

Schoenberg and Hollywood Modernism

Schoenberg is often viewed as an isolated composer who was ill at ease in exile. In this book Kenneth Marcus shows that in fact Schoenberg's connections to Hollywood ran deep, and most of the composer's exile compositions had some connection to the cultural and intellectual environment in which he found himself. He was friends with numerous successful film industry figures, including George Gershwin, Oscar Levant, David Raksin, and Alfred Newman, and each contributed to the composer's life and work in different ways: helping him to obtain students, making recordings of his music, and arranging commissions. While teaching at both USC and UCLA, Schoenberg was able to bridge two utterly different worlds: the film industry and the academy. Marcus shows that alongside Schoenberg's vital impact upon Southern California Modernism through his pedagogy, compositions, and texts, he also taught students who became central to American musical modernism, including John Cage and Lou Harrison.

KENNETH H. MARCUS is Professor of History and Chair of the International Studies Program at University of La Verne, California. An historian, musician, and composer, he has published over forty articles, book chapters, encyclopedia entries, and book reviews and has recorded CDs of music for piano, guitar, voice, and organ. His two previous books are *Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Music Culture, 1880–1940* (2004) and *Politics of Power: Elites of an Early Modern State in Germany* (2000). In Spring 2013 he was Fulbright Senior Professor in American Culture at Leiden University, the Netherlands.





Schoenberg and Hollywood Modernism

KENNETH H. MARCUS

University of La Verne





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107064997

© Kenneth H. Marcus 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-06499-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Christine and David





List of figures page [ix]

Contents

```
List of maps [xi]
  List of music examples [xii]
  Acknowledgments [xiii]
  List of abbreviations [xix]
  Introduction [1]
  PART I: MODERNISM IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA,
  1913-1944
             [23]
1 Early Modernism in Southern California, 1913–1933 [25]
2 Hollywood and exile [57]
3 The road to Westwood: from USC to UCLA [98]
  PART II: THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPHERES,
  1936-1951 [139]
4 The private world of Schoenberg [141]
5 Judaism revisited: Schoenberg's Jewish works [161]
6 War, nationalism, and anticommunism [185]
7 Troubles in paradise: the final years [232]
  Conclusion [271]
  APPENDICES [281]
  1 List of works in exile, 1934–1950 [283]
  2 Text to Arnold Schoenberg, Kol Nidre, Op. 39 [286]
  3 Text to Arnold Schoenberg, A Survivor from Warsaw, Op. 46 [288]
  4 Text to Arnold Schoenberg, Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte,
    Op. 41 by Lord Byron [290]
```

vii



viii Contents

5 Bertolt Brecht, Letter and poem, "Und in eurem Lande?," to Arnold Schoenberg for his 68th birthday (1942) [297] Notes [299] Bibliography [364] Index [389]



Figures

- 1.1 Edward Weston, "Peaches In Two Pyramid-Shaped Piles," c. 1915.
 The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Weston: © 2014 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. [page 28]
- 1.2 Henrietta Shore, "Floripondios," c. 1925. Courtesy of The Buck Collection, Laguna Beach, California. [29]
- 1.3 Richard Neutra in front of Lovell's "Demonstration Health House,"c. 1929. Security Pacific Collection. Courtesy Los Angeles PublicLibrary Photo Collection. [35]
- 1.4 Edward Weston, "Ruth St. Denis in a Japanese costume," 1916.Weston: © 2014 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. [37]
- 1.5 Toyo Miyatake, "Michio Ito in Pizzicati," 1929. Courtesy Toyo Miyatake Studio. [40]
- 2.1 Arnold, Gertrud, and Nuria Schoenberg in front of their La Salle automobile, c. 1934. Courtesy Arnold Schönberg Center. [58]
- 2.2 Charlie Chaplin, Gertrud and Arnold Schoenberg, and David Raksin, 1935, at Charlie Chaplin Studios. Photograph by Max Munn Autrey. Courtesy Arnold Schönberg Center. [70]
- 2.3 Gershwin painting a portrait of Schoenberg, December 1936.Photographer unknown. Courtesy Arnold Schönberg Center. [72]
- 2.4 Edward Weston, portrait of Arnold Schoenberg, 1936. Photograph by Edward Weston. © 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. [73]
- 2.5 Igor Stravinsky with Walt Disney, accompanied by choreographer George Balanchine (left), and sequence director T. Hee (behind Stravinsky), 1939. *Herald-Examiner Collection*. Courtesy Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection. [86]
- 3.1 Mudd Memorial Hall of Philosophy, c. 1935. Courtesy USC Libraries Special Collections. [102]
- 3.2 John "Jack" Golay, member of campus chapter of the national music fraternity, Phi Mu Alpha, 1934. Courtesy USC Libraries Special Collections. [106]

ix



x List of figures

- 3.3 Bovard Auditorium, c. 1930. Courtesy USC Libraries Special Collections. [107]
- 3.4 Royce Hall, c. 1940. University Archives reference collection, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

 [113]
- 3.5 Staff photo of Arnold Schoenberg, c. 1936. University Archives reference collection, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA. [115]
- 3.6 Staff photo of Vern Knudsen, c. 1940. University Archives reference collection, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA. [116]
- 4.1 Schoenberg with his children Lawrence (left), Ronald, and Nuria,c. 1944. Courtesy Arnold Schönberg Center. [143]
- 4.2 Schoenberg with Nuria, Ronald, and Lawrence on the tennis courts in Douglas Park at Wilshire Blvd. and 25th Street in Santa Monica, with classic California bungalows in the background, c. 1947. Photo by Richard Fish. Courtesy Arnold Schönberg Center. [151]
- 5.1 Rabbi Jacob Sonderling, "The Jews Are Changing Their Music," *Los Angeles Times*, October 2, 1938. Copyright © 1938. *Los Angeles Times*. Reprinted with Permission. [166]
- 5.2 The Cocoanut Grove, Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, 1938. *Security Pacific National Bank Collection*. Courtesy Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection. [169]
- 6.1 William Gropper, "Alien Cantata." Courtesy The Gropper Family.
 [213]
- 7.1 Natalie Limonick, H. Endicott Hanson, Alfred Carlson, and other students in a group lesson in Schoenberg's living room at Rockingham Avenue, c. 1947. Photograph by Richard Fish. Courtesy Arnold Schönberg Center. [234]
- 7.2 Notes by Natalie Limonick from a group lesson with Schoenberg, July 7, 1949. Author's possession. [237]
- 7.3 Thomas Mann, c. 1940. *Herald-Examiner Collection*. Courtesy Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection. [244]
- 7.4 Arnold Schoenberg, with dedication, "To Miss Clara Silvers, a very talented pupil of mine and a capable assistant. Arnold Schoenberg. March 1944." Courtesy Arnold Schönberg Center. [265]



Maps

- 0.1 Map of the City of Los Angeles. Courtesy Sean Carlson, University of La Verne Graphics. [xx]
- 3.1 Map of USC campus, with Administration Building and Mudd Memorial Hall of Philosophy indicated, 1935. Courtesy USC Libraries Special Collections. [101]
- 3.2 Map of UCLA campus, with Royce Hall (#4) and the Education Building (#8) indicated, 1938. University Archives reference collection, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA. [112]



Music examples

- 2.1 Schoenberg, Suite for String Orchestra, mm. 1–9. Courtesy G. Schirmer. [80]
- 2.2 Schoenberg, sketch for *The Good Earth*: "Wang's Uncle (Comical)." Used by permission of Belmont Music Publishers. [82]
- 3.1 Schoenberg, String Quartet No. 4, Op. 37, mm. 1–7. Courtesy G. Schirmer. [129]
- 4.1 Schoenberg, sketch for *I Got an A*. Used by permission of Belmont Music Publishers. [160]
- 5.1 Schoenberg, *A Survivor from Warsaw*, Op. 46, mm. 61–69. Used by permission of Belmont Music Publishers. [175]
- 6.1 Schoenberg, *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, Op. 41, mm. 159–68. Used by permission of Belmont Music Publishers. [190]
- 6.2 Schoenberg, Piano Concerto, Op. 42, mm. 1–5. Used by permission of Belmont Music Publishers. [200]

xii



Acknowledgments

Although researching and writing a book is work, writing the acknowledgments is a pleasure. My intellectual debts are many. Russell Berman provided many insights on modernism and Adorno, and to take part in his NEH Summer Seminar on German exiles and modernism at Stanford University in 2007 was an experience I shall never forget. The interaction amongst participants both inside and outside the classroom was a model of scholarly exchange, and it came at a key moment in this project. In our discussions in Northern and Southern California, David Hollinger provided a rich source of knowledge on intellectual history, Jewish history, and the academy. At the Huntington Library my discussions and lunches with Daniel Horowitz revealed some of the intricacies of American cultural history, and I greatly appreciated his thoughtfulness in listening to a scholar absorbed in musical issues. On music theory and Schoenberg's innovations I benefited from the input of Bryan Simms, Alfred Cramer, and Kathy Lamkin. In a class I cotaught with Kathy on "Culture and Crisis in Modern Europe," I found the association of musicology and history of endless interest, and Kathy was the first to let me know that two of Schoenberg's sons, Ronald and Lawrence, still lived in Los Angeles, thereby setting off a journey that has lasted over ten years.

This book would not have been possible without the financial support from my academic home, the University of La Verne, which has given me grants every year from 2004 to 2014 for travel, research, transcriptions of interviews, research assistants, and photograph reproductions. The Faculty Professional Support Committee, and the enthusiasm for my research by Al Clark, Jonathan Reed, and other colleagues ever since I came to La Verne, played an essential role throughout this project. A grant in 2004 from the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, facilitated by the Historical Society of Southern California (HSSC), provided valuable aid at the outset of my research. I very much enjoyed an NEH Summer Institute organized by Bill Deverell in 2005 at the Huntington Library, which has been my second office for many years, and through that Institute I met a number of scholars, including Richard White, Douglas Flamming, and

xiii



xiv Acknowledgments

Greg Hise. Richard White's *Remembering Ahanagran* inspired the writing of Chapter 4. An NEH short-term fellowship in 2008 made possible further study of archives at the Huntington Library.

A Fulbright award in 2013 enabled me to spend a sabbatical semester at Leiden University, Netherlands, as Senior Professor in American Culture, which arose through my interactions with Johanna Kardux in the university's American Studies department. Johanna came to the University of La Verne in 2007 as a Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence, and our scholarly contact has grown ever since. She invited me to take part in meetings of Multi-Ethnic Studies: Europe and the Americas (MESEA), which allowed me to share my ideas with a broad cross-section of scholars from many different countries. Provost Jonathan Reed, who strongly supported my Fulbright application, was helpful throughout my sabbatical. While at Leiden I taught an undergraduate course on Los Angeles history and a graduate course on exiles and modernism in Southern California, both of which I created at the University of La Verne, and I very much appreciate the feedback and discussion that arose in these courses from the remarkable group of students who took part on both sides of the Atlantic. For her thoughts on immigration and transnational exchange I thank Marlou Schrover, and discussions with Jeroen Duindam and Leo Lucassen were enlightening and pleasurable. The History Department at Leiden is lucky to have such scholars.

For their comments on the manuscript, on individual chapters, or sections of chapters, I thank Amós Nascimento, the first to read through the entire manuscript, as well as Russell Berman and Daniel Horowitz, both of whom saw earlier versions of the entire manuscript. Robert Rosenstone and Stephen Aron each provided input on Chapters 1 and 4, and Sarah Schrank gave me welcome feedback on Chapters 1 and 2, for which I am very grateful. The Los Angeles History Research group read and commented on Chapter 1, from which I very much benefited. Bryan Simms, Alfred Cramer, and Kathy Lamkin read sections of all seven chapters that pertained directly to music theory, which I heartily appreciate. Lawrence, Ronald, and Nuria Schoenberg helped me to avoid errors only they would know in Chapters 4 and 7. Gordon Chang provided insightful thoughts on photography and painting in Chapter 1, as did Phil Ethington, from whom I first learned the term "Southern California Modernism." Thanks go to Lance Bowling, who read through all the chapters, saved me from several errors, and shared his unparalleled knowledge of music in Southern California as well as his copies of the 1933 letters by Nicolas Slonimsky. David Steinau, whom I



Acknowledgments

XV

met at the 2007 NEH Summer Seminar, patiently answered my questions regarding Bertolt Brecht and Hanns Eisler in Chapters 2, 6, and 7, and he found some citations from which I greatly benefited. With Deborah How I exchanged ideas on the *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, Op. 41 in Chapter 6; Deborah, Melanie Schoenberg (granddaughter of the composer), and I took part in a panel discussion at Pomona College in 2011 on "The Music of Arnold Schoenberg," which Alfred Cramer arranged and which I thoroughly enjoyed.

None of these scholars is responsible for any errors that may remain. I thank them all.

Several of my former students provided valuable research assistance: Ben Jenkins, Jimmy Del Rio, and Derek Chacon, for which I thank them. Our department secretary, Kristin Howland, made the seemingly endless copying of texts a breeze, and aided in the printing and indexing of the final manuscript. Raffi Zinzalian and Sean Carlson at Graphics at the University of La Verne were of tremendous help with the musical excerpts, photographs, and maps.

For their cheerful and patient participation in interviews, I thank Lawrence Schoenberg, Ronald Schoenberg, Natalie Limonick, David Raksin, Richard Hoffmann, Susan Schoenberg-Supan, and Jerry McBride. Lawrence Schoenberg was an invaluable contact and helped coordinate my obtaining scores, photographs, and other materials, which I deeply appreciate, and Ronald Schoenberg provided me with an unforgettable tour of the house on Rockingham Avenue. Steve Terui and Alan Miyatake helped arrange my interview with Archie Miyatake, son of Toyo Miyatake, who brought to life an early chapter in modernism and photography in Los Angeles.

I thank my editor, Vicki Cooper at Cambridge University Press, for supporting this project and ushering it through. She recognized something special in this project and was determined to see it in print, and for this I shall always be grateful. Her successor, Kate Brett, ably brought the work to publication, for which I thank her. Throughout this process, the assistant editor, Fleur Jones, was always on hand to answer questions and make sure the final stage went smoothly. For their work on production and copyediting I would like to thank Anamika Singh, Gaia Poggiagolli, Chloe Harries, and Caroline McPherson. Two anonymous reviewers of Cambridge University Press provided enormously helpful feedback and suggestions.

The role of librarians and archivists for scholarship is essential, for they are the keepers of the keys. For their assistance from my original visit to



xvi Acknowledgments

the Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, in 2004 to my many questions long afterward, I thank Therese Muxeneder and Eike Feß. During my archival visit, Therese also helped arrange for me to escape my cramped lodgings at a Viennese pension for the house in Mödling where Schoenberg once lived before his exile, and which the Arnold Schönberg Center oversees; if any experience could be termed "walking through history," this was it. Christian Meyer made me feel welcome during my stay, and shared his insights about Schoenberg's paintings and life. The Center has created a remarkable website of Schoenberg's music, recordings, photographs, and other memorabilia, which I have cited in the footnotes wherever possible.

At the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, Switzerland, I benefited from the help and insights of Heidy Zimmermann, Robert Piencikowski, and Hermann Danuser, with the able assistance of Johanna Blask during my research trips over the years to this extraordinary trove of modern music manuscripts. The staff at the University Library in Basel also provided able assistance in locating and copying texts valuable to this study and which I was unable to find in the States. At the Thomas Mann Archive in Zurich, Gabriele Hollender and Rolf Bolt found materials to research, facilitated the copying of manuscripts during my visits there, and first brought Thomas Mann's FBI file to my attention, for which I thank them.

In the United States, I was very fortunate to have the able help of Claude Zachary (USC University Archivist and Manuscripts Librarian), who went beyond the call of duty in locating materials and citations, and Michaela Ullmann (Exile Studies Librarian) at Special Collections at USC. Thanks go also to the staff at UCLA Special Collections and Archives, notably Charlotte Brown and Simon Elliot, and the staff at UCLA Performing and Visual Arts. I thank the staff at the Huntington Library, especially Jenny Watts for her thoughts on photography and Jessica Todd Smith for allowing me to see some of the Library's Weston photographs. The staff at the Library of Congress was both gracious and helpful during my visits there. Finally, I warmly thank the staff at Wilson Library, University of La Verne, especially Karen Beavers and Wayne Thurston, and those associated with Interlibrary Loan provided an invaluable service throughout this project. Among other accomplishments, Karen found obscure websites on the US Census Bureau reports, the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, and the FBI file of Thomas Mann, which only goes to prove my original point: librarians and archivists are the keepers of the keys.



Acknowledgments

xvii

For their aid in obtaining permissions and reproductions, I would like to acknowledge in particular Terri Anderson (The Buck Collection), Jacklyn Burns (J. Paul Getty Museum), Ralph Drew (*Los Angeles Times*), Terri Garst (Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection), Craig Gropper (Gropper Family Trust), Isabella McGrath (The Buck Collection), Alan Miyatake (Toyo Miyatake Studio), Mary Nelson (Wichita State University), Therese Muxeneder (Arnold Schönberg Center), Merry Ovnick (*Southern California Quarterly*), Wilfried Raussert (*Forum for Inter-American Research*), Hannah Rhadigan (Artists Rights Society), Christina Rice (Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection), Lawrence Schoenberg (Belmont Music Publishers), and Claude Zachary (USC University Archives).

Finally, I thank members of my family for the roles they played during the ten years of researching and writing this book. My father, Rudolph Marcus, has provided the model of the scholar-teacher and of a caring and thoughtful individual. Although my mother, Laura Marcus, has passed away, she first started me on the road to becoming a historian, and always helped me on my papers through elementary school, high school, and beyond; she knew more about English grammar than anyone I have ever met. My older brother, Alan Marcus, first brought me into contact with my editor, Vicki Cooper. My mother-in-law, Inge Ersig, brought Urs Bitterli's book on Golo Mann to my attention at a critical point in writing about Thomas Mann, and she helped me to decipher Bertolt Brecht's impossible handwriting. My wife Christine has taken part throughout this project, exchanging ideas, sharpening my arguments, and making critical comments on all my presentations. At one key moment she urged me not to let go of this project, and the rest worked out. Her input was, and is, vast. Our son, David, has lived through this project for most of his lifetime, and his aunts and uncles are probably wondering what got me interested in this topic to begin with. The answer is simple: a fascination with the crossroads of music and history. To my wife and son I dedicate this book.

* * *

Sections of earlier versions of the introduction and three chapters were published previously, and I thank the editors for allowing me to use these articles in the book. Parts of the Introduction, Chapter 2, and Chapter 6 appeared in "Immigration and Modernism: Arnold Schoenberg and the Los Angeles Émigrés," in *Aesthetic Practices and Politics in Media, Music, and Art: Performing Migration*, ed. Rocío G. Davis, Dorothea Fischer-Hornung, and Johanna C. Kardux (New York: Routledge, 2011): 183–98. Parts of the Introduction and Chapter 5 appeared in "*Heimat* and Hybridity:



xviii Acknowledgments

Arnold Schoenberg and Southern California Modernism," *Forum for Inter-American Research* 4, no. 1 (2011): 54–71. Part of Chapter 5 appeared in "Judaism Revisited: Arnold Schoenberg in Los Angeles," *Southern California Quarterly* 89, no. 3 (2007): 307–25.



Abbreviations

ASC Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria

HL Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

LC Library of Congress, Washington, DC
PSF Paul Sacher Foundation, Basel, Switzerland

SC/UCLA Special Collections, Performing Arts, University of California, Los

Angeles

SC/USC Special Collections, USC Libraries, University of Southern

California

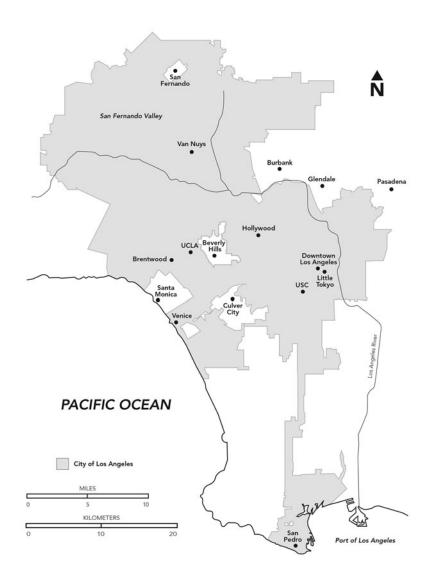
TMA Thomas Mann Archive, Zurich, Switzerland

UA/UCLA University Archives, Charles E. Young Research Library, University

of California, Los Angeles

xix





 ${\bf Map~0.1~Map}$ of the City of Los Angeles. Courtesy Sean Carlson, University of La Verne Graphics.