but their former music director, Reginald Bland, leaned heavily on works from the Western European canon. A heavy percentage of the music Bland programmed was by deceased "masters" of the past, with the occasional work by a living composer brought in for novelty.[20] This changed dramatically after Lert took charge of the orchestra. The lead-up to the 1940–41 season was marked by the announcement that each concert would "feature at least one modern American work."[21] Surprisingly, Lert's American selections ended up exclusively highlighting composers who were based in and around Pasadena—Leonard Pennario, Henry Purpont Eames, John Hicks, Norman Goss, and Meredith Willson.[22] Ensuing seasons continued in a similar vein; later concerts introduced audiences to works by

[18] "Crown City Violinist to Perform," *Los Angeles Times*, May 10, 1942.
[19] "Civic Orchestra Will Open 10th Concert Season Tonight," *Pasadena Post*, November 6, 1937.
[20] For more on the Civic Orchestra's programming history, see Chapter 1, 44 and 53.
[21] "Pasadena To Open Concert Season Nov. 2," *San Fernando Valley Times*, October 29, 1940.
[22] Leonard Pennario was a student at USC, who premiered his piano concerto with the orchestra in December 1940. Henry Purpont Eames was a faculty member at Scripps College in Claremont. John Hicks and Norman Goss were both members of the orchestra, playing trombone and cello, respectively. Meredith Willson was a well-regarded composer who was, at that time, working in Hollywood. He would later pen the music and lyrics for the beloved musical *The Music Man*, which premiered on Broadway in 1957.

William Grant Still, Sarah Coleman Bragdon, Elinor Remick Warren, and Lionel Barrymore, among others.[23] The soloists Lert engaged during his tenure also continued to spotlight Southern Californian talent, including students from local colleges, members of the orchestra, or rising stars who had grown up in the Los Angeles or Pasadena area. For instance, in a November 1938 performance of J.S. Bach's Concerto for Four Keyboards, BWV 1065 (c. 1711/c. 1730), all four soloists were musicians from Pasadena.[24] Several months later, the Civic Orchestra's principal cellist, George Richardson, took center stage in the solo cello and orchestra arrangement of Fauré's *Élégie* (1883, 1901).[25]

Fostering the Civic Orchestra's locality was a natural move for Lert. Bland had engaged local performance talent on a regular basis, and expanding the spotlight to include composers was a logical next step. It was also more practical. As mentioned in Chapter 1, programming contemporary music by local composers was much easier to pull off due to the institution's smaller budget, the mixed ability levels of the players, and the closer proximity of the artists. The featured figures may have, in the end, held less national and international renown compared to those on the programs of Otto Klemperer and Werner Janssen, but Lert appeared more eager to invest in community music-makers than the "giants" of modern composition. Further, at a time when groups like the Werner Janssen Symphony were actively rebelling against the "Europeanization" of American classical music, the Civic Orchestra's community-centric approach gave it an opportunity to display its "American"

[23] Lionel Barrymore was a Hollywood actor who became most famous for his role as Mr. Potter in the 1946 film *It's a Wonderful Life*. Barrymore also composed in his spare time, and the Pasadena Civic Orchestra performed a handful of his works over the years, including the premiere of his Romance for Oboe and Orchestra in November 1942. "Lionel Barrymore Lauds Orchestra," *Pasadena Star-News*, November 27, 1942.
[24] Pasadena Civic Orchestra concert program, November 5, 1938, Pasadena Museum of History. The soloists were Alice Coleman Batchelder—founder of the Coleman Chamber Concerts series—Ralph Linsley, Dorothy Sayles Strebel, and David Vasquez.
[25] Pasadena Civic Orchestra concert program, April 29, 1939, Pasadena Museum of History.

characteristics through a distinctly "Pasadenan" lens. Lert's leadership and support of these endeavors only helped, imbuing the orchestra's activities with an air of legitimacy that was still only possible in the hands of an esteemed European conductor. This approach and artistic partnership clearly paid off. In November 1939, Isabel Morse Jones remarked, "Without endowment or even adequate support, the Civic Orchestra of Pasadena has a vitality and enthusiasm that many a professional symphonic orchestra lacks."[26] It was becoming clear that the Pasadena Civic Orchestra could now distinguish itself and stand more confidently alongside other, more professionalized orchestras of Southern California.

As the Civic Orchestra began preparing for their May concert, the media buzz surrounding the event adopted some strikingly similar language to Werner Janssen's "all-American" concert back in January 1942. Pasadena newspapers took particular note of Harlow Mills's identity as a "native," American-born composer. The *Pasadena Star-News* observed, "The composer is a native of the West, having first studied piano and composition under teachers in Portland and Los Angeles."[27] Mills was no stranger to the Pasadena area. Born in Spokane in 1909, he attended the Curtis Institute of Music before completing his musical education at Whittier College in Los Angeles County, where he later taught composition from 1934 to 1939.[28] He was also familiar to the audiences of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra; in November 1938, Lert programmed the composer's Adagio for String

[26] Isabel Morse Jones, "Pasadena Symphonists Demonstrate Musicianship," *Los Angeles Times*, November 6, 1939.
[27] "New Composition By Pasadenan Featured," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 15, 1942.
[28] "Mills, Harlow John, Mus.B.," *Who's Who in California: A Biographical Reference Work of Notable Living Men and Women in California (Volume I: 1942–1943)*, ed. Russell Holmes Fletcher (Los Angeles: Who's Who Publications Company, 1941), 642.

Orchestra alongside works of Schubert, J.S. Bach, and Massenet.[29] A similar story could be said for violinist Elizabeth Morgridge. Morgridge was born in Sierra Madre and had won a contest for young violinists in 1935, providing her the opportunity to perform a solo with the Civic Orchestra.[30] She married Harlow Mills in 1937, and the couple concertized for several years before settling down to teach piano and violin lessons from their private studio in Pasadena.[31] Morgridge was slated to return to the Civic Orchestra for the May 1942 concert, this time as soloist in her husband's new violin concerto. As with Harlow Mills, the *Pasadena Star-News* was quick to highlight Morgridge's local roots and accomplishments: "Mrs. Mills is a native Californian . . . [who] won in both the state and Southern Pacific districts of the National Federation of Music Clubs contest for young artists."[32] In the end, though, press attention towards the "Pasadenaness" and "Americanness" of the concert's headlining artists was much more subdued than Janssen's concert. This is perhaps due to the lesser volume of newspaper coverage leading up to the event: only two local papers habitually promoted the Pasadena Civic Orchestra compared to the five or six that covered the Werner Janssen Symphony.

The *Star-News* also announced that the concert would open with the "Victory Theme" from Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (1804–08). According to the paper, Lert created the arrangement and first presented it during one of the Civic Orchestra's previous concerts in February 1942. It had "aroused so much favorable comment" that it was selected to reappear

[29] Program for the Pasadena Civic Orchestra concert, November 5, 1938, Pasadena Museum of History. Mills's Adagio was a string orchestra arrangement of a movement from his String Quartet. Coincidentally, Samuel Barber's Adagio for Strings—also a string orchestra arrangement of a movement from his own String Quartet—was first performed on the exact same day as the Pasadena Civic Orchestra's concert (November 5, 1938, in a radio broadcast with Arturo Toscanini leading the NBC Symphony Orchestra).
[30] "Honor Student," *Los Angeles Evening Post-Record*, April 13, 1935.
[31] "Obituaries: Elizabeth M. Mills," *Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 1999. Morgridge Mills would later become one of the first American violin teachers to introduce the Suzuki method to the United States.
[32] "New Composition By Pasadenan Featured," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 15, 1942.

as the opener of the May concert.[33] Though this was clearly an arrangement of the opening of Beethoven's Symphony—bridging the four-note motif's wartime associations with the Morse code letter "V" and the phrase "V for Victory"—scant details exist outside this brief newspaper mention. It was undoubtedly similar to other "Victory Theme" performances that cropped up in American orchestras during the war years. For instance, author Matthew Guerrieri notes that Bruno Walter and the New York Philharmonic honored Armistice Day in 1943 with their own version of the "Victory Theme." This arrangement consisted of the first nine measures of Beethoven's Fifth, followed by a moment of silence and a performance of "The Star-Spangled Banner."[34] As with the discussions that cropped up around the attack on Pearl Harbor, this was a clear instance of European classical music—and Beethoven specifically—being co-opted to rouse American patriotism in the war effort.[35] Even émigrés themselves had begun tapping into similar discourse. In early 1942, Stravinsky declared to a Los Angeles newspaper that his last name should now be spelled with a "v" instead of a "w": "From now on [it's] to be 'V'—for VICTORY Stravinsky. . . . No more 'W.'"[36] In any case, such a programming decision was ideally suited to the Pasadena Civic Orchestra, playing on the audience's patriotic sentiments and providing a public demonstration of Lert and his orchestra's dedication to the American cause.

Before long, the day of the concert arrived—Sunday, May 17, 1942—and a large crowd descended upon the Pasadena Civic Auditorium for the occasion. The performance began around 3:00 pm with Richard Lert leading a spirited rendition of "The Star-Spangled

[33] "Victory Theme Opens Music Event Sunday," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 14, 1942.
[34] Matthew Guerrieri, *The First Four Notes: Beethoven's Fifth and the Human Imagination* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 214.
[35] Annegret Fauser discusses this more in chapter 3 of *Sounds of War*, in the section "Sounds of a Usable Past."
[36] "Stravinsky Says Spell It With a V," unknown newspaper, c. January/February 1942, box 10, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.

Banner." This was followed by the aforementioned "Victory Theme," which was undoubtedly received with the same enthusiasm as its first hearing in February. The applause subsided before the group launched into the first movement of Brahms's Fourth Symphony. Since the Civic Orchestra was still, at its core, a training ensemble, Lert would frequently program select movements from larger symphonies throughout the year "to familiarize the orchestra personnel and audiences with these [works]. . . ."[37] The season would then conclude with a performance of the complete work. As expected, earlier concerts in the 1941–42 season featured the other three movements from Brahms's work. However, this particular concert showcased just the first movement, perhaps to allow the woodwind and brass players to save their stamina for the Strauss work that was to conclude the program.[38]

Following the Brahms selection was the world premiere of Harlow Mills's Violin Concerto. A detailed program note—written by the composer—accompanied the performance, outlining the work's structure, themes, and other points of aural interest (complete with printed musical examples).[39] Though the Concerto was not explicitly "American" or nationalistic in tone, Mills's note does point out some "Americanisms" present in the work. One of these was a so-called "hill-billy theme" in the third and final movement, which the violin plays "against a dissonant orchestral accompaniment."[40] The Concerto and its performance by Elizabeth Morgridge Mills were robustly received. The

[37] "Civic Orchestra Will Open 10th Concert Season Tonight," *Pasadena Post*, November 6, 1937.
[38] One of these brass players was then-twenty-two-year-old hornist Vincent DeRosa (b. 1920), who was principal horn of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra and a section player in the Werner Janssen Symphony. At the time, DeRosa was just beginning his career as a studio musician. He would go on to become one of the most sought-after performers in Hollywood, playing on film soundtracks by Henry Mancini, Alfred Newman, and John Williams, and on albums by Frank Sinatra, Ella Fitzgerald, Stan Kenton, and Frank Zappa, among numerous others. At press time, DeRosa is 101 years old.
[39] Harlow Mills, program note for Violin Concerto, Pasadena Civic Orchestra concert program, May 17, 1942, Pasadena Museum of History.
[40] Ibid.

Pasadena Post reported the following day, "Although created in the modern idiom—still a little strange to many untrained ears—the composition won hearty applause from the large audience which twice demanded that Mr. Mills stand in his place and take a bow."[41] It was also notable how the newspaper weighed the Violin Concerto against the rest of the program. Though the anonymous critic had several positive things to say about the entire concert, they passingly noted that the "major interest" of the afternoon was the Concerto.[42] Similarly, the *Los Angeles Times* had called the work the "highlight of this concert" in a preview article a week earlier.[43] In a small way, this language demonstrates how Lert and the Pasadena Civic Orchestra were effectively fostering an audience interested not only in the traditional classics of the European canon but in new music, especially when local talent was involved.

After intermission, the orchestra presented Johann Joseph Abert's "Prelude, Chorale, and Fugue," a compilation of two J.S. Bach pieces that Abert had completed and orchestrated in 1872. Following this work—which "received, probably, the greatest applause," as the *Post* opined—Elizabeth Morgridge Mills returned to the stage with her husband to present a selection of short works for violin and piano.[44] The couple performed three numbers, opening with two Schubert song arrangements and closing with Szymanowski's "Tarantelle" (1915). The enthusiastic reception brought the Mills duo back one final time for an "exquisite nocturne."[45]

Lert and the orchestra then wrapped up the afternoon with Strauss's *Rosenkavalier* Waltzes. Like Janssen, Lert seemed unconcerned with the "mass war hysteria" that had led

[41] "Violin Concerto Offered At Civic Orchestra Finale," *Pasadena Post*, May 18, 1942.
[42] Ibid.
[43] "Crown City Violinist to Perform," *Los Angeles Times*, May 10, 1942.
[44] "Violin Concerto Offered At Civic Orchestra Finale," *Pasadena Post*, May 18, 1942.
[45] Ibid.

certain American organizations to ban Axis-power composers from their programs.[46] Indeed, the conductor appeared more interested in bridging divides and letting the music speak for itself. Other Civic Orchestra programs around this time featured composers whose music had been banned by the Nazi Party (such as Mendelssohn and Mahler) in addition to others that the regime embraced (such as Wagner and Strauss).[47] In any case, the performance of Strauss's technically-difficult *Rosenkavalier* Waltzes—likely the shorter "Waltz Sequence No. 2"—was undoubtedly a testament to the Civic Orchestra's improved abilities under Lert's able directorship, bringing the concert to an uplifting conclusion.

Strangely, with all the press attention that appeared in the *Pasadena Star-News*, the *Pasadena Post* was the only newspaper—local or otherwise—to review the May 17 concert. Notably absent were thoughts from Isabel Morse Jones at the *Los Angeles Times*. Jones had made a point to attend several of the Civic Orchestra's concerts since the start of Lert's tenure in 1936 and, historically, had many positive things to say about the growing quality of the ensemble and its repertoire choices under Lert's direction.[48] With such a busy spring season of performances, though, perhaps Morse had opted instead to review the following week's outdoor performance of J.S. Bach's secular cantata *Phoebus and Pan*, featuring Lert in his role as music director of the Bach Society of Pasadena.[49] Even without Morse's comments, the Civic Orchestra's final concert of the 1941–42 season once again proved their commitment to the Pasadena community. Local composers and performers were programmed comfortably alongside canonic classics, all brought together under Lert's steady

[46] Letter from Larry Bachmann to Werner Janssen, December 10, 1941, box 1, folder 8, Werner Janssen Papers, Dartmouth College.
[47] These included Mendelssohn's *Hebrides* Overture (1830–32), Mahler's *Kindertotenlieder* (1904), and Wagner's Overture to Act III of *Tannhäuser* (1843–45).
[48] Isabel Morse Jones, "New Music Aspirants in Debut," *Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 1939.
[49] Isabel Morse Jones, "Bach Society Of Pasadena Offers 'Phoebus And Pan,'" *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1942.

command of the ensemble. The results were an enthusiastic and distinctively "Pasadenan" event which the city and its citizens could proudly support. An upcoming performance would take this display of locality even further, showing off local characteristics but with an explicitly "American" bent.

The American Music Theatre of Pasadena

As the Pasadena Civic Orchestra closed their season, the hype for another local event was beginning to reach a fever pitch. Area newspapers had been touting it for weeks, and tickets were already a hot commodity. Publicity even extended to the Civic Orchestra's final concert. On the back of the orchestra's May 17 program, a small note announced the following: "The 'Barber of Seville' by Rossini, in English, will be given at the Civic Auditorium, June 2, 1942, Richard Lert, conducting."[50] The production would be mounted by the American Music Theatre of Pasadena. Founded in 1940, this nascent company made it their mission to present classic European operas in high-quality English translations. While the concept was certainly not new—several European countries had a tradition of translating operas into the vernacular, as did some preexisting American opera companies—the Music Theatre hoped to extend the base goal of understandability even further.[51] Not only would they seek to make opera more approachable and relevant to modern American audiences, but more "American" in its overall presentation.

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[50] Pasadena Civic Orchestra concert program, May 17, 1942, Pasadena Museum of History.

[51] Two of these were Jeannette Thurber's short-lived American Opera Company in New York and the Eastman Opera Company, based out of the Eastman School of Music. For more on these companies and the English-language translations of opera in America, see Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History*; Katherine K. Preston, *Opera for the People: English-Language Opera and Women Managers in Late 19th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); and Kristen M. Turner, "'A Joyous Star-Spangled-Bannerism': Emma Juch, Opera in English Translation, and the American Cultural Landscape in the Gilded Age," *Journal of the Society of American Music* 8, no. 2 (May 2014): 219–252.

The American Music Theatre of Pasadena was the idea of American actor and singer George Houston. Born in Hampton, New Jersey, in 1896, Houston studied voice at the Eastman School of Music and quickly gained notoriety as a leading operatic bass. While there, he became involved with the Eastman Opera Company, which toured around the country giving performances of European operas in English.[52] The company folded in the early 1930s due to the Great Depression, and Houston moved to Southern California to work in Hollywood. He would soon become a well-known film star, particularly recognized for his role as the "Lone Rider" in a popular series of Westerns. However, Houston's operatic interests remained. In May 1939, he directed the Los Angeles City College's opera program in a production of Mozart's *The Magic Flute* (1791). This "streamlined and Americanized" version featured an English libretto, updated dialog, and simple sets.[53] The performances were a hit. Critics praised the cast of young, talented singers and the creative team's dedication in bringing English-language opera to Southern California. "I think it is rather to the credit of City college and its opera studios that outside [professionals] believe in this objective of an American-Californian opera company," noted Bruno David Ussher.[54] Richard Drake Saunders similarly pointed out the dire need for such a local institution. "An actual training ground for young singers, such as that undertaken at the City College," he stated, "is really of more importance now than an imposing and empty edifice."[55] Thankfully, Houston would soon step in to fill that need.

[52] "Director of Opera Plays Important Part In Success," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 26, 1942.
[53] Richard Drake Saunders, "'Magic Flute' Streamlined By Collegians," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, May 4, 1939.
[54] Bruno David Ussher, "Music," *Daily News*, May 9, 1939.
[55] Richard Drake Saunders, "College 'Magic Flute' Plan Wins Acclaim," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, March 25, 1939.

Up to this point, opera had an odd relationship with Southern California. In the late-nineteenth century, there were relatively few opportunities to attend opera productions in the area. Local performances popped up in various places, but the most reliable source came from out-of-town opera companies, who were occasionally booked to bring big, expensive productions to the city.[56] This meager "trickle" was later complicated in the early-twentieth century by vaudeville and, later, the rise of the Hollywood film industry, which was considered a much more reliable and lucrative form of mass entertainment. Even so, opera in Los Angeles generally avoided being pegged as an exclusive commodity for the rich and powerful. In *Making Music in Los Angeles*, Catherine Parsons Smith notes, "Despite the failure of music to assume the dominant position in film that it held in opera and the divergent paths taken by these genres, opera did not remain comfortably in the elite pigeonhole to which the development of commercial mass culture had consigned it."[57] Some local projects assisted with this. Organizations such as the Euterpe Opera Theater emerged as a means to present smaller-scale opera productions that utilized the talents of local singers.[58] Certain venues, too, like the Hollywood Bowl, could also be credited for making opera affordable and accessible to a larger swath of Angelenos.[59] These and other ventures would continue to fill the operatic void until 1986 when LA Opera provided the city with its first resident (and permanent) opera company.[60]

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[56] These included the San Francisco Opera, the National Opera Company, and the Del Conte Italian Opera Company, among several others. For more, see Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles*.
[57] Smith, 162 and 164.
[58] Ibid., 164.
[59] Traub, *Hollywood Bowl: The First 100 Years*.
[60] While LA Opera did stem from the previously-formed Los Angeles Civic Grand Opera, the earlier company "had limited resources, often performing with only a piano." Karen Bacellar, "A History of Opera in Los Angeles," *KCET*, May 30, 2017, https://www.kcet.org/shows/artbound/a-history-of-opera-in-los-angeles.

However, with the growing threat of European fascism in the 1930s and the United States' entry into World War II, a different approach to opera was needed. As Annegret Fauser observes, "[Specifically] American concerns about the musical stage intersected with the broader distrust of opera's contemporary relevance in the face of an established and increasingly hidebound performance repertoire."[61] This was especially the case in a tradition now dominated by composers—either currently or retroactively—connected with the Axis powers, such as Rossini, Verdi, Puccini, Strauss, and Wagner. However, George Houston saw these issues as an opportunity. In 1940, Houston founded the American Music Theatre of Pasadena.[62] This new company, formed alongside Richard Lert and soprano Virginia Card, aimed to continue the work begun by Los Angeles City College's opera program, providing young singers with a professional training opportunity and Southern Californians with regular productions of operas in English translations.

As the American Music Theatre got underway, more was revealed about Houston's particular approach to the company's mission and to the operatic art form itself. Before the company's 1941 English-language production of Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786), Houston proclaimed, "We are calling ourselves the 'American Music theater' because we have broken with the absurd conventions of oldfashioned [sic], un-American opera traditions."[63] What exactly these "absurd" and "un-American" traditions were soon became evident. In a feature article for *The Oregonian*, writer Charles Perlee reported the following:

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[61] Fauser, 161.
[62] The company first went under the name "Chamber Opera Associates," likely in reference to the financial support it received from the Opera Associates of Pasadena and the Coleman Chamber Music Association. By 1941, though, their name had changed to the American Music Theatre of Pasadena. "Opera Associates To Present Mozart Opus In Pasadena," *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1940.
[63] Quoted in Bruno David Ussher, "National tour for American Music theater of Pasadena," *Daily News*, November 25, 1941.

> Before Dr. Lert, Mr. Houston and Miss Card got the company started, they made a list of reasons why Americans don't go for opera as Europeans go for it. Here are seven reasons:
>
> 1. It's in a foreign language.
> 2. Recitatives are silly.
> 3. Story not clear.
> 4. Big, fat people who are playing parts which demand small, good-looking people.
> 5. Music dominates story.
> 6. Too boring, not entertaining enough.
> 7. Too expensive.[64]

Though some of these notions are wild, now-outdated generalizations (and may have been exaggerated for journalistic effect), the sentiment was still clear. Houston believed that opera was in dire need of an update and that it held great potential to be understandable, approachable, and appealing to all Americans. "This is opera for Americans; for husbands as well as wives," he noted in regards to the *Figaro* production. "Those who have been afraid of opera because it has been given in a foreign language and in a foreign style, are invited to come to 'Figaro.' We feel they will enjoy it."[65] The hope was that children would also enjoy the productions and gain a greater appreciation for the art form, helping to secure its future in America:

> [The] realization [of this project] will mean that America will have at long last found herself in music. Children will grow up with a new love and understanding for the beautiful and the America of tomorrow may not only have greater cultural strength but bright pride in its own significant form of operatic interpretation.[66]

Additionally, Houston intended for the company to one day expand beyond the European canon and present operas by American composers. "Our Mozart is but the beginning," he

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[64] Charles Perlee, "This is Grand Opera, American Style," *The Oregonian*, March 1, 1942.
[65] Quoted in "Altadenans Going To 'Figaro,'" *Pasadena Star-News*, December 1, 1941. It is also worth noting that Houston's vision of an "American" audience likely comprised white, middle-class attendees, with little consideration for Black, Asian, Hispanic, or Indigenous members.
[66] "American Opera For Americans," *Pasadena Star-News*, December 1, 1941.

proclaimed, "We hope to find new American operas [and] hope to present them in a manner expressive of a new indigenous American culture."[67]

After the Music Theatre's inaugural production of *The Marriage of Figaro* was well-received in December 1940, it was encored the following year to widespread acclaim.[68] Critics sang the company's praises, stating that the English translations allowed attendees to "feel the full impact of [the opera's] sparkling wit and amusing situation done in [an] American style."[69] Similar accolades were directed toward Lert, the orchestra, and the cast, the latter of which highlighted several young singers, many of them from Southern California. There was the occasional nit-pick. Isabel Morse Jones, for instance, opined, "The voices were not exceptional though the acting was."[70] Despite this, almost all aspects of the *Figaro* production were lauded throughout Pasadena and the greater Los Angeles area. The company's work even resonated far beyond county and state lines. The *Pasadena Star-News* claimed that papers from Portland, New York, Chicago, Kansas City, and other metropolitan centers had spread positive words about the company and its "American" approach.[71] It was clear that early efforts by the American Music Theatre of Pasadena were working. The company was successfully turning European opera—an "old-fashioned" and "un-American" product—into a modern form of entertainment that American audiences could fully enjoy and embrace.

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[67] Bruno David Ussher, "National tour for American Music theater of Pasadena," *Daily News*, November 25, 1941.
[68] Isabel Morse Jones, "Pasadenans Give 'Figaro,'" *Los Angeles Times*, December 17, 1940.
[69] "English Version Of Mozart Opera Hailed By Audience," *Pasadena Post*, December 2, 1941.
[70] Isabel Morse Jones, "'Marriage Of Figaro' Opens Pasadena's Opera Season," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 1941.
[71] "'Opera In American' Adds To City's Cultural Fame," *Pasadena Star-News*, April 13, 1942.

Creating an Opera "in American"

After the repeat *Figaro* production in December 1941, the troupe was scheduled to embark on a twenty-five-week tour of the Pacific Coast and other Western states.[72] However, the attack on Pearl Harbor likely curtailed those plans. The possibility of a future local performance lay dormant until the start of the new year. On February 2, 1942, Houston, Lert, and members of the American Music Theatre reconvened for an "open rehearsal" at the Wilshire Ebell Theatre. Under the theme "American opera in the making," the group performed excerpts from several operas, including *The Barber of Seville*. The showcase was then followed by a question-and-answer session with the audience.[73] It is unclear if this event sparked the idea for the company's next project, but nevertheless, on April 3, it was officially announced that the "Preferred City" would play host to a new, full-scale production of *The Barber of Seville* in late spring.[74] The performance date was initially set for May 14 but quickly switched to June 2, possibly to avoid a potential conflict with Lert's season finale concert with the Civic Orchestra on May 17.[75]

With the rise of patriotic and nationalistic sentiments after Pearl Harbor, the specifically "American" aspects of the Music Theatre's productions rose to the front of local discourse with renewed vigor. Days after the announcement of the spring production, an article appeared in the *Pasadena Star-News* with the headline "'Opera In American' Adds To City's Cultural Fame."[76] In it, the author lauded the benefits that Pasadena reaped by supporting "opera in American," a moniker that had initially appeared and gained traction in

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[72] Bruno David Ussher, "National tour for American Music theater of Pasadena," *Daily News*, November 25, 1941.
[73] "'American opera in the making' promised to Ebell audience for Monday program," *Daily News*, January 30, 1942.
[74] "Rossini's Opera to Be Offered," *Pasadena Star-News*, April 3, 1942.
[75] Ibid.; "Tickets For American Opera Placed On Sale," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 5, 1942.
[76] "'Opera In American' Adds To City's Cultural Fame," *Pasadena Star-News*, April 13, 1942.

conjunction with the December 1941 *Figaro* production. Many supporters, including the impresario secretary of the Opera Associates of Pasadena, Leon Ettinger, believed that the American Music Theatre added yet another "jewel" to the city's cultural crown. Ettinger proclaimed:

> Because Pasadena is the home of 'opera in American,' the city's value as a cultural center is now even greater than it was before. . . . Tourists are attracted to Pasadena on account of its fine cultural institutions just as much as they are by climate, the Rose Bowl, and the Tournament of Roses. . . .[77]

Lee Shippey of the *Los Angeles Times* held similar beliefs, stating that this venture gave Pasadena an edge of superiority over Los Angeles proper. He wrote, "On June 2 'The Barber of Seville' will be presented with such a shave, haircut and application of tonic as 'the barber' never got before. . . . With all its greatness—perhaps because of it—Los Angeles has never been able to match Pasadena in cohesiveness except in the support of [the] Hollywood Bowl."[78]

Several writers expanded these Pasadena-specific benefits to ones that America as a whole could reap. Charles Perlee recalled the reasons for the American Music Theatre's founding:

> The purpose . . . of the American Music theater is to . . . make opera just as acceptable to Americans as the movies, the drama or baseball. However, in putting it on the same basis as these popular forms of entertainment the musical score is not sacrificed. That remains just about as the composer wrote it. . . . When the company goes from town to town the audience will for the first time know what the stories of the opera are all about. They will be in English, but in English that is intelligible and full of meaning. . . . Audiences will not have to watch 200-pound singers strut around the stage, waving their arms and grimacing. The girls are pretty and the men are handsome. . . . Of interest to the public is the fact that it will cost [only] a little more than movie [tickets] to hear an opera. None of these $12-a-seat affairs![79]

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[77] Quoted in ibid.
[78] Lee Shippey, "Lee Side o' L.A.," *Los Angeles Times*, May 12, 1942.
[79] Charles Perlee, "This is Grand Opera, American Style," *The Oregonian*, March 1, 1942.

Despite the outdated sizeist language, these assertions would take further hold in the Los Angeles press in the coming days and weeks.

While Houston had made clear his dedication to the enterprise of "Americanizing" opera from the beginning, Lert remained largely in the background on such matters. For instance, when Houston and Lert were called to the stage between the third and fourth acts of *The Marriage of Figaro* that previous December, Houston publicly lauded the American Music Theatre's efforts and Lert's role in the project. When Lert was asked to speak, he "modestly refused to say more than 'This is not work; it is just fun."[80] Few other indications of Lert's opinions were known other than his (supposed) contribution to the "list of reasons why Americans don't go for opera."[81] As the June production inched closer, though, Lert's enthusiasm became much more transparent. In a lengthy comment to the *Star-News* on May 12, he stated:

> In France they sing opera in French, even though it may be a performance of Wagner's 'Die Walkuere.' The Germans translate Verdi's 'Otello' into their own language, while Italians wouldn't think of doing an opera unless it were in Italian. Why not give opera in this country in English? It's a very beautiful language, and the public is missing a lot of enjoyment when they can't understand what the performers are singing about. The aim of our company is to produce opera that will be truly American—in translation, acting and stage direction. Some day we hope to do operas by American composers.[82]

Lert's views on the project were markedly different from that of his colleague George Houston. Whereas Houston's statements frequently emphasized the stark distinctions between opera in America and opera in Europe, here, Lert was *connecting* the two traditions directly. By offering several examples of European countries with a rich history of translating operas into the vernacular—namely France, Germany, and Italy—he was proving that the

[80] "English Version Of Mozart Opera Hailed By Audience," *Pasadena Post*, December 2, 1941.
[81] Charles Perlee, "This is Grand Opera, American Style," *The Oregonian*, March 1, 1942.
[82] Quoted in "Casting Complete For 'Barber of Seville,'" *Pasadena Star-News*, May 12, 1942.

American Music Theatre's mission was not new; it already had longtime and accepted precedents in the countries where opera originated. Further, Lert's illustrious European credentials and esteemed operatic career pre-emigration made his views all the more legitimate and trustworthy, perhaps even convincing any local opera lovers who were skeptical. In any case, with this statement, Lert appeared to be fully on board and enthusiastic with the American Music Theatre's enterprise of translating operas into English.

In their recent collaborations, Houston and Lert shared a fruitful working relationship. During the December 1941 production of *Figaro*, Houston quipped, "This is the first time that the music and drama departments of an opera company have been happily wedded."[83] As stage director, Houston focused predominantly on the dramatic side, handling acting, dialogue coaching, and the "business" dealings of the company. He also took a leading role in the translation process. The *Pasadena Star-News* outlined Houston's intentions and approach to translation:

> In selecting the English words, Mr. Houston has been careful to retain the feeling of the story and has avoided the use of words that are beyond a singer's power to enunciate clearly. He has also tried to stay away from endless repetitions, so much a part of old-fashioned opera. Mr. Houston has gone back to the original plays of Beaumarchais, upon which Rossini based his opera. Mr. Houston is an ardent reader of this famous French playwright.[84]

Lert, on the other hand, handled all musical aspects of the production. He coached the singers, rehearsed the orchestra, and directed the whole ensemble during rehearsals and run-throughs. Lert also played a role in the translation process. The *Figaro* translation had been based in part on a preexisting version by author and critic Edward Dent, but further revisions and updates were made by both Lert and Houston, with additional input from Lert's wife,

[83] Quoted in "Director of Opera Plays Important Part In Success," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 26, 1942.
[84] Ibid.

author and screenwriter Vicki Baum.[85] Since recitatives were pegged as one of the so-called "absurd" and "un-American" operatic traditions that the company was so keen to update, these were replaced with newly-written, spoken English dialog in the vein of French *opéra comique* and the burgeoning American musical.[86] Though Houston and Lert could effectively collaborate on equal terms in rehearsal, by the time of performance, Lert was the one in control. Local papers observed that "[Houston's] work is virtually over when the curtain is ready to go up. From then on, Dr. Lert is 'boss.'"[87]

One draw of the American Music Theatre was undoubtedly the opportunity to train young American singers, which Lert likely viewed as a natural extension of his educational work with the Civic Orchestra. For the company's past productions, Lert selected a group of top players from the orchestra, who provided musical accompaniment from the pit under his direction. It is worth mentioning, though, that no local newspapers or other sources actually confirmed that the Civic Orchestra was involved in the June production of *The Barber of Seville*. In fact, their past connections with the American Music Theatre only appeared in passing. In her review of the December 1941 *Figaro* production, Isabel Morse Jones stated in a brief aside, "The Pasadena Civic Orchestra was in the pit [but] . . . not acknowledged in the program. . . ."[88] Years later, in March 1945, this was more strongly confirmed when the orchestra for the company's production of Verdi's *La traviata* (1853) was said to be "made up of Pasadena Civic Orchestra members and players from Hollywood studios."[89] Considering these small pieces of evidence and that the *Barber* performance was moved

[85] Bruno David Ussher, "National tour for American Music theater of Pasadena," *Daily News*, November 25, 1941.
[86] Ibid.
[87] "Director of Opera Plays Important Part In Success," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 26, 1942.
[88] Isabel Morse Jones, "'Marriage Of Figaro' Opens Pasadena's Opera Season," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 1941.
[89] "Concertmaster for 'Traviata' Announced," *Pasadena Star-News*, March 29, 1945.

from May to June, it is safe to assume that the pit musicians for this production were also hand-picked from the Civic Orchestra.

In late April and early May 1942, casting for *The Barber of Seville* fell into place. Two lead roles were announced first; soprano Virginia Card would sing the role of Rosina, and bass Douglas Beattie would appear as Doctor Bartolo. Both possessed prior, notable performing experience. Beattie had sung in several opera houses in Italy before winning engagements at the Metropolitan Opera, San Francisco Opera, and the Hollywood Bowl (under Otto Klemperer).[90] Card, one of the American Music Theatre's cofounders, was also a rising star. She claimed numerous stage credits—including the 1939 *Magic Flute* at Los Angeles City College—and had signed a contract with MGM Studios, appearing in a single film in 1941 (*The Lone Rider in Frontier Fury* alongside George Houston).[91] Other cast members of note included baritone John Raitt as Figaro and bass-baritone Harold Keel in the dual role of Fiorello and a soldier.[92]

A good portion of the cast members were native to California. Beattie was born in Porterville, while Raitt was born in Santa Ana. A few were born elsewhere—Card and Keel were from Oregon and Illinois, respectively—but had been living in Southern California for several years. Though the cast as a whole intentionally highlighted young, talented, and "attractive" American singers, this was seen as just one small part of the Music Theatre's

[90] "Douglas Beattie, Baritone, Was 44," *New York Times*, September 19, 1951.
[91] Card would marry Houston in July 1943, though the two were only together for a short time before Houston's tragic death in November 1944. Card continued to foster her stage career in later years, joining the touring production of *Oklahoma!* and forming her own opera-in-English company in New York. She passed away in Oregon in 2013.
[92] "Complete 'Barber of Seville' Cast Announced," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 15, 1942. Raitt later appeared in productions of *Oklahoma!* and *Carousel*, and also found success on television. He was also the father (from his first marriage) of singer-songwriter and guitarist Bonnie Raitt. Keel—under the professional name Howard Keel—would go on to star in several big-budget musicals released by MGM Studios. His roles included Frank Butler in *Annie Get Your Gun* (1950), Gaylord Ravenal in *Show Boat* (1951), and Adam in *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954).

larger goals of accessibility. In an interview with the *Daily News* in November 1941, Houston stated the following:

> Dr. Lert and I hope to accomplish more than to find public recognition for 10 young Americans, vital as such an achievement is to them individually and to the cause of native singers generally. . . . [We] are going an important step further. We are trying to find the kind of music-dramatic vehicle for them which will appeal to the general public. And if an art is to appeal, then it must be understood.[93]

As the roles were filled, journalists made sure to mention the cast's local connections and performance credits. For instance, some papers recalled Keel's first performance in Pasadena in June 1941, when he sung the role of Samuel in Handel's 1738 oratorio *Saul* (under Lert's direction).[94] Similarly, Beattie was a regular soloist at the Pasadena Music Festival, and Charles Platte—cast as Count Almaviva—had just been featured in the Festival's April performance of *Messiah*.[95]

Local papers were also quick to highlight how individual cast members were contributing to the war effort. Card, for instance, was currently "making a concert tour of Army camps in Northern California" with the USO.[96] Closer to home, Raitt made his Pasadena debut in an early-May recital for local soldiers, during which "the audience rose and cheered him after he finished singing the famous Figaro aria from 'The Barber.'"[97] Keel made a more technical contribution. In 1941, he was employed at the Douglas Aircraft Company in Santa Monica. By spring 1942, though his singing career was beginning to take off, he continued to "[spend] most of his time building air planes," as the *Pasadena Star-News* proudly reported.[98] Like the lead-up to the Pasadena Civic Orchestra's season finale

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[93] Quoted in Bruno David Ussher, "National tour for American Music theater of Pasadena," *Daily News*, November 25, 1941.
[94] "Harold Keel, Basso, To Broadcast Sunday," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 2, 1942.
[95] "Complete 'Barber of Seville' Cast Announced," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 15, 1942.
[96] "Pasadena Soprano To Sing Over KNX," *Pasadena Star-News*, April 29, 1942.
[97] "Complete 'Barber of Seville' Cast Announced," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 15, 1942.
[98] "Harold Keel, Basso, To Broadcast Sunday," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 2, 1942.

concert, such press language could be interpreted as a subtle way of celebrating and cementing the American Music Theatre's "Pasadenan" qualities, particularly its efforts to engage young, mostly local singers. However, by further highlighting cast members' participation in the war effort, the effect was similar to that of the Werner Janssen Symphony's "all-American" concert—a local organization projecting a distinct "American" identity and asserting its patriotic pride during a period of international crisis.

Tickets went on sale at the Pasadena Civic Auditorium on May 5. First in line at the box office was the American baritone John Charles Thomas, who was "deeply interested in the work of [the] American Music Theater, and has pledged support to Conductor Richard Lert and Stage Director George Houston."[99] Due to the popularity of the company's previous *Figaro* productions, demand for *The Barber of Seville* was expected to be even greater. Still, outreach efforts were announced in an attempt to appeal to a much broader audience—in this particular case, soldiers stationed at local army camps. "Persons desiring to purchase extra tickets so local soldiers may attend, can do so at the box office," reported the *Star-News*.[100] Not only was this a prime opportunity to support local opera—opera "in American" at that—but support the war effort in a small but generous way. Mary Frances Snow of the *Los Angeles Times* seemed to agree. She stated enthusiastically, "It's quite a leap from bandages to opera but in these times of morale, uplift and inspiration they both come under the heading 'second line of defense'! This is especially true inasmuch as the American Music Theater, directed by Richard Lert and George Huston [sic], is now creating a fine music medium in our own native language."[101]

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[99] "Tickets For American Opera Placed On Sale," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 5, 1942. Thomas would later be—alongside Lert and others—one of the founders of the Music Academy of the West in Montecito.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Mary Frances Snow, "Jeeps Play Obbligato to Song of Needles," *Los Angeles Times*, May 17, 1942.

Once tickets were available, Elmer Wilson, manager of seat sales for the Opera Associates of Pasadena, reported hundreds of eager operagoers showing up to the box office. Many purchased tickets for themselves, family members, and friends and also jumped at the chance to buy extra tickets for local soldiers. Wilson attributed such an impressive turnout to "The fact that 'The Barber' is being given in English and has in its cast several fine young singers of outstanding ability. . . ."[102] While the vernacular production and the charitable ticket opportunity likely contributed to the robust sales, another major draw was undoubtedly the reasonable cost. Several papers touted that tickets were being sold at "movie theater prices," making it more affordable for a wider swath of Southern Californians to attend.[103] An advertisement in the May 15 edition of the *Pasadena Star-News* revealed the following four price tiers: 55¢, 85¢, $1.10, and $1.65 [approximately $9.49, $14.66, $18.97, and $28.46 in 2022].[104] These attempts to connect the American Music Theatre's productions to the movies—and other popular and distinctly "American" pastimes such as baseball—clearly seemed to be working. Wilson observed, "Many [ticket buyers] have stated to us that this will be their first trip to an opera. The time for a true American opera is riper than ever before. We are proud that Pasadena is the leader in this great movement."[105]

Meanwhile, the "Americanness" of the production itself—as a replacement for outmoded European traditions—began to be touted more frequently in the press, perhaps even more intently than the company's past performances. Local papers continued to celebrate the young (and good-looking) American cast, the English translation, and the

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[102] "'Barber' Tickets Sale Reported As Large," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 25, 1942.
[103] "Complete 'Barber of Seville' Cast Announced," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 15, 1942; Virginia Wright, "Opera for Americans," *Daily News*, May 27, 1942.
[104] Advertisement for *The Barber of Seville*, *Pasadena Star-News*, May 15, 1942. Approximate conversions to USD as of January 2022, which accounts for inflation. These conversions are courtesy of the CPI Inflation Calculator from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm).
[105] "'Barber' Tickets Sale Reported As Large," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 25, 1942.

removal of "old-fashioned" elements such as the recitative. Like Charles Perlee, Alfred Price Quinn of the *B'nai B'rith Messenger* couched it with some problematic descriptors about the size of opera singers:

> It is stated that this group is the only one in the country presenting 'opera for Americans.' New interest for opera in clear, understandable English with modern staging and acting by singers who look as well as play the part is being shown throughout the country. The day of the elephantine prima donna seems to be on the wane.[106]

With rehearsals well underway, several previews of the production were offered throughout Pasadena and the greater Los Angeles area. On May 5, the cast—along with Lert and pianist Ralph Linsley—gave an intimate run-through of the work following a "community sing" at the Woman's Club of Hollywood.[107] Several weeks later, on May 22, the Altadena Kiwanis Club hosted a public rehearsal of scenes. Part of the Club's "Victory program," the event provided "Kiwanians, wives, friends and guests . . . a taste of what Rossini's famous opera will be like when it is presented at the Civic Auditorium on June 2, by the same cast of young professional singers."[108] During the program, Houston also briefly explained the purpose of the American Music Theatre. "Italians," he informed the gathering, "patronize opera because it is sung in their own language and they can understand it."[109] Like Lert, he firmly believed that the translations "[will] be understood by everyone" and that they were a natural step in creating a deeper American appreciation for opera.[110]

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[106] Alfred Price Quinn, "Pasadena Opera to Tour," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, May 8, 1942. Sizeism and fat-shaming opera singers are two traditions that have unfortunately carried over into the twenty-first century. For more on this, see Elizabeth Hahn, "'The Perfect Voice in the Wrong Body': On body shaming in opera," trans. Zach Ferriday, *VAN*, September 16, 2021, https://van-magazine.com/mag/body-shaming-in-opera/.
[107] Bess M. Wilson, "Bank Unit to Salute Chieftain," *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1942.
[108] "Kiwanians To Hear Rehearsal of Comic Opera," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 8, 1942.
[109] "Barber of Seville Previewed For Kiwanians," *Pasadena Star-News*, May 26, 1942.
[110] Virginia Wright, "Opera for Americans," *Daily News*, May 27, 1942.

The most notable preview occurred at Van Nuys High School on June 1, the day before the official performance at the Pasadena Civic Auditorium. Sponsored by the San Fernando Valley Music Club, this event offered the general public a full run-through of *The Barber of Seville* completely free of charge. Due to the expected demand, reservations were encouraged:

> Already more than a half dozen groups, many of them in uniform, have taken blocks of seats including the W.A.D.C., Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, R.O.T.C., McKinley Home, a caravan of station wagons which will bring music-lovers from the west-Valley, the Schubert Club of Los Angeles as well as groups from La Gitania and the Harmonica Club.[111]

The performance was a massive success. The local news reported an auditorium "jammed to seating and standing capacity" and an audience who greeted the production with a rousing "storm of bravos and cheers."[112] Initially, the event was intended to be a simple dress rehearsal with piano accompaniment, but "enthusiasm reached such a peak that Conductor Richard Lert ordered his full musical ensemble on deck at the last minute, although the company had a major performance scheduled the following evening."[113] Houston's translation was also a notable victory. The *Van Nuys News and Valley Green Sheet* reported that the production now "made it possible for the audience to know exactly what the cast was chattering about [at] every moment during the rollicking sequences which were full of drollery and mischievous intrigue."[114] Clearly, the American Music Theatre of Pasadena had another hit on its hands.

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[111] "Society Turns Attention To The American Music Theatre's Opera Staging Here Monday," *The Van Nuys News and Valley Green Sheet*, May 26, 1942.
[112] "Barber of Seville' Notable Achievement for Study Club," *The Van Nuys News and Valley Green Sheet*, June 5, 1942.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.

However, the most intriguing aspect of this June 1 preview was what preceded it—a performance of a "patriotic cantata" entitled *I Hear America Singing* (1941). Inspired by the poetry of Walt Whitman, the work was written by the American (and Los Angeles-based) composer George Kleinsinger and presented by the Los Angeles City College A Cappella Choir.[115] The choir was fresh off a performance of the work at their recent school concert, which also included J.S. Bach's *Magnificat* (1723, 1733), a selection of American folk songs, and a striking visual component—a giant image of an American eagle that graced the back of the stage.[116] Though Bach and the folk songs were absent from the June 1 preview, the evening did feature similar visual elements. Alongside "flowers, beautiful gowns and furs," papers reported that Van Nuys High School was filled with "a stirring display of flags and wartime uniforms [which added] color to the performance. . . ."[117]

The Van Nuys preview offers a unique display of the dual nature of American musical identity during World War II. One could interpret the Rossini performance—and the American Music Theatre's work overall—as a marker of the country's self-appointed role "as the (sole) custodian of the arts in a time of global crisis."[118] Similar to the undercurrents present at the Los Angeles Philharmonic's 1936 benefit concert, perhaps the American Music Theatre saw it as their duty to "save" the operatic art form. Success in this venture would then—whether intentionally or unintentionally—vaunt America's "superiority" and "goodness" over a Europe now ripped apart by war and fascism. The cantata performance, on the other hand, showcases American patriotism in both its textual content (Walt Whitman's

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[115] Kleinsinger was born in San Bernardino in 1914 and is perhaps best remembered for writing the music for the 1945 children's song "Tubby the Tuba."
[116] Fauser, 135; Isabel Morse Jones, "City College Choir Heard In Interesting Program," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1942.
[117] "Capacity Audience Expected for American Theatre's Opera 'Barber of Seville' and Cantata," *The Van Nuys News and Valley Green Sheet*, May 29, 1942.
[118] Fauser, 135.

poetry) and in the composition itself (a recently-written work by an American-born composer). This performance, Fauser notes, "connected the creation of new music in the United States to American concert life's dual heritage," as both an intrinsically-European product and one that Americans could claim and remake for themselves.[119] The visual aspects of the Van Nuys preview add a further element to this, elevating the whole evening from a subtle community display to a full-blown, patriotic celebration. Though many of these explicitly American elements would be absent from the following day's Pasadena performance of *The Barber of Seville*, the Van Nuys preview remains an intriguing case study of the vibrant and contradictory nature of Southern Californian—and American—musical life during wartime.

Outside of Van Nuys, the buzz surrounding the American Music Theatre's official Pasadena performance continued to build. The *Pasadena Post* reported an almost sold-out house, with Elmer Wilson warning those "who have purchased exchange tickets to change them immediately at the boxoffice [sic] to avoid disappointment."[120] A lengthy preview article also appeared in the *Pasadena Star-News* the day before the performance. The author echoed many of the sentiments that had arisen in the preceding days and weeks, including the production's understandability and distinctly "American" sensibility:

> Pasadenans who attend tomorrow night's production of the famous comic opera, 'Barber of Seville,' will enjoy the novel sensation of laughing and knowing what they are laughing about. For the words of the great songs will be in English. The acting will be in the American way.[121]

It was also announced that all the proceeds from ticket sales—alongside the tickets bought for local soldiers—would be donated to the United States military. "There will be no thought

[119] Ibid.
[120] "Sell-Out Seen For Opera," *Pasadena Post*, June 1, 1942.
[121] "Opera In English Is Local Experiment Of Interest To Music Lovers," *Pasadena Star-News*, June 1, 1942.

of profits," the writer noted, "for proceeds will go to the United States Navy Relief and to the funds being raised to furnish recreation rooms in the United States Army Camps of the state."[122] Strangely, the *Star-News* was the only paper to note this detail, but it was no doubt exciting news. That the American Music Theatre's work was being offered for such a noble, charitable cause demonstrated, as the paper put it, yet "another 'American way' of doing things."[123]

Richard Lert's support and enthusiasm for the production—particularly its "American" qualities—were also reemphasized in the days leading up to the performance. At the final rehearsal, he praised the whole venture, stating, "We know that Pasadena will get as much fun out of 'The Barber' as we have had in producing it."[124] The *Star-News* further painted Lert's involvement as the heeding of a noble call:

> Dr. Richard Lert, director of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra, responded when asked to conduct the orchestra of 35 picked musicians. Opera, the American way, to Dr. Lert meant good music for more people. This was enough for him. He volunteered.[125]

With the stage set—and a full performance already under their belts—the American Music Theatre of Pasadena was finally ready to show off its production of *The Barber of Seville* to an eager crowd of Pasadenans and local music lovers.

The Barber of Seville in Pasadena

On Tuesday evening, June 2, 1942, the Pasadena Civic Auditorium was filled to the bursting point. Over 500 people were turned away from the hall, according to the *Pasadena Post*, and those lucky enough to snag a ticket comprised a lively, wide-ranging crowd. The

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[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] "Notables Will See 'Barber of Seville,'" *Pasadena Star-News*, June 2, 1942.
[125] "Opera In English Is Local Experiment Of Interest To Music Lovers," *Pasadena Star-News*, June 1, 1942.

paper reported an audience that included talent scouts, "critics from all metropolitan papers," members of the military, and various local and national music celebrities, including soprano Dusolina Giannini, pianist Will Garroway, impresario L.E. Behymer, and philanthropist Florence Atherton Irish.[126] As the orchestra warmed up in the pit, audience members mingled with their fellow concertgoers. Those unfamiliar with the opera could read a brief plot synopsis in the printed program. Before the summary, an intriguing "warning" appeared:

> 'Why a synopsis should be necessary when an opera is sung in English is a nice point. But in case the diction of the singers be less than one hundred percent perfect, the story goes as follows. . . .'[127]

Interestingly, the aside was set in quotation marks. Whether this was something said by Houston beforehand or a stylistic edit to distinguish the "warning" from the synopsis text below is unknown.

On the front cover of the program, a large caricature depicted five characters from Rossini's opera, all dressed in their Sevillian finest (see figure 4.2).[128] While this drawing provided a simple, eye-catching complement to the program information inside, it also raises an interesting question regarding the overall aesthetic of the production. In her review the following day, Isabel Morse Jones noted that the simple sets—designed by Rita Glover of the Pasadena Playhouse—showcased a "Southern California Spanish rather than Sevillian [style]."[129] However, the synopsis states that the opera's action takes place "in the town of Seville, Spain, in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century."[130] Was the American Music

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[126] "500 Turned Away At Opera, 'Barber Of Seville,' Here," *Pasadena Post*, June 3, 1942.
[127] *The Barber of Seville* program, American Music Theatre of Pasadena, June 2, 1942, Pasadena Museum of History.
[128] Ibid. Specifically, the cover depicts the five characters involved in the Act II quintet: Doctor Bartolo, Rosina, Figaro, Count Almaviva, and Don Basilio.
[129] Isabel Morse Jones, "Modernized 'Barber' Given Fine Staging in Pasadena," *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1942.
[130] *The Barber of Seville* program, American Music Theatre of Pasadena, June 2, 1942, Pasadena Museum of History.

Theatre's production supposed to be set in Seville or in Southern California? The 1965 biography-memoir *In Celebration of the Eightieth Birthday of Richard Lert* provides a small clue. One page features a photograph of the cast—with Lert, Houston, and Ralph Linsley—dressed in what appears to be Spanish-inspired costumes, suggesting that the production *was* set in eighteenth-century Spain.[131] Regardless, the fact that this was not clearly addressed in the days leading up to the performance says a lot about the company's aims and intentions. In Houston's mind, "Americanizing" European opera meant addressing three main areas: libretto, casting, and ticket prices. Lert also thought similarly when he stated, "The aim of our company is to produce opera that will be truly American—in translation, acting and stage direction."[132] By this logic, other dramatic areas, such as the scenario, stage design, and costumes, could be left relatively untouched, and the production as a whole could still be touted as "American." This rhetoric was not unique to the time. Annegret Fauser writes that other opera companies who pursued "Americanization" efforts also tended to focus on similar elements: "Advertisements and reviews point—sometimes rather desperately—to fresh translations, American singers, and up-to-date staging as key ingredients in the formula for turning European opera into an American art form."[133] Perhaps Jones's observation of the production's "Southern California Spanish" style was a simple misattribution. After all, eighteenth-century Spain and Spanish-colonial California shared similar architectural characteristics, and it would not be unheard of to mix up the two. We may never know what the company's full dramatic intentions were, but one can surmise that "Americanization" efforts likely did not extend to elements outside the libretto, personnel, and ticket prices.

[131] Baum and Lert, 18.
[132] "Casting Complete For 'Barber of Seville,'" *Pasadena Star-News*, May 12, 1942.
[133] Fauser, 163.

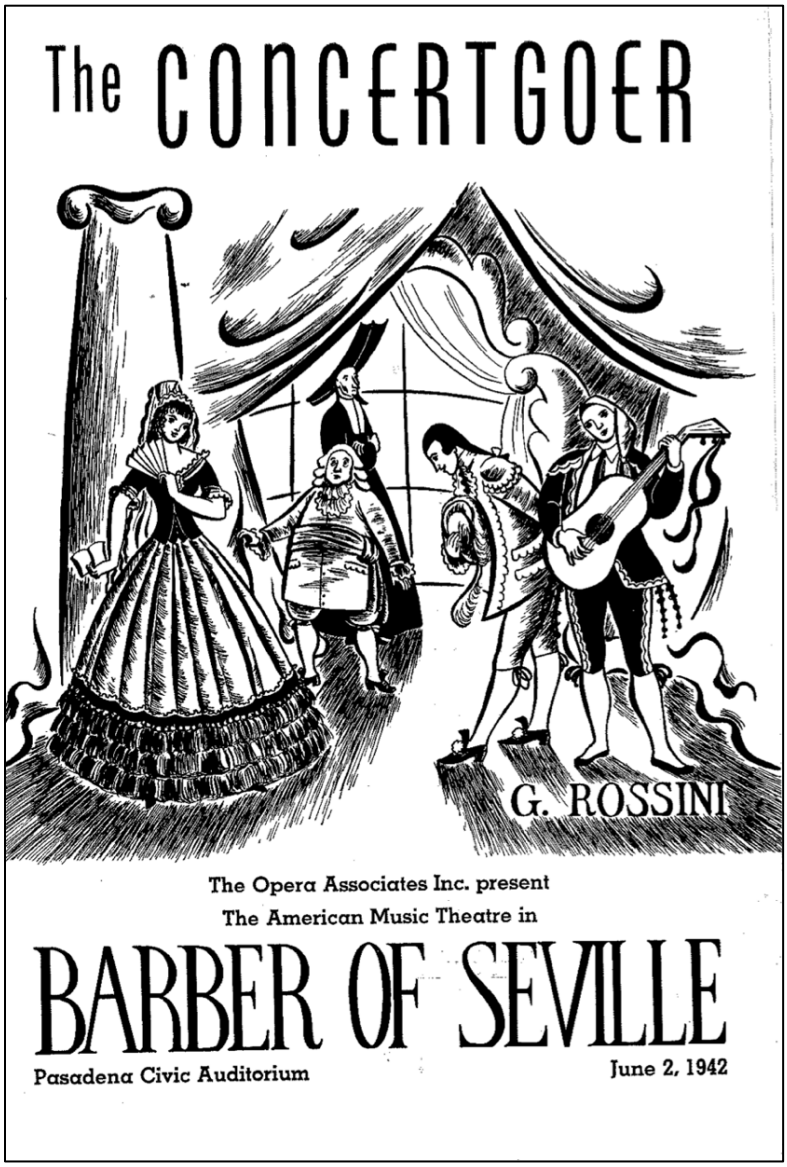

Figure 4.2: Front cover of the American Music Theatre of Pasadena's Barber of Seville *program (June 2, 1942). Caricature artist unknown. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History.*

Throughout the rest of the program, advertisements for local businesses and services vied for audience members' attention. A plug for U.S. war bonds and stamps ("Your Best Investment") sat comfortably alongside promotions for the Crown Music Company and H.L. Miller Co. record store, both located on East Colorado Boulevard in Pasadena.[134] A two-page

[134] *The Barber of Seville* program, American Music Theatre of Pasadena, June 2, 1942, Pasadena Museum of History.

spread announced the Civic Auditorium's 1942–43 season, which would feature appearances from Sergei Rachmaninoff, Gregor Piatigorsky, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, and the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo.[135] One advertisement even brought Lert and Houston directly into its marketing. In promoting their Alhambra-based dairy and ice cream company, Fosselman's heralded Lert as "one of the greatest Wagnerian authorities in the world" and Houston as "a star of Western films" before revealing "the secret of Fosselman's finer flavor" (see figure 4.3).[136] While the jump from an eminent European conductor to ice cream is fairly amusing, this is a clear example of just how much sway Lert's name held in the Pasadena community. A company—even one that sells dairy products—could comfortably attach itself to Lert and expect to drum up business as a result.

The program also made clear the American Music Theatre's indebtedness to several specific Pasadena businesses in making their production a reality. A small blurb on page seven stated the following:

> The Opera Associates express their appreciation for the splendid cooperation of so many loyal friends. They wish to acknowledge special favors from Pasadena Preferred and many Pasadena merchants—Plants and trees are from Rust Nurseries and Harvey Wright—shaving 'props' from the 'Old Curiosity Shop.'[137]

This aside once again emphasizes the locality of the company's operations and the pride they took in calling themselves a part of the Pasadena community. The feeling seemed to be mutual based on the props and other "special favors" provided by local merchants (including a local business organization called "Pasadena Preferred"). Clearly, the American Music Theatre had established itself as a legitimate, prestigious organization—thanks in no small

[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

part to the work of Lert and Houston—and one that the surrounding community could support eagerly and wholeheartedly.

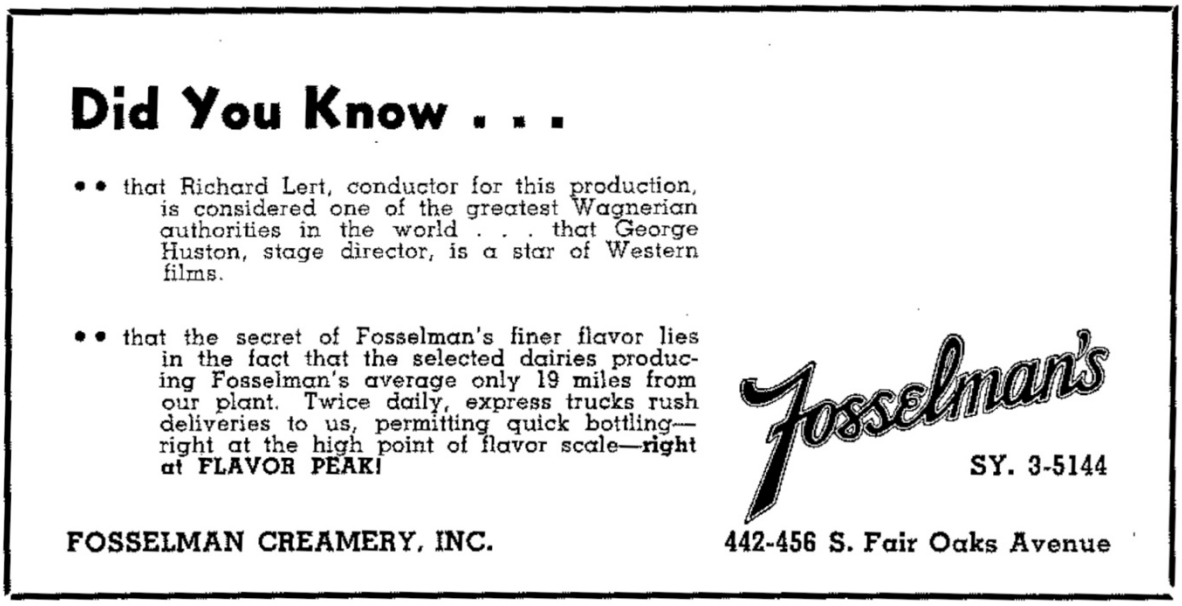

Figure 4.3: Advertisement for Fosselman Creamery, Inc. in the American Music Theatre of Pasadena's Barber of Seville *program (June 2, 1942). Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History.*

Around 8:20 pm, the lights dimmed, the orchestra tuned, and Richard Lert stepped into the pit to warm applause. Once the curtain rose, a convivial mood pervaded the Civic Auditorium. Laughter, cheers, and applause abounded throughout the evening. Isabel Morse Jones reported in the *Los Angeles Times* the following day:

> The audience reaction was just what was hoped for. People laughed in the right places and applauded every bit of new stage business, and there were many. George Houston had devised almost entirely new action, logical, believable and well timed.[138]

The audience agreed; the music, English translations, and witty dialog resonated with those in attendance. Even the purists seemed to love it. "Opera lovers who have heard 'The Barber' countless times in Italian found a new enjoyment in the English version," proclaimed the

[138] Isabel Morse Jones, "Modernized 'Barber' Given Fine Staging in Pasadena," *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1942.

Pasadena Post.[139] One particular scene made a notable impression on the military members present:

> Hubbub created by the entrance of soldiers in the cast afforded one of the most delightful moments in the opera, and amusing lines, such as 'No one can refuse the Army,' occasioned general mirth and were enjoyed especially by the numbers of United States Army men in the audience.[140]

Additional praise was heaped upon the cast and the orchestra. The *Pasadena Post* claimed that John Raitt's Figaro aria "scintillated as it cannot in a foreign tongue. . . ."[141] Douglas Beattie's performance of a rarely-performed aria—arranged by Lert—for Doctor Bartolo "brought down the house."[142] Similarly, both Virginia Card and Charles Platte "delighted their hearers."[143] Papers also lauded the musical performance from Lert and the thirty-five-piece orchestra, with Jones specifically calling out Lert's "seasoned direction."[144] Alfred Price Quinn also asserted that Lert "conducted the performance with the sure poise and fluency that only a complete mastery of the score makes possible."[145]

There were some criticisms, though. As with the company's production of *The Marriage of Figaro*, Jones pointed out the occasional shaky qualities of the singing, noting that "the [ones] who knew both the Italian and the English stayed with the score best."[146] Bruno David Ussher was impressed with the production overall and the talents of the young cast but complained that the spoken scenes wore a bit thin. "Sketchy mis-en-scene," he wrote, "are a weight on performers as on audience reaction. So is the presently yet over-long

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[139] "500 Turned Away At Opera, 'Barber Of Seville,' Here," *Pasadena Post*, June 3, 1942.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Jones, *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1942.
[143] *Pasadena Post*, June 3, 1942.
[144] Jones, *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1942.
[145] Alfred Price Quinn, "Music," *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, June 12, 1942.
[146] Jones, *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1942.

dialogue."[147] Ussher also hoped that the American Music Theatre would live up to its name and eventually present operas by American composers:

> I do hope the company will continue and find a good, new opera by a contemporary American, if only to fulfill all the connotations of its name. The New York League of Composers has commissioned several such works. Ernest Bacon's 'Tree on the Plain' has just been given successfully by Converse College at Spartansburg.[148]

Jones concurred, stating, "It would be interesting to see what this company would do with an American opera."[149] These minor quibbles aside, the evening was a smashing success.

Overall, the American Music Theatre of Pasadena's production of *The Barber of Seville* highlights an intriguing moment within Los Angeles's—and America's—music history. At a time when the country was facing a major international crisis and grappling with its own political and cultural issues, institutions and individuals played a pivotal role in shaping the country's musical identity. While "Americanness" to some—like the Janssen Symphony—meant presenting and celebrating the music of American-born composers, to others, it meant co-opting European models and dressing them up in "American" garb. The American Music Theatre fell into the latter category. To them, presenting operas "in American" meant offering the public updated, high-quality English translations with a cast of talented young singers at affordable prices. While this left several perplexing artistic questions—such as why the visual design did not seem to receive the "American" treatment—the label clearly resonated in this specific moment, and the company was able to draw in large and enthusiastic Angeleno audiences. Further, its success was also due in no small part to the leadership of George Houston and Richard Lert, who were able to navigate local, global, and artistic challenges with perseverance and imagination.

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[147] Bruno David Ussher, "'Barber Of Seville' Has Spirit And Humor," *Pasadena Star-News*, June 6, 1942.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Jones, *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1942.

Postlude

After the June 2 performance, the company made two additional summertime appearances in Southern California. On June 7, members of the cast presented selections from the opera—with piano accompaniment—at a fiesta in West Hollywood hosted by Los Fiesteros de Los Angeles, where attendees could dress in period costumes and enjoy refreshments.[150] The next month, on July 10, the troupe gave another full performance of *The Barber of Seville* at the Redlands Bowl, with Lert and the full orchestra in tow.[151] There were even rumblings of a national tour, but this appears to have been only a passing thought, as the American Music Theatre went on hiatus for the rest of 1942.[152]

The company continued to build its presence in Southern California in the following years. The troupe reconvened in spring 1943 for two productions: a revival of *The Barber of Seville* and a new production of Bizet's *Carmen* (1873–75).[153] Lert and Houston also established a ten-week opera training course and secured additional performances outside the immediate Pasadena area.[154] 1944 saw similar triumphs, with another revival (*The Marriage of Figaro*) and a fresh English translation of Verdi's *La traviata*.[155] Everything was going well, and the American Music Theatre seemed poised for further successes in Pasadena and beyond. However, Houston's sudden death in November 1944 brought their rapid growth to a halt. Despite this, the company pressed on. Although attempts to create new productions repeatedly fell through, they revived old favorites and even made an appearance in San

[150] "Songs From 'Barber' To Be Fiesta Feature," *Pasadena Star-News*, June 6, 1942.
[151] "'Barber of Seville' Presented at Redlands," *Los Angeles Times*, July 11, 1942.
[152] "Noted Singers in 'Barber of Seville,'" *San Fernando Valley Times*, May 26, 1942.
[153] "Music Theater To Give Two Performances In Spring," *Pasadena Post*, February 8, 1943.
[154] "Music Theater Of Pasadena Seeking New Singing Talent," *Pasadena Post*, March 7, 1943; "Music Theater Plans Season Travels," *Pasadena Post*, June 7, 1943.
[155] "Pasadenans to Start Opera Series Jan. 18," *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1944.

Francisco in 1947.[156] Lert also continued to be a guiding light, engaging new singers and loyally conducting the Southern California productions. By 1950, though, shaky finances, a dwindling roster of singers (as several found professional engagements elsewhere), and Houston's absence ultimately won out, and the American Music Theatre of Pasadena ceased operations.

With his faithful leadership of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra (from 1936–72) and the American Music Theatre of Pasadena (from 1940–c. 1950), Richard Lert left an indelible mark on Southern California's music scene. Not only did he train a new generation of American instrumentalists and singers, but encouraged and brought out each institution's uniquely local characteristics, making them distinct and robust examples of community music-making in Los Angeles. Further, Lert seemed genuinely enthusiastic and appreciative of the opportunities he was afforded, especially the chance to work with young musicians.[157] Pasadenans, too, were tremendously grateful for Lert. His leadership of the Civic Orchestra breathed new life into a small amateur organization and transformed it into an enviable ensemble of young professionals that gave impressive performances of both canonic classics and works by local, living composers. Similarly, his tenure with the American Music Theatre filled the local craving for opera, providing audiences a taste of this beloved European art form in fresh "American" productions that they could better understand and appreciate. Over time, his presence imbued these organizations with the legitimacy and prestige the city so desired, giving Pasadena an admirable "sheen" and a competitive edge over Los Angeles proper.

[156] Charles D. Perlee, "Words About Music," *Pasadena Star-News*, January 5, 1947.
[157] See Chapter 1, 52.

In its review of the June *Barber of Seville* production, the *Pasadena Post* proudly referred to "Pasadena's world renowned Richard Lert."[158] Despite all that he and his family had endured since the early 1930s—the rise of fascism, being forced to flee Europe, starting a new life in America—this passing honorific confirms that Lert had found a new, welcoming, and supportive artistic home in Pasadena. With the Pasadena Civic Orchestra's season finale concert and the American Music Theatre's production of *The Barber of Seville*, Richard Lert's contributions to the "Preferred City" were set in stone, allowing these institutions—and Pasadenans themselves—to proudly and unabashedly call Lert one of their own.

[158] "500 Turned Away At Opera, 'Barber Of Seville,' Here," *Pasadena Post*, June 3, 1942.

Conclusion

In November 1945, three months after V-J Day and the conclusion of World War II, Werner Janssen and his orchestra were busily preparing for yet another world premiere. Entitled *Genesis Suite*, the work was commissioned by composer, conductor, and orchestra manager Nathaniel Shilkret. The previous year, Shilkret had the idea for a suite for narrator, chorus, and orchestra that would aurally depict events from the book of Genesis. The effect would be akin to the "symphonic jazz" projects he pursued as director of "light music" at RCA Victor (from 1926–35), melding "highbrow" and "lowbrow" musical traditions in the vein of Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* (1924).[1] Adding to the novelty, Shilkret envisioned the *Genesis Suite* as a jointly-composed venture; that is, each of the work's seven movements would be written independently by a different composer, including Shilkret himself. Janssen was enthusiastic, and the final line-up highlighted some of the most distinguished figures in twentieth-century music—Arnold Schoenberg, Alexandre Tansman, Darius Milhaud, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Ernst Toch, and Igor Stravinsky. Ironically, Hindemith was slated to contribute a movement but eventually withdrew, which delayed the premiere until fall 1945.[2]

The *Genesis Suite* seemed poised for success. With Janssen's celebrated orchestra at the helm and their track record of unique programming, a cadre of high-profile composers, and Shilkret's financial backing, it was hoped that the project would inspire future orchestral suites based on other books of the Old Testament.[3] The occasion also generated a bit of local

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[1] Shilkret had worked with Janssen previously in July 1929, when he conducted the Victor Symphony Orchestra for a recording of Janssen's orchestral work *New Year's Eve in New York*. For more on the divide between "highbrow" and "lowbrow" music in America, see Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[2] H. Colin Slim, *Stravinsky in the Americas: Transatlantic Tours and Domestic Excursions from Wartime Los Angeles (1925–1945)* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 266. Prokofiev and Bartók were also pegged for contributions, but neither panned out.

[3] "Old Testament Set to Music Seen by Composer Shilkret," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, November 7, 1945.

gossip. The dress rehearsal and performance marked one of the few times that "adversaries" Schoenberg and Stravinsky were seen together in public, though both reportedly sat far apart from one another.[4] However, the premiere on November 18, 1945—which shared a program with Beethoven's *Egmont* Overture (1809–10) and Sibelius's First Symphony (1898–99)—was a dismal failure. The sixteen-voice choir and narrator (actor Edward Arnold) were poorly balanced and often struggled to compete with the full orchestra. The disparate styles of each composer, which initially seemed like a novelty, also led several people to express that the collective work felt confused and disjointed. Critic Lawrence Morton wrote that the *Genesis Suite* "was, from the very birth of the idea, doomed to be a hopelessly insoluble mixture of styles, techniques and attitudes."[5] After a subsequent recording of the work by the original artists and at least two more concert performances (by Janssen with other orchestras), the work was shelved and largely forgotten.[6]

Despite its flaws and disparities, few people at the time seemed to recognize several commonalities between the seven composers of the *Genesis Suite*: all but one (Stravinsky) were of Jewish heritage, all but one (Milhaud) were living in Los Angeles, and all but one (Shilkret) were European émigrés. While these characteristics are obvious today, only one Los Angeles critic directly acknowledged the predominantly-émigré makeup of the

[4] Slim, 290.
[5] Quoted in James Westby, liner notes for *Genesis Suite (1945)*, Gerard Schwarz, Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Berlin, et al. (Naxos, 2004), CD.
[6] Sadly, the complete score (minus Stravinsky's and Schoenberg's respective movements) and orchestral parts were destroyed by a fire at Shilkret's home in the 1960s, and the complete *Genesis Suite* was all but lost. However, several scores—in both full and condensed form—were discovered years later, allowing the work to be reconstructed. The *Genesis Suite* received a second recording in 2000 (with Gerard Schwarz leading the Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Berlin) and has also seen a handful of performances throughout the twenty-first century, most recently with Simon Rattle and the London Symphony Orchestra in 2018. For more on Shilkret and the *Genesis Suite*, see his book *Nathaniel Shilkret: Sixty Years in the Music Business*, eds. Niel Shell and Barbara Shilkret (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2005).

gathering. In a preview article leading up to the premiere, Mildred Norton of the *Daily News* wrote the following:

> Whether history will concede 'Genesis' eternal significance must be left to the future. What is important to us is that it was certainly composed by men of significance, and—what is of equal importance if we would realize it—by men who are rubbing elbows with us every day in this city. With all of its horrors, the war has wrought one good for the people of Southern California. It has caused many of the greatest artists of their time to seek shelter here. Men who once made Paris their spiritual home and the citadel of intellectual progress have lived among us between the Hollywood hills and the Pacific Palisades for nearly a decade. We have done almost nothing to indicate that their names or what they represent mean anything to us—accustomed as we are to saluting only names that receive credit titles in our neighborhood movie houses. With the rehabilitation of Europe many of these artists will return there—many who might have remained here if they had found a cultural soil less arid. And so once again we will find ourselves looking to Europe for those values its artists can give, resenting our subordinate status, wistfully wondering why America is so slow in growing up.[7]

To Norton, the *Genesis Suite* marked a bittersweet culmination. While the arrival of thousands of refugees to America's shores was one of the tragic consequences of European fascism, it also highlighted one of the unexpected bright spots of the war years. From the start of Hitler's chancellorship in 1933 to the end of the war in 1945, the country welcomed an astonishing array of figures from Europe who brought with them a wealth of life experiences, intellectual perspectives, and artistic creativity. Southern California, in particular, greatly benefited from this mass migration, playing host to some of the brightest musical minds of the twentieth century, including five of the seven contributors of the *Genesis Suite*. This resulted in a remarkable degree of cultural exchange and collaborations that may not have occurred—or even been possible—in Europe before this time of global upheaval. As American art historian Walter Cook famously quipped in the early 1930s,

[7] Mildred Norton, untitled article, *Daily News*, November 17, 1945.

"Hitler is my best friend; he shakes the tree and I collect the apples."[8] To many Americans, Europe's loss was ultimately their gain.

Despite this, some reflected upon the preceding years with a sense of sadness. An American media culture was growing by the day, drawing consumers' attention away from the concert hall and into newer, trendier, and more profitable forms of entertainment. Namely, the film industry continued to produce hundreds of movies each year, which offered viewers a seemingly endless surplus of fresh, enticing stories and the glitzy allure of Hollywood celebrities.[9] If the European émigrés had received as much attention, devotion, and support as these "names that receive credit titles in our neighborhood movie houses," then perhaps, as Norton laments, it would have created "a cultural soil less arid" and allowed these "men [and women] of significance" to achieve their full creative potential in America.[10] Further, with the threat of Nazi Germany now vanquished, Norton sadly predicted that most of the émigrés would soon return to their homelands, depriving Los Angeles of the cultural riches it had hosted for over a decade.[11] In the end, Norton's dismal vision did not quite come to pass. Many émigrés found little desire to return to a Europe in ruins and chose to remain in America. In fact, three of the *Genesis Suite*'s composers did so—Schoenberg, Toch, and Castelnuovo-Tedesco—ultimately living out the rest of their lives in Los Angeles.[12]

However, ideas similar to Norton's later found their way into literature and scholarship on the European émigré community that emerged in the following decades.

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[8] Quoted in Fermi, 78.
[9] Even so, the Hollywood film industry did provide employment for numerous musical émigrés over the years as either composers, conductors, or orchestral players. For examples, see Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*; Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians*; and Jezic, *The Musical Migration of Ernst Toch*.
[10] Mildred Norton, untitled article, *Daily News*, November 17, 1945.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Each passed away in 1951, 1964, and 1968, respectively. Richard Lert also lived out his final years in America, passing away in Mountain View, California in 1980.

Several authors over the years have—knowingly or unknowingly—perpetuated a "struggle" narrative, relating how the exiles were unable to find sustainable or gratifying work opportunities in the cultural "wasteland" of Los Angeles. Others have written about a refusal on their part to bend to the "lowbrow" whims of American culture (with Schoenberg being a popular target). Some émigrés themselves even believed they had been cast aside entirely by their adopted homeland. Indeed, Toch more than once referred to himself as "the forgotten composer of the [twentieth] century."[13] Over time, various authors have challenged these narratives, but the consensus still seemed to be that the European émigrés failed to find an artistic foothold in Southern California.[14]

While not to discredit the fact that numerous émigrés *did* experience periods of hardship and adjustment in America, the reality is far more interesting and nuanced. As this project has demonstrated, there *was* a robust music culture that existed in Los Angeles throughout the 1930s and 40s. The orchestras at the center of the study—the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Werner Janssen Symphony, and the Pasadena Civic Orchestra—are just three examples of this, each showcasing a small slice of the rich orchestral life that the city enjoyed at the time. Beyond this, though, the musical opportunities were far greater, comprising community choirs, college opera productions, vocal recitals, early music performances, social clubs, the Hollywood Bowl, Evenings on the Roof, local music festivals, and many more. As Catherine Parsons Smith declares in *Making Music in Los Angeles*, "Music making was truly popular."[15] Although the city did have yet to reach the

[13] Quoted in Crawford, 134.
[14] Authors who have challenged these narratives over the years include Ehrhard Bahr (*Weimar on the Pacific*), Catherine Parsons Smith (*Making Music in Los Angeles*), Terry King (*Gregor Piatigorsky: The Life and Career of the Virtuoso Cellist*), and the various contributors of the edited collection *Driven into Paradise* (eds. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff). Sabine Feisst also expertly challenged the Schoenberg myth in her book *Schoenberg's New World*.
[15] Smith, 1.

cultural maturity of other U.S. metropolises—namely, those of the Midwest and the East Coast—the music-making that *was* happening in Los Angeles during these years was nonetheless plentiful, offering a wealth of both professional and amateur-oriented opportunities.

It was at the center of this culture that European émigrés found themselves throughout the 1930s and 40s. As I have shown, many were eager and willing to participate. Richard Lert viewed his music directorships of the Pasadena Civic Orchestra and American Music Theatre of Pasadena as a prime opportunity to educate young musicians and assimilate into both Pasadenan and Angeleno musical circles. Similarly, Otto Klemperer saw in the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom's benefit concert the perfect occasion to support fellow Austro-Germanic exiles through his art. However, the results were not always as expected. Local voices—including composers, conductors, performers, audiences, administrators, critics, and community leaders—presented a frenzy of varying attitudes, opinions, and goals, often influencing how classical music was approached, created, and disseminated in Los Angeles. As a result, the émigrés' participation and identities could be defined by factors outside of their control. The Los Angeles press morphed the Guild's benefit concert into a celebration of Klemperer and the involvement of Hollywood celebrities rather than shining a light on the Guild's anti-Nazi and anti-Hitler mission. As stage director of the American Music Theatre of Pasadena, George Houston—with Lert's blessing—aimed to reimagine opera for a new generation, co-opting the European art form through updated English translations and young American singers to create a more appealing, affordable, and "American" art form. Werner Janssen took on a comparable mission, presenting a program of "native-born" American composers with his "100 per cent American" orchestra after the

attack on Pearl Harbor, leaving Hindemith's work and perspectives as a German émigré on the sidelines as a result. While the European émigrés had agency and were certainly not ignored completely in Los Angeles, as these case studies have demonstrated, their presence and participation could still be left at the mercy of competing external factors, who could change the message depending on what was most convenient, applicable, and relevant to the current moment.

This project has also hopefully demonstrated the possibilities that lie in a slightly different approach to studying European émigrés and their relationship with American musical institutions. Parsing through a broader selection of local newspaper articles, reviews, concert programs, and other contemporaneous documents in archives and databases can provide a rich, "on-the-ground" look at the inner workings of Los Angeles cultural life at the time—particularly when reliable secondary histories are not available—and reveal more acutely how the communities surrounding these institutions operated. Further, this approach can bring to light several local events, figures, and communities that have, before now, received little to no attention in previous scholarship. As stated in the introduction, plenty of potential case studies were left on the "cutting room floor" in the research process for this project, showing that are still more stories and histories from this time that have yet to be fully told. In any case, these brief "moments" within the histories of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, Werner Janssen Symphony, and Pasadena Civic Orchestra, demonstrate how the identities of European émigrés were both shaped and reshaped—or made and remade—by the classical music culture of Los Angeles, the colorful cast of characters surrounding them, and, by extension, America as a whole.

APPENDICES

Appendix A:

Émigré Composers' Works Programmed by the Los Angeles Philharmonic, Werner Janssen Symphony, and Pasadena Civic Orchestra (1933–45)[1]

Los Angeles Philharmonic[2]

Composer (Dates; emigration year)	Work (Composition year)	Performance Info (Dates, conductor; premiere? / repeat perf.?)
Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895–1968; 1939)	1. Suite Based on Indian Songs and Dances (1942)	January 7–8, 1943, Barbirolli; WP*
Bronisław Kaper (1902–83; 1935)	2. *Bataan* (1943)[3]	August 6–7, 1943, Coates; CP**
Otto Klemperer (1885–1973; 1933)	3. *Merry Waltz* (c. 1936)	August 25, 1936, Klemperer; WP** / April 3, 1937, Klemperer
	4. J.S. Bach: Choral Prelude, *Nun komm' der Heiden Heiland* (orch. Klemperer) (c. 1935)	December 10–11, 1936, Klemperer
	5. attr. Bach: *Bist du bei mir* (orch. Klemperer) (c. 1935)	April 1–2, 1937, Klemperer / February 2–3, 1938, Klemperer
Miklós Rózsa (1907–95; 1940)	6. *Jungle Book* Suite (1942)	February 20, 1943, Rózsa / July 31, 1943, Rózsa**
	7. Concerto for String Orchestra (1943)	December 28–29, 1944, Rózsa; WP

[1] For parameters, see "Émigré Music and Los Angeles Orchestras" in Chapter 1, 53.
[2] Data gathered primarily from program books stored in the Los Angeles Philharmonic's archives.
[3] Likely a suite drawn from Kaper's 1943 film score for *Bataan* (program book in archives was unclear).

Los Angeles Philharmonic (cont.)

Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951; 1933)	8. Suite in G major for String Orchestra, "In the Old Style" (1934)	May 18, 1935, Klemperer; WP / December 27, 1935, Schoenberg
	9. Brahms: Piano Quartet in G minor (orch. Schoenberg) (1937)	May 7, 1938, Klemperer; WP / March 9–10, 1939, Klemperer
	10. Chamber Symphony No. 2 (1906–16, compl. 1939)[4]	February 8–9, 1945, Klemperer; LAP
Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971; 1939)	11. Symphony in C (1938–40)[5]	February 13–14, 1941, Stravinsky; LAP
Ernst Toch (1887–1964; 1935)	12. *Pinocchio: A Merry Overture* (1935)	December 10–11, 1936, Klemperer; WP / September 5, 1943**
	13. Suite from *The Idle Stroller* (1938)	April 20–21, 1939, Klemperer; WP
	14. Big Ben Variations (c. 1935)[6]	January 30–31, 1941, Barbirolli; WCP
Franz Waxman (1906–67; 1934)	15. Symphonic Fantasy on "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" (1943)	August 25, 1944,** Waxman; WP
Jenő [Eugene] Zádor (1894–1977; 1939)	16. Tarantelle (c. 1942)	March 12–13, 1942, Szell; WCP / c. March 1942[7]
* WP = world premiere; LAP = Los Angeles premiere; WCP = West Coast premiere; CP = concert premiere ** Indicates performance at the Hollywood Bowl		**Total: approx. 16 works (23 incl. repeat performances)**

[4] Schoenberg put the work aside in 1916 before returning to it twenty-three years later, post-emigration.
[5] Stravinsky started the Symphony in 1938, completing it after his emigration in 1939.
[6] Some sources say this work was composed in 1932, but others state that it was written while Toch was on the boat to New York in 1935. For the sake of argument, I am including it as one of Toch's post-emigration works.
[7] Repeated at a Young People's Concert shortly after the March 12–13 performances (exact date unclear).

Werner Janssen Symphony[8]

Composer (Dates; emigration year)	Work (Composition year)	Performance Info (Date, conductor; premiere?)
Paul Hindemith (1895–1963; 1940)	1. Symphony in E-flat (1940)[9]	October 24, 1943, Janssen; LAP*
Bohuslav Martinů (1890–1959; 1941)	2. Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra (1943)	March 19, 1944, Janssen; LAP
Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971; 1939)	3. *Danses concertantes* (1941)	February 8, 1942, Stravinsky; WP
Alexandre Tansman (1897–1986; 1941)	4. Scherzo from *Flesh and Fantasy* (1943)	February 11, 1945, Janssen; CP
* WP = world premiere; LAP = Los Angeles premiere; CP = concert premiere		**Total: approx. 4 works**

Pasadena Civic Orchestra

No works by émigré composers were programmed between 1933 and 1945.[10]

[8] Data gathered primarily from newspaper articles (via newspapers.com) and concert programs stored in the Werner Janssen Papers at Dartmouth College.
[9] The Janssen Symphony also performed Hindemith's Symphony in summer 1942, as part of their appearance at the International Society for Contemporary Music in Berkeley, California.
[10] Data gathered primarily from newspaper articles (via newspapers.com) and a document entitled "Repertoire of the Pasadena Symphony Orchestra, 1936–1972," which is stored in the Richard Lert Papers at the University of Southern California.

Appendix B:

About the Werner Janssen Symphony's "All-American" Program

This appendix provides a brief snapshot of the works that appeared on the Werner Janssen Symphony's "all-American" concert on January 11, 1942 (as discussed in Chapter 3). While it was outside the purview of this project to fully delve into each work and the corresponding issues and cultural resonances that arose, these short "program notes" will hopefully situate the concert in a slightly wider lens and inspire further explorations of the music, the composers, the Werner Janssen Symphony, and American wartime musical life as a whole.

John Powell: *In Old Virginia*

From his earliest works such as the *Sonata Virginianesque* (1906) and *In the South* (1906), Virginian composer and pianist John Powell (1882–1963) projected a deep-seated interest in the sounds of the American South. Many of these pieces showcase a bent towards the music of African Americans, culminating in his *Rhapsodie nègre*. Inspired by Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, this composition premiered in 1918 and quickly became one of Powell's best-known works, seeing performances by orchestras in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, and Los Angeles.[1]

However, in the 1920s, Powell's outlook shifted. His compositions began to display a strong bias towards white, "Anglo-Saxon" culture, and he dismissed previous statements—such as those famously espoused by Dvořák—that a truly "American" musical heritage could be found in the sounds of Black and Indigenous America.[2] According to musicologist David Z. Kushner, Powell believed that "much of what is referred to as Negro music is actually derived from European sources and reveals melodic and harmonic structure, which is Caucasian in origin."[3] The composer's politics also took on an overtly racist tone. Powell

[1] According to a list of the Los Angeles Philharmonic's repertoire from 1919–60 (compiled by *Los Angeles Times* music critic Albert Goldberg), the orchestra performed three of Powell's works in the 1920s and 30s: *Natchez on the Hill* in 1932, *Rhapsodie nègre* in 1925, and *In Old Virginia* in 1928 and 1932, respectively. Many thanks to Lance Bowling for providing this document.
[2] For more on Dvořák's experiences with and views on American music, see Douglas W. Shadle, *Antonín Dvořák's* New World Symphony (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
[3] David Z. Kushner, "John Powell: His Racial and Cultural Ideologies," *Min-Ad: Israel Studies in Musicology Online* 5, no. 1 (2006): 9.

helped form the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America and solicited support for Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924. This legislation banned interracial marriage and legitimized the "one-drop rule," which automatically classified anyone with mixed ancestry as "colored."

Even though Powell's 1921 orchestral overture *In Old Virginia* falls near the beginning of his shift to "Anglo-Saxon" folk material, there are still overt connections to Black musical culture. Richard Drake Saunders discussed Powell's inspirations in a program note for the Janssen Symphony's "all-American" concert (albeit with some now-outdated and problematic language):

> This overture utilizes Negro themes which the composer naturally heard in his childhood, and to which he has devoted much study. First to be heard is an old Negro song, 'Cl'ar de Kitchen, Ole Folks, Young Folks,' while another is a tune sung by his Negro mammy of childhood days. The familiar 'Dixie Land' is also discernible. Many Virginia settlers were Scotch, which renders appropriate utilization of an ancient Scotch air as a dance motive. There is no intent to convey definite pictures, but merely to portray the spirit of the South in the ante-bellum era.[4]

Powell provided further comment on the work following Saunders's summary, stating, "It is a South . . . an unaffected simple, chivalrous and romantic South, trembling on the verge of the cataclysm, but keeping up its head and dancing gaily towards the approaching disaster in the traditional aristocratic manner."[5] The "cataclysm" Powell alludes to is undoubtedly the Civil War, and his appraisal of the "simple, chivalrous and romantic" South might suggest tinges of the "Lost Cause" narrative. It is uncertain whether or not Powell held Confederate sympathies, but given his extreme racist views and interest in eugenics, it would not be surprising.

Powell also held strikingly harsh views toward immigrants who made their home in America. In a 1923 lecture entitled "Music and the Nation," he decried the concept of America as a "melting pot" and proclaimed that "only immigrants of sufficient intelligence, those who, in blood, character, and habits of life, are capable of assimilating the American ideals, be permitted to enter this country."[6] He also believed that immigrants—"be they ever so ignorant and uncouth"—should be exposed to the country's folk music to better assimilate

[4] Richard Drake Saunders, program note for John Powell's *In Old Virginia*, Werner Janssen Symphony concert program, January 11, 1942, series 1, Franz C. Bornschein Papers, Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University.
[5] Quoted in ibid.
[6] Quoted in Kushner, 8.

them into American society.[7] Powell's thoughts on immigration predate, by almost ten years, the influx of European émigrés that would begin arriving in America in the 1930s and 40s. Interestingly, Powell was silent about this mass migration, perhaps due in part to most of the European refugees being of predominantly white, "Anglo-Saxon" heritage.

There is a crude irony in the fact that Hindemith, an exile and declared "degenerate" of Nazi Germany, was cut from Janssen's "all-American" concert and replaced with, among other works, a piece of music by an openly-racist and anti-immigrant composer. It is unclear whether or not Janssen himself knew of Powell's racial views. If he did, he was able to brush past them and program, without issue, a work that depicted a racially-romanticized view of the American South. Kushner believes this may have been a wider phenomenon with performances of Powell's music in America. He states, "In assessing Powell's impact on American music, one is struck by the fact that the eminent conductors under whom he performed seem to have paid little heed to the pianist's ideological stance, and of the fellow musicians with whom he had close contact, and who surely would have been acquainted with his racial views, the general attitude seems to have been one of benign neglect."[8]

Roy Harris: *Farewell to Pioneers*

Farewell to Pioneers is a peculiar work in the catalog of Roy Harris (1898–1979). Composed in 1935, a year after his perennially-popular overture *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* (1934), this piece has received minimal attention compared to his other Western-inspired compositions (such as the 1941 *Cimarron*) and even less so compared to his other orchestral works (such as his symphonies). Further, the piece has seen relatively few performances and has yet to receive a professional recording. A look into the work's premiere and reception might explain why. By all accounts, *Farewell to Pioneers* (subtitled "Symphonic Elegy") was an ill-fated project from the start. Harris desired to compose a piece honoring the enterprising Midwestern pioneers of his parents' generation. According to Harris's program note, "They were born of and taught by a race of men and women who seemed to crave the tang of conquering wildernesses and wresting abundance from virgin

[7] Quoted in ibid., 10.
[8] Kushner, 14.

soil."[9] To depict such a "rugged" subject matter, Harris intentionally avoided using a rigid formal structure and complex harmonic palette. He states, again in his program note, "I have tried to write an elegy in their memory, reflecting in its structure, harmony and orchestration a directness and clarity of objective similar to the quality of their lives."[10] This "directness and clarity of objective" is primarily achieved through autogenesis, where the musical material unfolds "organically" instead of adhering to more traditional models of thematic development. The result is an archaic and "intentionally stark" atmosphere, as musicologist Beth E. Levy puts it in her book *Frontier Figures*.[11] Melodies evolve continuously, with little sense of direction, as a plodding, almost chaconne-like ostinato chugs underneath. Gradual changes in orchestration help create a sense of journey and drama, culminating in a violent climax before fading into silence.

Harris was so confident in *Farewell to Pioneers* that he had it published before the first performance in 1936. Unfortunately, early reviews were not kind. Composer Colin McPhee opined that Harris should have heard the work first and made revisions before publication. He found the music bloated and tiresome, stating, "The orchestra labored along far more wearily than did any of the most fatigued pioneers."[12] Others had similar thoughts. One reviewer called the work "a cheerless journey [that] begins at nothing and ends at nothing," while another declared it to be "a bit relentless in its monotony."[13] Though Harris had sought to depict his subject matter accurately, the results failed to capture the public's imagination, unlike the optimistic, Western-inspired works of Aaron Copland. Levy believes this may have had to do with some cognitive dissonance on Harris's part: "[The work] may have faithfully reflected Harris's own views about the stark difficulties of pioneer life, collective difficulties that—at least at first—seem incongruous with his own heroic individualism."[14]

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[9] Roy Harris, program note for *Farewell to Pioneers*, Werner Janssen Symphony concert program, January 11, 1942, series 1, Franz C. Bornschein Papers, Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Beth E. Levy, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 254. See also Denise Von Glahn, *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003).
[12] Quoted in Levy, 255.
[13] Quoted in ibid.
[14] Levy, 257.

Joseph Deems Taylor: *Through the Looking-Glass* Suite

In December 1916, Joseph Deems Taylor (1885–1966) was sent to France as a war correspondent for the *New York Tribune*. Though he did not witness any actual warfare, the experience was still harrowing. Taylor described a landscape strewn with "the relics of human beings—or what had been human beings" and recalled a terrifying moment when a vehicle veered off the road after being struck by a German shell.[15] The composer was relieved to finish the short assignment and return to the United States in February 1917.

The following year, after rejecting a request from his publisher in November 1918 to write a cantata celebrating the Armistice, Taylor turned to the fantasy worlds of English author Lewis Carroll. He held a deep affinity for the *Alice in Wonderland* series, stating, "I always did like fairy tales, and have liked both the Alice books since I first read them at the age of ten. . . . So, it was quite natural that when I started to write my first serious symphonic piece of music, it should turn out to be the 'Looking Glass Suite.'"[16] Taylor selected four scenes—or "pictures" as he called them—from *Through the Looking-Glass* and compiled them into a four-movement instrumental suite.[17] He initially scored the work for a small ensemble of eleven players since, as his biographer James Pegolotti notes, he was "still unsure of his self-taught orchestrating."[18] The Suite received its premiere at Aeolian Hall on February 18, 1919, with members of the New York Chamber Music Society. The performance was a resounding success, an early victory for the young composer.

Three years later, Taylor expanded the Suite for full orchestra, adding an additional movement based on the "Garden of Live Flowers." This version, too, was acclaimed upon its first performance with Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony in March 1923. Reviewers noted the composer's deft skill at handling orchestral colors and melodies in an innovative but accessible manner. Richard Aldrich of the *New York Times* noted, "[Deems Taylor] is not in the new movement. He not only can write melodies, but does."[19] Reviewing a later performance at Carnegie Hall by the Philadelphia Orchestra and Leopold Stokowski, Olin Downes lauded the Suite, stating, "It is the work of a man who is neither a poseur nor a

[15] Quoted in James A. Pegolotti, *Deems Taylor: A Biography* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), 49.
[16] Quoted in ibid., 53.
[17] The four movements were titled: Dedication, Jabberwocky, Looking-Glass Insects, and The White Knight.
[18] Pegolotti, 54.
[19] Quoted in ibid., 99.

mere theorist in his writing, but who writes music naturally and with pleasure in his task. . . . An excellent piece of writing."[20] Most endearing of all was the reaction of Sergei Rachmaninoff, who was present at the Carnegie Hall performance. Rachmaninoff wrote directly to Taylor, "I have, heretofore, thought but naturally not expressed that opinion, that there were no important composers in this country, but now, I feel sure of *one* [sic] who really can show something and say a great deal."[21]

Taylor's Suite grew in popularity in the following years, quickly becoming one of the most frequently performed works by an American composer. It received a West Coast premiere at the Hollywood Bowl in 1924 and made several appearances during the Los Angeles Philharmonic's later seasons (one of which was conducted by Otto Klemperer in April 1937).[22] It was so beloved in Chicago that Frederick Stock and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra programmed it every year for ten years.[23] Oddly, but perhaps understandably, the Suite's reception in England was less than stellar. British listeners were bemused by its appearance on one of Henry Wood's Promenade concerts in 1925, and critics "seemed annoyed that an American would attempt to translate Lewis Carroll's masterpiece into music."[24] Needless to say, its reception in the United States was cemented, and the work remained popular for many years.

Walter Piston: Violin Concerto

For more information on this work, see Chapter 3.

Franz Bornschein: *Moon Over Taos*

Baltimore-based composer Franz Bornschein (1879–1948) was no stranger to writing works on American themes. His entry on *Grove Music Online*, though scant, lists several orchestral, chamber, and choral pieces that fall into this category.[25] Among them are *Appalachian Legend* (1940) for cello and piano, the 1942 cantata *Joy* (based on Walt

[20] Quoted in ibid., 115.
[21] Quoted in ibid., 116.
[22] Peter Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times, Volume 2, 1933–1973* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 78n.
[23] Pegolotti, 99.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ned Quist, "Bornschein, Franz," *Grove Music Online*, 2013.

Whitman's *The Mystic Trumpeter*), and the orchestral tone poem *The Earth Sings* (1939), which was inspired by the Sherwood Gardens in Baltimore. The latter work was particularly popular during World War II. Authors David K. Hildebrand and Elizabeth M. Schaaf note that "Bornschein's work became part of the war effort when it was chosen for live rebroadcast to American troops overseas and for use by the Office of War Information to counter German propaganda claiming that Americans were 'culturally insufficient.'"[26]

Bornschein's *Moon Over Taos* was another such American-inspired work, commissioned by Werner Janssen for a premiere with his orchestra in January 1942. Written for solo flute, timpani, "Indian drum," and strings, Bornschein wrote that "This score . . . is one of a series of works in which the composer is depicting scenes, lore, legend based on American subjects. The score represents an impression gained at Taos (New Mexico) viewed under the spell of the full moon."[27] Following a performance by Leopold Stokowski and the New York City Symphony in October 1944, further details about its (exoticized)[28] inspiration were elucidated in the *Baltimore Sun*:

> On a moonlit summer night at Taos, New Mexico, in 1941, Franz Bornschein listened intently as an Indian, silhouetted against an adobe building, played softly a bewitching melody on a primitive flute. When the Indian disappeared into the shadows at the end of his nocturnal reverie, Mr. Bornschein . . . went to his hotel room and made a musical sketch of what he had just seen and heard.[29]

No professional audio recording of *Moon Over Taos* exists, but Richard Drake Saunders's program note for the Janssen premiere provides a brief—and again, exoticized—description of the work:

> A soft, plucked chord from violins and violas is followed by the same chord held. The solo flute enters at once in a dreamy passage like an Indian call. 'Celli [sic] and basses tap out an accompanying rhythmic figure with the wood of their bows, reinforced by very light tympani [sic] and the Indian drum, which is softly tapped with a fingertip throughout the work. A quiet, tender mood is established in the upper strings and the solo flute returns with lovely, songful phrases. After a short passage

[26] David K. Hildebrand and Elizabeth M. Schaaf, *Musical Maryland: A History of Song and Performance from the Colonial Period to the Age of Radio* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 172.
[27] Franz Bornschein, from Richard Drake Saunders's program note for *Moon Over Taos*, Werner Janssen Symphony concert program, January 11, 1942, series 1, Franz C. Bornschein Papers, Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University.
[28] For more on the exoticization of Indigenous Americans and the earlier, Indianist movement in American classical music, see Tara Browner, "'Breathing the Indian Spirit': Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the 'Indianist' Movement in American Music," *American Music* 15, no. 3 (1997): 265–284.
[29] "Taos Indian Was Musical Inspiration," *Baltimore Sun*, October 24, 1944. Several other *Baltimore Sun* articles from around the same time incorrectly refer to Stokowski's performance as the "world premiere."

> for flute alone, the music grows more ardent, building to a climax, then quickly and softly ending.[30]

Moon Over Taos was generally well-received upon its first performance with the Janssen Symphony on January 11, 1942. Though "not a profound work," as the *Pacific Coast Musician* opined, it still "proved to be a tuneful, warmly colored nocturne with special solos for flute. . . ."[31] Bruno David Ussher was more critical in his assessment for the *Daily News*. In a single sentence, he put it bluntly: "'Moon Over Taos' by Franz Bornschein is a weak pastel in flute tones."[32] On the other hand, Isabel Morse Jones took a more even-handed stance in the *Los Angeles Times*, calling it "very easy on the ears."[33]

Jerome Kern: *Scenario for Orchestra*

When Jerome Kern (1885–1945) and Oscar Hammerstein II's musical *Show Boat* premiered at New York City's Ziegfeld Theater on December 27, 1927, the *New York Times* reported the following: "'Show Boat,' as it should not be too difficult for the reader to ascertain by now, is an excellent musical comedy; one that comes seriously close to being the best the town has seen in several seasons."[34] The show—one of the earliest "integrated musicals" to combine a linear plot with songs, dance numbers, and spoken dialogue—quickly became a smash hit, spawning several stage revivals, two major film adaptations, and multiple cast recordings over the years.

One of the show's admirers was Artur Rodziński, music director of the Cleveland Orchestra and former music director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic (from 1929–33). Rodziński approached Kern in 1941 and suggested that he adapt some of the music from *Show Boat* into a symphonic suite. The conductor believed the score had the potential to break down barriers between "high" and "low" art, stating in an interview, "That day is past when it is considered undignified or unesthetic [sic] to take seriously American music written in [a] popular idiom. . . ."[35] Kern agreed, but believed himself to be ill-equipped to the task of

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[30] Richard Drake Saunders, program note for *Moon Over Taos*, Werner Janssen Symphony concert program, January 11, 1942, series 1, Franz C. Bornschein Papers, Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University.
[31] "Janssen Symphony Concert," *Pacific Coast Musician*, January 17, 1942.
[32] Bruno David Ussher, "Vital and beautiful playing by Janssen orchestra," *Daily News*, January 12, 1942.
[33] Isabel Morse Jones, "Janssen Honors Fellow Americans," *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1942.
[34] "Show Boat' Proves Fine Musical Show," *New York Times*, December 28, 1927.
[35] Harold C. McKinley, "Jerome Kern's Music Is To Get Premiere," *Dayton Daily News*, October 5, 1941.

handling a full orchestral score. As such, he prepared a "skeleton sketch" of several tunes from the show, which was then orchestrated by Charles Miller (with possible help from Emil Gerstenberger).[36]

The resulting *Scenario for Orchestra* was premiered by Rodziński and the Cleveland Orchestra on October 23, 1941, alongside works of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and, coincidentally, Hindemith (his 1934 *Mathis der Maler* Symphony). Most reviews were positive. Oscar Smith of the *Akron Beacon Journal* noted that "[If] any cautious classicist is laboring under the delusion that the newcomer was treated as an alien, he should have been there for this world premiere of the symphony orchestra version of one of the greatest musical shows in the history of the American theater."[37] The *Cleveland News* proclaimed, "Kern and Rodzinski . . . have turned the tables on those Broadway maestros who have been putting the rhythmic bee on the classics and near-classics."[38] Music editor of the *Cleveland Press*, Arthur Loesser, called it "musical pulchritude," but admitted that the work "might have been even more effective had it used fewer tunes and worked them into a more cohesive unified symphonic design."[39] Still, the work was received enthusiastically. Rodziński reportedly telephoned Kern—who was in Hollywood at the time—immediately after the performance, telling him, "We've never had such an ovation in Severance Hall."[40]

Bookended by "Ol' Man River," the *Scenario for Orchestra* proceeds through several of *Show Boat*'s most well-loved tunes, including "Can't Help Loving' Dat Man," "Cotton Blossom, "Make Believe," and "You Are Love." The suite also contains a portion of "In Dahomey," a heavily-exoticized and problematic number that was ultimately cut from the show after its 1946 Broadway revival.[41] Despite this, the *Scenario* was a huge success, leading to a commission the following year from Andre Kostelanetz as part of his series of American "musical portraits."[42]

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[36] "Classical Kern: the 'Show Boat' Scenario for Orchestra," *Big 10-Inch Record* (blog), March 10, 2021. http://big10inchrecord.blogspot.com/2021/03/classical-kern-show-boat-scenario-for.html.
[37] Oscar Smith, "Symphonic 'Show Boat' Version Wins Ovation," *Akron Beacon Journal*, October 24, 1941.
[38] Elmore Bacon, "Kern's 'Show Boat' Music Wins Ovation At Its Severance Hall World Premiere," *Cleveland News*, October 24, 1941.
[39] Arthur Loesser, "Audience Enthusiastic Over 'Show Boat' Medley," *Cleveland Press*, October 24, 1941.
[40] "Rodzinski Sways to 'Showboat' Tunes as He 'Puts Them Over," *Associated Press*, October 24, 1941.
[41] For more on *Show Boat* and issues of race, see Todd Decker, *Show Boat: Performing Race in an American Musical* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).
[42] This would ultimately become Kern's *Mark Twain (A Portrait for Orchestra)*, which was commissioned alongside Virgil Thomson's *Mayor LaGuardia Waltzes* and Aaron Copland's *Lincoln Portrait*.

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Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Community Relations Committee Collection (Part 1), Special Collections, University Library, California State University, Northridge

Los Angeles Philharmonic Archives

Music Collection, Archives, Pasadena Museum of History

Oral History of the Arts Archive, Special Collections, University Library, California State University, Long Beach

Paul Hindemith Collection, Gilmore Music Library, Yale University Library, Yale University

Paul Hindemith Oral History: Oral History of American Music, Gilmore Music Library, Yale University Library, Yale University

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Cleveland News
Cleveland Press

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Dayton Daily News
Eagle Rock Sentinel
Eastside Journal
Hollywood Citizen-News
Jewish Community Press
Jewish Daily Bulletin
Long Beach Sun
Los Angeles Evening News
Los Angeles Evening Post-Record
Los Angeles Examiner
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