

CONTEMPORARY MUSIC AND THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY IN AMERICA
FROM 1938 TO 1965 AS REPRESENTED IN LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS OF
THE DISPLACED UNIVERSAL EDITION COMPOSERS AND THEIR
PUBLISHING AGENTS

by

SABRA ISADORE STATHAM

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1 January 2009

Alan Atlas

Date

Chair of Examining Committee

1 January 2009

David Olan

Date

Executive Officer

Richard Kramer

Joseph Straus

David Olan

Bruce Saylor

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

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by

Sabra Statham

Advisor: Professor Richard Kramer

This dissertation explores the music publishing industry in America from 1938 to 1965 as seen through the letters and documents of the displaced Universal Edition composers and publishers. It presents a previously unpublished collection of letters by the composers Béla Bartók, Arnold Schoenberg, George Antheil, Kurt Weill, and Ernst Krenek, and by the publishing agents Ralph Hawkes, Hans Heinsheimer, Felix Greissle, and Hugo Winter. These documents have been sparingly edited from the original and are surveyed and discussed in each chapter. The documents include a wealth of information on music publishing during this period and show how market trends shaped the music of the Universal Edition composers in the United States from the time of the 1938 *Anschluss* of Austria, throughout World War II, and into the post-war era.

Table of Contents

Preface	vii
Acknowledgments	x
Introduction	1
Historical and Biographical Sketches	4
Universal Edition, A.G.	5
Associated Music Publishers	6
G. Schirmer	8
Boosey & Hawkes and Ralph Hawkes (1898–1950)	8
Hugo Winter (1885–1954[?])	10
Hans Heinsheimer (1900–1993)	11
Felix Greissle (1894–1982)	14
Chapter 1— Béla Bartók	16
Chronological Sketch	16
Editorial Comments	25
Letters	26
List of Letters	102
Chapter 2 — Arnold Schoenberg	105
Chronological Sketch	105
Editorial Comments	113
Letters	114
List of Letters	172

Chapter 3 — Ernst Krenek	174
Chronological Sketch	174
Editorial Comments	181
Letters	182
List of Letters	201
Chapter 4 — Kurt Weill	202
Chronological Sketch	202
Editorial Comments	207
Letters	207
List of Letters	218
Chapter 5 — George Antheil	219
Chronological Sketch	219
Editorial Comments	231
Letters	232
List of Letters	360
Epilogue	364
Bibliography	366
Letters	366
Interviews	366
Books and Articles	367
Web Sites	369

Preface

The purpose of this dissertation is to show how market forces in the United States affected the composition and reception of music written during the years 1938 to 1965 by Universal Edition composers displaced by World War II and to show how their music consequently influenced the classical music scene in America after 1938. Letters and correspondences exchanged between Universal Edition composers and their publishing agents have been edited and placed together in one volume. They tell the stories of three Universal Edition émigré publishers: Hans Heinsheimer, Hugo Winter, and Felix Greissle, one British publisher: Ralph Hawkes, and five Universal Edition composers: Arnold Schoenberg, Ernst Krenek, Kurt Weill, George Antheil, and Béla Bartók. Unfortunately, many of the documents needed to complete the story are lost. Neither G. Schirmer nor Associated Music Publishers has an archive. But hundreds of letters — the correspondence between publishers and composers — have survived in private and public collections. The letters are by no means comprehensive; there are many composers such as Eric Korngold, for whom minimal correspondence with publishers survive; those that do survive such as those of Karol Rathaus and Associated Music Publishers have frequent gaps in chronology and narrative. So what I have chosen to reproduce in this dissertation are the most interesting and seemingly relevant letters from those available. Fortunately, letters were not the only documents that I had at my disposal when researching this dissertation. Though none of the publishers themselves are still living, many of their colleagues and family members continue to work in the music business

today and were eager to tell their fascinating stories. Their impressions, recollections, and accounts have been incorporated wherever possible.

As one reads the letters, one finds that each collection has a distinct character, revealing much about the relationship between the two parties as well as the individuals. For example, the letters between George Antheil and Hans Heinsheimer record the evolution of a deep friendship while both men matured as people and artists over the decades. Frequently, George Antheil's insecure and paranoid ego penetrates through his words even when he tries to hide it. On the other hand, Schoenberg's letters to his publishers are far from insecure; a voluminous self-image comes through as he aims criticisms at his editors and agents, and the notes that he wrote in the corners of their letters to him speak worlds about what he thought about them. Bartók too could be short with his publisher, but rarely. Most of the time he was cordial and measured. And Ralph Hawkes' letters to the composer show such a true respect and reverence it is hard to imagine the publisher ever had anything other than the best intentions towards Bartók's career. Every letter is illuminating, not just for the facts it contains, but of the story it tells and the picture it paints.

The letters that make up this volume could have been presented in another format, as part of a larger narrative or a history perhaps. But such a presentation would have done the letters themselves injustice. These letters are documents which, when studied, illuminate a side of the music business which is rarely engaged by scholars and academics — the business of music publishing — and they are documents which reveal human stories about friendships, ambitions, careers, and disappointments. That is why I

have chosen to present these letters together in one volume, where they can tell all they have to tell.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all of the friends and families of the publishers for their contribution to this project. Without their help, insight, and knowledge this dissertation would not have been possible.

I would also like to thank, Richard Kramer, for his comments, recommendations, and steadfastness. This dissertation undoubtedly took longer than he anticipated, and yet he was always available from the beginning of this project to the end.

Nobody deserves more acknowledgement than my husband, who has supported and encouraged me emotionally and financially through my entire academic career as well as through the birth of our four children.

I would like to thank my family, especially my mother for planting the seed of curiosity in me, giving me the gift of music lessons at a young age, and never letting me quit.

My first musicology professor at Penn State, Dr. Dale Monson, deserves recognition for suggesting that I should pursue a Ph.D. I would never have done this without his inspiration.

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Lastly, I want to thank my kids for putting up with all those years of my sitting in front of the computer and hearing me say “I’m almost done!”

Introduction

When the Nazi party took over Universal Edition, A.G., business activities all but stopped until the end of the war. All Jewish and modernist composers and employees were fired, Nazi party members replaced them, and Universal Edition, which had been the premier publisher of new classical music in Europe since 1909, was never the same. The people who had made the firm famous — editors, composers, and agents — had fled the country. Many went to the United States and Great Britain where they helped chart the course of classical music by going to work for such firms as Associated Music Publishers, Boosey & Hawkes, and G. Schirmer.

Before the war, Emil Hertzka, director of UE from 1907 to 1932, had offered new composers long-term exclusive contracts with his firm, a revolutionary approach that gave composers the unique opportunity to have all of their future compositions published and promoted internationally while providing UE with ample repertoire for their future catalogues as well as exclusive rights to a composer's name and works. But in the post-war era, the United States and British publishers did not usually adopt Hertzka's model; market forces became a central factor in getting music published and performed in America. (The only composer included in this volume who was given an exclusive contract after emigrating was Béla Bartók.)

And what a difficult market it was. Contemporary classical music was unpopular and expensive to publish. American firms would not bankroll unprofitable music. They were, for the most part, interested in publishing and promoting music that would generate revenue; and the longer a work would generate revenue from repeat performances, rentals

and sales, the better. Some composers found their talents well-suited to the U.S. markets: Kurt Weill wrote successfully for Broadway, and Eric Korngold composed film scores. But others found American cultural tastes far removed from German modernism and the European avant garde. With the guidance of their music publishers, composers tailored many pieces specifically for the unique American market. Educational or “school” music was particularly lucrative and always in demand. The first few years of letters between Bartók and Boosey & Hawkes focus on the publication of the *Mikrokosmos* (1938–39), which would become one of his most popular compositions and a staple for piano students. Hans Heinsheimer solicited school music from Karol Rathaus while working at Boosey & Hawkes. Heinsheimer later capitalized on an untapped market for school operas when he was at G. Schirmer with the publication and promotion of Kurt Weill’s short amateur opera, *Down in the Valley* — the first of many of its kind published by the firm.

The publishing houses also encouraged composers to write music for the great symphony orchestras of the United States. A popular symphonic work could enjoy season after season of performances as well as radio broadcasts, recordings, and rental revenues. Schoenberg’s practice of arranging non-orchestral works so they could be played by America’s great orchestras helped secure many performances of his music, music that otherwise may have gone unperformed. Ralph Hawkes encouraged Bartók to compose more symphonic literature while he was living in the United States, and Bartók consequently composed the *Concerto for Orchestra*, one of his most popular works.

During the war years there was also an enormous market for Americana of all types: music that quoted folk songs, operas that took their librettos from popular American and English literature, wind and brass band arrangements, and music that used traditional tonal arrangements. Almost every work mentioned in this volume falls into one of these categories. George Antheil's *Symphony #2, "The American,"* was marketed as a piece of Americana, a portrayal of a cross-country road trip using folk idioms to evoke places in the United States. Opera could incorporate every element Americans wanted in their serious art music, and during the post-war era, opera enjoyed a golden age. The right composition could run at the serious opera house, at the musical theatre, and be produced for television as well. Krenek and Antheil both wrote American operas.

But the dynamic relationships between the publishing agents and the composers did not always center around money, or even art. Their letters reveal friendships, partnerships, and egos at work. Hans Heinsheimer kept in close contact with many of his clients even when they were not doing business together. He wanted to hear about their families, and even vacationed with Krenek and Antheil, but he always separated business from friendship. His encouragement and advice sustained Antheil through many lackluster years, yet he did little to help Antheil publish his music. The same was true for Heinsheimer and Krenek. Heinsheimer, the man who "couldn't even read a score," knew that as much as he needed composers, composers needed him, and his correspondence reflects his substantial ego. Even Arnold Schoenberg, who was quick to criticize Hugo Winter while the latter worked at Associated Music Publishers, needed his publisher's help. On behalf of G. Schirmer, and at the request of the composer, Felix Greissle

advised and instructed Schoenberg on how to write for wind band. The only composer who seemed to be able to separate his ego from the business of serious music publishing was Kurt Weill, who needed neither the money nor apparently the validation that the serious publishing houses offered him.

These documents can tell us a great deal about the music business and about the émigré composers in post-war America, but more importantly they reveal how essential publishing agents and editors were to the careers of these composers, the music that they wrote, and the formation of classical music in America as we have come to know it. Hans Heinsheimer, Hugo Winter, Felix Greissle, and Ralph Hawkes were men whose vision and professional skill quietly shaped our American landscape. This dissertation is an attempt to recognize that contribution.

Historical and Biographical Sketches

The following section gives a brief history of the publishing houses and publishing agents named in this volume of letters. Further information on all of the companies can be found in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG)*, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and *Boosey & Hawkes: The Publishing Story* by Helen Wallace and published by B&H in 2008. In addition, company web sites are excellent sources: see www.schirmer.com, www.boosey.com, www.universaledition.com. For additional information on émigré publishers see *Musikverlage im „Dritten Reich“ und im Exil* by Sophie Fetthauer published by Bockel Verlag in 2004.

Universal Edition, A.G.

Between 1909 and 1937 Universal Edition, A.G. was probably the most influential publisher of new classical music in the world. The firm was founded in 1901 by a group of Viennese publishers who banded together to reissue old classics in new wrappers for educational use in Austria. Initially intended to meet a local demand for sheet music, the company made an international name for itself when Emil Hertzka became director in 1907 and soon decided that his company would specialize in publishing new music. In 1909 Universal Edition assigned its first copyrights to compositions by Arnold Schoenberg, Franz Schreker, and Max Reger; and over the next twenty-seven years the firm contracted with most of the new composers in Europe.

Using an aggressive strategy of acquiring smaller firms and offering lifetime exclusive contracts to new composers, Universal Edition quickly grew and enlarged its catalogue. Between the two world wars German music, especially opera, flourished. Universal Edition made a fortune publishing and producing German operas; and with the revenue from hits such as *Jonny spielt auf* (1927) by Ernst Krenek and *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1930) by Kurt Weill, UE was able to finance publications by a whole generation of less commercially successful composers such as Alban Berg, Egon Wellesz, Béla Bartók, Karol Szymanowski, and Darius Milhaud to name just a few. But by the 1930s, social and political tensions were on the rise in Vienna and Berlin. The Nazi party presence and an uncertain economy made the climate in Eastern Europe tense for many UE composers. Then in 1932 Emil Hertzka died and Hugo Winter, commercial director; Hans Heinesheimer, operatic director; and Alfred Kalmus shared the position of

director. Sensing the potential for political conflict in Austria, Alfred Kalmus moved to Great Britain and established a branch of Universal Edition in London on July 1, 1936.¹ His worst fears came to pass on March 9, 1938, with the German *Anschluss* of Austria. Most of the Universal Edition publishers and composers were either Jewish or sympathized with their Jewish colleagues and friends, and were immediately made unwelcome in their homes and at their jobs. All of the employees at Universal Edition were ordered to leave their positions and were replaced with Nazi party members. Many left the country. At that moment Universal Edition ceased to be the premiere publisher of new music in Europe, a reputation it had held with little contest for two decades.

During the war years, Universal Edition did very little business. Alfred Schlee became the head of the company and tried to hold things together until the war ended. After the war, the firm was able to return to business and maintains, to this day, an international image and commitment to publishing new music. However, it never fully recovered its former status as leader in the publication of new classical music.

Associated Music Publishers

In 1921, Emil Hertzka sensed that America would be an important market for new music and founded a branch of Universal Edition at 40 West 34th Street in New York City.² Other European firms followed his example and established American branches as well. But, by the end of the decade, they all realized that the price of maintaining independent

¹ See the company's web site, www.universaledition.com for more.

² Collection of Universal Edition Promotional Flyers in the New York Public Library.

branches in America was too high, and in 1927 these publishers banded together to form the Associated European Music Publishers.³ Later known as Associated Music Publishers or AMP, the company distributed the music of Universal Edition, Bote & Bock, Breitkopf und Härtel, Doblinger, Eschig, Schott, Simrock, and Union Musical Español in the United States.

As an agent for Universal Edition, AMP was expected to cover all of the costs involved in printing and issuing UE stock in the United States before being reimbursed at a later date. This arrangement often deterred the firm from investing in contracts for new compositions, keeping its catalogue up to date, and restocking sold-out works. The firm also suffered from poor general management. On more than one occasion AMP employees reported taking orders for music that was advertised as being for sale but that wasn't actually published by AMP; and composers were frequently told by sales people that their works were unavailable although they were listed for sale. These types of problems frustrated many composers who worked with AMP. In addition, a series of antagonistic directors during the 1950s and 1960s ran off most of AMP's commercial customers. Fortunately, G. Schirmer took the firm over in 1964. This unified the G. Schirmer and AMP catalogues, the former an ASCAP affiliate and the latter BMI, making it one of the largest sheet music publishers in the world.

³ George Sturm, music publisher working for G. Schirmer and later founder of Music Associates of America, interview by the author, 4 June 2004, New York, New York.

G. Schirmer

G. Schirmer was founded in 1866 and is the oldest continuously running music publisher in America. G. Schirmer revolutionized music publishing in the United States when it established its own printing presses in 1891 while most other companies printed their music in Europe. This, coupled with a commitment to cultivate new American composers and print high-quality editions, helped propel the firm to prominence in the United States.

In 1915 the firm founded the journal *The Musical Quarterly*, demonstrating a commitment to musical scholarship that was deepened in 1929 when Carl Engel, a composer and musicologist, took over as director of the firm until his death in 1944. During the post-war era the firm attracted many new American composers including Samuel Barber, Leonard Bernstein, and Morton Gould. After hiring Hans Heinsheimer, former UE operatic director, in 1947, the firm enjoyed the revenues from a series of popular American operas by Menotti (*Amahl and the Night Visitor*, *The Medium*) and Weill (*Down in the Valley*). Heinsheimer also helped enhance sales in the area of educational music. In 1964 the firm acquired AMP, a BMI affiliate (G. Schirmer was an ASCAP affiliate), which expanded its catalogue to include even more American composers, such as Elliott Carter and William Schumann. Today G. Schirmer is an imprint of Music Sales Group.

Boosey & Hawkes and Ralph Hawkes (1898–1950)

The British firm, Boosey & Hawkes, emerged from the 1930 union of Boosey & Company, founded in the 1760s, and Hawkes & Son, founded in 1865. Ralph Hawkes (1898–1950) headed up the new company with Leslie Boosey as his partner. Hawkes

focused his energies on music publishing while Boosey focused on the firm's musical instrument business. The onset of World War II, beginning with the *Anschluss* of Austria in 1938, proved to be a boon for the firm, as Ralph Hawkes took an aggressive approach in the wake of the event. Flying to Austria and Hungary, Hawkes attracted as many UE composers to his firm as possible and negotiated with UE for the control of a number of significant contracts in the Western hemisphere, most notably that of Béla Bartók. In addition, Boosey & Hawkes allowed Universal Edition, London, to operate under its name during the war, then absorbed the branch after the war was over. The firm also hired many of the fleeing UE employees including Ernst Roth, who became an important part of the firm in London, and Hans Heinsheimer, who ran the serious music branch in America from 1938 to 1947.

After the war Ralph Hawkes focused his efforts on cultivating new English and American composers, including Benjamin Britten and Aaron Copland, and promoting the American career of Bartók. He hoped eventually to move the company to the United States (he himself planned to move to Connecticut), but his premature death interrupted those plans and set the company into a spiral of bad business dealings and insider quarreling that diminished the reputation of the firm. The company gradually released its less productive branches, including the instrument sales unit, and nearly went bankrupt in 2001.

Unlike the rest of the company, the New York branch of the firm remained solvent and significant as a publishing house. This was largely due to Ralph Hawkes' efforts to attract and acquire copyrights for works by Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Kodaly, Bartók,

Britten, Copland, and Rachmaninoff. Today the New York branch maintains an impressive catalogue of twentieth century composers, including Walter Piston and David Del Tredici.

Hugo Winter (1885–1954[?])

Hugo Winter was born in Vienna to a working-class family. He began his career as a banker and started working for Universal Edition in 1910. He became head of commercial productions for the firm and eventually, after the death of Emil Hertzka, became the senior head president of Universal Edition — a position he shared with Kalmus and Heinsheimer. Winter, like all Jewish employees at the firm, was dismissed from his position when the Nazis took over, but after a few days, he was summoned back to run the company because no one knew how to lead the organization.

In May 1939, Winter left the country. He was a widower and his two sons, Richard and Wolfgang, were grown men. So, leaving his possessions and family behind, he crossed the Austrian border with the help of friends. It is unclear exactly how his escape was made or when he arrived in New York. But when he did eventually arrive in the city, he went directly to work at Associated Music Publishers, where some accounts say he held the rank of vice president. His two sons followed him to America later. But, many members of his family, including his two brothers, died in Auschwitz.⁴

At Associated Music Publishers, he was soon surrounded by many of the colleagues he thought he had left behind in Europe, and his desk became a meetinghouse

⁴ Joseph Winter, interview by the author, September 2004, tape recording, Lenox, Massachusetts. Dr. Winter is Hugo Winter's son.

through which émigrés could find each other in the new land.⁵ Winter enjoyed the company of composers and held performances and premiers in his own New York home in much the same way he had in Vienna. He worked with old associates like Schoenberg and Krenek, but he also sought new talent by attending premieres. Winter was among the first publishers to notice Norman Dello Joio at a Julliard recital.⁶ Winter worked at AMP until his death in the 1950s.

Hans Heinsheimer (1900–1993)

Hans Heinsheimer, co-director of Universal Edition in 1938, was born in Karlsruhe, Germany, to a noted intellectual family. He studied music as a child but at the University he studied law, specializing in copyrights. His first job was a clerk's position at UE, but he quickly rose in the ranks until he became head of operatic productions. He presided over the opera department during the 1920s and 1930s and helped the company amass a notable catalogue of twentieth-century operas and a considerable amount of money. After the death of Hertzka, he became co-director of the firm.

In March of 1938 Heinsheimer was on a business trip to New York when a letter from a friend arrived in the mail advising, "Don't come home."⁷ Heinsheimer, safe but

⁵ Phyllis Flick, interview by the author, March 2004, telephone. Ms. Flick worked with Hugo Winter at AMP.

⁶ Joseph Winter, interview by the author, September 2004, tape recording, Lenox, Massachusetts.

⁷ Elsbeth Heinsheimer, interview by the author, June 2004, tape recording, New York, New York. Elsbeth Heinsheimer was Hans Heinsheimer's wife. Her maiden name was Heinsheimer.

jobless, was quick to regroup. He continued his work of promoting music. For a few months, he used Associated Music Publishers as an office while he tried to establish a private artists' promotion bureau for fellow émigrés. Then, in late 1938, he was hired by Boosey & Hawkes after a chance meeting with Ralph Hawkes on a New York street.⁸

Hawkes put Hans Heinsheimer in charge of serious music publication and artists' promotion in the new United States branch office. In this position Heinsheimer had the opportunity to continue working with Universal Edition composers as well as many new composers. Settling in New York, he met and later married Elsbeth Heinsheimer and began a family.

Heinsheimer was a literary man at heart, which is one of the reasons that he worked well with opera composers. He wrote four books and numerous articles. His first article, a review of the premier of Arnold Schoenberg's *Die glückliche Hand*, appeared in the German periodical *Der Augenblick* in 1924.⁹ It was followed by many others. Heinsheimer used his prose as a way to engage some of the challenging issues surrounding classical music. For example, he was sensitive to the declining interest in classical music but was optimistic that new technology and media would benefit the musical arts, and in his March 1947 article for *Tempo* magazine, "Music and the

⁸ Hans Heinsheimer, *Best Regards to Aida: The Defeats and Victories of a Music Man on Two Continents* (New York: Knopf, 1968), 166.

⁹ Frances Wainwright Heinsheimer's personal bibliography of her father's writings concludes that this was his first article.

American Radio,”¹⁰ he applauded the growth of radio and the access and support it granted to classical music and neighborhood orchestras.

Although Heinsheimer wrote regularly for academic and professional journals such as the *Music Educator's Journal*, he also wrote for the public at large. He published articles in *Reader's Digest* and *Holiday*, and wrote historical nonfiction as well. *Menagerie in F#*, the first of three historical books, was based on his own life in music publishing in Vienna and New York, and published by Doubleday in 1947. Doubleday also published his subsequent book, *Fanfare for Two Pigeons*, in 1952. *Best Regards to Aida*, subtitled *The Defeats and Victories of a Music Man on Two Continents*, was published in 1968 by Knopf. Each of these books illustrated Heinsheimer's colorful narrative style, which engaged the educated professional as well as the general public.

Heinsheimer was fired from Boosey & Hawkes on the eve of the publication of his first book in 1947. By Heinsheimer's account, Hawkes didn't want a writer working for his firm.¹¹ G. Schirmer immediately hired him as director of operatic productions where he encouraged composers to write American school operas, a field that distinguished G. Schirmer after WWII. He eventually advanced to the status of vice president and remained with the firm until his retirement in 1974. After his retirement he continued to write until his death in 1993.

¹⁰ Hans Heinsheimer, "Music and the American Radio," in *Tempo New Series*, no. 3 (March 1947): 10–14.

¹¹ Heinsheimer, *Best Regards to Aida*, 3–4.

Felix Greissle (1894–1982)

Viennese born, Felix Greissle worked as an editor at Universal Edition until 1938, at which time he emigrated to the United States and took an editorial position at G. Schirmer. In Vienna he had studied composition with Arnold Schoenberg, then married Schoenberg's daughter Gertrude. He became best known as Schoenberg's son-in-law despite the fact that he was an accomplished conductor and teacher.

Although Greissle was not Jewish, he had signed so many anti-Nazi petitions that he felt it was wise to leave Vienna for the United States after the *Anschluss*.¹² His expertise in editing and performing contemporary scores set him apart from other editors, and he became indispensable to Schoenberg. Greissle not only professionally edited the composer's scores but also oversaw rehearsals of Schoenberg's music and served as a mediator between the composer and his publisher.

Felix Greissle was an active teacher in the New York area. He was on the faculty of the 92nd Street Y.M.H.A. (Young Men's Hebrew Association) from 1945 to 1958 where he taught both beginning and advanced counterpoint as well as composition and orchestration. In the fall of 1961 he began teaching at the New School for Social Research. Greissle, then executive secretary of the ISCM (International Society for Contemporary Music), arranged a joint offering of the ISCM and the New School titled "Rehearsal Seminar." It was an open format rehearsal with the composer present. The

¹² Felix Greissle's revision of his "Original Interview on Stokowski," interview by Oliver Daniel, transcript, August 1977, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.

students could observe the rehearsal process, and the class culminated in a public performance. The first guest composer was Roger Sessions. Among the other composers who were present for classes were Milton Babbitt, Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, and Elliot Carter. Recordings of the final performances and transcripts of the rehearsal notes were subsequently contributed to the Library of Congress as “document(s) of great historical value for performing and musical standards, interpretation, tempi, phrasing, etc., shedding light on the style and practice of the time.”¹³

Greissle also taught at Columbia University and the Philadelphia Musical Academy. In 1947 he went to work for the small publishing house E. B. Marks. There he continued working with his father-in-law’s music and also published the works of Roger Sessions. Greissle died in 1982 in Manhasset, New York.

¹³ *New School Bulletin* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1961 and 4 September 1961).

Chapter 1

Béla Bartók

Chronological Sketch¹⁴

Béla Bartók signed a publishing contract with Boosey & Hawkes in 1939 after his former publishing house, Universal Edition, was taken over by Nazis. Ralph Hawkes, director of the firm, immediately focused his attention on publishing and promoting pieces that were financially advantageous to his firm. His first item of concern was Bartók's *Mikrokosmos* (1932–1939), which, as a school work, would enjoy high sales on the American and British markets. He was equally interested in publishing vocal works for the English speaking audience and also requested translations of Bartók's Twenty-seven Choruses for Children's Chorus and for Women's Chorus (1936). Hawkes encouraged Bartók to visit the United States and asked former Universal Edition opera publisher Hans Heinsheimer, then working in New York, to arrange a concert and lecture tour for the spring of 1940. Optimistic about the opportunities he saw there, Bartók moved to the United States in the fall of 1940.

The composer's output was modest between 1940 and 1942, but his publisher continued preparing and printing all of Bartók's new and unpublished compositions, including the String Quartet No. 6 (1941), *Contrasts* (1938), and the *Divertimento* (1939).

¹⁴ For general biographical information see: Malcolm Gillies, "Béla Bartók" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 2, (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), 781–818; and Benjamin Suchoff, *Béla Bartók: Life and Work*, (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1976).

In addition Boosey & Hawkes successfully negotiated with Universal Edition for the right to release several popular works in the United States including *Rumanian Folkdances* (1917) for orchestra and *Allegro Barbaro* (1911) for piano.

By the spring of 1942, Boosey & Hawkes was out of new works to publish and Hawkes suggested Bartók compose a piece for soloist and orchestra and a piece for orchestra alone. The publisher felt that these types of compositions would command a high number of performances and generate interest in Bartók's music. Encouraged by his publisher, financially aided by a commission from Koussevitsky, and enjoying a brief period of good health, Bartók wrote three of his most critically successful and widely performed works between 1943 and 1945: the *Concerto for Orchestra* (1943, rev. 1945), the Piano Concerto No. 3 (1945), and most of the Viola Concerto (1945).

In March of 1938, the Nazi's commandeered political power in Austria. They immediately began a course of cultural reformation, which included taking over the Universal Edition publishers and dissolving the Austrian performing rights society, AKM (Staatlich Genehmigte Gesellschaft der Autoren, Komponisten, und Musikverleger), and replacing it with their own organization known as STAGMA (Staatlich Genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung Musikalischer Urheberrechte).

Bartók immediately turned to Ralph Hawkes, director of Boosey & Hawkes, London for help. Bartók first needed to find legal cause to dissolve his relationship with AKM in order to join a new society. His letter of 13 May 1938 included excerpts from recent AKM circulars and Statutes. He used these to argue that any previous agreements

he had with AKM were voided based on the violation of their own Statutes, and thus he had the right to resign his membership.¹⁵

Hawkes replied to the composer on 23 May 1938 that he agreed with Bartók. Bartók probably had legal grounds to terminate his relationship with AKM, but joining the English Society would not be simple. Hawkes pointed out that there were tensions between the Societies of England and France and those of Italy and Germany due to what the Western Societies saw as discrimination against “foreign” music in the East.¹⁶

By September Bartók had been successfully elected to the English Performing Rights Society,¹⁷ and he wanted to end his contract with Universal Edition. A letter dated 2 January 1939, revealed that Hawkes was already working with Universal Edition to buy the rights to Bartók’s works outside of “Greater Germany”.¹⁸ In early March 1939, Universal Edition agreed to transfer Bartók’s contracts to Boosey & Hawkes; on March 6th Hawkes began negotiating the transfer.¹⁹ Hawkes also wrote to Bartók and inquired about new works. He was particularly interested in Bartók’s “school for piano”.²⁰

¹⁵ Enclosure from Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 13 May 1938.

¹⁶ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 23 May 1938.

¹⁷ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 24 September 1938.

¹⁸ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 2 January 1939.

¹⁹ Ralph Hawkes to Universal Edition, 6 March 1939.

²⁰ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 6 March 1939.

On 9 March 1939, Bartók informed Hawkes that the “school for piano” was the *Mikrokosmos*.²¹ On 6 April 1939, Hawkes wrote to Bartók outlining the terms of his new contract.²² The publisher wanted updates on the following works: “*Mikrokosmos*, Violin Concerto, Work for String Orchestra, *Ballet Symphonique*, Work for Two Pianos and Percussion, *Bulgarian Dances—Orchestra Arrangement*,” and “Concerto for Clarinet, Violin and Piano.” But Hawkes’ most immediate interest was in the *Mikrokosmos* which, as a collection of studies, had greater revenue possibilities and lower printing costs than the orchestral works.²³

Bartók’s letter of 17 April 1939 included a complete update of the composer’s work and a letter from Hans Heinsheimer who was negotiating a settlement with Associated Music Publishers on behalf of Hungarian composers for royalties originally managed by AKM.²⁴ Hawkes’ letter of 25 April 1939 confirmed receipt of a package of manuscripts which Bartók had asked the firm to store for him along with some money, and suggested that Bartók take Heinsheimer’s advice and settle with AMP.²⁵ A separate letter written on the same date itemized details of a new contract whose benefits were comparable to those Bartók had enjoyed with UE.²⁶

²¹ Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 9 March 1939.

²² Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 6 April 1939.

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 17 April 1939.

²⁵ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 25 April 1939.

²⁶ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 25 April 1939.

Boosey & Hawkes began preparing to print and promote the *Mikrokosmos* by the summer of 1939. A letter of 19 July 1939 included an advertising sample which declared Bartók one of the modern masters of the day.²⁷ Ralph Hawkes thought that Bartók should plan a tour of the United States. That fall he wrote: “Have you made up your mind to go to New York in the spring? My own view is that it would be an excellent move and I shall look forward to hearing from you that you have made the decision and that all your plans are arranged. It is probable that I shall be there at that time.”²⁸ In response Bartók replied that he had decided to go to the United States, leaving on March 19th and arriving on the 28th.²⁹ A letter of February 1940 from Ernst Roth to Hawkes, who was in America at the time, outlined the firm’s efforts to get the *Mikorkosmos* printed that winter.³⁰ Bartók completed a short tour of the United States in the spring of 1940 and decided that he would move to the United States later that year. In America, Heinsheimer began booking engagements for the composer, and in September 1940, Heinsheimer sent Bartók an update on the itinerary for his next American tour which included concerts as well as lectures throughout the country.³¹

By the winter of 1940, London was becoming consumed by the war effort, and sales to continental Europe were completely shut off. Hawkes was optimistic that

²⁷ Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 19 July 1939.

²⁸ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 15 November 1939.

²⁹ Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 7 November 1939.

³⁰ Ernst Roth to Ralph Hawkes, 26 February 1940.

³¹ Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 18 September 1940.

Bartók's decision to move to America would pay off.³² The composer completed a series of tours over the next two seasons and did little composing. Eventually, interest in his concerts declined, and this eventually led the artist agency to stop booking him in 1942. By 1942 Bartók's health was also in decline; he was showing symptoms of leukemia. Ralph Hawkes helped the Bartók's son, Peter, get to the United States in the spring of 1942 and hoped that his arrival might boost the family's spirit. In a letter of that year, he also suggested that Bartók compose a new work either for orchestra or a concerto for solo instrument and orchestra.³³

That summer Bartók's health declined rapidly, and he was also short on income. The piano that had been on loan from the Baldwin Company was reclaimed. Although Baldwin offered it to the composer for purchase over time, he couldn't afford it.³⁴ Heinsheimer offered Bartók an advance on his royalties to help out until his health improved because Bartók would not take any form of charity.³⁵ That winter Bartók recovered a bit and was well enough to help Boosey & Hawkes negotiate with UE to reissue previously released works under copyright with Universal Edition. The publisher was then able to sell the popular *Allegro Barbaro* and *Roumanian Dances* in the United States without involvement from Associated Music Publishers.³⁶

³² Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 6 December 1940.

³³ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 17 April 1942.

³⁴ Baldwin Piano Company to Béla Bartók, 12 June 1942.

³⁵ Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 16 June 1942.

³⁶ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 8 January 1942.

Bartók's health again took a turn for the worse. In February 1943 while lecturing at Harvard, he was forced to enter the hospital. In distress, he wrote a lengthy letter to Heinsheimer displaying irritation at his publisher.³⁷ Unaware of the composer's dire condition, the publisher fired back in defense.³⁸ That summer, feeling somewhat better, the composer tried to find a publisher for his Roumanian folk music collection. He had paid a substantial sum to have 500 copies of the collection made in 1940 and was now having to pay to have them stored. The New York Public Library told him that the pages of the copies were too yellowed for them to print. The composer finally turned to Boosey & Hawkes for an estimate on the printing.³⁹ Boosey & Hawkes' estimate was more reasonable than any other, but the firm never did publish the collection. They did agree, however, to store it for the composer thus relieving him of that cost.⁴⁰

Bartók continued having symptoms of leukemia throughout 1943, periods of fluctuating fever, which he described in a letter to Hawkes.⁴¹ Throughout the summer he continued to focus his attention on the completion and publication of his folk music collections. That fall, the first period in over a year without any symptoms of fever, Bartók decided to begin the Koussevitsky commission. He began work on August 15, 1943, and by September 28, as he wrote in a letter to Heinsheimer, he had already

³⁷ Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 31 March 1943.

³⁸ Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 1 May 1943.

³⁹ Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer, 4 July 1943.

⁴⁰ Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 8 July 1943.

⁴¹ Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 31 July 1943.

finished four movements of the new work and was working on a fifth, adding that the work was not “exactly the kind Mr. Hawkes expected” from him.⁴²

In October with the work completed (i.e., *Concerto for Orchestra*), Bartók returned to New York. By November, his publisher had drafted a contract for the composition and began planning a premier with Koussevitsky. In another burst of creative energy, Bartók began composing a series of significant works while enjoying the peaceful North Carolina countryside during the winter of 1943–44. On his agenda were commissions for a viola concerto to be performed by William Primrose, a full scoring of the Violin Concerto No. 2, and a piano reduction of the *Concerto for Orchestra* for use by the American Ballet Theater.

Hans Heinsheimer began the promotion of the *Concerto for Orchestra* and planned for the Koussevitsky premier. Koussevitsky turned the work down for the spring 1944 season because he felt that it would not allow enough opportunity for repeat performances.⁴³ The conductor wrote that he would include it in his fall schedule.⁴⁴ Bartók anxiously awaited word on when the performance would take place.⁴⁵ *Concerto for Orchestra* finally premiered on December 1st of 1944 in Boston with Serge Koussevitsky conducting. The *Concerto for Orchestra* was a huge success and was

⁴² Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer, 28 September 1943.

⁴³ Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 28 March 1944.

⁴⁴ Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 14 August 1944.

⁴⁵ Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer, 12 September 1944.

immediately picked up by Dmitri Mitropoulos in Minneapolis and Vladimir Golschmann in St. Louis.⁴⁶

Bartók continued to enjoy recognition for his new works throughout 1944. Heinsheimer relayed in November that in Europe his *Violin Concerto* had “without a doubt... created an absolute sensation.”⁴⁷ In early 1945, Hawkes took the rare step to have Boosey & Hawkes commission a seventh string quartet from the composer. When requesting the funds from the Westminster Bank, Hawkes wrote: “Béla Bartók... is certainly one of the world’s greatest living composers.... It is our desire to encourage him to write as much as possible during what may be the last few years of his life.”⁴⁸

By spring 1945 the war was over and Hawkes was looking forward to seeing Bartók return to Europe. Hawkes hoped Bartók would be able to stop in London on his way to Hungary. Hawkes was also planning a special concert to highlight the composer’s six string quartets. Optimism was high amongst his publishers in the last days of his life. A last letter from Heinsheimer dated 24 September 1945 was all business.⁴⁹ Hawkes, due to arrive in New York soon, got word that Bartók was again ill and in the hospital. His hurried telegram noted that pocket scores for the *Concerto for Orchestra* and *Second*

⁴⁶ Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 14 December 1944.

⁴⁷ Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 3 November 1944.

⁴⁸ Ralph Hawkes to Westminster Bank, 8 February 1945.

⁴⁹ Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 24 September 1945, [New York], typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

Violin Concerto would be forthcoming.⁵⁰ Before the publisher arrived, the composer died on 26 September 1945.

Editorial Comments

Bartók wrote in Hungarian, German and English, but he wrote his business letters in the language of the recipients as much as possible. Thus most of the letters here were originally written in English. Sometimes, however, his publisher would have his correspondence translated before they were sent on to their destination. Titles have been left in the original typescript and language in its original orthography. When the author of a letter underlined text for emphasis it has been underlined and italicized. In some cases, English translations of letters are all that can be found in the Bartók archive. In other cases, an unnamed person made English translations of some of the German letters in the archive. When this is the case, it is noted at the top of the letter. Handwritten comments by the recipient have been italicized and placed in braces {}. The letters have been printed with permission of Peter Bartók and Boosey & Hawkes and can all be found in the Bartók archive in Homosassa, Florida.

⁵⁰ Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 26 September 1945. This letter and also Hawkes last telegram dated 27 September 1945 are reproduced in Malcolm Gillies, “Bartók and Boosey & Hawkes: The American Years,” in *Tempo New Series*, no. 205 (July 1998): 8–11. (1.38)

Letters

1.1 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes⁵¹

Budapest, 13 May 1938

Circular from A.K.M.⁵² dated March 17th, 1938.

(1) The entire Council of AKM has been relieved of its functions under decree by the Landeskulturleiters, Hermann Stuppaeck; at the same time our Member, Herr. Fr. Reidinger has been appointed as Commissar Chairman.

Circular letter from A.K.M. dated April 9th, 1938.

(2) We request you to return to us at the latest by April 16th the enclosed questionnaire truthfully completed on all points. The complete and correct answering of the questions is your duty — (The questionnaire contains questions about religion of members, their parents and grandparents.)

Circular letter from A.K.M. dated May 7th (Not received until May 11th.)

(3) As up to the present we are not in possession of the completed questionnaire requested by us, we must point out in your own interests that the questionnaire should be sent in as soon as possible — We must point out also to you that we cannot undertake to make any payments of any kind before receipt of the questionnaire.

⁵¹ Typed translation of enclosure Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida. Written in German, English Translation by Bartók Archive.

⁵² Staatlich Genehmigte Gesellschaft der Autoren, Komponisten, und Musikverleger, founded in 1897 and dissolved in March 1938.

Section 19 of the Statutes of A.K.M. states “In the event of the entire Council resigning, either a previous President or the oldest Vice President must immediately call an Extraordinary General Meeting within thirty days.”

Sections of the Statutes of A.K.M. regarding termination of membership. The resignation of a member cannot take place before the end of a business year and after at least four weeks notice have been given. Notwithstanding the termination of membership, the Society still retains for a period of ten years from the termination of the membership the sole right to control the works transferred. N.B. A General Meeting has been called for June 8th, 1938, some three months after the compulsory dismissal of the Council.

My suggested reply to A.K.M. (not sent).

I am in receipt of your letter circulars dated March 17th, April 9th, and May 7th, and I beg to point out:

(1) That under the Statutes of A.K.M. you have no right to request the filling out of the questionnaire.

(2) That under the Statutes of A.K.M. you have no right to withhold due payments on any account whatsoever.

(3) That the removal of the entire Council, of which you advise me on March 17th is against the Statutes.

(4) That with the compulsory dismissal of the entire Council, you were obligated under the Statutes (Section 19) to call an Extraordinary General Meeting immediately and upon a date not more than 30 days after the dismissal. This duty you have not carried out. It must, therefore, be pointed out that the Statutes of A.K.M. in all these cases have been

grossly violated. If the present unlawful leadership does not consider the Statutes to be obligatory for themselves or if the circumstances prevent that the Statutes would be binding, then likewise the Statutes cannot be considered as obligatory for me and the members respectively. I reserve to myself the right to make further decisions in this sense.

My Standpoint in this matter.

On the attached statement of facts, it appears that the A.K.M. has already contravened its Statutes four times. I am no Lawyer but my sense of right tells me that when one of two parties who have made an agreement, violates the terms thereof in several respects (i.e., breach of the Statutes), the obligation of the other party to observe the terms of the agreement ceases.

I have in mind, therefore, on the grounds of my own viewpoint of the Law, to announce my immediate retirement from A.K.M. on the basis that I do not recognize the right of A.K.M. to hold me for ten years. The A.K.M. will not agree to this immediate and total exit. The matter would be clearer if the A.K.M. at their General Meeting on June 8th confirmed their dissolution. Unfortunately, on several grounds this cannot be expected but if in spite of this on June 8th it comes to a de facto dissolution, then the people will be artful enough to treat the situation not as dissolution but as a fusion with STAGMA⁵³; thus would our cause not be helped legally.

⁵³ Staatlich genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Urheberrechte was founded by the German government in 1933 as an initial effort to take control of the cultural sphere in Europe, replacing GEMA (Gesellschaft für musikalische Aufführungs-

The questions are now:

(1) Whether the English Society will accept me as a member, if I leave the A.K.M. on the grounds of the above mentioned reasons and consider myself as free, i.e., if they agree with my above mentioned interpretation of the Law.

(2) If they have the possibility to collect from all countries in the future — * naturally excepting Germany, Italy and Hungary — such payments which these countries might make to them but not through the A.K.M. or STAGMA.

* These countries will certainly not surrender to a majority decision at a Congress and this must be reckoned with. As the collection in these three countries in future will in all probability be only minimum, this refusal would be negligible.

und mechanische Vervielfältigungsrechte) the previous German performing rights organization. STAGMA replaced AKM in 1938.

ENCL. OF MAY 13 1938

Seite 1.

188 D. H. 1
Bartók
Archives

Rundschreiben des A. K. M. vom 17. März 1938:

„Der gesamte Vorstand des A. K. M. wurde über Befähigung des Landes-
Katharleiters Hermann Stuppäch seiner Funktionen entoben. Gleich-
zeitig wurde unter Aufsicht Herr Fr. Reindinger zum kommissarischen
Präsidenten (ctz.) bestellt - - -“

Rundschreiben des A. K. M. vom 2. April 1938: *

„Wir ersuchen Sie, bis bis spätestens (6. April d. J.) die angelegenen
Fragebogen in allen Punkten wahrheitsgemäß ausgefüllt, ein-
zusenden. — Die rechte und wahrheitsgemäße Beantwortung
der Fragen ist Pflicht!“
[Der Fragebogen enthält Fragen über Religion des Mitglieds, seiner
Eltern und Grosseltern!]

Rundschreiben des A. K. M. vom 7. Mai 1938. (angestrichelt am
11. Mai):

~~Wir~~ Da wir bisher nicht im Besitz der ausgefüllten Frage-
bogen gelangt sind, stellen wir hiermit in Ihrem eigenen
Interesse das Ersuchen, aus den Fragebogen möglichst umgehend
einzusenden. — Wir machen Sie bitte darauf aufmerk-
sam, dass wir Aussagen irgendwelcher Art vor Einlangen
des Fragebogens nicht vornehmen können.“

§ 19. der Statuten des A. K. M.:

„Falls der gesamte Vorstand eine Demission geben sollte, hat inner-
halb 30 Tagen eine von bisheriger Präsidenten oder ältesten Vorspre-
sidenten sofort einzuberufende außerordentliche Generalversammlung
stattzufinden.“

§ 20 der Statuten des A. K. M. über Beendigung der Mitgliedschaft:

„Der Austritt eines Mitglieds darf nicht vor Ablauf des Geschäftsjahrs
und nach vorausgegangenem mindestens vierwöchentlichem
Kündigungsgeschehen.“

„Ungeachtet der Beendigung der Mitgliedschaft bleibt die

Figure 1.1a Enclosure from Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes (page 1)

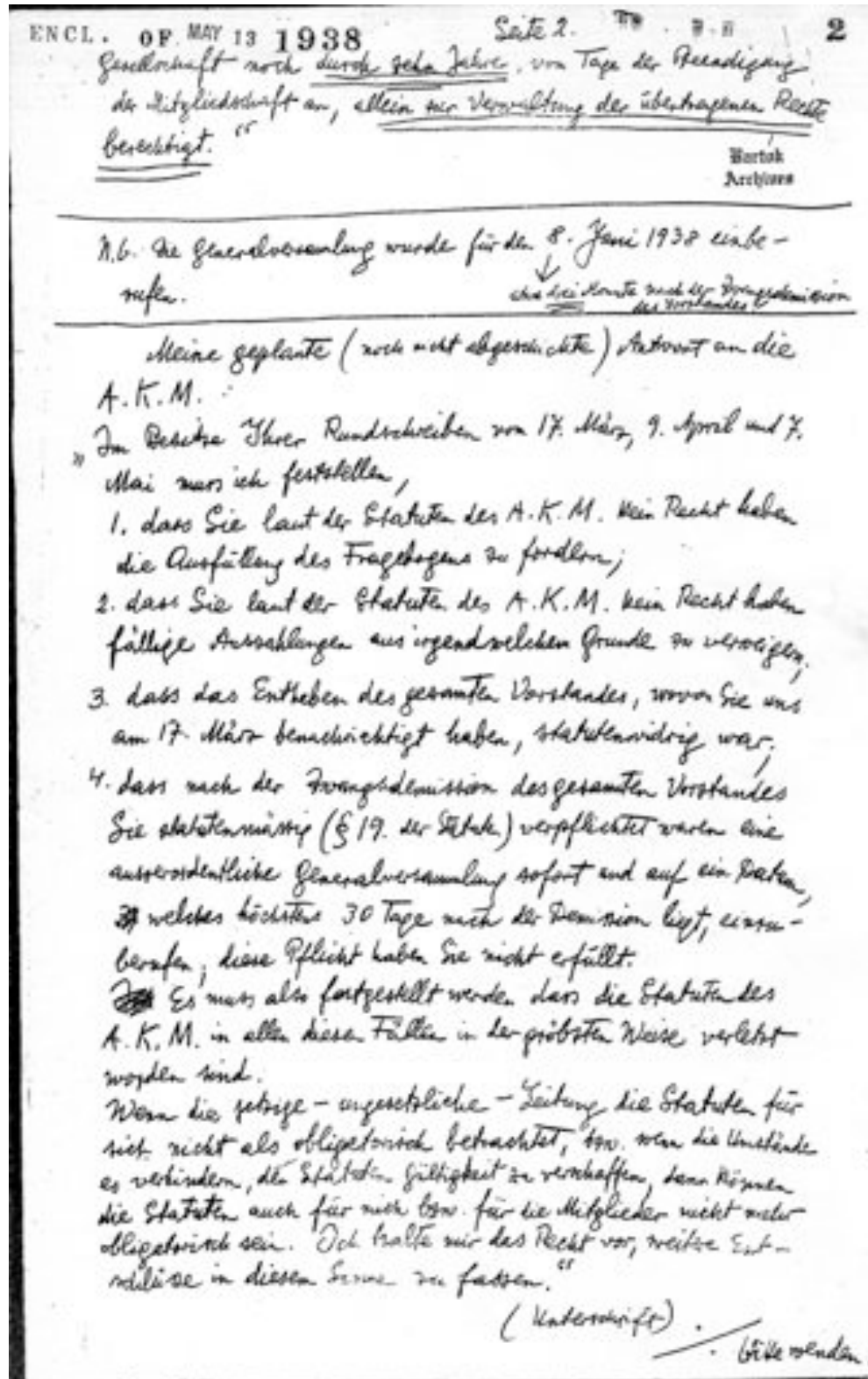


Figure 1.1b Enclosure from Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes (page 2)

3 kein Hauptpunkt in dieser Angelegenheit. Seite 3. BB . B.B.

Aus dem auf S. 1. 2. beschriebenen Sachlage ergibt hervor, dass die A.K.M. bisher bereits 4-mal die Statuten verabschiedet hat. Ich bin zwar kein Jurist, aber meine Rechtsauffassung sagt mir, dass wenn von 2 Parteien, die einen Vertrag geschlossen haben, die eine Partei unvollständige Kontraktstücke (= Vollendung der Statuten) zugehen hat, dann auch für die andere Partei die Bindung durch den Vertrag aufhört. Ich beabsichtige also auf Grund dieser wissenschaftlichen Rechtsauffassung meinen sofortigen Austritt aus der A.K.M. anzukündigen, und zwar ohne dass die A.K.M. das Recht ihrer Bindung auf 10 Jahre anerkennt. Die A.K.M. wird diesem sofortigen und totalen Austritt nicht einwilligen.

— Klar wäre die Angelegenheit wenn die A.K.M. in der Generalversammlung vom 8. Juni ihre Auflösung beschlossen würde. Leider ist das Unwahrscheinlich — aus verschiedenen Gründen — nicht zu erwarten; aber wenn es dennoch am 8. Juni zu einer de facto Auflösung kommen sollte, dann werden die Leute schon so schlau sein, das Ereignis nicht als „Auflösung“, sondern als eine „Fusion“ mit der Slagma zu bezeichnen! Damit wäre also unsere Sache praktisch gelöst.

Die Frage ist nun, ob die englische Gesellschaft mich überhaupt als Mitglied anerkennen würde, wenn ich von der A.K.M. auf Grund der obigen Erwägungen austrete und mich als frei bezeichne; bzw. ob sie dem meine, da beschriebenen Rechtsfolgen zustimmt.?) Ob sie die Möglichkeit hat alle anderen Länder (natürlich ausgenommen Deutschland + Italien + Ungarn*) dazu zu bewegen, in der Zukunft die meine Werke betreffenden Beträge nicht der A.K.M. oder der Slagma, sondern der englischen Gesellschaft einzuliefern.

* — — — — *

* diese Länder werden sich wohl auch einem Mehrheitsbeschluss eines Kongresses der Komponistengesellschaften nicht unterwerfen, damit etwas gerechnet werden. Da (zwei) aber bei diesen drei Ländern in der Zukunft höchstwahrscheinlich nur um minimale Beträge handeln wird, kann diese Eigentümern als belanglos betrachtet werden.

Bartók
Archives

ENCL. OF MAY 13 1938

Figure 1.1c Enclosure from Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes (page 3)

1.2 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁵⁴

[London], 23 May 1938

My Dear Mr. Bartók,

Your letter dated May 8th arrived on Saturday morning, May 21st. I cannot understand the reason for the delay.

Your further letter of May 13th, however, covered the entire situation, to which I have already replied, giving you the date of the Concert. I should like you and Madame Bartók to dine with me one evening at my Flat and think probably the most suitable date would be June 16th. Failing that, perhaps Tuesday, June 21st would be convenient, if you are still to be in London then.

I have now had an opportunity of considering the position regarding A.K.M., as outlined in your report and there is no doubt whatsoever that if the facts are correct — and I assume them to be so — you are quite right in your assertions. However, the question of right or wrong is a matter which is of very little concern to the present regime in Germany.

The position as far as the English Society is concerned is quite a simple one. It is bound by International affiliation agreements and cannot very well abrogate these unilaterally. It is, of course, perfectly clear that the re-arrangements of the A.K.M. - STAGMA position will call for a reconsideration of our Contract of Affiliation with STAGMA. The question of you and others in a similar position being able to join the

⁵⁴ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

P.R.S.⁵⁵ has already been raised by me at our Meetings here in the last month. It is felt, however, that whilst being entirely sympathetic to the proposal — and especially in view of the fact that the object of Performing Right Societies all over the world is primarily to protect the composer Internationally and secure for him the payments to which he is entitled — the election of members resident in other countries to Societies whose Headquarters are located elsewhere, involves International consideration and for this purpose it has been placed on the Agenda for the Stockholm Congress in June. Assuming the Congress to be favorable to this movement, then I see no reasons at all why elections should not take place. I do, however, feel that this question may resolve itself into a sort of bloc between France and England on the one hand, and STAGMA and SIAE⁵⁶ on the other.

There is also no shadow of doubt that a strong feeling exists in this country at the discrimination which is now being leveled against “foreign music” in Italy and Germany. If these Societies persist in their attitude of favoring “nationals” as against “foreigners”, there is no doubt that retaliatory measures will be taken in earnest. The feeling of the Board of Directors of the English Society was quite strong on this point when the Italian measures were outlined to us the other day.

My feeling as far as you are concerned is: If you resign from A.K.M., they will probably discriminate against you as far as collections made on your works in their territory, i.e., Germany and possibly Italy. On the other hand, however, if you are not a

⁵⁵ Performing Rights Society

⁵⁶ Società Italiana Degli Autori ed Editori

member of the Society, then your Publishers, Universal Edition (London), Ltd., who control the Performing Rights in the Universal Edition catalogue in the British Empire, would be in a position to collect your share direct, for you would be what is called a “non-member”; this, however, would be a complicated and somewhat dangerous procedure. It might well work out satisfactorily in the end but may cause difficulties in the meantime. Not all Societies recognize the non-member by paying his Publisher his share. You will appreciate that the whole matter now is bound up in the affiliation agreements and until this had been clarified at Stockholm, no further move can be made by us.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Ralph Hawkes

1.3 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁵⁷

Budapest, 24 September 1938

My Dear Mr. Bartók,

I heard yesterday that STAGMA have signified to the P.R.S. that they will raise no objection to your being elected a member of the P.R.S. and I hasten to give you this information, as I am sure you will be pleased to hear it. Your formal election will,

⁵⁷ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

therefore, take place in a short time, presumably at the next Board Meeting, which will be held in October.

I do not think there will be any difficulty about your belonging to the Hungarian Society in addition for local performances in Hungary, in order that you may receive your fees direct from that Body for such performances. I would point out, however, that this letter suggestion is tentative only and should not be acted upon by you until you hear further.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Ralph Hawkes

1.4 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁵⁸

[London], 2 January 1939

My Dear Mr. Bartók,

Many thanks for your letter of December 28th, which reached me this morning.

I hasten to advise you that we have already approached Universal Edition with a suggestion that we should buy the rights in all your works for all territories outside Greater Germany and in so doing, acquire the copyright for the world but leave them the exploitation in that particular territory.

We have also suggested that we might take over your Contract with them and thus relieve them of their obligation. Under these circumstances, therefore, it would appear to

⁵⁸ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

be a satisfactory move for you to make to advise Mr. Schlee⁵⁹ when he calls upon you that you would feel happier if they did such a deal, for it is obviously of no use to them to have any arrangements with you whereby you are not willing to publish with them. The answer to the question contained in your letter, therefore, is that you may certainly mention our name as a possible Publisher. If such an arrangement were made with Universal Edition, you would then be able to look upon us as the owners of your copyrights for the world and you would do all your business with us. Since you are a member of the P.R.S., the situation would be much improved for you and I must say that, speaking personally, I should be more than happy to have this association with you.

With my best regards to Madame Bartók and yourself.

Yours sincerely,

Ralph Hawkes

1.5 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁶⁰

[London], 6 March 1939

My Dear Mr. Bartók,

It was a great pleasure to meet you and Mrs. Bartók again and I sincerely hope that you have enjoyed your stay in Paris.

I have now heard from Vienna to the effect that they will raise no objections about releasing you from your Agreement with them, if the new works are to be published by

⁵⁹ Alfred Schlee remained in Vienna during the war to run Universal Edition.

⁶⁰ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

us and if they can have the selling agency for them in Germany. I have asked them to notify you accordingly in order that you may be in possession of a letter which will give you the necessary freedom to deal with us. I confirm also that I am prepared to take over the Contract you had with U.E., Vienna and publish your works on the same terms. They have already sent me a copy of the said Contract, so I am conversant with these terms.

I shall be prepared to accede to your wishes about the P.R.S. Rules and you will in future be credited with two-thirds of all Performing and Broadcasting Fees on these works distributed by the P.R.S.

As soon as you receive the letter from Vienna, will you please let me know and I shall be happy to go forward without any delay and publish all new works that you have ready. Mrs. Hertzka⁶¹, who called to see me the other day, tells me that you have a School for the Piano in preparation. This work will, of course, be very interesting indeed but I do not recall that you told me anything about it when I had lunch with you.

The idea of a long orchestral work in the form of a Ballet, such as the Ballet Symphonique appeals to me very much and I shall look forward to further news about this: likewise the pieces for School Orchestra, with which I am sure we should do very well.

I shall be glad if you will let me have your address in Switzerland, so that I may keep in close touch with you, for matters may now move rather rapidly and I may want to communicate with you frequently.

⁶¹ Wife of legendary Universal Edition director, Emil Hertzka.

With best wishes to yourself and Mrs. Bartók,

Yours sincerely,

Ralph Hawkes

*1.6 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Universal Edition A.-G.*⁶²

[London], 6 March 1939

Gentlemen,

We thank you for your letter of March 4th. And we hasten to reply to you on the subject of new works by Béla Bartók to be published by us.

We are glad that you are now in agreement with us that we should proceed in accordance with his wished, viz:- that these works should be issued by us and we suggest the following terms:-

- (1) You to have the agency for Germany and Hungary
- (2) You to receive 25% of the gross receipts from Performing, Broadcasting and Mechanical Rights from your territory, as well as Hire Fees. This will leave us as Publishers with about 8% of Performing, Mechanical and Broadcasting fees and Bartók will receive the balance of two-thirds ($66\frac{2}{3}\%$) in accordance with the Rules of the Performing Rights Society and BIEM.
- (3) On the supply of printed copies we will give you the maximum possible discount to enable you to put them on the market at suitable prices.

⁶² Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

You will observe from the above that we are giving you the very best terms possible. We feel that to retain 8% is not very much but we will be content with it under the circumstances. The division in this manner can be arranged through the P.R.S., to whom we will give the necessary instructions and they will accept this distribution.

It will now remain for you to advise Béla Bartók direct of your willingness to release him from his Contract with you, provided he publishes these new works with us. We would advise you not to attach any conditions regarding your representation of these works in your particular territory. This is important, for he will not make any move in the matter until you give him the necessary release.

We had the opportunity of speaking with him in Paris last week and he confirmed that he would be quite prepared to publish his new works on the same terms as his Contract with you but was not willing that the copyright should be transferred to you for your territory. He has no objection, however, to your acting as our representatives in the matter: hence the proposal we now make. We should be grateful, therefore, if you would advise him at the earliest possible moment, in order that there may be no further delay about these new publications.

Yours very truly,

For BOOSEY & HAWKES, LIMITED

Ralph Hawkes, Director

1.7 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes⁶³

Basel, 9 March 1939

Dear Mr. Hawkes,

I am very glad to learn from your letter of March 6th that the Viennese U.E. at last — and at least — agree to release me from the Agreement in respect of (new) works not yet published. As we stopped in Basel for two days only, it seems to be not necessary to give you this address (which is—by the way—that of Mr. Paul Sacher⁶⁴: we are his guests); this evening we are leaving for Budapest, so you may write me there, and—of course—I will let you know if I will get the letter of U.E. about the releasement. (N.6 from 29th March to 8th April I will be in Italy).

That piano-school is nothing else than the first part of the “Mikrokosmos”! In fact, it will be something like a school, with exercises, progressive order of the (very easy and easy) pieces. If you prefer to have it more similar to a School, I could add to it some changes.

We had a great pleasure to meet you in Paris; I hope that the U.E. will — in the end — agree with me other demand. But, of course, I will take no steps in that direction (as you asked me to do) until further notice from you.

Please would you be so kind as to forward the enclosed letter to the P.R.S.? Many thanks!

⁶³ Autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

⁶⁴ Paul Sacher (1906–1999), Swiss conductor who commissioned *Music for Strings*, *Percussion and Celesta* premiered by him in 1936 and *Divertimento* premiered in 1940.

Yours very sincerely,

Béla Bartók

P.S. The realizing of all those plans (composing new works) and the completing of the School takes much time; before summer I can't proceed to any work of such kind.

1.8 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁶⁵

London, 6 April 1939

Dear Mr. Bartók,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th March. I note that you have now sent advice to U.E., Vienna regarding your release from your agreement regarding the transfer of the OLD works. I am grateful to you for doing this and I sincerely hope that the conclusion of this transfer will not be long delayed.

Now with regard to the question of the proposed contract between us for NEW works, Dr. Kalmus and I have been through your old agreements with Vienna very carefully and we have come to the conclusion that it would be best to send you a draft of a new contract which incorporates all the important and relevant conditions of the various contracts which you have had with U.E., Vienna since 1918. It would be quite impossible for us to operate on six different contracts and I am sure you will agree that a new contract setting out these important conditions is the best thing for us to work upon. There are some points which we have omitted, such as the question of depreciated currency, which I do not think should be foreseen in the British Empire and certainly no

⁶⁵ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

clause can be written in a contract which would cover such an eventuality. Therefore, the particular contract of February 20th, 1923, which refers to this subject, has not been included.

Again, the contract of June 14th 1918 provided for an agreed number of plates to be engraved every year but as we undertake to publish all your works, such an obligation is obviously not necessary. Other matters which are unimportant or out of date under the present circumstances have also been omitted.

Now to refer to the detail of the proposed new contract, I should like to draw your attention to the following:

Point 2. Stage works. The publishing of the Vocal Score was dependent upon the success of the first performance of the work. I should like you to let me know, with particular reference to your contract of June 4th 1918, how you would like this worded. As far as the wording of the title is concerned, I think the best plan is to discuss in each particular case just what your wishes are: that is, whether we want German and English Text or not. In practice I have always taken the Composer's wishes in all these matters, as I should like to do with you and to lay down precisely in a contract what the wording should be, may often prove to be to the disadvantage of the Composer. We have adopted a previous contract clause on this point but I am willing to abide by your wishes.

Point 3. You will observe here that I have discontinued the 18% royalty on Orchestral materials and I propose that we should pay you 20% from the fifty-first performance instead. You will find that the mathematical calculation of 18% in English

money is not as easy as Continental money. This, therefore, represents an improvement on the previous contract.

Point 4. Performing Rights are to be divided, in accordance with your wishes, as per rules of the Performing Right Society, namely two-thirds to you and one-third to us but in the United States we must abide by the rules of the American Society, which provide for an equal division between Composer and Publisher.

Point 5. The fact that we collect mechanical rights ourselves will be an advantage to you, for you will not have to pay the Austromechana or BIEM charges, which are from 20% to 25% — our charge is only 10% for this. When we have to collect through other organizations on the Continent, we ourselves make no charge but merely pass on the actual cost of collection. Again, therefore, this represents an improvement of conditions for you.

Point 6. I have added Television rights in here, for it may be that some revenue will be obtained from them.

Point 7. We have reckoned the value of Marks in Pounds at approximately the rate of exchange today.

Point 8. I have not included the obligation upon us to furnish you with the names of all those people who get free copies. This would involve a great deal of work and in view of the fact that we send copies all over the world, I do not think it will be of much help to you. However, should you be in London at any time, which I hope will often be the case, this list is always open for you to see.

Point 9. On the subject of translations. The usual practice of my Company has been that if the Author of the words demands a royalty, this is to be deducted from the Composer's royalty and all arrangements are made accordingly. I ask you to accept this if the case should arise. There are other occasions, of course, where we are able to purchase the non-exclusive right in a poem if you have set it to music: in these cases, we buy this right at our expense but this, I think, would only arise if you set English words and may, therefore, not be much in your mind at the moment. In all cases, however, we bear the cost of translations from your original words.

I have sent you the draft agreement in German, so that you can compare it with those which you have now. If you are satisfied, I will have it prepared in English for your signature and in any case, I shall be glad to have your comments on the various points outlined above, so that we can conform to your wishes where I have indicated that the matter is left open.

Regarding Austromechana, I think there is no doubt that you are free from that organization. Dr. Kalmus has been carefully through the correspondence and he is also of this opinion. I shall be glad, however, to hear from you as soon as you have Ammre's reply, since they have now taken over that business. We can then, if the reply is satisfactory, make the necessary arrangements to collect mechanical royalties on all your works, both 'old' and 'new', on the terms as outlined in Point 5.

In conclusion, I would like to have some definite indication from you as to the new works which you have already written and those which you have in mind. When we

discussed matters in Paris you indicated certain ideas that you had and this is, I think, a rough list of works which are either complete or about to be completed:

MIKROKOSMOS

VIOLIN CONCERTO

WORK FOR STRING ORCHESTRA (Easy)

BALLET SYMPHONIQUE

WORK FOR TWO PIANOS AND PERCUSSION (Played in London 1938)

“BULGARIAN DANCES” ORCHESTRAL ARRANGEMENT

CONCERTO FOR CLARINET, VIOLIN AND PIANO (Benny Goodman and Szigeti)⁶⁶

In connection with the above, I will tell you straight away that we should like to proceed with “MIKROKOSMOS”. In a previous letter I referred to a Piano School and you told me that this might be the basis of it. I do not think we actually want a strict Piano School in such a form but the individual pieces of “MIKROKOSMOS” might be incorporated in such a School at a later date. In the meantime, however, the publication of these books of Piano Pieces would be an unquestionable advantage. Perhaps I have not quite understood your ideas with regard to this work and I shall be glad to have further details from you. At all events, as I have said, I want to get ahead with the publication of this work and is there any real necessity to wait for the absolute completion of your idea? Perhaps we could commence with some sections of it.

⁶⁶ Contrasts

The “VIOLIN CONCERTO” was, I understand, performed by Székely in Holland a week or two ago. I have no other news of it, except that the Royal Philharmonic Society have enquired now for a performance for next year with this Violinist.

The WORK FOR TWO PIANOS AND PERCUSSION⁶⁷ is, I take it, quite complete. I gather that you want to reserve the Performing Rights for yourself and your wife and I shall be glad to have your ideas about the publication of this work.

The “CONCERTO” for Benny Goodman and Szigeti is, I know a commissioned work and, therefore, has some restriction regarding performance. Further details of this would be appreciated.

I shall be glad to have news of all matters at your convenience. Perhaps you will let me know what ideas you have regarding your traveling arrangements in the next two or three months.

This matter can quite easily be completed by correspondence, if, as I hope, the enclosed draft meets with your approval. If you feel, however, that there are such important points as to warrant discussion, then perhaps we could arrange to meet if you are traveling Westwards in the near future. Alternatively, we might speak on the telephone and I could ring you up at an agreed time.

The Performing Right Society has notified me regarding your instructions for payment of your royalties and I note that Prof. Muller of Basel will be sending your manuscripts to me. These will have my personal care and attention.

With my kindest regards to Madame Bartók and with best wishes,

⁶⁷ Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion (1937)

I am,

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Hawkes

1.9 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes⁶⁸

Budapest, 17 April 1939

Dear Mr. Hawkes,

Many thanks for your letter of the 6th of April, 1939 [10RH/MC].

1. (Our agreement:) You are completely right in what you are saying about the unifying of the six different contracts and about omitting new superfluous or out-of-date points. I carefully examined the German draft agreement you sent me, and only a few details seemed to be necessary to be added; I hope they are of no importance to you. I return the copy enclosed, you will find my remarks on it. [To 1): it seems to be important for me to conclude the agreement either with Hawkes & Son or with Boosey & Co.]

2. (Austromechna) They did not yet answer my last letter, perhaps never will do; however, the settlement of this business is — I believe — urgent. What shall we do?

3. (new, i.e., not yet published works)

a) Mikrokosmos. It is absolutely important to add still 20 or 30 very small and very easy pieces, to write them will not take much time. Besides, I want to transcribe some of the easier pieces for 4 hands, and to insert before some of the (easier) pieces presenting a new technical problem, a respective study (Fingerübung) — all that for pedagogical

⁶⁸ Autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

reasons. This has been my original idea, which — I believe — is corresponding to your idea (sheet No. 3 of your letter, “I do *not* think we actually want a *strict Piano School*”). — I don’t like to give promises, but, in this case, I may venture the promise to be able to send you the entire copy in the beginning of September. If I remember, I mentioned to Mr. Kalmus my idea concerning the form of the publication: I would suggest to publish it with pictures (of course only if the pictures are very good and original). With some of the pieces, it is quite obvious what the picture should represent: f.i, “From the diary of a fly” a fly or flies (in the middle agitato section of a spider’s web). But in many cases (as for instance, “Quarter”, “Contrary motion” etc.), I could not suggest any theme for the picture; nevertheless, I have the feeling, even these could be used “decorative” elements. Of course, this would increase the cost of publishing, but as the publication would be much more appealing both to the children, and to their children, it would be no wasted money. — If you agree with this idea, I would send you soon a copy of the existing ca 100 pieces; you may give it to the person chosen by you in order that he may meditate over it (somebody should play them to him).

b) Bulgarian dances. I have the intention to score not only the “Bulgarian” dances but also some other pieces from the Mikrokosmos under the title, “Studies for Orchestra” (12–15’). This probably could not be finished before October.

c) Violin Concerto. The score can’t be published before October 1942, but the piano reduction is ready for being published. The work had — it seems — a great success; I have seen two criticisms, both hail it as a “landmark” in the most flattering

terms (somebody says in a letter, “mostly satisfactory criticisms”⁶⁹). It will be repeated next season at *Concertgebou Amersterdam*. Therefore, it would be advisable to publish the piano reduction until next autumn.

c) Sonata for 2 pianos & percussion. I would prefer to have it published not before April 1940.

d) Three dances (or “Suite”) for Clarinet, Violin & Piano. Can’t be published before Oct. 1941.

e) Work for String Orchestra.⁷⁰ This is a work in commission for Mr. Paul Sacher, only the world premiere is reserved for him. I don’t know yet if I can or will write it; it will be much easier than the “Music for Strings, etc.” But, what I meant in Paris is something else: very easy suites for string orch., for students to play them, either based on folk-tunes or on original themes. I don’t know yet when I will have the time for them (perhaps in 1940 summer).

f) Ballet Symphonique. Must be postponed for summer 1940 or 1941.

g) I have 27 children — or female choruses (2 or 3 voices), published two years ago, only in the Hungarian words (by Magyar Korus, Budapest) according to the permission of the U.E. Vienna); she refused to publish them — in spite of our general agreement — in German or other language; I keep the letter of the refusal. This is a very important work of mine; in several places there had been plans of performance, but couldn’t be executed because of the words not being translated. They should be published

⁶⁹ “zum Teil ausreichende Resensioenen”

⁷⁰ Divertimento for Strings (1939).

in English and French (or German?). Besides, I want to transcribe some of them for 2 or 3 violins, similar to my “44 Duets” for violin).

4. The manuscripts (of the published works) are to be sent to you by Mr. Walter Schulthess⁷¹ (and not by Prof. Müller, as I originally thought); probably you got already some parcels with them. Mr. Schulthess could not yet send you the whole amount of money; the second portion will be sent to you in a month or so. Besides, you will get also from Mr. Zoltán Székely⁷² remittance. The Dutch are as much scared as the Swiss.

5. There emerged a new business to be dealt with the P.R.S. Excuse me to bothering you by sending the concerning papers first to you, this will be the last time. But, I do it because 1) I believe it will have some interest for you and Mr. Kalmus;⁷³ 2) The letters are in German: perhaps Mr. Kalmus would be so kind as to translate them into English for the P.R.S.? Would you please be so kind as to forward these letters (with the translation if Mr. Kalmus will do it) to the P.R.S.? Mr. Heinsheimer told Mr. Schulhof⁷⁴ (the latter wrote it to me in a Hungarian letter), my share from those 12,000\$ would be approximately 1400\$! During the last 10 years, however, I have got not more than a few

⁷¹ Walter Schulthess (1894–1971), composer.

⁷² Zoltán Székely (1903–2001), Hungarian violinist, member of the Hungarian Quartet, requested and then premiered Bartók’s Second Violin Concerto.

⁷³ Dr. Alfred Kalmus, director of Universal Edition, left Vienna to found Universal Edition, London prior to WWII. During the war the branch was absorbed by Boosey & Hawkes.

⁷⁴ Bartók’s booking agent.

100 est. Schillings altogether through the A.K.M. or U.E.! All this business is a very obscure one!

6. I got an answer from U.E. Vienna to my last letter, it is enclosed here. What have we now to do?

Yours very sincerely,

Béla Bartók

P.S. End of June I will play probably in Scheveningen. Next year (March and April) I have to go to the USA (Coolidge festival and some concerts with the Roth-Quartet).

1.10 Enclosure, Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Andrew Schulhof⁷⁵

23 March 1939

Dear Mr.Schulhof,

Referring to our conversation I should like to explain once again the position with regard to the performing rights in the U.S.A. of the Composers whose works are published with Universal-Edition Vienna.

About ten years ago an agreement was made between U.E. and A.M.P. concerning the Agency of U.E.'s catalogue. U.E. made an agreement with A.K.M. in Vienna and it was arranged that A.K.M. (the Austrian Performing Right Society) gave their consent for the assignment of performing rights for U.S.A. to A.M.P. A.M.P. pay a lump sum of

⁷⁵ Typed translation, Bartók Archive, Homosassa Florida. Written in German, English translation by Bartók Archive.

about \$12,000 a year to U.E. From this amount up to August 1938 some percentage has been deducted and paid to A.K.M., who on their part have distributed such percentage to the composers and the balance remained with U.E. as the publisher's commission.

(Annotation of the Translator: This is the publisher's share.)

When A.K.M. was liquidated the performing rights reverted to the Composers and U.E. is no longer entitled to receive monies on behalf of these Composers. As Agent of several important Composers of U.E., who were previously members of A.K.M. I have taken this point of view successfully and obtained that Jaromir Weinberger, Ernst Krenek, and others receive their share from this \$12,000 direct. This result has been obtained regardless of fact whether or not these composers have become members of another Society, for instance the P.R.S. in London. The Composer's share is estimated on the basis of the number of published works and performances.

As you are in contact with the most important composers in Hungary, I ask you whether these gentlemen would not be interested in a similar quick settlement with regard to their shares. In order to enable me to negotiate this point of view with A.M.P., and to realize an agreement, an authorization is necessary.

As considerable amounts are involved and taking in view the fact that amounts which are sent to Germany cannot be recovered, an urgent settlement is recommended.

Yours faithfully,

*1.11 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók*⁷⁶

London, 25 April 1939

My Dear Mr. Bartók,

I thank you for your letter of April 17th.

I am pleased to hear that you are satisfied with the draft Agreement, which was sent you in German. I have taken due note of the slight alterations that you desire and these have now been incorporated in the actual Agreement, which I send you herewith in duplicate translated into English. I also return the German draft for comparison.

Austromechana: I think you should notify Austromechana and Ammre that you have entrusted us with the sole and exclusive right to collect your mechanical royalties as from the date of liquidation of Austromechana until further notice. I suggest the date of liquidation but if you prefer January 1st, 1939 — which is better from an accounting point of view — please use this date instead. No difficulty is presented in making collections from the date of liquidation (or January 1st, 1939) but in respect on monies owing prior to that date, we have no power to compel Ammre — or their parent organization B.I.E.M. — to do anything, except to intercede to the best of our ability to get you proper accounting, which we shall be happy to do.

The five parcels of MSS. have come to hand from Mr. Schulthess and have been carefully checked and found correct. They are deposited in our Strong Room here at your disposal. The other matter about which Mr. Schulthess had to write me is also in order.

⁷⁶ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homossassa, Florida.

Now, with regard to the situation in America, after careful discussion with Dr. Kalmus and Mr. Leslie Boosey, we came to the conclusion that you would do no harm at all in sending the letter which you drafted to Heinsheimer, which is returned to you herewith. I see no objection at all to this claim being made; in fact, I am glad that Heinsheimer has been smart enough to think of it. If, however, your letter had not contained the last paragraph, which you have added, I should have replied differently. So long as the Rules of the P.R.S. are kept in mind, together with the right to cancel this arrangement whenever you desire, everything will be in order. I feel in a way that the 20% commission was rather a lot but if you feel generous, there is no harm in giving it. I can, of course, offer no comment on the amount of money referred to by Heinsheimer, for I do not know the details; perhaps he will not realise so much. I have not forwarded the letter to the P.R.S., for your rights in America are the subject of a prior contract to joining the P.R.S. and your membership is, therefore, subject to that contract. Furthermore, I understand that Universal Edition assigned the copyrights to Associated Music Publishers but only for the duration of their Agency Agreement with A.M.P., which Agreement, I understand, terminates in 1942. I return herewith the letters in question.

With regard to Universal Edition, Vienna and the answer you received to your last letter, I suggest you send them a letter on the lines of the attached. This would confirm the situation as I think it is to be desired by both of us and will leave no room for doubt as to the position in the future. The original U.E. letter is returned herewith.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Ralph Hawkes

1.12 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁷⁷

Budapest, 25 April 1939

My Dear Mr. Bartók,

I felt it advisable to write you a separate letter on the subject of the Contract, in order that it may be kept apart from the question of your new works, upon which there may be considerable correspondence and it is easier to have the letters separate.

MIKROKOSMOS. I note that you would like to add 20 or 30 small and easy pieces. There is no doubt that the more easy material you add to this work, the more possibility there is of commanding a wider sale and distribution. Again, I entirely agree with your thought to transcribe some of the easy pieces for four hands. You are right in assuming that we do not want a strict Piano School and I gather from these additions that perhaps the publication of this work will mean 3 or 4 Volumes, for the total number of pieces may well be 100 under these circumstances. It is already too late to get them ready for the Autumn Season but if we have the entire copy by the beginning of September, we shall then be able to launch them in the early part of 1940, which is quite a suitable time. I very much like the idea of issuing this work with sketches. A clever Artist would, however, be required and I do not know whether you have anybody in mind. Perhaps you have a local Artist who could get the spirit of the idea but if such were not the case in

⁷⁷ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

Budapest, then I think it would be necessary for you to meet an Artist in London, for an hour's conversation with you would doubtless give such an Artist the necessary inspiration. There is no doubt that the appeal to children of Books with pictures is far greater. It would be quite possible for me to get to work with an Artist now, if you care to send the pieces you already have and I would have some suggested sketches sent you immediately. We have done this sort of thing before and I do know one or two Artists who could make a start but I still think the best plan would be for you to meet such an Artist, if you could arrange to be here. I shall, therefore, expect the MSS. as far as you have them completed and we will make a start on the lines suggested.

BULGARIAN DANCES. I note you expect to expand these into a new work entitled "Studies for Orchestra". This title in English is not a happy one and would not look well in a Concert Programme. In French, however, "Études Pour Orchestre" it would look better for the word "study" in English rather conveys the idea of the Practice Room, whereas in French it is quite admissible in a Concert Programme. This may sound strange to you but I think it is true. Actually, the title "Bulgarian Dances" is quite effective and certainly colourful.

VIOLIN CONCERTO. There would be no objection at all to issuing the Violin and Piano edition without delay. A note can be put on the inside page of the cover to the effect that performance with Orchestra in a Concert Hall is restricted until October 1942. Anyway, the Violin and Piano version would never be effective for Concert performance but would be undoubtedly useful to Violinists for practice purposes, as well as for pleasure in studying your new work. We have a similar condition with the Bloch Violin

Concerto, which Szigeti is now playing. Perhaps, therefore, you would send me the MS. of this work and we can then prepare it for publication for this Autumn.

SONATA FOR TWO PIANOS AND PERCUSSION. April 1940 is a satisfactory date and it can, therefore, wait until then.

SUITE FOR CLARINET, VIOLIN, AND PIANO. It would seem that this must await October 1941 before publication and I will, therefore, leave it until then.

WORK FOR STRING ORCHESTRA. I note that this is a commission from Mr. Sacher and as it is not yet written, nothing further need be said. What you say, however, about a further easy Suite for String Orchestra for Schools is quite another matter. Undoubtedly such a work would go well but as you have no idea as to when it will be completed, nothing can be done until the idea is further advanced. In a work of this type it is perhaps advisable to have 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Violins, as well as Viola, the 3rd Violin taking the place of the Viola if such is not available.

BALLET SYMPHONIQUE. As this work has not yet taken shape, we can leave it.

CHORUSES. I note that you have 27 children or female Choruses (2 or 3 voice) already published in Budapest. Will you be good enough to let me have copies of these, in order that we can see about having the translation made for publication here. To do them all at once would be rather "indigestible" and I suggest that the publication of them might be spread over two years. I agree with you about adding English, French and German texts and as soon as the copies are here, careful consideration will be given to this. The idea of transcribing them for 2 or 3 Violins is a good one. There is not much

new material being published for 2 or 3 Violins and I think — provided they are easy — they would be welcome.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Ralph Hawkes

*1.13 Enclosure, Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók*⁷⁸

[London], 19 July 1939

BARTOK: MIKROKOSMOS

Every period had its own “Modern” music. And at every period this modern music was more or less furiously contested. However, the present state of things is quite different from old times. The modern music of today is contested but without general knowledge. Contest and mostly the performance are confined to a comparatively small circle of experts and professionals and the musical amateur who is the natural addressee and the natural performer has practically no connection whatsoever with the contemporary music. Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Bartók, Hindemith and many others, whose names are pretty well known, appear quite frequently in concert programmes. But try to find an amateur who knows even one single bar of the music of these composers! Nevertheless, they are reputed to be the foremost among the contemporaries. And this exactly is the state of things which is unprecedented in the musical development as far as it can be traced.

⁷⁸ Typed enclosure, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

This fact must be faced and the most discouraging consequence drawn from it. How shall an art survive which practically never was alive? And music is not alive unless it is played and re-created.

Is the modern music thoroughly wrong? Although it is not the invention of a single brain but obviously the product of the time itself.

The reason might be a little simpler than most of the apologists and the rather too complicated theorists of modern music believe. It lies on the education line. Every music must be taught and learned. This was a point which at all times had the careful attention not only of teachers but of the greatest artists themselves. It refers to every instrument, but is most clearly recognised in connection with piano music with its enormous literature.

Johann Sebastian Bach wrote at least a hundred of graded pieces from the very first beginning in “his own” modern style, designed for his children, for his wife and for generations of pianists, who, in this way, met Bach’s music at a very early stage of their musical education. When, some years after his death, the musical style changed and a “modern” music appeared which requested a different technical skill, his son Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach was not only the outstanding genius of the “Gallant” style but the most important composer of educational pieces. Some fifty years later one of the greatest pianists, Muzio Clementi wrote his Sonatinas as the introduction to the music of his time and Carl Czerny wrote his standard educational works in exactly the “modern” style of Beethoven, which was known for its unbearable rudeness. Through the whole century the education literature followed closely the musical development and every change almost

instantly brought about the proper educational material. Robert Schumann himself composed the preparatory pieces for his “romantic” style and finally Stephen Heller supplied the standard material for the practice of the music of the last fifty years of the century.

Brahms was the pivot round which music swung into a new artistic landscape of unexpected possibilities of musical expression. But here the development of the educational literature stops suddenly. The modern masters did not devote themselves to the creation of educational music and while the music changed unto the fundamentals, the educational literature remained musically in the past century. The aim of pedagogues turned from the musical to the purely technical problems and exhausted itself in successful efforts to make every detail of every movement conscious physically. But all these technical problems were the problems of the piano music of the past century. In fact, the pianist of today starts his musical education exactly on the same lines as he did some sixty years ago: Czerny - Clementi - Bach - Schumann - Heller. This practice and the physiological discoveries lead safely unto Brahms.

But every ambitious amateur pianist has made this experience: he may play his Chopin as brilliantly as possible. As soon as he tries a modern piece, insurmountable difficulties are barring his way even if no technical problem is offered. These difficulties are of an unexpected character, difficulties of reading, of rhythm and, lastly, of hearing. Those difficulties are purely musical. Reading, hearing and rhythm must be taught and learned and they require a special method which is still undiscovered. Or, at least, was undiscovered until shortly. Until shortly no literature was available for this purpose. The

advantage every child enjoyed in previous times was hopelessly lost. Who wants to become acquainted with modern music must abandon the lot of his musical education and find, in comparatively late years, his way without any guidance. The facts have proved how rare those amateurs are who have the endurance for such a task.

Now, for the first time a trial has been made and, fortunately, not a halfhearted one. One of the leading modern masters, BÉLA BARTÓK, has just published the work which might bring about a change in the whole situation: *Mikrokosmos*. . . Modern and most modern pieces, of course. An overwhelming amount of fancy, invention — and problems are displayed in the shortest, most comprehensive and most elaborate forms. A great creative spirit coupled with a profound knowledge of music and music teaching covers here the large ground of a new art. Starting from the first beginning the work offers all the features known as “modern” in music: Whole tone-scales, pentatonic tunes, Dorian, Lydian, Mixolydian and Phrygian scales, Chromatic studies, major and minor seconds, major and minor sevenths, Syncopation, odd rhythms, ostinato, kanon, imitation, inversion etc. etc., all this exposed in little but impressive tunes as “Wrestling”, “From the Diary of a Fly”, “Folk Tune”, “Boating”, etc.

Many a teacher will be astonished or even shocked. There is a widespread prejudice that children should beware of dissonances. But the experience shows that children are not born with the exclusive adherence to harmonies as digged into the minds of grown up people by education. They accept the dissonance without hesitation if it is expressive. Furthermore, it is no argument against a musical work that it must be played a ten times before its qualities are discovered.

Bartók's fascinating work should be placed not only before children, but before teachers and students in the conservatories and before every grown up amateur. There are thousands and thousands waiting at the closed gate to modern music. Here finally is the key to open it.

*1.14 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók*⁷⁹

[London] 15 November 1939

My Dear Bartók,

I am wondering whether you received my P.C. dated October 20th, acknowledging the safe receipt of "DIVERTIMENTO", for I have not yet had news from you as to the dispatch of "MIKROKOSMOS" and I understood that you were awaiting news of the safe arrival of the former work before sending the letter. I hope that it will not be long before it comes to hand, for I am very anxious to proceed with it.

I also asked you to let me have the 4 Choruses — of which you approved the English translations — for these, I think, should be issued. Can you arrange, therefore, to send them back to me[?] I wrote you regarding these in my letter of October 31st.

Now about the future.— Although Concert life has been somewhat disturbed here during the last two months and practically no performances of new works have taken place, there are now signs that there will be a revival of activity. No modern music to speak of has been done since the outbreak of War but I am glad to say your "ROUMANIAN DANCES" are being played this weekend by the London Philharmonic

⁷⁹ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

Orchestra; this one might say is the first performance of a work of yours since the beginning of September. It does not seem, however, that many new works can be given but this will not affect our activity, for I plan to increase this from our New York Office considerably and we shall require as many new works as we can get.

Have you made up your mind to go to New York in the Spring? My own view is that it would be an excellent move and I shall look forward to hearing from you that you have made the decision and that all your plans are arranged. It is probable that I shall be there at that time.

I do not know what ideas you have for new works but you discussed the question of the "BULGARIAN DANCES" with me and these I think would be well worthwhile proceeding with now. Perhaps you will let me know if you have made any progress.

I see in the Programme of the Utrecht Orchestra that you are playing there on December 13th. Is this so?

I shall look forward to hearing from you by return mail and with kindest regards to Madame Bartók and yourself.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

1.15 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes⁸⁰

Budapest, 7 November 1939

My dear Hawkes,

*The included letter please forward to Mr. Stein.

Many thanks for your letter of November 15th, and your postcard, informing me of the arrival of Mikrokosmos etc.

My engagements in, journey to Holland (Dec.) I have definitely cancelled. — But, on the contrary, I made up my mind, to go to the U.S.. Mr. Stipek[?] persuaded me to do so. I came to this change after a very hard struggle with myself and my feelings. But now the new decision is taken, and if no force major arrives, I will go! (with an Italian boat 19th March sailing from Genova, arriving 28th in New York). Could you not take the same boat from Lisbon? Don't use boats of belligerent country, it is dangerous!

I would like to know and please write at your earliest convenience, how things are with my old works, published by the U.E. Vienna? You have written about it in your letter of 25th August, but now I don't know the situation concerning the British Empire and U.S.A. copyright of these works.

As you know, the U.E. refused to make practicable orchestra — parts of my 2 concertos for piano. Besides, it is probably not possible to acquire them from the Universal Edition for America. Now, did you duly acquire those copyrights? And if you acquired them, how will [it] be with those orchestral parts, if somebody in America (f.i. myself, but only in the next season) wants to have them for performances.

⁸⁰ Autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

I have news from Mr. Heinsheimer, he writes (to Mr. Schulhof):

“The Associated Music Publishers New York, are willing to pay Mr. Bartók’s fees to the PRS instead of U.E. Vienna. They sent already a plan how to distribute these fees to the PRS. and it would be the best thing if Mr. Bartók would get in touch with PRS to settle this matter. — In the meantime, Boosey & Hawkes London have acquired the rights of Mr. B’s future production. It should be a good idea if Mr. B would ask Mr. R. Hawkes to take care of his Radio Fees in this country.”

What have we to do concerning the business?

Today I am leaving with my wife for Italy, have there 3 concerts, will be back on 17th December.

Yours very sincerely,

Béla Bartók

1.16 Ernst Roth to Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes⁸¹

London, 26 February 1940

Dear Mr. Ralph,

Unfortunately I had a little accident the other day which kept me away from the office for a few days, but the “Mikrokosmos” has been finished meanwhile and I cabled you on Friday, suggesting that the work should be printed here. The fact is that the matter is a little complicated with all these prefaces, notes and exercises and it might be safer to have them done under my supervision here. Furthermore, we shall be ready for printing

⁸¹ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

by Thursday, February 29th and it seems to me that by sending the proofs to America to be printed a lot of time will be lost. By printing the work here, we should save at least three weeks for the American and six weeks for this market. This refers of course to the music only. In any case the cover should be printed in America and this could be done in the meantime. All the necessary covers for our edition should be sent here before April 10th. I should therefore be very glad if you would agree to my proposal and I am quite sure that we could send you the printed sheets not later than March 15th, so that by April 10th you would already have them in America.

We have already agreed to print 1000 copies each of books 1,2, and 3 and 500 copies of books 4, 5, and 6, the prices being 3s.6d. each for books 1–3 and 4s.6d. for books 4–6.

As Mr. Schwalbe has already written you and as mentioned in my cable, Mr. Schwalbe had objections against the imprint “Hawkes”. He believes that the work is more appropriate for the Winthrop Rogers catalogue, and if the printing is done here your opinion should reach him this week.

As far as publicity is concerned, I have already sent you the necessary material and have explained the leaflet I had in mind. If, as I expect, you are going to print a leaflet for America, it might be better to print the necessary quantity with changed prices for this market as well and to send them over here. So far I have not received the proofs from Bartók of his handwriting as I asked for this purpose, but I expect them in the course of this week. I am now awaiting your opinion as to whether I shall send them off to you. A leaflet in French will in any case be necessary for the Continental market and I shall print

it here. As far as South America is concerned, I do not know whether we intend to make the necessary publicity and send the supplies from New York. I should like to do some publicity from here, because I think my personal connections with the most important teachers and directors of Conservatoires (not refugees but natives), would be useful for this publicity. I have just received a letter from Mr. Lottermoser, saying that he will take over the whole agency for the Argentine and promising a substantial order in the near future. This would be one more reason to have this market dealt with from here.

As far as other matters are concerned, the matter with Fonos is rather a lengthy one and we have now arrived at quite impossible proposals to the effect that we should pay £10 each for twelve numbers to be reprinted in Italy. These naturally I refused. Popular numbers published by Lafleur seem to find some interest there and, as far as these are concerned, they agree with our first proposal to supply the music on sale or return without any contribution or sacrifice on our part. The payment for “Showboat Shuffle” and “Daybreak Express” arrived eventually and so we concluded the other contract for “In a Sentimental Mood” on the same terms.

The export business is not very exciting but still quite satisfactory. The February turnover to date exceeds £100. Unfortunately the larger orders promised by Sasseti have not yet been received, but I am writing to him again and hope to receive them soon.

Yours sincerely,

E. Roth

*1.17 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók*⁸²

New York, 18 September 1940

Dear Mr. Bartók,

Your letter of September 5th addressed to Mr. Hawkes arrived this morning. Mr. Hawkes left for England last week and I am sending a copy of your letter to him. Your letter to Schulhof in the Hungarian language has been forwarded him to Chicago where he is at present. I expect a translation from him within a day or two, and if there is anything in this letter which should be attended to, be assured we will attend to every detail at once.

Your letter describing your difficulties in obtaining passports and visas has been carefully noted and I am glad to see that, despite all the trouble and strain of the formalities, you at least got passports and most of the visas which are necessary. It would be a disaster if you had to cancel your trip, and I urge you again not to cancel it under any circumstances.

We are getting new engagements almost every day. We just signed a contract for a recital and lecture for you at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, and at the State College in Lansing, Michigan. A lecture and recital in Hartford, Connecticut, is almost certain. The engagement in Denver with Szigeti, connected with a lecture, has been signed for February. We are now preparing a lecture and recital trip to the west coast for the spring. Your appearance with the orchestras in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Montreal have been announced, and I am just now working on another engagement with an orchestra in

⁸² Typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

Texas. Mr. Schulhof writes me that he has just booked you in Detroit (where you were guest of the Pro Musica Club twelve years ago) for a joint recital with Mrs. Bartók early in March, and he has every reason to believe that at least four or five more engagements will be assured in connection with negotiations on his trip. To imagine that all of these elaborate preparations and important successes would be frustrated the last minute is not possible. I refuse to believe that anything of this kind could happen.

The American Export Line advised me that the boats are now sailing on Wednesday instead of Thursday, which would be the 23rd instead of 24th of October. You will certainly get definite information about this at the Budapest office.

Most sincerely yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

1.18 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁸³

New York, 26 November 1940

Dear Mr. Bartók,

Referring to our conversation about the possibility of providing for you a summer engagement, I wish to advise that we have now entered negotiations with the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The first step towards realization of this plan was taken during Mr. Schulhof's presence in Ann Arbor in October, and after having followed up the matter we have now received a confidential inquiry from Mr. Earl V. Moore, Director of School of Music at the University of Michigan.

⁸³ Typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

If this plan goes through it would call for your presence in Ann Arbor for the summer session, the dates of which are June 30th to August 22nd, a period of eight weeks. We pointed out to Mr. Moore that you would be interested only in piano classes but that you would consider a number of lectures on piano teaching and modern music at the same time. We have been advised by the university that in case the engagement would come through you would be appointed to the rank of guest professor which would carry the highest available honorarium.

We have advised Mr. Moore that you will be in Oberlin and Cleveland next week and have suggested that maybe Mr. Moore would come to see you there to work out details of the forthcoming engagement.

We have also discussed the possibility of your guest professorship with Director Shaw of the Oberlin Conservatory and Professor Shephard of Western Reserve in Cleveland, so please bear this in mind if someone speaks to you about that.

Very sincerely yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

1.19 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁸⁴

London, 6 December 1940

My Dear Bartók,

I have already heard from New York that you have started on your Tour and that since I left in September quite a few more engagements have been booked for you. I

⁸⁴ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

imagine that the journey to New York was not entirely pleasant — certainly the first part of it — and I cannot tell you how grateful I am for the effort that you and Mrs. Bartók have made, notwithstanding the many attendant discomforts, in order to complete the Tour which has been planned. I believe that your effort in doing this will have a major effect on your work in America and that you will never regret having made it.

I am sorry, of course, not to be there to hear you and Mrs. Bartók play but I think you will appreciate my position. My duties are primarily with my London Company and with those who have been with me for so many years and notwithstanding the inviting and pleasurable life that awaits me in New York, I feel that at the present time I must stay here and assist in holding the reins of the organization, as far as I can, at this end.

Our War effort is a big one here and I think it is well realized in the U.S.A. that it is largely on their behalf, although, of course, we are not utterly unselfish in the matter and my Company are participating in this War effort as far as they can, with the result that there are a great many matters, quite unconnected with music, with which we have to deal. Notwithstanding this, however, my interest and activity on the Music Publishing side is as keen as ever and only yesterday I received the proofs from our Engraving Dept. of your SIXTH STRING QUARTET. These are now being read by Mr. Stein and when the first corrections have been made, they will be sent to you, so that you may examine them and return them to us for final correction, prior to photographing down for the Miniature Score.

I am delighted to hear that you have scored two movements for the SONATA FOR TWO PIANOS AND PERCUSSION and I hope that my persistent efforts in getting you

to do this will result in success. I would be deeply appreciative of a letter from you indicating what you think about the work in this new form and I am sure that many more performances can be arranged for the future when it is issued in this way.

Now regarding your money that we have here. I attach hereto a statement showing exactly the amounts that we have received in respect of Performing, Broadcasting fees, etc., together with the monies remitted from Switzerland in 1939. If you desire any of this money sent to you in the U.S.A., it will be necessary for you to send me an authority. Application can then be made to the Bank of England to remit it; it is not, however, certain that it can be remitted with the present stringent currency regulations. Further, I must inform you that the equivalent amount in dollars cannot be drawn from New York and such amount charged back to us here; a transaction of this nature is forbidden under the currency regulations.

I have instructed Mr. Max Winkler to pay to you the royalties earned in the U.S.A. on “MIKROKOSMOS” and you will be able to have this money whilst you are there.

I would like you to send me a copy of the Book of Melodies which we published for you in April, for I think it would be nice to have such a Book here in order that this question may be studied a little more. I am glad to say that “MIKROKOSMOS” is selling a little here, although — under present circumstances, of course — one cannot expect much and as our sales to the Continent are now completely shut off, we are deprived of quite a lot of business which would otherwise have come to us. The response from Holland in April and May last was pretty good.

I do not know whether you have been advised of the Basle and Liverpool performances of your *DIVERTIMENTO*; there was also a radio performance by Sacher and his Chamber Orchestra from Switzerland (Bermunster).

Everything is quite all right here and our business carries on wonderfully well. The only damage we have suffered in the bombing raids has been part of the roof of our Denman Street premises, which was blown off. Being a modern structure of steel and concrete, however, the damage did not penetrate below the top floor. Other damage may be seen in London, of course, — all over the place — but the essential business services and production progresses very satisfactorily and there is a much greater feeling of confidence now than there was a few months ago, particularly after the disasters to Italy.

With my best regards and wishes to yourself and Mrs. Bartók for Christmas and the New Year and hoping to hear form you at an early date.

Yours very sincerely,

Ralph Hawkes

*1.20 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók*⁸⁵

London, 17 April 1942

My Dear Bartók,

As I have not heard from you in the last month, I conclude that your Son has reached U.S.A. safely and his stay in Lisbon was, therefore, of short duration. I telephoned the Foreign Office, and I discovered that they knew of his case and I was

⁸⁵ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homossassa, Florida.

assured that, on the strength of the representation that had been made, there should be little delay. I was nevertheless very glad to be able to assist and some how or other I feel that others with more influence than me had already been at work. Certainly you and Mrs. Bartók must be glad that he has joined you and a terrible load should be off your minds as a result.

I am also happy to tell you that the first performance of the SIXTH QUARTET took place on Wednesday night at a concert promoted by us at Wigmore Hall. It was played by the Laurance Turner Quartet and was extremely well received by the audience. The Quartet did their best from a technical point of view, but were not really such good players as one would desire for the performance of a work of this sort, and it was my opinion that a first class Quartet would have made a much better show. A press clipping from the Times is enclosed herewith. I was; however, immensely impressed with the work and I am quite certain that in the hands of a good Quartet, well rehearsed, that it would prove very popular.

Now I want to approach you about future work. We have virtually produced all the works of yours that we have in hand and I am considering our programme for next year and, for that matter, for years to come, and in this connection I would like to have your views as to what you feel you can write. From my point of view there are two suggestions — (1) an orchestral work lasting about 10–15 minutes (2) a Concertos for Solo Instruments and String Orchestra. Dealing with (1) I think a work of this style would command a good many performances and in view of the fact that we have not had a work of this character from you i.e. purely of orchestral nature, in the last few years, I would

very much like you to consider doing this. I think a number of performances can be assured for it, for interest in your music here is growing very much, and if this is based on Folk music and does not present too many difficulties in performance, I feel certain that it should do well. Dealing with (2) I believe that you would be interested in composing a series of Concertos for Solo Instrument or instruments and String Orchestra. By this I mean Piano and String Orchestra, Solo Violin and String Orchestra, Flute and String Orchestra etc., or combinations of Solo Instruments and String Orchestra. I have in mind the Brandenburg Concertos by Bach, and I believe that you are well fitted to do something on these lines. It might take some time to accomplish but if you set your mind to it and feel content to do it I think it would be a fine series of works to publish. Perhaps you would consider this and let me know.

The Artists Departments wrote me that you are not entirely satisfied with the situation, and I immediately instructed them to release you so that you would not feel any disadvantage in being associated with them in that field of your activities. I think you are well aware of my desire that your wishes should be respected in every possible way, and, therefore, if you feel that another Agency could do better for you I should be the last person to stand in your way. I do, however, hope — and this most sincerely — that any connection you may make will not disrupt our publishing activities on your behalf, for I feel certain that the growing interest in your work gives us every reason to believe that when this international confusion ceases we shall show you much better results.

Will you please, therefore, write me your views, and if there is anything I can do on this side, although I fear it can be but little at the moment, you know I am only too willing to do it for you.

With best wishes to Mrs. Bartók and yourself,

Believe me to be,

Yours very sincerely,

Ralph Hawkes

1.21 Baldwin Piano Company to Béla Bartók⁸⁶

New York, 12 June 1942

Dear Mr. Bartók,

Your good letter of the 10th has just been received and the matter of importance that I wished to personally discuss with you is the fact that the Government has ordered us to discontinue the manufacture of pianos.

Consequently, to our great sorrow, we are obliged to discontinue all loans and rentals of pianos.

Fortunately, in the case of the piano we have with you, a great deal of its cost has been charged off to publicity and we are able to offer it to you for \$600.00 plus \$6.00 for New York City Sales Tax.

⁸⁶ Typed letter signed by John Ortez, Bartók Archive, Homossassa, Florida.

If it is not convenient for you to pay all cash at this time, we could work out a time basis at the rate of 20% down and the balance over twelve months. There is a small carrying charge on the unpaid balance.

Appreciate very much your prompt reply letting us know if you wish to take advantage of this offer.

In the meantime, my very kindest regards.

Yours very truly,

The Baldwin Piano Company

John A. Ortez, Artist Representative

1.22 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁸⁷

New York, 16 June 1942

Dear Mr. Bartók,

The thought occurred to me that your illness might possibly cause you considerable expenses and this, in combination with the great amount of money you had to spend lately to bring Peter here, might cause you some worries. I have written to Mr. Winkler who will not be back in New York before early in July, about this matter and have asked his permission to offer you an advance on your royalties for 1942 in case you should feel that such an advance would come handy at the present time. I hope you will not misunderstand my gesture but should you feel you would like to draw up to \$300.00 in, let us say, three monthly installments of \$100.00 or something like that I have Mr.

⁸⁷ Typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

Winkler's permission to go ahead and have this money advanced to you against your royalties to be received from Boosey & Hawkes for the year 1942.

Sincerely yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

Symphonic Music Department

1.23 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁸⁸

London, 8 January 1943

My Dear Bartók,

I have had a letter from Heinsheimer advising me that he had the pleasure of meeting you again the other day and discussing numerous matters in connection with your good self.

First of all, let me say how pleased I was to hear that there is likelihood that we may be able to manage your affairs from the Artists point of view once again. This would give me great pleasure, for you know the interest I have in you and Mrs. Bartók and the desire always to serve you to the maximum of our ability.

Heinsheimer tells me that you are still not yet fully recovered from your indisposition but that you feel much better. I hope now that your son is with you and the worries of 1942 are behind you, you will be able to settle down once again and soon regain your full health.

⁸⁸ Typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homossassa, Florida.

Let me also thank you for your co-operation regarding the republication of the works in the U. Edition. Now that we are able to exploit these properly in the U.S., having freed ourselves of the A.M.P. complications, I think we shall be able to make some progressive moves. Certainly Heinsheimer has the matter well in hand and has instructions from me to do all that is necessary to get these works into circulation wherever possible. On this side, of course, it is not so easy, for the restrictions on paper, advertising, etc. are severe and even if we had the paper, there are very few printers left who can do this work. We only have about one-third of our Printing Dept. working today as compared with pre-War, owing to the drainage of labour into the armed forces and armament work.

I do my best to attend to musical matters here but I am fully occupied on other work and find myself from time to time rather out of touch with details. However, the whole of our organization is being carried on most effectively and we have made great progress with recent publications; you may be assured, therefore, that your interests are being well looked after on this side.

I should like to wish Mrs. Bartók, your son and your good self the very best for 1943 and if there is anything at all that can be done at this end for you, you have but to command me.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

Ralph Hawkes

1.24 Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes⁸⁹

[New York], 31 March 1943

Dear Mr. Heinsheimer,

I thank you very much for the pocket scores.

I am still confined to bed but I must write you though with difficulty about matters which are worrying me.

(1) I very much dislike those “naked” publications and I really must protest against this procedure. I cannot understand your point of view as a publisher’s standpoint. Such publications do damage to the publishing house; everybody, every other publisher will say how poor and “unesquire” they are. ~~I don’t know~~ The buyer will not be satisfied, because the first page will soon be torn and crumpled without a protecting outer cover. I don’t know the costs of the latter, but as the text of the inner page can be used for it, each single copy of the outer cover cannot involve more expenses than ten or twenty cents (?) which you easily can shift to the buyer. Anybody who is willing to pay one dollar, will scarcely protest against a price of one dollar ten or one dollar twenty. As a matter of fact: ~~I~~ if you have nevertheless difficulties when adding the cover page, I would prefer a slowing in the republications but have the cover; or even not to have republished these works as long as you can’t afford the cover.

Therefore I ask you to add cover pages to all republications even those which have already been published.

⁸⁹ Autographed letter by Mrs. Bartók signed by Béla Bartók, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

(2.) I wonder why should it be absolutely necessary to destroy the original copy when preparing a reprint. Of course you can do with your own copies what you want. But with copies lent for the purpose I suggest to make photostats of each page. These are entirely identical with the original and can be used for any purpose. I would very much regret if I had to lose my only copies of the original edition which I used during so many years. I ask you therefore to use in connection with my copies a procedure which does not destroy the original.

(3) Have you any news about that famous radio performance of my *Roumanian Dances*) with “crashing percussion”? If not, then we must ask “Modern Music” to publish a rectification.

(4) The pocket scores contain some misprints and faults. If B&H is interested in it I could send you a list of them which you may forward to London.

Yours very sincerely,

Béla Bartók

*1.25 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók*⁹⁰

New York, 1 May 1943

Dear Mr. Bartók,

In your letter of April 28th you mention the fact that I forgot to answer your last letter. If you will be kind enough to look through many years of correspondence between us, you will find that in each and every instance I have answered your communications

⁹⁰ Typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

and have replied to each single item and each single question. The reason why your letter of March 31st has not been answered — and this is not an excuse but an explanation — is that when your letter came Dr. Bator came to see me on this same day with regard to your manuscripts and he understood to answer the first part of your letter dealing with the missing covers of ALLEGRO BARBARO and ROUMANIAN FOLK DANCES. He said that he would see you within a day or two and would explain to you what I had explained to him, and he even offered to take copies of the English edition of ALLEGRO BARBARO with him to show them to you as proof that these likewise were issued without covers. We agreed that it would be better if he would give you this explanation and that therefore it would not be necessary for me to write. I overlooked, however, that there were additional questions in your letter which of course should have been answered by now.

Question of Covers: I have sent you all of our reprints and you have seen that with the only exception of ALLEGRO BARBARO and ROUMANIAN FOLK DANCES, each of them is decently bound in a cardboard cover and I am confident that this question is therefore settled satisfactorily. We can of course put the ROUMANIAN FOLK DANCES in a cover in case of a reprint if you think this is necessary.

Your original copies: I am sorry that you did not mention your wish that these copies should be returned to you when you kindly gave me the copies on the occasion of my visit with you. It is too late because they have been taken apart for Photostatting purposes and much to my regret, we can no longer return your originals as they are no longer in existence.

Misprints in Pocket Scores: Please be sure to send me a list of these misprints. I shall send one copy to England and keep one copy in New York as it might be that we will reprint some of these pocket scores in New York. A master copy will be kept in case of reprint; all these mistakes will be corrected.

Review of ROUMANIAN DANCES in Modern Music: I have never received an answer from the young man who reviewed the performance in Modern Music. This is now half a year old and there doesn't seem to be much point in the following it up. However, if you feel that something should still be done about it, I think the only practical and efficient thing to do to obtain some kind of correction in Modern Music would be for you personally to write to the editor, Miss Minna Lederman, 113 West 57th Street, New York City.

Duets: If you insist that the little preface should be printed in the duets we will of course do so, but we will have to ask you to send us a copy of the English translation. By preparing the printed copies with the new English titles we have destroyed the first page and have no copy of the preface in our possession. If you will either send us the English translation or the original German, we will be glad to do as you wish. As for the English titles, they have been carefully translated. The music has been printed already but we can still insert the preface before binding and issuing the copies.

I wish to take this opportunity, dear Mr. Bartók, to say a few personal words in my own behalf and in behalf of the company which I represent. I see from your last letter and from previous letters in the past that you seem to be under the impression that Boosey & Hawkes are trying to annoy you, that we do not have enough respect for your work, etc.

Never in the long years of cooperation have I heard a single word of appreciation from you but even the smallest mistake is severely criticized and you profess indignation and annoyance at everything we are trying to do.

I beg you to realize that we wish only to satisfy you and to make the best out of the great many important works which we have acquired and which we are proud and happy to have in our catalogue. Let me say once more that I really feel that under the present most difficult circumstances for everybody concerned, our firm in London and in New York has really done a great deal and has invested a great amount of money with no hope of getting it back in the near future in issuing your music and reprinting a great many pieces which were out of print for many years. If I could only find a little bit more confidence and cooperation we would certainly undertake this difficult task with even more enthusiasm. You must realise that all these things are being done under difficult circumstances. This is not the old Universal Edition where you had a staff of ten different people to attend to all details of publication and if you will just help us a little bit by understanding our position and by believing that we are fully aware of the honor and privilege of being your publishers and representatives, all will be well.

Yours sincerely,

H.W. Heinsheimer

1.26 Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes⁹¹

Saranac Lake, NY, 4 July 1943

Dear Mr. Heinsheimer,

This is our new address, the old one is finished as we will move somewhere else the end of September. Concerning the estimate I should like to ask you i.e. the printer to give me at least the estimate for the 394 pp. of off-set printing, which as I believe can easily be done.

And there is another question.

The New York Public Library says the old printed pages made 3 years ago cannot be used because “the paper is of poor quality, very thick, and has yellowed with time”. Of course this is all nonsense, but I should like to get the business description and designation of that paper in order to be able to defend my choice of the paper. It was suggested by Mr. Winkler in the presence of Mr. Hawkes. There was the alternative to choose a less thick and slightly less expensive paper, but, after much deliberation, we chose this one.

I returned to you some of the pocket scores through Mr. Serly⁹² which I don't need anymore. Two of them (marked on the cover p[age] with a red cross) contain misprints — each of them one — marked with red pencil inside.

I should like to know if and when Mr. Hawkes will arrive.

⁹¹ Autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

⁹² Tibor Serly (1901–1978), Hungarian violist.

Yours, very sincerely,

Béla Bartók

*1.27 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók*⁹³

New York, 8 July 1943

Dear Mr. Bartók,

Thank you for your letter of July 4th.

Paper: The paper used for the old printed pages was Music Offset, 28 by 43, 101 pounds to the ream, produced by Allied Paper Mills. There is another lighter paper (65 pounds) but this has the tendency of shinning through on both sides and can only be used if the print is done from plates which are absolutely alike in size. Your pages were slightly different and this was one of the main reasons why it was decided to take the heavier paper. This is what Mr. Green tells me about the whole business. He says that the paper used is constantly used by us, Schirmer's and other music publishers and that there are no complaints about its getting yellow with time, etc. Furthermore, he says that he has two packages of music left in his office. He opened them this morning and he says that they are absolutely all right; that the paper has not taken on a yellow color, etc.

Estimate: Mr. Green could print 394 pages, 500 copies for \$575.00 (flat sheets, same paper as last time).

Mr. Hawkes: We have not heard from him or from London since I spoke to you.

As soon as I know anything more I shall certainly let you know.

⁹³ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

I hope you have a pleasant time in Saranac Lake.

Sincerest regards,

H.W. Heinsheimer

1.28 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes⁹⁴

Saranac Lake, NY, 31 July 1943

My Dear Hawkes,

I am rather disappointed about the short duration of your stay in the U.S., it is too bad! About my health, I can tell you the following: Since April there is a periodicity of lower and higher fever, the first lasts about 9 days and the latter about 11 days. When I wrote to Mr. Heinsheimer that I feel better, it was in a period of the low fever— But, on the whole there is no perceptible change! Now about the doctors. End of March they made the statement, it is tuberculosis of the lungs, and were extremely glad to have found out this, at last. Later, however, it appeared, for various reasons, that the disease cannot be tuberculosis; so they shifted to other hypotheses. First, they supposed it may be a coccus infection in the lungs; after dropping this hypothesis, they turned to “monilia”, and finally to “Beck’s sarcoid”. These two are very rare and very interesting (not for me!) ailments. The only trouble is that neither of them can be proved! So they are groping about in the darkness and are entirely at the end of their wits. — This is the rather disconcerting picture of the situation. Of course, no treatment is possible, if they don’t know what the trouble is. — I was mostly confined to bed in these months and do not feel

⁹⁴ Autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

particularly strong. In any case, I could not do any regular job as long as this situation lasts. However, I did not waste my time; I did a considerable amount of scientific work. Last year I wrote my book on Serbo-Croatian folk songs: about 100 pp. introduction and 75 transcribed melodies. Then, I wrote the explanatory introductions to my Rumanian material: about 200 pp.; and finally, in April–June I prepared for publication my Turkish material, again with a 100 pp. introduction etc. All this was very interesting for me. The trouble is that extremely few people are interested in such things, although I arrived to highly original conclusions and demonstrations, all proved by very severe deductions. And, of course, nobody wants to publish them, except the first one which is going to be published by the Columbia University Press, as you probably know.

May I ask you for the following: could not the amounts from England be sent to the Manufacturers Trust Company (where I have my account) instead of the Chase Bank? That would simplify matters for me. By the way, I just received the last money transfer according to your last statement, without any difficulty, with the help of a Saranac Lake Bank.

And then, would you or Mr. Heinsheimer be so kind as to ask Mr. Winter at A.M.P., if he got my letters in which I asked him for some information concerning printing work.

Finally, I must tell you the news that I left the Union of Musicians etc., and am very glad that I am no longer a member of that conglomeration of stupid blackmailers. Did you hear about the Canadian incident which makes one wonder if these Petrillo men

are human beings at all? I feel ashamed of having been as long as almost two years a member of that society. Would you kindly tell Mr. Heinsheimer about this news?

Now, I am saying good-bye to you, wishing you an undisturbed journey back to England.

Your, very sincerely,

Béla Bartók

1.29 Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes⁹⁵

[New York], 28 September 1943

Dear Mr. Heinsheimer,

The dates of these performances {*Violin Concerto, NY Phil.*} completely tally with our original plan to return to New York about mid Oct., I will be able (if no disturbances happen) two, or even all of these concerts. I will leave either on Oct. 13th or 14th; in the first case I would be able to hear even the last rehearsal, if it is held in the morning of the 14th. In any case, I would be glad, if you could secure two tickets for each of the 15th and 17th performances each and in addition, one ticket for the 17th performance for my son. As for the 14th, I will send you news in a few days. I wrote immediately to Dr. Rappaport (New York) who takes care of my further “nursing”, and whose advise is, that I may continue this restful, quiet life still about 6 more months (with the aid of ASCAP). Now, I am waiting for his answer, on what date he can get me a room in a selected nursery home. But, whatever his answer will be, I intend to be in NY for the 15th’s

⁹⁵ Autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

performance. — I ask you further, to get back the score of the Violin Concerto from Mr. Kolisch; he may deposit it in your 57th Street's office.

There is some complication about my dress which is in storage. These storage people are rather unreliable. They told us we may have access to our things at any time, giving notice a few days beforehand; in a specific case, however, they made delays, i.e., did not keep their promise. If I can't get my decent dark winter dress from the storage in time, I will have to attend the performance in my brownish tourist dress which is not very suitable for the Carnegie Hall, and especially not for a platform (about the latter, I don't care very much as I don't like too much platforms). For this (and also for other) reasons, it would be preferable to get tickets in a box.

I, too, have some good news for you. Since 30 days, the high fever period disappeared, and today I had my first day since April 9, 1942, without the slightest abnormal temperature. These are the first signs of a decided improvement in my health. The other is perhaps less agreeable for a publisher. I succeeded to write the work for the Koussevitzky foundation, against all expectations. It is a rather big work in 5 movements, of about 35' duration, not exactly the kind Mr. Hawkes expected from me. Four movements are already complete, also the first half of the last one. I expect to get through it still here. On this subject we better have a talk in New York; and as well on other subjects.

Yours, sincerely,

Béla Bartók

*1.30 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók*⁹⁶

[New York], 28 March 1944

Dear Mr. Bartók,

I just received the following reply from Dr. Koussevitsky:

Concerning Béla Bartók's "Concerto for Orchestra", it is too important a work to be given so late in the season when it has no chance to be included in New York and repeated in our other series of concerts. It is like a shot in the void. So, I prefer to keep my well-loaded gun for the next season.

I thought that you might like to know about this.

Sincerely yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

*1.31 Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes*⁹⁷

Saranac Lake, NY, 12 September 1944

Dear Mr. Heinsheimer,

Yes, this long delay should account for at least a big symphony or a deterioration in my conditions. Unfortunately neither the former, nor — fortunately — the latter is true. My plans for this summer have completely been disturbed by the Columbia Press, who at last sent me my corrected Ms. of the Serbo-Croatian book. To insert counter- corrections took me almost a month. But the main (verbal) struggle is still pending. I had also my

⁹⁶ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

⁹⁷ Autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

bickerings with Mr. Weissleder, in connection with the music examples. The book maybe will come out about X-mas time 1945!

I am glad to hear that Dr. Koussevitsky plans also a New York performance. No exact date yet available? I would like very much indeed to attend some of the rehearsals; I believe Dr. K. does not expect me to be there for all the 8 rehearsals. The only question, where to stay in Boston, with all those hotel-difficulties? Don't send me any score, I will be in N.Y. by end of September and will look over the copy there. Plenty of time if the performances will be about end of Oct. or beginning of Nov. — Mr. Weissleder's copies look wonderful indeed, the only trouble is that he works in a grandseigneurish manner, caring not much about such imponderabilia as note-heads [or the] like. So we may expect quite a lot of mistakes in his part of the copy.

I will return you the 3 burlesk agreement in New York.

Mrs. Bartók got the letter from the Brooklyn teachers, and intended to answer it; I don't know if she did so or not (presently she is in Nantucket[?]). Would you please tell them that she will get in touch with them as soon, as arrives in New York, i.e. about mid-September.

I did not forget about the article you asked me for. I have two ideas, and will expand them to you in New York. You may then choose. I could not write it here, anyway.

The trouble is that still I don't know where I will stay in New York. This room-shortage is getting more and more annoying. It is probably a question of money. The ASCAP business must at last come to an end, and I must try to expend not more than

\$120 monthly for my own person. This would do if I could have a room for a reasonable amount of money.

I will give you a ring in New York, and we will see where we can meet.

How did you enjoy the summer heat in New York? One day we had here 96°! I liked it.

Yours sincerely,

Béla Bartók

1.32 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁹⁸

[New York], 14 August 1944

Dear Mr. Bartók,

I just received word from Dr. Koussevitsky that he intends to perform your Concerto for Orchestra either in late October or the first half of November. I am sure that you will be pleased with this news.

Sincerely your,

H.W. Heinsheimer

⁹⁸ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

1.33 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók⁹⁹

New York, 3 November 1944

Dear Mr. Bartók,

I just received a letter from Mr. Ralph Hawkes dated October 11th from which I quote the following paragraph which will interest you. I think:

“I am now able to write you in somewhat greater detail about the Bartók VIOLIN CONCERTO, which has had such a unique send off here with the B.B.C. and Yehudi Menuhin. I enclose numerous further press notices which will doubtless be of interest to you and Bartók and I shall be glad if you will let him see them.

“Without doubt, the work created an absolute sensation here and on all sides we have had nothing but praise about it. Quite apart from Yehudi’s wonderful performances, the work itself drew expressions of opinion, for which we had hardly dared to hope, which points to the advanced state of appreciation in this country of this type of work. I have immediately put the Score in hand and hope to have the Pocket Score ready for printing within the next two or three months. I believe I shall be able to arrange several further performances in this country with Max Rostal, the well known and first class Violinist who is rapidly coming to the fore. Both the Liverpool Philharmonic and the London Philharmonic will, I think, do the work early in the New Year.”

I am enclosing copies of the press reviews mentioned by Mr. Hawkes.

Sincerely yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

⁹⁹ Typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

1.34 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók¹⁰⁰

New York, 14 December 1944

Dear Mr. Bartók,

I have now received two replies to our general promotion for the new “Concerto for Orchestra” and I am quoting them forthwith for our information:

“Dr. Mitropoulos has asked me to thank you for the letter about Bartók’s “Concerto for Orchestra”.

He is of course interested in seeing the score but since there is no possibility of his playing it this season, there is no hurry. So would you be so kind as to send him a score after it is published.”

(Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra)

“All my programs are made for this season but I hope to play in the near future the new Bartók score. I am so happy to hear everything you say about it; he is such a great man and I am delighted to hear of the immense success of the “*Concerto for Orchestra*”. Do not send the score now as soon I will leave St. Louis; I will look at it later.”

(Vladimir Golschmann, St. Louis Symphony)

Sincerely yours,

H. W. Heinsheimer

¹⁰⁰ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

1.35 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Westminster Bank¹⁰¹

London, 8 February 1945

Dear Sir,

We beg to make application, as per attached form, for permission to pay the sum of £250 to Béla Bartók of New York City covering the purchase of the copyright in a composition we are commissioning for publication in our edition.

Béla Bartók, now resident of the U.S., is certainly one of the world's greatest living composers. He is regarded as a master of composition in the U.S. as well as throughout Europe and other parts of the world and has achieved this position over the years gradually but surely.

Under an Agreement dated August 1939 with Universal Edition (Vienna), Boosey & Hawkes Ltd. acquired the copyright in all Béla Bartók's compositions for the British Empire, United States of America and the States of Central and South America, at the same time entering into an agreement with him (copy attached) for a period of five years (which is automatically renewed for a further period of five years in the absence of notice to the contrary) to publish all his new compositions, of which some have now been issued in London and New York to satisfy the increasing demand for his works.

Béla Bartók is a member of the Performing Right Society of London, which Society collects his performing fees in the above mentioned territories and royalties are remitted to him by that Body, as well as by this Company, in respect of existing published works.

¹⁰¹ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

It is our desire to encourage him to write as much as possible during what may be the last few years of his life (he is now aged 64 and has had little of the fruits of his work in the shape of money in these difficult times). The copyright in his works, which as I have said belong to Boosey & Hawkes Ltd., are definite assets from the cultural aspect of music publishing in England and the continued issue of new works from his pen brings more and more attention to this Company's editions generally throughout the world.

The sum asked for is not unreasonable, having regard to the fact that other works have been produced without payment under the Agreement and also having regard to the fact that he has been commissioned by such great artists as Dr. Serge Koussevitzky of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Yehudi Menuhin, the world famous Violinist, William Primrose, the world famous Viola Soloist, etc. We wish now to add our name to these in respect of a commission for a Seventh String Quartet. The general opinion in the musical world is that Bartók's existing six String Quartets are pieces of very considerable importance and have very frequently been spoken of as the finest collection of their kind since Beethoven.

It is hoped that under the above circumstances permission to send the sum requested will be accorded and that the remittance may be made in dollars.

Yours very truly,

Ralph Hawkes

Director

1.36 Ralph Hawkes at Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók¹⁰²

[London], 23 May 1945

Dear Bartók,

It seems that I have owed you a letter for some considerable time and the present occasion is a propitious one to write you for several reasons:-

First of all to tell you of the great relief we feel here at the end of the War in Europe and secondly to congratulate you on your election to the new Hungarian Parliament, which Hans has written me about. He also advises that you are likely to return to Europe at an early date: I want you to know that if I can help you in this, I shall be only too happy and I sincerely hope that you will manage to pass via London on your way, for I am sure that a number of your friends and admirers here would be more than happy to see you.

By now the proof of the CONCERTO FOR ORCHESTRA and the CONCERTO FOR VIOLIN have been through your hands. I hope you are satisfied with them: both were, of course, very difficult jobs to do under existing circumstances. We made the very best we could to avoid too many errors: it would seem that we should have to get you revised proofs before printing can go forward. On the other hand, of course, if you feel we are competent enough to correct your music markings here, there would be a saving of very considerable time. We may be printing both works here in a small edition to start with. I say this because I feel so certain that the Scores of these major compositions of yours should be available at the first opportunity on the Continent, as well as in the U.S.

¹⁰² Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

and Great Britain. I have deliberately withheld any performances of the “Concerto for Orchestra” in this country owing to the orchestral conditions being unpropitious but I am now negotiating with the B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra and Sir Adrian Boult for a performance this Winter. The pity of it is that we only have one Concert Hall in London at the moment, viz:- the Albert Hall and the results obtained for works of the caliber of the Concerto are small and poor. This situation may alter in the next few months but I am sure that you will agree that I am acting in your best interest in not allowing a poor performance to take place.

Regarding the VIOLIN CONCERTO, I am happy to tell you that 4 performances have been arranged with the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra under Dr. Malcolm Sargent in October and November (2 Liverpool, 2 Manchester) with Max Rostal as Soloist. He is a first class performer and one of the best Violinists and Violin Teachers we have in this country. There is just a likelihood that Yehudi Menuhin, who is here now, may give the work in the next week or so but his public appearances are uncertain.

How progresses my SEVENTH STRING QUARTET? I am sure that you will be interested to hear that I am arranging for Six Chamber Music Concerts in October and November this year at Wigmore Hall, which are to be based on your existing Six String Quartets. I felt it desirable that the whole of your String Quartet compositions should be given in a complete Cycle like this. The rest of the Programmes will be built around these Quartets, one of the six Quartets being the highlight of each of the Six Concerts. I hope to send you further details of this little ‘Festival’ in due course.

I expect to return to America towards the end of September.... [page missing]

1.37 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey and Hawkes to Béla Bartók¹⁰³

New York, 24 September 1945

Dear Mr. Bartók,

Peter came in today to tell me that the proofs of the Concerto are being attended to and I have cabled London accordingly. They seem to be very impatient to publish the piece because they have a performance in Liverpool the end of October.

Mr. Hawkes just wrote me from Switzerland that there is great interest in your music. He has arranged for a performance of the Violin Concerto in Berne in March.

I wanted to come to see you but Peter told me that you probably didn't want to see visitors for a few days. Do be so kind as to let me know through him whenever I could come up.

With my very best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

¹⁰³ Typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, Florida.

List of Letters

- 1.1 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 13 May 1938, autographed letter, written in German, English Translation by Bartók Archive. Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.2 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 23 May 1938, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.3 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 24 September 1938, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.4 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 2 January 1939, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.5 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 6 March 1939, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.6 Ralph Hawkes to Universal Edition, 6 March 1939, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.7 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 9 March 1939, autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.8 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 6 April 1939, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.9 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 17 April 1939, [first page incorrectly dated 21 April 1939], autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.10 Enclosure, Hans Heinsheimer to Andrew Schulhof, 23 March 1939, typed translation, written in German, English translation by Bartók Archive. Bartók Archive, Homosassa FL.
- 1.11 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 25 April 1939, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homossassa, FL.
- 1.12 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 25 April 1939, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homossassa, FL.
- 1.13 Boosey & Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 19 July 1939, typed enclosure, Bartók Archive, Homossassa, FL.
- 1.14 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 15 November 1939, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homossassa, FL.

- 1.15 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 7 November 1939, autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.16 Ernst Roth to Ralph Hawkes, 26 February 1940, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.17 Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 18 September 1940, typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.18 Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 26 November 1940, typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.19 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 6 December 1940, typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.20 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 17 April 1942, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.21 Baldwin Piano Company to Béla Bartók, 12 June 1942, typed letter signed by John Ortez, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.22 Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, New York, 16 June 1942, typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.23 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 8 January 1942, typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.24 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 31 March 1943, autographed letter by Mrs. Bartók signed by Béla Bartók, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.25 Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 1 May 1943, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.26 Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer, 4 July 1943, autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.27 Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 8 July 1943, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.28 Béla Bartók to Ralph Hawkes, 31 July 1943, autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.29 Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer, 28 September 1943, autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.

- 1.30 Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 28 March 1944, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.31 Béla Bartók to Hans Heinsheimer, 12 September 1944, autographed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.33 Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 3 November 1944, typed letter signed, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.34 Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, typed letter, 14 December 1944, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.35 Ralph Hawkes to Westminster Bank, 8 February 1945, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.36 Ralph Hawkes to Béla Bartók, 23 May 1945, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.37 Hans Heinsheimer to Béla Bartók, 24 September 1945, typed letter, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.
- 1.38 Ralph Hawkes to Mrs. Bartók, 27 September 1945, telegram, Bartók Archive, Homosassa, FL.

Chapter 2

Arnold Schoenberg

Chronological Sketch¹⁰⁴

Arnold Schoenberg immigrated to the United States with his family in October of 1933 in response to the loss of his faculty position at the Prussian Academy of the Arts in Berlin and the growing threat to the Jewish population after the Nazi party came to power in Germany earlier that year. Schoenberg first settled in New York but soon made his way to Hollywood, California.

In 1936 he began teaching at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), retired in 1945, and remained there for the rest of his life. Encouraged by his publishers to write music accessible to the American public and performable by American conductors and ensembles, Schoenberg began composing in a style which is generally characterized as being one which engaged large-scale traditional forms in a return to a more tonal language than that of his previous style period. Among the more tonal works from this period: his Suite for String Orchestra (1934) and the Second Chamber Symphony, op. 38 (completed in 1939). His Violin Concerto, op. 36 (1934) and the Piano Concerto, op. 42 (1942) are two works also from his late period using large-scale traditional forms. In addition Schoenberg continued the practice of arranging his own

¹⁰⁴ For general biographical information see: O. W. Neighbour, "Arnold Schoenberg" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 22, (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), 577–604; and The Arnold Schoenberg Center at: http://www.schoenberg.at/default_e.htm

compositions as well as those by others for orchestral symphony. Schoenberg arranged the tonal Concerto for String Quartet (after G.F. Händel's Concerto Grosso, no. 7, op. 6) (1933), Brahms's Piano Quartet in G minor, op. 25 (1937), his own First Chamber Symphony, op. 9b (1935), *Verklärte Nacht* (arrangement 1935) and the Theme and Variations, op. 43b (1943). He also composed specifically for American ensembles. Op. 43a was premiered by the well-known Goldman Band (1946), and *Verklärte Nacht* was renamed *Pillar of Fire*, choreographed by Antony Tudor and performed by the Tasha Tudor Ballet at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York (1942). With the guidance of his publishers, Schoenberg wrote successfully for the American market and his music was performed in the United States throughout his life.

In August 1942, Arnold Schoenberg wrote to Carl Engel, president of G. Schirmer, stating that it was “often suggested to me to write or arrange something for band.” He wondered if G. Schirmer might be interested in publishing an arrangement of some of Schubert's pieces for piano four hands. The composer also had a list of questions he wanted answered by “a good expert on band music.”¹⁰⁵ Felix Greissle, editor at G. Schirmer and Schoenberg's son-in-law, replied on behalf of Engel. He addressed various issues of instrumentation, difficulties that students and professional bands might have performing Schoenberg's music, and how to tailor a composition accordingly.¹⁰⁶

By spring 1943, Schoenberg was composing a theme and variations for wind ensemble that would be published as *Theme and Variations*, op. 43. Dr. Edwin Franko

¹⁰⁵ Arnold Schoenberg to Carl Engel, 8 August 1942.

¹⁰⁶ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 21 August 1942.

Goldman, leader of the Goldman Band, heard about the project and was excited that Schoenberg was writing a piece that his band could perform. He informed G. Schirmer of his interest in premiering the finished work. The Goldman Band performed without fee in the city during the summer to a wide following; and Greissle had to inform Schoenberg that the group would not pay for a score, but that any performance by them would be extremely well done and the publisher would grant them as many free performances as desired.¹⁰⁷ Greissle continued to facilitate communication between Goldman and Schoenberg. He conveyed Goldman's enthusiasm for the work and tried to negotiate some type of compensation for the composer.

The score was finished in September 1943, at which time Greissle asked Schoenberg's permission to write a part for the Hammond organ.¹⁰⁸ Greissle also suggested that Schoenberg himself arrange the piece for double winds, four horns, two or three trumpets, three trombones, tuba, percussion, and strings to make it suitable for small orchestras. In this arrangement, the publisher could offer it "not only to professional orchestras but weaker ones too. They should be able to play it with less rehearsal time than is required for your other compositions."¹⁰⁹

In October, Schoenberg communicated to Herman and Arnold Greissle that he was planning to conduct a new theme and variations to be performed by the Goldman

¹⁰⁷ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 4 May 1943.

¹⁰⁸ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 20 September 1943.

¹⁰⁹ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 1 October 1943.

Band.¹¹⁰ Schoenberg proceeded arranging a version for orchestra, but scored it for a triple woodwind section despite Greissle's request for double. The editor told the composer that G. Schirmer would provide a reduction of the score to any conductor who wanted one, and also reported that it was unlikely he would be paid to conduct the premiere of the work.¹¹¹

That fall, Arnold Schoenberg also wrote to Associated Music Publishers (AMP) concerning the payment of royalty fees from works copyrighted with Universal Edition. The fees had to go through the Alien Property Custodian before they could be released to the composer, and Schoenberg was frustrated with the situation. Hugo Winter could do little and informed Schoenberg of this in a letter of November 1943.¹¹²

By spring 1944, G. Schirmer was busy engraving the parts for the wind band variations (op. 43a) but progress was slow. Greissle was also editing the orchestral version of the work (op. 43b) and complained to Schoenberg that there were numerous mistakes in the band score that the composer had given him to work from and consequently the orchestra version also had numerous mistakes.¹¹³ Greissle decided to add a piano reduction onto the bottom two staves of the score for rehearsal use. He also added the Hammond organ part and conductors' cues. He was optimistic about the

¹¹⁰ Arnold Schoenberg to Hermann Greissle, 15 October 1943.

¹¹¹ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 18 October 1943.

¹¹² Hugo Winter to Arnold Schoenberg, 27 November 1943.

¹¹³ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 13 May 1944.

marketability of the work because it seemed easy enough for a wide range of players to perform.¹¹⁴

In the summer of 1944, Schoenberg's aggravation with AMP over the collection of royalty fees turned to anger. He told Hugo Winter that he wanted to negotiate a new contract between Universal Edition and AMP that would allow AMP to reprint a number of works copyrighted by Universal Edition. Winter could not do this. Arnold Schoenberg was characteristically quick to take the offensive with his publisher. Angry and frustrated, primarily because he was not paid regularly for works and because many of his compositions were not available in the United States, he wrote a fierce, angry letter to Winter in which he accused the firm of keeping secrets and manipulating numbers.¹¹⁵ Hugo Winter replied in June 16, 1944, with a similarly critical tone.¹¹⁶ Schoenberg's request that AMP negotiate a new contract directly between himself and AMP for the reprinting of works copyrighted by Universal Edition was not only illegal, but, in Winter's view, unprincipled under the present war circumstances, since one of AMP's main functions was to enforce Universal Edition's copyrights in the United States. AMP collected and distributed money to Universal Edition composers, but in order to have the legal right to do this on behalf of Universal Edition, the latter issued renewal cards which had arrived irregularly since 1938. Without these authorizations, AMP could neither

¹¹⁴ Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle, 15 May 1944.

¹¹⁵ Arnold Schoenberg to Hugo Winter, [5 June] 1944.

¹¹⁶ Hugo Winter to Arnold Schoenberg, 16 June 1944.

enforce copyrights in the United States nor pay Schoenberg for performances.¹¹⁷ What AMP did in order to ameliorate the situation was to request that Schoenberg assign the copyright renewals directly to AMP, thereby avoiding the issue with Universal Edition.

The performance of op. 43a continued to be delayed, so Greissle immediately began promoting the orchestral version of the work, op. 43b. He wrote to Koussevitsky in June.¹¹⁸ By July, he received notice that Koussevitsky would premiere the work (op. 43b) and did so on October 20, 1944 in Boston.¹¹⁹ Fritz Reiner followed with a January performance of op. 43b in New York. Schoenberg, often at odds with conductors, complained about Koussevitzky's performance despite the conductor's excellent reputation. Greissle replied sympathetically in a letter of October 26, 1944.¹²⁰ Despite Schoenberg's own negative critique of the performance, the work, received well by critics, continued to be performed by major orchestras around the country that season.

By fall 1944, the Goldman ensemble still had not played op. 43a. In response to his repeated inquiry, Schoenberg was told that the band had suffered a variety of setbacks due to the war, including a loss of personnel to the armed services. Greissle and Schoenberg decided to focus their attention on two other projects: performances of *Ode to Napoleon*, op. 41, written in 1942 and premiered on November 23, 1944; and the Piano Concerto, op. 42 (1942). Greissle went to rehearsals of Schoenberg's music and served as

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 19 June 1944.

¹¹⁹ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 17 July 1944.

¹²⁰ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 27 October 1944.

a consultant whenever possible. He described the first rehearsal for the *Ode to Napoleon* in a letter of November 1944.¹²¹ In November 1945, Greissle could finally write that Goldman was planning to perform the variations. Goldman's son, now discharged from the army, would conduct the work.¹²² Rehearsals began in June 1946. Enthusiasm greeted the work. Greissle, attending the rehearsals, reported that things seemed to be going well despite insufficient time for rehearsals and some inexperienced players. The group really enjoyed the piece, and Greissle hoped that Schoenberg would overlook any shortcomings in the performance.¹²³ On 27 June 1946, the *Theme and Variations* (op. 43a) finally premiered in its original instrumentation.

Schoenberg's disputes with AMP continued and in 1947 Greissle, then working for E. B. Marks, had to reiterate that there was little anyone could do to circumvent the U.S. government when it came to royalties from UE.¹²⁴ Schoenberg remained frustrated with his publishers after the war. In 1950, Alfred Schlee of Universal Edition wrote to Schoenberg explaining that despite the war's end Universal Edition was not mechanically or financially in a position to comply with all of its composers' requests to reprint out-of-print works and maintain its obligation to release new works and instructional music.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 24 November 1944.

¹²² Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 27 November 1945.

¹²³ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 18 June 1946.

¹²⁴ Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, 31 January 1947.

¹²⁵ Sophie Fetthauer, *Musikverlage im "Dritten Reich" und im Exil*, Musik im "Dritten Reich", ed. Hanns-Werner Heister and Peter Petersen, band 10, (Bockel Verlag: Hamburg, 2004): 430 from ASC.LT: U7. UE 1939, 1951. Alfred Schlee/UE an Arnold Schoenberg,

Schoenberg never found a publisher who could grant all of his wishes. After his death in 1951 his wife, Gertrud, sought a firm that would publish her husband's entire corpus. Unable to find one, she eventually founded her own firm, Belmont Publishers in 1965, solely for the purpose of publishing Schoenberg's music.¹²⁶

5.6.1950. "Sie werfen uns vor, sehr geehrter Herr Professor, dass wir seit Kriegsende wohl andere Werke herausgegeben haben, ohne Ihre fehlenden Werke neu aufzulegen. Hiezu darf ich einerseits bemerken, dass es Ihnen nicht bekannt sein kann, welcher Teil dieser, anderen Werke mit finanzieller Unterstützung oder Subvention von aussen hergestellt wurde, dass wir andererseits nach der langen Absperrung von der grossen Welt natürlich gezwungen waren, aus verschiedenen Gründen auch einige, andere Werke herauszubringen. Die richtige Dosierung, besonders bei unseren immensen Verpflichtungen der klassischen - und Unterrichtsmusik gegenüber, ist in so uberaus schweren Jahren, wie den letzten, nicht leicht gewesen und wir sind heute noch weit davon entfernt, so disponieren zu können, wie wir mochten und sollten. Esparen Sie uns bitte Details zu dieser Frage, wenn Sie auch vielleicht, von Kalifornien aus gesehen, die Situation jetzt ungeduldiger beurteilen, als sie es vermag."

"You accuse us, highly regarded Professor, that we have published other works, without republishing your missing works. Concerning this, I would like to mention that on the one hand you cannot know what fraction of these other works were published with financial support or subvention from external sources, and that on the other, after a long isolation from the rest of the world, we were naturally forced, for various reasons, to publish other works. To find the right balance, in particular in view of our considerable obligations for classical and instructional music, has certainly not been easy in such difficult years, as the last have been, and today we are still far away from a point where we can plan as we would like and should. Please spare us to spell out the details concerning this question, even if you may judge the situation more impatiently, viewing it from California, than it deserves."

¹²⁶ Heinsheimer discusses Gertrud Schoenberg's relationship with the publishers after the composer's death and her battle to get his works published (see his *Best Regards*, 206–211). At one point he writes: "... she waged her relentless battle, she did not even mind being called the *lästige Witwe*, a German pun changing the *lustige*, the merry, into a burdensome, a pain in the neck widow... known and repeated all over the German speaking musical world.": 209.

Editorial Comments

Schoenberg underlined text as he read and often wrote in the margins of letters he received. Where it is of interest, words that Schoenberg underlined upon receipt are indicated with dotted underlines and handwritten comments by the recipients are enclosed in braces {} with text in italics. Text underlined with a single solid line are that of the author of the letter; handwritten notations by the author of the letter are set in braces {} with plain text. Footnotes from the original letter's text are denoted with an asterisk and brackets *[]. All of the letters to and from Arnold Schoenberg included here can be found in the Arnold Schoenberg Collection at the Library of Congress (ASLC). The Arnold Schönberg Center in Vienna, Austria, has transcribed most of this collection for online access and via digital image at www.schoenberg.at. Schoenberg wrote in English as much as possible after moving to the United States. All of these letters were originally written in English and have been reprinted with permission of the Schoenberg family and the Greissle family.

Editorial changes to the text for readability, such as spelling and grammatical corrections, are indicated by square brackets [].

Letters

2.1 Arnold Schoenberg to Carl Engel at G. Schirmer¹²⁷

[Los Angeles], 8 August 1942

Dear Friend,

My summer session teaching is over and I have now more time to attend to my affairs, among them writing.

A few days ago I sent to your controller my answer about the statement. There is no great difficulty any more left, but it took me very much time to check this statement.

Today I mailed to you a syllabus: “Models and [Examples] for Beginners in Composition.”

I made this syllabus, because I was at first [desperate] to teach students, who have no special talent for composition, in six weeks matters which only the best could master [?] in a regular semester of 16 weeks.

The success surprised me very much. Indeed, only one student out of twelve (a Negro girl, musical but not intelligent) did not succeed, while among the rest I could give two A's, four B's and only four C's—no D (which is, the D, still a passing grade in UCLA).

This success convinced me, that I should as soon as possible finish the Textbook on composition.

¹²⁷ Transcript by Arnold Schönberg Center, typed letter. Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved March 15, 2008 from www.schoenberg.at

I have to confess, that lately I had been a little discouraged about the [usefulness] of this textbook. It is this propaganda of American and especially American born composers to disconsider every European [achievement] in musical composition and theory to write this American music, which is often [original], but never technically good enough (with only very few exceptions) to survive the [performances] of their first year.

I used to ask students: “If you wanted to build an airplane, would you disregard what others have [achieved] before you?” And besides, is it not true that what of musical technique can be admitted, derives either from Russian music, or from no music at all: I mean that, what Miss Nadia Boulanger has taught under protection of Mr. Damrosch.¹²⁸

I believe again, that no composer can really avoid to study what “other masters, before him” have done in estab[lishing] methods, tools and techniques which correspond to human manner of thinking, to his sense of logic and to the taste of an educated and cultivated mind.

I will finish the book as fast as possible and will write to you as soon as I know when I can start.

Another affair about which I must ask you to help me:

It was often suggested to me to write or arrange something for band, and I have found among Schubert’s four hand piano compositions some, which might be very suitable for such an arrangement.

Would Schirmers be interested in such works?

¹²⁸ Walter Damrosch (1862–1950), composer and conductor largely responsible for popularizing classical music via the radio in the United States.

Enclosed is a list of questions, which I would like to have answered by good experts on band music.

Do you know one, and, would you [then] be kind enough to ask him to answer my questions?

I send this letter to your office, because I am not sure, whether the [address] on [your] *Ansichtskarte* is perfect enough for an important letter.

I hope, this will be forwarded to you—though I feel uncertain, whether I should burden you during your vacation (which I hope and wish will be [pleasant] and good to your health)—but I am sure you have given orders to your office, which letters they must send you and which can wait.

Wishing you again the best for your vacation and sending my best greetings to your daughter, I am most faithfully, yours

I need to learn:

The orchestration of

A) the best bands, as f.i. [for instance] the Goldman Band¹²⁹

B) of the average University Bands (best to mediocre)

That is: all the instruments

the key in which they should be written

the average technical ability of A) and B)

of the first players, and

¹²⁹ Founded by Edwin Goldman Franko in 1918. One of the best bands in the United States, performed free public concerts in New York City.

of the second players, and

of the rest

the average compass of each instrument and

the extreme compass (lowest and highest notes)

Does there exist a book about these questions?

How many good bands, how many average, how many [weak] bands can one count on. (approximately)

Should the orchestration contain “*adlibitums*” (to be [omitted], or facilitations) and suggestions for “Missing instruments” (for incomplete bands—or: are such entrances better to be done by an “expert”?)

How is the ability as regards to difficulties of?

(a) intonation, (in difficult harmonies or intervals)

(b) rhythm (shifting of accentuation)

(c) phrasing,

(d) Dynamic

How good are the first players in “solos”?

2.2 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹³⁰

New York, 21 August 1942

Dear Father:

Mr. Engel has asked me to answer your inquiry concerning orchestration for band. First let me say that your second and last questions hit the essential problems, which is the more striking since there are “arrangers” who have orchestrated for band many years without even being aware that such problems exist. I regret very much that we cannot discuss the matter orally which would be much easier for both of us, but I shall try to give you as complete a picture as possible.

The Goldman Band comprises the following instruments, with each of the groups always divided according to the requirements of the score:

4 Flutes, interchangeable with Piccolos

2 Oboes, 2nd interchangeable with English Horn

2 Bassoons

1 Eb Clarinet

16–18 Clarinets in Bb

1 Alto Clarinet in Eb

1 Bass Clarinet in Bb

1 Alto Saxophone in Eb

1 Tenor Saxophone in Bb

¹³⁰ Typed autographed letter signed. Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

1 Baritone Saxophone in Eb

6 Cornets in Bb

4–5 Trumpets in Bb

4 Horns in F

5–6 Trombones

1 Baritone

1 Euphonium

6 Basses & Tubas

2 String Basses

Timpani

(ample) Percussion

1 Harp (not as a regular part of the band, only hired if necessary)

This instrumentation, except for the saxophone group, does not deviate very much from that of the average large high school band. The Goldman Band is excellent, since it is mostly composed of members of the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra.

University bands are in some, rather exceptional cases, much larger, but on the whole it is safer to consider them in the same class with high school bands. The most important thing (but only in my personal opinion) is, to orchestrate in the main for a “torso” composed of instruments you can definitely count on to have in the band and to treat everything else as “addition” or “doubling.” This is a procedure which necessitates a certain style, however. In exceptional cases one can make use of so called “cues.” I shall make all this clearer when giving a detailed list of the instruments and their compass.

There exist some books that deal with these questions but I assure you that they are not worth looking into.

In most of the school bands, players of the first instruments are far superior to all others and it is a rule not to trust the second and third players in any respect; one should therefore write easy parts for them. It is furthermore customary to have a pupil who does not play the clarinet well, play a saxophone part instead. That is why the saxophones usually get very rough treatment in the school band and should be given only filling-in parts. The same holds true of first and second trumpets as well as cornet players who are asked to play third trumpet and flugelhorn parts respectively. Do not bother with “ad lib,” “missing instruments,” “cues,” etc. since this is entirely the job of the editor.

About the other difficulties:

a.) Intonation is on the average rather weak, not because of lack of musicality

*[The material is potentially very good, although little educated in our sense.]

but because of the very nature of the wind instruments and because of the, in most cases, very bad teachers {who make few corrections (or none at all) when rehearsing}—confidential please. (On the whole, long, sustained notes are very bad with regard to intonation, as in general music of a flowing character comes out best in the band.) The principle problem of educating better school bands is the question of how to get better teachers i.e. conductors.

b.) Rhythm. Do not trust too much in the players (or better in the teachers.) If you must employ shifting of accentuation, indicate it over clearly. It is

necessary to have always in mind that few of the teachers really can read a score, that is to say music at all.

c.) & d.) Phrasing and Dynamics.

Unless it is too complicated, everything comes out if the teachers ask for it, but they seldom do.

a.) – d.) Clear, contrasting indications, even now and then hints for the conductor (footnotes) are very advisable. There is no danger in giving even somewhat difficult “solos” to the first players, with the exception of the Oboe which, if present at all, is very often the worst played instrument in the band. Do not entrust it with a solo longer than eight measures (Andante) as most of the players will soon be out of breath. {Same thing holds true of Bassoon}

Here is a list of all the instruments played in the school band. All instruments that are underscored you can rely on to be present. [See Figure 2.1c–2.1e, pp. 19–21 for detailed notation.]

I am sending you several scores as examples. None of them do I hold up as a model to you of course, but rather as a pattern to check and look up the information given to you.

With the kindest regards to all of you,

Very sincerely yours,

Felix Greissle

{There exist more than 20,000 school bands in this county!!!!}

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August 21, 1942

Mr. Arnold Schoenberg
116 North Buckingham Avenue
Brentwood Park
Los Angeles, California

Dear Father:

Mr. Engel has asked me to answer your inquiry concerning orchestration for band. First let me say that your second and last questions hit the essential problems, which is the more striking since there are "arrangers" who have orchestrated for band many years without even being aware that such problems exist. I regret very much that we cannot discuss the matter orally which would be much easier for both of us, but I shall try to give you as complete a picture as possible.

The Goldman Band comprises the following instruments, with each of the groups always divided according to the requirements of the score:

4 Flutes, interchangeable with Piccolos
2 Oboes, 2nd interchangeable with English Horn
2 Bassoons
1 Eb Clarinet
16 - 18 Clarinets in Bb
1 Alto Clarinet in Eb
1 Bass Clarinet in Bb
1 Alto Saxophone in Eb
1 Tenor Saxophone in Bb
1 Baritone Saxophone in Eb
6 Cornets in Bb
4 - 5 Trumpets in Bb
4 Horns in F
5 - 6 Trombones
1 Baritone
1 Euphonium
6 Basses & Tubas
2 String Basses
Timpani
(ample) Percussion
1 Harp (not as a regular part of the band,
only hired if necessary)

Figure 2.1a Letter from Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, August 21, 1942 (page 1)

Mr. Schoenberg

-2-

August 21, 1942

This instrumentation, except for the saxophone group¹, does not deviate very much from that of the average large high school band. The Goldman Band is excellent, since it is mostly composed of members of the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra.

University bands are in some, rather exceptional cases, much larger, but on the whole it is safer to consider them in the same class with high school bands. The most important thing (but only in my personal opinion) is, to orchestrate in the main for a "torso" composed of instruments you can definitely count on to have in the band and to treat everything else as "addition" or "doubling." This is a procedure which necessitates a certain style, however. In exceptional cases one can make use of so called "cues." I shall make all this clearer when giving a detailed list of the instruments and their compass. There exist some books that deal with these questions but I assure you that they are not worth looking into.

In most of the school bands, players of the first instruments are far superior to all the others and it is a rule not to trust the second and third players in any respect; one should therefore write easy parts for them. It is furthermore customary to have a pupil who does not play the clarinet well, play a saxophone part instead. That is why the saxophones usually get very rough treatment in the school band and should be given only filling-in parts. The same holds true of first and second trumpets as well as cornet players who are asked to play third trumpet and flugelhorn parts respectively. Do not bother with "ad lib.," "missing instruments," "cues," etc. since this is entirely the job of the editor.

About the other difficulties:

a.) Intonation is on the average rather weak, not because of lack of musicality² but because of the very nature of the wind instruments and because of the, in most of the cases, very bad teachers³ confidential, please. (On the whole, long, sustained notes are very bad with regard to intonation, as in general music of a flowing character comes out best in the band.) The principal problem of educating better school bands is the question of how to get better teachers i.e. conductors.

b.) Rhythms. Do not trust too much in the players (or better in the teachers.) If you must employ shifting of accentuation, indicate it over clearly. It is necessary to have always in mind that few of the teachers really can read a score, that is to say music at all.

c.) & d.) Phrasing and Dynamics.

Unless it is too complicated, everything comes out if the teachers

1) who make few corrections (or none at all) when rehearsing

²The material is potentially very good, although little educated in our sense.

Figure 2.1b Letter from Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, August 21, 1942 (page 2)

August 21, 1942

Schoenberg

Alto Saxophone I in Eb notation: Sound:

Alto Saxophone II in Bb notation: Sound:

Tenor Saxophone in Bb notation: Sound:

Bariitone Saxophone in Eb notation: Sound:

Bass Saxophone in Bb (very rarely present) notation: Sound:

Cornet I in Eb } (Cot. I very often doubled)
 Cornet II in Eb } very reliable, "solo" instrument, rarely used for "melody" (no "trumpet" range)
 Cornet III in Bb } brilliant, movable belongs to the Horn family

Trumpet I in Eb notation: (sound:) low register extremely weak

Trumpet II in Eb } same as in orchestra but with modifications
 (Trumpet III in Bb)

Flugelhorn I in Bb } very different from the Flugelhorns in the Austrian band,
 Flugelhorn II in Bb } kind of low trumpet - notation as trumpet

Horn I & II in F } same as in orchestra, only short "solos"
 Horn III & IV in F

Trombone I } same as in orchestra, notation always in C
 Trombone II }
 Trombone III } only II in Bass Trombone

Baritone & Euphonium } high tubes, akin to "Wagner tubes", very movable, "Cellas" of the band,
 } good in "Solos"

Baritone (Instrument) notation: sound:



Euphonium (Instrument) notation: sound:

write both of them on one line in C, not transposing if you mind really unwise

Let
not write higher than
our lower than

Figure 2.1d Letter from Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, August 21, 1942 (page 4)

A. Schoenberg -5- August 21, 1942

Basses & Tubas 4-8 players, high and low types used together, therefore very often used in octaves, only "bass" one can rely on in the band, don't write higher than  and not lower than 

String Bass same as in orchestra, but easy part

Timpani, Percussion same as in orchestra (marimba frequently present)

Harp same as in orchestra

Piano infrequently used up to chorus, but has always proved very useful if you use it, please "ad lib."

I am sending you several scores as examples. None of them do I hold up as a model to you of course, but rather as a pattern to check and look up the information given to you.

With the kindest regards to all of you,

Very sincerely yours,
G. SCHIRMER, INC.
Felix
Felix Greissle
Music Editor

fg/at

There is not more than 20000 sheet music in the library [111]

Figure 2.1e Letter from Felix Greissle to Arnold Schoenberg, August 21, 1942 (page 5)

2.3 *Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg*¹³¹

New York, 4 May 1943

Dear Father,

Mr. Engel has requested to communicate with you on the practicability of your device for drawing staves which he received yesterday.

I have two small doubts which you may be able to dispense at once. The first is: Are the drawn lines completely black and non-transparent so that paper prepared with your device may be used for blue-printing? I should very much like to know by what means you solve this problem. It is also very important that the pens, or whatever you use, do not blot. (We have a similar device which is rendered almost useless by this fault).

Furthermore: How can we make the carriage along which the penholder rides firm enough, with the materials available, so that it would not bend while in use?

Do you have any objections to attaching to the ruler the guide of a T-square thereby making the whole instrument a sort of a T-square itself? This would make it possible to obtain strictly parallel staves.

But above all opaqueness of the staves is of greatest importance. Up to now I have had our autographers first write the music on sheets of the required different sizes. After this is done the sheets are cut apart and the single staves, or groups of staves, arranged and pasted on white cardboard together with the printed page numbers, tempo

¹³¹ Typed letter signed. Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

indications, copyright clauses, etc. As you see we have abandoned the process that requires transparent paper and instead take a photostat from the finished master, in other words treat it the same way as we would the final proof taken from the engraved plate. Your device, however, would to a certain extent enable us to restore working from transparent sheets and would make it possible to eliminate the rather expensive photostating which, if we replace it by direct blueprinting on the rotation plate itself, would save us time and money.

While this is a considerable advantage, it is the only one I can see, since arranging of the cut staves on cardboard is very satisfactory other wise.

Have you gotten my letter from home in which I asked you for a contribution to the "Festschrift" we shall bring out on the occasion of Mr. Engel's sixtieth birthday? I have not had any answer from you and have to ask you to wire collect to my office. Please be sure to address the telegram to me personally c/o Schirmers.

Since time is very short now, I think that a canon or a little composition of a few measures would be all right, but I have to know at once in order to reserve the space for your contribution. Also it ought to be in my hands not later than May 30.

Dr. Goldman who knows that you are planning (or writing already?) a piece for band is all excited about it and wants to be granted the first performance. He also wants to know if the piece will be ready in time for this summer season.

Please answer this question in your wire too.

I have to call your attention to the fact that the Goldman band as a non-profit organization which is privately supported does not pay any royalties but that having a

piece performed by them is considered so great an advantage that the publishers grant them all the performances they want without fee.

With the kindest regard to all of you,

Sincerely yours,

Felix Greissle

2.4 Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer¹³²

[Los Angeles], 15 May 1943

Dear Felix,

The day before yesterday I sent you two canons, 3 sheets of paper.¹³³ They will probably arrive about the 17[th] or 18th. Please inform me at once of the arrival.

I would like to have made for me in your shop a few photostatic copies of them, because for lack of time and gasoline I could not have [them] made here. They can be reduced to about 2/3 or less.

At the birthday party, I suggest that they should be sung to him, before he sees them, which would increase the surprise and the effect.

For [this] performance which [can] be done by three musical men (they need not be professional singers), but probably one must transpose the first to a minor.

¹³² Transcript by Arnold Schönberg Center, typed letter. Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved March 15, 2008 from www.schoenberg.at

¹³³ These are two Canons composed for the birthday of Carl Engel, President of G. Schirmer. [GA 18, 1.12 and GA 18, 1.13] Published in *Festschrift für Carl Engel zum 60. Geburtstag*. G. Schirmer, Inc., New York: 1943.

I think only after they have been sung, one should give him the manuscript and telling him: “That is the manner how this looks”.

I guess there will [be] a reception either in his house or in the Schirmer hall. If in his house I would suggest that it be early in the morning—if there is not a special “*Feier*” with many guests.

It can be considered to give him a copy of the text, to read it while it is sung. But not the music.

For inclusion in the Festschrift it will probably have to be photographed. But if it should be engraved, the arrangement should be similar as much as possible to the manuscript.

As regards to my model of a ruler for music staves there is a misunderstanding. This was not planned for ruling transparent paper, but for ruling two [sheets] of paper with a carbon paper between them at one time so that one can have a carbon copy of the music [exactly] right in place.

For ruling transparent paper I use a pen, which I bought in Paris at Durant. I send you one of these pens of which one pen (it [consists] of 5 blades each of which is a pen) is broken. I think there has never been a patent on it, [and] if [so] it has certainly long ago expired. One could easily copy it. I possess six such pens ranging from 0.5 cm to 10 mm. My *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*¹³⁴ in which I used three kinds of stave is ruled by myself with such pens.

¹³⁴ *Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte* (Lord Byron) op. 41, for String Quartet (Orchestra), Piano and Reciter

Also to this pen could be applied my ruler. Made from duraluminum or cast [iron], the outside perhaps corrugated sheet iron, it would not bend. Of [course], a [T-square] would improve it much. I always was thinking about a kind of drawing [board with] rails on the right and left side for horizontal lines and perhaps also on the upper and lower for vertical lines or the old four hand form of staves. This would also be an advantage to engravers.

For the music pen one needs a ruler about an [inch] high. But one should perhaps better place it in a ruler like my model so it can only move straight. After all, I could do it without all that, and I am less [skillful] than [calligraphers].

As to the band piece: I have not continued composing of it, but intend to do it, when the first volume of my Counterpoint book is finished. I might then write it in about six weeks. Why should Goldman not pay? At least he could offer me an “*Ehrenhonorar*”. But I would be pleased to give him the first performance. I know he is very good.

I [know] the device, which Schirmer has brought on the market, and I use it, though it does not work satisfactorily. The ink can be added to that device, simply by drawing over an ordinary stamp pad, such as one uses with rubber stamps.

Now I have answered all your questions.

Best greetings also to Trudi, Arnold and Hermann. Arnold wrote us a very nice letter. He is certainly an [extraordinary] boy.

Yours

2.5 *Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer*¹³⁵

[Los Angeles], 4 September 1943

Dear Felix:

I have been in bed since Monday and I am still weak today, Saturday and will not go out before Monday. Thus though I have finished the Variations for Wind band on August 24, and have made all the corrections and adjustments in Piano Conc. and Ode, you will not receive the music very soon.

I. To the scores of P. Conc.¹³⁶ and Ode I have added “Explanatory Notes”. I would find it very necessary to add them to the parts, because they are intended primarily for the players.

II. I have added P and S in these scores.

III. I have in some places changed the tempo indications.

IV. I have corrected a number of errors in both scores. All [this] changes are marked in red.

V. Stokowsky has an uncorrected score. It will be necessary to enter all [this] changes in his score.

VI. The Explanatory notes should be added also to the Band piece—of course with some [omissions] and adaptations.

¹³⁵ Transcript by Arnold Schönberg Center, typed letter. Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved March 15, 2008 from www.schoenberg.at

¹³⁶ Concerto for Piano and Orchestra op. 42 (1942)

VII. The remark of my letter from July 28 should read: “the harmonics in meas. 194–197”

VIII. Bruno Walter called about a [week] ago and wanted to hear the records of IInd Chamber Symphony. He plans to play it next season with the N.Y. Philharmonic Orc.—if—if he can find the time to rehearse it. I think he could. He seemed to be impressed by the piece, but it is up to the [Schirmers] to press him to play the piece. I did my part.

In case he finds it easier to play: tell him that Schirmer have the ORCHESTRA VERSION OP. 9B of the FIRST CHAMBER SYMPHONY, which in this arrangement is much easier to play, than in the Solo original. To me it is the same, whether he plays the 1st or the 2nd. Perhaps to him it is a difference.

IX. I find the idea that Kolisch¹³⁷ rehearses the Ode and invites Rodzinsky to them very good. They should start as soon as possible. Because that would help to resolve many a problem. I would suggest that Schirmers make as soon as the Kolischs can do it a “private recording” thus Rodz. could study it as often as he wants—without “[losing] face”.

X. You do not mention my “Anweisungen für Stimmenherstellung”¹³⁸—did you get them?

XI. I wonder how it should be possible to have one score for both orchestra and solo of the Ode. *I am not fond of the idea that my original—a chamber music—should

¹³⁷ Rudolph Kolisch (1896–1978), violinist, String quartet leader.

¹³⁸ “Instructions for vocal realization”

not be published as such. I think the about 18 orchestras who come in consideration could be served by photoprinted scores.

XII. It seems to me that the Var.f.W.B. will be quite well within the range of good and medium good bands—even without many cues. For the weakest of course my [rhythms] might be difficult. But there is always the possibility left to them to omit those variations, which are too difficult, which in the case of variations will not be a surgical operation of life or death. Anyhow, one should consider the possibility of adding a part for Hammond organ, or piano, or if desired, both, ad libitum. There are always a few piano players in high schools who could play [everything.]

As to the “Schoenberg Circular”. I am ready to contribute to this circular something, though I do not see whether I will have the time. Perhaps an interview might be the best. You make up a great number of questions and I will answer as many of them as possible, and perhaps add some myself.

Now a few matters upon which I had no answer from you:

1. I sent you drawings for a music pen. Have you received them?
2. Has the error of numbering in the Ode been corrected?

While I was in bed, Trudi’s letter arrived.

Sunday

I was yesterday too tired to finish this letter and went again to bed.

Now before I finish, one question:

We want to send Arnold and Herman[n] something for [Christmas]. You know the regulations—please tell me everything or—if something exists in print—send it to me.

Perhaps also about ordinary letters.

Greetings to Engel—I will write him, when I am restored.

Tell Mr. Reese in the contract is—I guess—an error, because one paragraph says I will receive something in three or more years—this means never.

Thousand best wishes to your boys and to Trudi. I hope I can soon write again.

Many greetings, yours

2.6 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹³⁹

New York, 20 September 1943

Dear father:

I am in receipt of your letter of September 4. The scores of the Piano Concerto, the Ode and the Theme and Variations for Band arrived this morning. I shall have the necessary corrections and changes carried out at once. The contract for the band piece is about to be sent to you. I should be very grateful if you would go over this score and by changing the instrumental indications, arrange it for orchestra since I already have a performance for this version. (Reiner, who wants to make up for his last year's failure to perform the Chamber Symphony.)

I was glad to hear that Bruno Walter is contemplating a performance of the 2nd Chamber Symphony. At the time he visited me, we did not yet have this work and I could only offer him the first one. He declined because of lack of rehearsal time. I shall of

¹³⁹ Typed autographed letter signed. Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

course put renewed pressure on him now. You really need not ask me for that. I have got your “directions for copying the parts” and the copyist has already been instructed accordingly.

With regard to the score of the *Ode*, I seemingly have not expressed myself very well. I do not want to jeopardize any prospective performances by providing the conductors with badly written scores. That is why I have an “Orchestra version” autographed. From the finished autograph I shall have a sufficient number of prints made and only after that I shall have everything from the sheets eliminated that refers to the orchestra (bass part cut out, regrouping done, etc.) in order to get tissues of the chamber version which are fit to be printed.

If you permit and if I find time I should like to write a Hammond organ (piano) part to the band piece.

Mr. Broder (our advertising manager) and I will draw up a number of questions for the “Schoenberg Circular” and will submit them to you.

I have received the drawings for a music pen. I am facing the almost unsurmountable difficulty of finding a firm that would be able to do the job with all the war production going on around us. I shall try my best but it will take very much time. Only when we have an exact estimate of the costs, can we think of discussing this matter.

The error in numbering the *Ode* has been corrected.

Mr. Bentley is in New York and has spoken the Ode for Steuermann¹⁴⁰ and me. Steuermann, as usual, is very worried. He feels that Bentley sings too much but I have the impression that if he would speak in the right tempo (he is too slow in my opinion) this fault would be eliminated automatically, especially since I am sure that your notation is such that, if it is carried out correctly, it is almost impossible to “sing” the piece. There is not a single note that would be too long.

I have had a discussion with Lawrence Tibbett,¹⁴¹ who seems to be very anxious {*Voice*} to do the recitation part. If Steuermann and I find that he is able to learn it and to do it well—we shall find out at a rehearsal next week—I shall turn the whole matter over to Rodzinski who will be back in New York by the end of September.

Trudi is writing you a letter today.

Kindest regards to all of you,

Yours as ever,

F. Greissle

P.S. I am sending you today 18 autographed sheets of the *Ode*. Please do not bother with proofreading them as they are not yet corrected, but just tell me if they are all right with you. Please return them immediately.

¹⁴⁰ Eduard Steuermann (1892–1964) pianist who premiered Schoenberg’s Piano Concerto.

¹⁴¹ American opera singer, actor and radio personality (November 16, 1896–July 15, 1960)

2.7 *Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer*¹⁴²

[Los Angeles], 23 September 1943

Dear Felix:

As I suggested to add a Hammond organ (or piano) part to the Var. f. wind band (or both) I agree that you make it—or, if you are too busy, would you know a competent man who knows both the Hamm org and the wind band?

To Rainer and Walter you could, if necessary, recommend the Suite for String Orchestra, or the Violoncello Concerto, why not also the Violin Concerto with Krasner.

I think, as it helps to make the composer more popular, it would help also the works Schirmers published, if one of my older works were successful, e.g. the six Songs with Orchestra op. 8. All the six songs can be sung also by a woman, of course a tenor would be better, exp. for Wappenschild. If only four were selected I would suggest Wappenschild and the Petrarca song or “Wunderhorn” in place of “[ilg.] ich Herrin”.

I can not simply arrange the Var. f. WB by indicating the instruments. In writing for WB I had to renounce everything which is characteristic of my style for full orchestra. Probably I would even to have voices added. Besides changes of phrasing, of stacc and legato, of dynamics etc will be necessary. Var. VI and the corresponding part in the Finale are so strictly for brass (mostly) and even the wood winds are merely adaptations. Also Var VII is absolutely for winds.

Maybe I can do it, but it will not be easy.

¹⁴² Transcript by Arnold Schönberg Center, typed letter. Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved March 15, 2008 from www.schoenberg.at

My first idea was to transpose it to A-major C# minor.

If I do it, for which orchestration? Two of threefold winds? Two or three 2 trumpets? With or without 3 Tube? Must it be playable for 4 school orchestra (I would not like to do that)?

Could the music pen not be made from silver, which is not under priorities?

Jalowetz has [sent] me a record of Mr. Bentley. All the tempi are too slow, often much too slow. Certainly this would help Mr. Bentley, but: is his voice good enough as to volume, dynamics, euphony, expression? Can he produce the about 170 different shades of irony, sarcasm, contempt, hatred etc, which are expressed in my music? Is he a personality? The records do not answer these questions.

I would be very glad if Lawrence Tibett would do it. Has he still a voice?

In the meantime I have written Orson Welles asking him whether he can do it—describing all the difficulties. He is now in New York: Suite 1901, 425 Fourth Avenue. Perhaps you contact him if Tibet is out. I have not yet received his answer.

I have curiously heard nothing from Stokowski for a long time. He was supposed to return to Hollywood in September. I hope he has not given up his plan.—I think one could not accept an excuse without protest. After all I could have a[c]quired another performance and to Steuermann who on my suggestion asked him whether he can consider this as an engagement, it would be extremely unfair. He has already spent much time studying his part.

You did not answer my question how to send a christmas present to Arnold and Hermann. Please suggest also what they would like and need most.

Somebody who knows Franko Goldmann, said it would not be impossible that F. G. invites me to conduct the first performance of the Var f WB. Of course, I could not do that on my own expenses and without a fee.

Will parts of the Var f WB soon be extracted?

There must be many cues before rests, because of the very often very brief segments a player has to play at the right time.

I received Trudi's letter.

Now I have to return to my work.

Many greetings to all of you.

Please tell Carl Engel I will write him in a few days—I have some urgent matters to do for my classes.

Yours

2.8 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁴³

New York, 1 October 1943

Dear Father,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 23.

I do not know of any competent man who would know the Hammond Organ, the band and, last but not least, the particularities of your style as well. That is why I couldn't help recommending myself. I hope that I shall be able to squeeze time out for this job.

¹⁴³ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

I shall recommend all the compositions you suggest to Walter and Reiner, especially since I have a cellist (Eisenberg, pupil and friend of Casals) who is very anxious to do the Monn Concerto¹⁴⁴. As regards your suggestion to recommend also compositions not published by us, I shall have to take up the questions with Winter.

I should be very grateful if you would arrange the variations for W.B. for double winds, 4 horns, 2–3 [trumpets], 3 trombones, tuba, percussion and strings. In this form the composition would be playable even for smaller orchestras. I want to offer this version only to professional orchestras but to weaker ones too. They should be able to play it with less rehearsal time than is required for your other compositions. *{already 1/2 finished}*

Mr. Bentley was in New York and I have made a recording of selections from the Ode, Steuermann accompanying. It was a little hard to convince Mr. Bentley that he must not sing, but, being intelligent and willing, he caught on rather quickly. I doubt, however, that he will be able to produce all of the 170 shades of expression but 100 is probably a good guess. I am somewhat disturbed by the rather high timbre of his voice and by his complete unawareness of the existence of a “Byron” style, but who knows what we are up against with Mr. Tibbett and others. So I still think that Bentley is a good reserve.

425 Fourth Ave., which you give me as Orson Welles’ address, belongs to a slum section. I have also been told that he is not in New York now. I had better wait until I know more about Tibbett.

¹⁴⁴ Concerto for Cello after Georg Mathias Monn (1933)

Stokowski will be back in New York soon and I shall find out from him more about the performance of the Piano Concerto. I cannot share your doubts since I know that he has talked very much to other people about the forthcoming premiere under his direction.

Goldman would certainly be delighted to invite you to conduct the premiere, especially because this would relieve him from doing it himself, but I am sure he would be unable to pay for it unless Mrs. Guggenheim gives him some extra money, a very faint possibility. I shall sound him out, however.

Parts and score of the Variations will be made after the materials of the Piano Concerto and the Ode are finished. We are short of engravers and autographers. *{Los Angeles calligrapher}*

Is there any one of your self-portraits we could use for the circular? Could you send it to us? I would also need them for a window display at the time when the Piano Concerto or the Ode will be performed in New York.

Many greetings to all of you.

{Record of 2[?] piano version of [???] and W. Variations | mikrophoto all right?

Monteaux^{145}}}

Yours as ever,

F. Greissle

{Arnold and Herman

Arnold's APO number was changed to APO #464 (instead of the former 4773), everything else remains the same. A pocket chess would be a nice Christmas gift for him.

¹⁴⁵ Pierre Monteaux, then conductor of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra.

Herman smokes cigarettes—easy to present him with a suitable gift. We shall send wrist watches to both of them.

Best wishes again.

Yours Felix

Herman has been decorated with a sharp-shooter medal. He is very proud of it.}

2.9 Arnold Schoenberg to Private Arnold Greissle¹⁴⁶

[Los Angeles], 15 October 1943

Dear Arnold,

About a week ago we sent you a Christmas package, containing pocket chess, also for checkers. It is unfortunately a little bigger, than the usual one, but I hope you are for a longer time in this station hospital and can use it there. Besides there are sunglasses, playing cards and photos in that package. We hope you can use all that. But if you want something else, please write us. We will be glad to send it to you. Can you make use of a cake, or something else to eat? A “Bishofsbread” or other cakes, or cookies? We all are thinking very much about you and we hope you are in perfect health. Nuria and Ronny are very proud about your [being] already a soldier. They would like to see their “nephew”. Nuria is already in Junior High School. There she had to write an autobiography in which she mentioned that she has already two nephews in the army. This was a great sensation in school. Ronny is in first grade and likes school very much.

¹⁴⁶ Transcript by Arnold Schönberg Center, typed letter. Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved March 15, 2008 from www.schoenberg.at

He is a very nice boy. He is very good natured, but nevertheless a great fighter. He has every day a fight and I assume he likes to go to school like I did, because of the fights. Larry is also very nice. He is perhaps the most intelligent of all the three. He is 2 and $\frac{3}{4}$ old now and since long time he speaks very fluently. The other day he said, "I did this (I don't remember what) subconsciously". We all do not know where he got this word. But astonishingly the application of it was quite correct. We plan to come next year to New York. I will have leave of absence from University and we want to spend at least one month there. We plan to take all the children with us and it would be nice if by chance you would be there on furlough. Probably at the same time there will be some performances of my newest compositions. Stokowski is supposed to perform my new piano concerto with Mr. Steuermann at the piano. Rodzinski will perform Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte, and perhaps I myself will conduct my Variations for Wind Band, if Mr. Franko Goldman invites me. I am working very much. Now I am writing a textbook on counterpoint. Aunt Trudi (Who signed as "Eia, Eia" that is how you called her when you were about a year old) has much to work in the home, because we cannot get a maid. And with three children there is much work. Though Nuria helps very much in the house already. She is a very fine girl and very [skillful]. She is 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ now, but she can make already tarts and other cookies and cakes. She is also very good in school. Too bad you do not know her. But when the war is over you will meet a young lady and I hope you will like her. I think she looks nice and is a fine girl.

Now I finish, letting Trude and Nuria add a few words. Good luck to you and many greetings. Write sometimes to us.

Your grandfather

Dear Arnold,

I wish you a [quiet] Xmas, but I know the noise on the front can be [worse] than the one I have at home with my boys. We will send you photos from me and Nuria as soon as I make some a little more “pin-girl” like. All good wishes from Eia-eia. Kiss from Nuria.

2.10 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁴⁷

New York, 18 October 1943

Dear Father:

It does not matter very much that you are arranging an orchestra version of the VARIATIONS FOR WIND BAND for triple wood winds etc. If a conductor who has not a sufficiently large orchestra at his disposal should want to play it, we shall have to provide him with a reduction.

Mr. Bentley's voice is probably quite flexible although it shows a certain tendency towards shouting. Tibbett, whom I had provided with a recording, has sent it back with an accompanying letter expressing his regrets. I must confess that, in view of the fact that the man looks and almost talks like a superintendent, I feel rather relieved.

I have made overtures to Paul Robeson, who is out of town until next week, and the reaction of his agent is rather encouraging. I shall of course keep you posted about developments. According to the best information available (NBC), Stokowski is now in

¹⁴⁷ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

Beverly Hills again and will stay there until November 20. I shall write him a letter although I am sure that he has not changed his mind. *{February}*

I had a pleasant conversation with Dr. Goldman in the course of which he assured me that he would pay your traveling expenses but that he cannot see any possibility of paying a fee for conducting. The last word was not spoken, however. He is quite willing to let you have five full rehearsal. *{when}*

Although I should be very happy to obtain the services of a good autographed through you, I am hesitant to accept your offer since I am very hard to satisfy. I have worked out a number of special rules for this kind of work that have proved very useful and I am sure that your man does not know them. By the way, Dr. Manschinger who did the score of VERKLAERTE NACHT was trained by me and, because of his abilities, taken over by AMP, a deal that I regret already very much. *{sample}*

I have sent a second copy of the Chamber Symphony #2 to Monteux. I have not asked you for an article for the Quarterly but for the Musical Courier. They plan to publish it shortly before the premiere of the "Ode". Since this will be part of our advertising campaign, we cannot insist upon too high a fee but I shall do my best as soon as you agree to writing the article. *{about what}*

Please send me the score of the orchestra version of Wind Variations and I shall have a copy made at our expense. The originals will be returned to you. Microfilming and subsequent blowing up is too expensive.

Please have a photograph made of your "walking" self-portrait and be sure to send us the negative (not a positive) together with the bill which we shall be glad to pay.

Heartiest regards to you and the entire family,

Yours as always,

F. Greissle

{P.S. A young man by the name of Serge [?] Frank, former graduate of the Conservatory (*Musikakademie*) of Vienna, has expressed his desire to study with you. I have the impression that he could very well pay \$25.00 per lesson (4 lessons a month). He expects that you will ask that much at least. }

2.11 Hugo Winter at Associated Music Publishers to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁴⁸

New York, 27 November 1943

Dear Mr. Schoenberg,

Thank you for your letter of November 23.¹⁴⁹ As to the full-orchestra version of your KAMMERSYMPHONY No. 1, there is a mistake in our new orchestra catalog. As soon as I received your letter I called Felix Greissle, and the whole matter is now settled between us. I have also written Mr. Engel about it.

By the way, I want to tell you that our new catalog contains only works which are for orchestra alone. For this reason the GURRELIEDER and all other works for chorus and orchestra are not included.

¹⁴⁸ Transcript by Arnold Schönberg Center, typed letter. Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved March 15, 2008 from www.schoenberg.at

¹⁴⁹ Arnold Schoenberg to Hugo Winter, [Los Angeles], 23 November 1943, typed letter, Arnold Schoenberg Collection. Library of Congress, Washington, DC, can be retrieved from www.schoenberg.at

Concerning the use by the Ballet Theatre of VERKLÄRTE NACHT, which they have titled PILLAR OF FIRE, we have consummated an arrangement for the use of this composition, and have collected \$700.00 in advance for rental of the material for twenty performances. We enclose our check for \$350.00 covering your 50% share.

As to the matter of royalties for broadcasts and records, we have the disagreeable duty of advising you that inasmuch as the properties, rights and accruing moneys of Universal Edition have been taken over by the Alien Property Custodian, we are not permitted to make the accustomed payments without first securing the approval of the Custodian. We have set up on our books, and are currently setting up on our books, such moneys as would accrue to you, and as soon as we can secure from the Custodian the necessary authority to make the payment we will do so. We have furnished to the Alien Property Custodian all of the information which he has requested respecting the Universal Edition account, and we are awaiting his decisions.

You have probably forgotten to sign and return to us the contract on the new arrangement of VERKLÄRTE NACHT. It is very important that you send it to us, since it is this contract which enables us to pay you for VERKLÄRTE NACHT.

With sincere good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Hugo Winter

2.12 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁵⁰

New York, 13 May 1944

Dear father,

Unfortunately the band score, and consequently the orchestra version, of your THEME AND VARIATIONS contain a great number of grave errors. It frequently happens that in the same measure, two different parts are given to one and the same instrument. *{Where?}* Many of the passages are out of range of the instrument called for (for instance, the principal part in measure 128, 129, orchestra version, is given to the flute, which does not have that low A) etc. Up to now I have been carrying on as best I could, but now I am running across a mistake which probably requires a change in composition. Before I send you any list of errors, I have to ask you in advance to check measures 56 and 57. In measure 56 you start out with a new figure in the woodwinds, which is repeated in 57, the procedure and correctness of which I doubt very much judging from the style of the entire work. *{nonsense}* More especially, what happens to clarinet 1 in measure 57?, does the part really break up in measure 56, *{yes}* to be continued in another system in measure 57? It seems to me that, either repetition in measure 57 is wrong, or, less probably, that the woodwind passages should start in measure 57. *{nonsense}* Please be good enough to make the change for whichever correction you decide, as soon as possible.

Extracting the parts from your sketch is a hell of a job, and even though I myself write the score for the engraving of the band version, I am not sure at all if I interpret

¹⁵⁰ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

your hints in the right way. I am terribly sorry that I have to tell you this, but I wish you would find the time to go over the normal score after it is done by me, in order to check on the many, perhaps only insignificant changes I had to make, since it would be impossible to ask you the hundreds of questions that arose in the course of the work.

I am particularly sorry that we are held up by this at a time when I would be able to produce the whole material within a reasonable time, since the low season is around.

With cordial greetings to all of you, I remain,

Yours,

Felix Greissle

P.S. At first glance, the work seemed to me very difficult, but after studying it for some time, I was pleasantly surprised by the fact that it is comparatively easy, and that quite a number of school bands will be able to perform it, especially in so far as rhythm is concerned. I cannot see why almost any school should not be able to tackle the problems. Of course, intonation is another matter, but I think that this difficulty also will be overcome with a little study. There is hardly one section in the whole band version that would, in case a few instruments are missing, require the use of the Hammond organ. I have, however, had the following idea, for which I ask you to give me your consent: in a few places I shall put some cues in various parts. It will not be necessary to indicate them in the score, because they will be very infrequent. In order to facilitate conductors' study of the score, I shall make a two hand piano reduction (for study purposes only), which I intend to put on two staves at the bottom of the score. I intend to make it a very easy piano score, which will enable even a bad player to get an idea of the musical content.

2.13 Arnold Schoenberg to Hugo Winter at Associated Music Publishers¹⁵¹

Los Angeles, [5 June 1944]

Dear Mr. Winter,

You know, I consider the former contract between myself and Universal Edition as broken by U.E. and accordingly it is not any longer binding to me. Universal Edition has eliminated my name from all their catalogues. They have neglected to reprint sold-out editions and have accordingly failed to [fulfill] the obligations of a publisher toward a composer.

You must admit that Ass. Mus. Publ. has done nothing to [fulfill] those obligations, thus, whether they are only agents or (even if they were owners) they would also have to be considered as people who did not [fulfill] a contract.

This situation seems to me unbearable: you are not my publisher and I am not your composer.

It seems to me the only way of correction would be to make a sound contract, which definitely [regulates] all the problematic questions between us, without regards to U.E.

I am ready to do it under certain conditions which will not deviate essentially from the way I dealt with U.E.—only honesty will be my main concern. (I do not know, whether you have found out that U.E.—as I can prove at present—has not accounted for

¹⁵¹ Transcript by Arnold Schönberg Center, typed letter. Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved March 15, 2008 from www.schoenberg.at

all they printed and sold—I am sure this was a “military secret” within the Hertzka family).

I think such a contract ought to comprise all the works I have published with U.E. But I would not deem it obligatory that all the works should be reprinted at once, but that certain dates should be fixed [until] which they must be on sale. I would also not object if you would consider it profitable to share this contract with another [firm]—f.i. [for instance], Schirmers.

I said, “all my works”, because I see that you do not realize how many of my works are not to be found in your possession.

Let me mention a few significant cases: *Harmonielehre* is not available, since the beginning of the war or longer. (Let us forget—at present!—Jakobsleiter and “Texte”). But I know you do not have corrected material of Stein’s reduction of Gurrelieder—very regrettable at present. And you have only an unrevised orchestra material of “Pelleas und Melisande”. You have only one set of parts of “Pierrot Lunaire” and “Kammersymphonie” which is entirely worn out and not any more usable.

Of these works I know from my own experience. About other works I get very often inquiries from people who have been informed that the work is out of print.

Who will remain my publisher must avoid this and must do everything in the shortest possible time to improve this situation.

You will understand that under present conditions the cession of copyrights does not come into consideration—when there will be a contract and all will be regulated—this will be simple.

But I have now to speak about the remaining points of your letter.

In order to pay my taxes I was forced to get a loan from my bank for which I have been charged (interest, etc.) more than \$100. Considering now that you had not to withhold money that belongs to me I should ask you to refund that.

There can be no doubt that an American firm cannot be forbidden to pay money to an American citizen.

I hope soon to receive the answer from Washington and there is no doubt that this will be in my favour.

Also I find it impossible that I do not receive a statement from you at times which are fixed in my contracts—which as U.E.'s agent you are obliged to observe. Shortage of manpower might be your concern but not mine. But anyway: you could have sent me a check as an advance upon the ates [eighths] amount I have to receive, and I think, manpower in New York and in your office will not be [too] weak to write a check.

I hope you will take my suggestions seriously into consideration. It seems to me the only way of keeping up a "Good Neighborhood Policy".

Thank you very much for your good wishes to my health. I am in fact already much better, but still I am not yet in the right mood to work. It seems I must have been extremely tired when this illness forced me to rest a little.

Looking forward to your answer—and—last but not least—to your CHECK—I am, with best greetings,

Yours Truly

2.14 Hugo Winter at Associated Music Publishers to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁵²

New York, 16 June 1944

Dear Mr. Schoenberg,

I received your letter of June 5th.

You know, dear Meister Schoenberg, that I have the greatest esteem for you as a person and as an artist; but I have to tell you frankly that I do not agree with the different claims expressed in your letter.

The agreements between you and U.E. and between U.E. and A.M.P. are not scraps of paper [which] can be cast aside by one party only. The fact that U.E. was forced by the Nazi government to eliminate your works from the catalogs distributed in the countries dominated by Germany is not enough to deprive A.M.P. of their rights on your works in U.S.A.

Even though A.M.P. has no responsibility to fulfill the obligations of the publisher, it was and is trying to help the composers now in this country. The new editions of Op. 11 and Op. 19 were printed not on your request but because A.M.P. felt it should be done and because you agreed to it. We wanted also to reprint Op. 25 and 33 but it was impossible until now. It would take much too long to explain all the difficulties in the printing situation. It was an enormous job to publish the score and parts of “Verklärte Nacht”. By the way, we sent you the contract and the check for “Verklärte Nacht” months ago, but you never returned the signed contract.

¹⁵² Transcript by Arnold Schönberg Center, typed letter. Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved March 15, 2008 from www.schoenberg.at

Now to your remarks about U.E. and the “military secret—within the Hertzka family”. You are wrong if you believe U.E. has not accounted for all the sold copies. Apart from that, nobody would have dared to do such a thing, why should they have done it to you who had a debit balance?

“Harmonielehre”: I remember that U.E. wanted to publish an English Edition years ago. Proof of the translation were sent to you; you did not agree to it and you wanted to translate it yourself or under your supervision. You cannot blame U.E. for it that this translation was never delivered and that this famous textbook is not available here now. But, right or wrong, A.M.P. is not responsible for those things. I wrote to Stein months ago about the “Reduction of Gurrelieder”, but I never received an answer—he did not also confirm the score of Verklärte Nacht which I sent him—I am going to write to him again.

I agree with you that it would be good to have more and better sets of “Pierrot Lunaire” and of “Kammersymphony”, but no performance was hindered by having only one set of each available.

A.M.P. has not delayed any payment to you. The reason why we could not pay you anything out of the money which we are collecting for foreign publishers—not for the composers—has nothing to do with whether or not you are an American citizen. We know you are. We have to prove to the Alien Property Custodian that, according to our contract with the publisher, we have the obligation or at least the permission to pay these amounts. This was not foreseen in any contract because the publisher and not A.M.P. had to account and to pay the composer. We informed the A.P.C. in a very detailed manner

about the situation and how important it is to pay directly to the composers. Our president had a conference with the A.P.C. a few days ago and we most sincerely hope the whole matter will be settled successfully in a very short time; but you never can know how long it will take before a final decision is made. That A.M.P. paid to you and will continue to pay you for “Verklärte Nacht”, respectively “Pillar of Fire”, is quite another story which I do not want to explain and which you should not tell to anyone. The skillfulness of our lawyer made it possible.

I agree with you that the whole situation would be simplified if A.M.P. could make a direct contract with you on all U.E. works. Unfortunately this cannot be done for ethical and for legal reasons. No corporation of good standing would do so under the present circumstances.¹⁵³

About the Assignment: Most probably you assigned the renewals of the copyright to U.E. according to your contract with U.E. I asked you about it in March, 1942—at the time when we prepared the reprint of Op. 11 and Op. 19—and you informed me that you believed U.E. wrote to you about it a long time ago and that you assigned the renewal of the copyright to U.E. Any U.E. copyright or renewal copyright is by contract assigned to A.M.P. U.E. sent to A.M.P. at certain intervals the official copyright and renewal cards and a list of these and their assignments to A.M.P. signed in the presence of the American

¹⁵³ Schoenberg complained to his publisher that he would not allow the *Verklärte Nacht* to be performed as the ballet *Pillar of Fire*. Hugo Winter ignored the composer’s demands stating that as soon as Schoenberg received the royalties from the performance he would stop complaining. He was correct and nothing more was said. (Dr. Joseph Winter, interview by the author, tape recording, September 2004, Lennox, Massachusetts.)

consul. Since 1940 we have not received it, though the renewals are registered in Washington. It is up to you to decide whether or not you are willing to send A.M.P. an assignment of the renewals. We need it to protect your works against any infringement. Those infringements happen very often and one has to be prepared against them. I really think you should send us the assignments.

I hope, dear Meister Schoenberg, that you know I want to help you. But I can't go to our president and ask him to send you an advance on fees which A.M.P. does not owe you but hopes only to receive permission to pay you, and to show him a letter saying that you distrust us, that A.M.P. has not fulfilled their obligations, etc., and that you therefore are not willing to sign the assignment.

As I told you before, I want to help you. We do not have to make a new contract or any new agreement. Tell me frankly what your real worries are. I can't promise anything but I am sure A.M.P. will find a way to satisfy you.

As ever, very sincerely yours,

Hugo Winter

2.15 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁵⁴

New York, 19 June 1944

Dear father:

Thank you for your letter of June 17th¹⁵⁵. I know Mr. Stadlen¹⁵⁶ personally, and have had many occasions to hear him play. Although he is still very young, I was quite

¹⁵⁴ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

impressed by his interpretations of your piano pieces, Opus #11. So was Mr. Webern, who attended the same concert in 1937. I think he would be ideal to play the PIANO CONCERTO. I have no chance to ask Steuermann any more, because he left today for Los Angeles, where you may ask him yourself. In the meantime I shall find out from our representative in London if Mr. Stadlen is able to guarantee an appreciable number of performances within a period of eighteen months. It will depend on his answer whether we can grant him exclusivity or not. I do not think we will jeopardize Mr. Steuermann's interests by granting exclusivity to Mr. Stadlen, since Steuermann will possibly not have a chance to go to Europe within the next eighteen months.

I just finished a letter to Dr. Koussevitzky asking him to let me know if he intends to perform the THEME AND VARIATIONS this coming season. If I do not receive an answer from him within one week, I shall offer this composition to other conductors without notifying Dr. Koussevitzky any more.

We have letters from both the boys. Arnold is somewhere in Italy, constantly on the move, while Hermann is in New Guinea, for the time being, thank God, in a quiet place.

Kindest regards to all of you.

Yours as ever,

Felix Greissle

¹⁵⁵ Letter not found at the Arnold Schönberg Center

¹⁵⁶ Peter Stadlen (1910–1996), pianist, musicologist and critic.

2.16 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁵⁷

New York, 17 July 1944

Dear father:

I finally got the copy of your recent letter.¹⁵⁸ I have read your additions, as well as the letter you sent Mr. Reese¹⁵⁹ very carefully. When I wrote to you some time ago, I seem not to have expressed myself very clearly. All I had in mind was to ask you for a gesture rather than a commitment. I am certainly justified in saying that I did not misunderstand any hints you may have given us on previous occasions. I am now confident that everything will work out satisfactorily, although I am unable to share your optimism with regard to prospective profits. You may rest assured that there will be none. Proceeds will no doubt go to the heirs of your friend. One more thing: you were approached officially through Mr. Reese, since it is his duty to write such letters.

Today I got the following wire from Koussevitzky: I SHALL GIVE WORLD PREMIERE OF SCHOENBERG THEME AND VARIATIONS SCORE OF WHICH YOU HAVE KINDLY SENT ME. REGARDS, KOUSSEVITZKY-KY. That settles the remaining one percent I mentioned in my last letter. I shall, of course, try to extract from him a definite date.

¹⁵⁷ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

¹⁵⁸ It is not clear which letter this is.

¹⁵⁹ Gustave Reese (1899–1977), head of publication at G. Schirmer from 1940–1945, and editor of *The Musical Quarterly*, G. Schirmer's journal from 1933–1945. Best known as a musicologist and teacher.

I had several discussions with Reiner, who would prefer to do your Five Orchestra Pieces, but hesitates somewhat because of the very large instrumentation. He wants me to ask you for him to reduce it for the Pittsburg[h] Symphony, eliminating the double bass clarinet, the fifth and sixth horn, and so on. It is not absolutely necessary for you to grant him his request, since if it would not be possible for him to perform the Orchestra Pieces, his choice would be either the Second Chamber Symphony, or the Theme and Variations, after Koussevitzky. I have still another suggestion: since you were well satisfied with the reduced orchestration of your work done by me (for instance the Serenade, which was an extensive job) I would be glad to do the reduction myself in my spare time. I am positive I could come to terms with Associated Music Publishers, if you would recommend me to them.

I have written a letter to Arnold, asking him to report to you personally concerning his war prisoner, so you will probably be in possession of a first hand report earlier than I myself. I would be very glad if you would pass it on to me.

With best greetings to all of you, I remain,

Yours, as always,

Felix Greissle

2.17 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁶⁰

New York, 26 October 1944

Dear father:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 23rd.¹⁶¹ It is hard for me to keep my answers in the same order as you put down your questions, because I want to tell you that I am delighted that after all you will come to New York, no matter if you get money for your trip or not. I can assure you, however, that I will get at least some money for traveling expenses for you, which would be given to you as recompensation, so I think you can accept it. I shall, of course, try to do a little more in the way of obtaining means, but please do not count on anything.

Your criticism of Koussevitzky's performance is surprisingly mild. I can really say that I know the work a little by now, as I prepared it for engraving, and had otherwise to do with it. The crucial thing to me was the wrong tempi, which led to definite distortion in many places. Another circumstance which you failed to mention, but which you certainly noticed was the primitive way of interpreting it as principle part against accompaniment, which resulted in complete suppression of all the other parts but the main melody. I have word from Boston that it was a success, and that Koussevitzky is going to repeat it in New York towards the end of November. I had calls from other conductors, who asked me if Koussevitzky would do it in New York, and who were eager

¹⁶⁰ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

¹⁶¹ Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle, [Los Angeles], 23 October 1944, typed letter, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, can be retrieved from www.schoenberg.at

to perform the work themselves, if Koussevitzky would not care to perform it here, which is not the case.

I will send you in the next days the score of your THEME AND VARIATIONS, and one score of the ODE. (I notice that you have an individual spelling of Dr. Rodzinski's name: Rotzinski, which I consider an excellent idea.)

I think that the theme of your lecture: "Form in Music Serves Comprehensibility" is excellent and very interesting. I hope you will care to give this lecture in New York, too, and I regret that I hear from you only now, which will give me little time to arrange something here.

With cordial greetings to all of you, I am

Yours as always,

Felix Greissle

P.S. Mr. Burgin, who is going to perform your ODE with the Boston Symphony on November 30, has cordially invited you to attend rehearsals and performances. It goes without saying that he will pay cost of your trip from New York to Boston and back, as well as hotel expenses.

FG

2.18 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁶²

New York, 24 November 1944

Dear father:

This is an attempt at a report to you on the rehearsals and the first performance of your ODE TO NAPOLEON.

Attached you will find a criticism that appeared in the New York Herald Tribune, and I think it is pretty much (for an American critic) to say that your music is the best that is being written today. Mr. Thomson¹⁶³ certainly could not go any further. As you will surmise when you listen to the broadcast on Sunday, Steuermann was the spiritus rector of the whole performance. He had innumerable rehearsals with Mack Harrell¹⁶⁴, who is a very fine and serious artist himself. The rendering of your piece was so brought into such a shape (and a very perfect one at that) that Rodzinski simply could not help but to follow these indirect instructions that were forced upon him, on the strength of the fact that he did not look much into your score. So there remained nothing for him to do but accept what he was presented with. I regret to tell you that not one time during all the rehearsals, did he contribute one valuable suggestion, nor did he do any criticising of the way the orchestra played. But there was one thing at least: he was very willing, and we should be very thankful for that, remembering all the bad experiences of the past. Steuermann and I

¹⁶² Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

¹⁶³ Virgil Thomson (1896–1989), composer and influential music critic. He championed modern and avante garde music in America.

¹⁶⁴ Baritone

would have kissed his hands for any constructive criticisms; so everything rested on Edward and me. I sat in the hall, listening, and communicating with Steuermann when there was a pause. Finally Dr. Rodzinski even turned around and asked me questions, which was not a very clever action on his part, since the concert master got terribly jealous, and in his remarks against me was immediately joined by the orchestra manager. Among other things, both of them insisted that the large piano should be taken away, and Steuermann should be given a small one, because both of them found the piano too strong, which was the direct contrary to my opinion. I asked that the strings be taken down dynamically. Finally a real quarrel developed. The only solution I found was to walk out, so Rodzinski came after me and asked me if a grand piano was really necessary. When I said yes, he kept it in, but in the evening they closed it, and that was that.

The highest praise must really go to the orchestra. All of the musicians were very open minded, and quite willing to do anything they were asked. As I told you over the telephone, the majority of them took their parts home and practiced. The merit is theirs that everything sounded comparatively clear. In the last rehearsal two recordings were taken, in order to get a general judgement of the general impression, and afterwards some final changes were made in certain places.

The orchestra asked me for one favor from you, which I hope you will grant them. What they demanded was that in case you should be satisfied with the performance, you send them a letter telling them that the musicians contributed to a fine performance. If

you decide to do this, I wish you would be kind enough to send this letter to me, because I intend to take it there at the proper time, and to give it to them with your greetings.

One terrible thing almost happened. Mack Harrell had to speak into a microphone, which was carefully selected among quite a number of gadgets. The engineer took great pains in checking the whole equipment in the morning, only to find out when he arrived in the evening and the orchestra started to play the first measures that the transmission had broken down. While sweating blood he came to a solution, and he had a real brain wave. He switched to the Columbia reception room, quite a distance away, from where the sound.... [page missing]

*2.19 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg*¹⁶⁵

New York, 27 November 1945

Dear Father:

I am sorry to hear that you had to cancel your appearances in Minneapolis. I wonder if it would not have been possible for Krasner or Mitropoulos to extend their invitation for sometime which perhaps would have made it possible for you to stay in Minneapolis longer than planned previously.

If I remember right I have already discussed with Mitropoulos the possibility of recording one of your works, but I think now that I better take this up with the commercial directors of either Columbia or RCA Victor. However, I have to ask you for some patience since it takes a little time to catch the opportune moment.

¹⁶⁵ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

There is no other word from Rodzinski that he will go through with his plan to perform your Brahms transcription. Mr. Grasso, my successor in the rental library, is keeping this matter in mind and will not miss an opportunity to take it up again with Rodzinski.

Inasmuch as the working-over of your lecture and essays is concerned, I presume and hope very much that you have copies of those articles, since I am under obligation to the Philosophical Library not to give out any manuscripts, but proceed with the work so that a dead line can be met. It would however, be important to send me a list of all the manuscripts you either have changed or intend to change so that work may not be duplicated.

Your Variations for Band will be played by Goldman this year. His son, who always conducts the serious works, will be discharged from the army shortly and will resume his activities as an associate conductor. He is going to study the work under my supervision, and I hope he will do a good job.

With many greetings to all of you,

Cordially yours,

Felix Greissle

2.20 *Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg*¹⁶⁶

New York, 5 December 1945

Dear Father:

Thank you for your letter of November 27th.¹⁶⁷ First of all I should like to tell you that I have returned all of the letters you have sent me for my information only (Rankl, Rufer, etc.). I am sure you will be able to find them somewhere at your home.

Inasmuch as Toscanini is concerned, he has always been a big headache to me. Judging from my personal (or rather impersonal) experience with him I do not think that he has any personal reason for not performing your works. I surmise that it is his complete inability to comprehend music of such a kind which prevents him from performing it. He has f.i. [for instance] at the time when your 70th birthday approached, asked for your *THEME AND VARIATIONS* even before we sent the score to him. After a short while, I think it was two weeks, he returned the score without any comment and all my efforts to obtain an explanation remained futile. He never comments on scores no matter whether he accepts or rejects them. He is a very cautious old fox. I shall try another thing though, namely, I shall have somebody talk to him who is a very close friend of his and incidentally and strangely of mine too. If anybody, this man will be able

¹⁶⁶ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

¹⁶⁷ Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle, [Los Angeles], 27 November 1945, typed letter, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, can be retrieved from www.schoenberg.at; this letter begins: "I have often wondered why Toscanini never has played one of my works."

to worm the truth out of him. It is needless to say that I shall report to you in time.

(Naturally, we have in the past already offered to him every work of yours.)

With regard to your answer to Time Magazine, I should like to say that I have rarely enjoyed a reply as much as this one. However, I have the impression that the inquiry by the editor of Time Magazine was a matter of routine and any answers would be intended for the correspondence column only. Besides that, it is an extremely dangerous thing to oppose Koussevitzky in a matter like this. You may not know that he is [pursuing] with great consistency, a plan, the realization of which would eventually make him a big figure in Russia. To be sure, I am only deducing this from his actions rather than from his utterances and I think that it is not his true opinion anyway (does he have any at all?) but one of his many diplomatic moves, which to penetrate is not always an easy thing. In any case I shall ask my secretary to type up your—I hope, at least—fictitious answer which I shall show, with your permission, to our mutual friends, who, I am sure, will enjoy it as much as I did.... [page missing]

2.21 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg¹⁶⁸

New York, 18 June 1946

Dear Father:

You have certainly received by now a letter from Richard Franko Goldman which he was kind enough to read me over the telephone.

¹⁶⁸ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress

I should like to add a few words to his. Hardly have I ever seen that much zeal and good will towards a composition of yours as was very apparent during the first rehearsal of your THEME AND VARIATIONS for Band. I always have to go back to an opinion I have held for a long time now, namely, that it entirely depends on the attitude of the conductor whether a composition is liked by an orchestra. The Goldman Band approaches its task, which is not an easy one you can well imagine, with utmost sincerity. But, alas, they have the old problem of insufficient time for rehearsals (one rehearsal costs between \$500 and \$600) and I have therefore suggested that they leave out one or two variations rather than give a bad performance of the entire work. I hope very much that you will agree with me in this point. I assure you it was the only way out.

With regard to interpretation I implore you to be lenient. You cannot really expect too much in this direction if you only bear in mind that this is a unit that has mainly played marches and that certain type of trashy open-air music. Nevertheless you could make them extremely happy by addressing a few appreciative lines to the whole band, perhaps after you have received the records which I hope we will be able to make.

Kindest regards and best greetings to all of you,

Yours as always,

Felix Greissle

2.22 *Felix Greissle at Edward B. Marks Music to Arnold Schoenberg*¹⁶⁹

New York, 31 January 1947

Dear Father:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 28th¹⁷⁰ of which a duplicate was sent to my home and a triplicate to Mr. Herbert Marks. I wrote to the Universal Edition immediately after receipt of your first letter on this matter, so I think that a cable is now superfluous. Besides that, one cannot telegraph to foreign countries response payée.

My letter from my home to you certainly has revealed to you that we agree on Mr. Winter's qualities. However, I am sorry that I cannot share your views that the Alien Property Custodian has nothing to do with your plans because you are an American citizen. On the contrary, just because you are an American citizen he is very much in existence for you. You must not forget that until this country signs a peace treaty with Austria, the Universal Edition is considered an enemy firm, which means that I have no rights whatsoever to deal with them directly. The situation is not that severe as it would be in the case of a German firm and, up to now, the occupation authorities have been very generous in letting business letters with Austrian firms pass. Still, I would be in very hot water if I would conclude an agreement with the Universal Edition and neglect the Alien Property Custodian. This would actually mean that the contract would be void on discovery that it was negotiated at a time when there existed still a state of war between

¹⁶⁹ Typed autographed letter signed, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress.

¹⁷⁰ Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle, [Los Angeles], 28 January 1947, typed letter, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, can be retrieved from www.schoenberg.at

Austria and this country. You probably know that this is the case at present until after the peace conference.

In view of these facts you will understand that I resorted to a procedure as outlined to you in a previous letter, namely:

- (1) to get in touch with Universal Edition in order to assure that the agreement to the deal is good, because I certainly do not wish that a contract with the Alien Property Custodian should be only valid until the state of war ends;
- (2) to go to Washington as soon as possible in order to see the Alien Property Custodian and to negotiate with him;
- (3) to have discussions with Associated Music Publishers purely for the reason to keep them under control and to prevent them from crossing my intentions.

I hope very much that you will see how impossible it would be to proceed in any other way. I want to avoid everything that would jeopardize our plans. In a few days I shall have an extensive discussion with our lawyer, whose advice will be very valuable to us. He is the legal advisor of many big concerns among them Warner Bros, and will certainly know whether I deal correctly with this matter.

As soon as I have an answer from the Universal Edition I will notify you immediately.

With kindest regard to all of you,

Yours as always,

Felix Greissle

List of Letters

- 2.1 Arnold Schoenberg to Carl Engel at G. Schirmer, [Los Angeles], 8 August 1942, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.
- 2.2 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 21 August 1942, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.3 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 4 May 1943, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.4 Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer, [Los Angeles], 15 May 1943, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna, Austria.
- 2.5 Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer, [Los Angeles], 4 September 1943, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.
- 2.6 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 20 September 1943, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.7 Arnold Schoenberg to Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer, [Los Angeles], 23 September 1943, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.
- 2.8 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 1 October 1943, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.9 Arnold Schoenberg to Private Arnold Greissle. [Los Angeles], 15 October 1943, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.
- 2.10 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 18 October 1943, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.11 Hugo Winter at Associated Music Publishers to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 27 November 1943, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.
- 2.12 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 13 May 1944, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.13 Arnold Schoenberg to Hugo Winter at Associated Music Publishers, [Los Angeles, 5 June 1944], Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.
- 2.14 Hugo Winter at Associated Music Publishers to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 16 June 1944, Arnold Schönberg Center, Vienna.

- 2.15 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 19 June 1944, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.16 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 17 July 1944, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.17 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 26 October 1944, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.18 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 24 November 1944, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.19 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 27 November 1945, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.20 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 5 December 1945, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.21 Felix Greissle at G. Schirmer to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 18 June 1946, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- 2.22 Felix Greissle at Edward B. Marks Music to Arnold Schoenberg, New York, 31 January 1947, Arnold Schoenberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Chapter 3

Ernst Krenek

Chronological Sketch¹⁷¹

Although he wrote over two hundred pieces that were not operas, Ernst Krenek was best known during his lifetime as an opera composer. Krenek's career flourished in Berlin between the two world wars. During this time he composed a number of very popular operas including *Jonny spielt auf* (1927) inspired by American jazz, the psychological drama *Orpheus und Eurydice* (1926) which had an atonal score, and the political grand opera *Karl V* (1934) which had a twelve-tone score. As the Nazi party rose to power in the 1930s, Krenek, like so many other composers, found that venues for his music were being closed. In 1934 the Nazi party pressured the Vienna State Opera to cancel the premiere of *Karl V*. Then, the Catholic and Austrian born Krenek unsuspectingly became the "poster boy" for the Nazi cultural propagandists who appropriated the original poster for *Jonny spielt auf*, added the words *Entartete Musik* to the bottom, and displayed it throughout Germany. In 1938, examples of his music were displayed at the notorious exhibition of degenerate art (*Entartete Kunst*) in Dusseldorf where he and other

¹⁷¹ For general biographical information see: Garrett Bowles, "Ernst Krenek" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 13, (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), 895–99; and the Ernst Krenek Institut Privatstiftung at: <http://www.krenek.com/>

composers were labeled “cultural Bolsheviks”.¹⁷² The composer immigrated to the United States later that year.

Krenek found that America was not as welcoming as he hoped. After 1938, he faced many obstacles. First, he was subjected to the anti-German and anti-modernist sentiments of the war years, then he was dismissed as “old school” during the progressive movement of the 1950s. He tried composing music that would be popular and publishable; he wrote three short operas: *What Price Confidence?* (1944–45), *Dark Waters* (1950), and *The Bell Tower* (1955–56), but none was very successful. Then, initiated in part by the applauded operas *Medea* (1950) and *Pallas Athene weint* (1953) Krenek’s music was rediscovered in Europe, where he was honored with festivals and money toward the end of his life. However, in America, which was the country where he spent most of his life, his music remained largely unperformed and unpublished at the time of his death in 1991.

During the winter of 1944–45, Krenek wrote the twelve-tone opera, *What Price Confidence?* op. 111. This was his first attempt at writing an “American” opera. That same year Carlo Menotti had enjoyed wide-scale success with his short opera, *The*

¹⁷² The exhibit was organized by the National Socialist Society for German Culture, the aim of which was to stop the “corruption of art” and inform the people about the relationship between race and art using terms such as “Jewish,” “Degenerate,” and “Bolshevik” to describe almost all modern art. Artists at the first exhibit in Munich in 1937 included Marc Chagall, Wassily Kandinsky, and Max Ernst. The following Dusseldorf exhibit in 1938 focused on musical arts and included Schoenberg, Webern and Korngold. See: Degenerate “Art” Exhibition Guide, translated by William C. Bunce, Silver Fox Press, 1972. A facsimile of the original exhibition catalogue. *Entartete Kunst-Führer durch die Ausstellung Entartete Kunst*. Berlin: Verlag Für Kultur-und Wirtschaftswerbung, [1937].

Telephone. Ernst Krenek hoped to duplicate Menotti's success with his own short, English language opera based on a Herman Melville story, "The Confidence Man." If it was popular, it could be produced for television as well as the theatre. Unfortunately, the opera received little attention and was not even performed until 1962.

Five years later Krenek tried once more to write something that would take advantage of the flourishing market for opera in America. In the spring of 1950, Krenek sent the libretto to the one act opera, *Dark Waters*, op. 125, (1950) to Hans Heinsheimer, who was the G. Schirmer publishing agent for both Menotti and Kurt Weill at the time. Krenek wanted Heinsheimer's opinion on the libretto and also thought that he might be able to help him get Hermann Adler to produce *Dark Waters* in the upcoming season at NBC. Krenek had written the libretto of the cliché filled crime story himself. However, after seeing the libretto Heinsheimer wrote back and said that he saw problems in the drama, that it "lack[ed] psychological development, tension, and real dramatic power."¹⁷³

Later that fall Krenek wrote to Heinsheimer criticizing Menotti's latest operatic hit, *The Consul* while also asking if G. Schirmer needed someone to do a German translation of the libretto. In October 1950 Heinsheimer he apologized for not asking Krenek to write a translation of the *The Consul* earlier, but someone had already done it. He also replied that he had enjoyed reading the composer's criticisms of the plot of Menotti's opera. Krenek's suggestion that the plot development was illogical and that Magda could be saved much of her troubles by simply crossing the border illegally reminded him of the a story of a "performance of Schiller's *Die Räuber*. It begins as you will undoubtedly

¹⁷³ Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 5 May 1950.

remember with Franz Moor asking his father ‘Aber seid Ihr auch wohl, mein Vater’,¹⁷⁴ to which the father in the play has to reply in the affirmative. Well in this particular performance the father said no, he wasn’t — whereupon Franz addressed himself to the audience that due to the illness of his father the show was cancelled. Many plays and operas I am afraid could be terminated just that way....”¹⁷⁵

In the spring of 1951 Krenek sent Heinsheimer news that an opera, probably *Dark Waters*, had a successful performance in Los Angeles, and the composer again inquired about possible television production of the work. Heinsheimer replied that Krenek should probably get in touch with Hermann Adler and NBC himself.¹⁷⁶ Plans for broadcasting the Metropolitan Opera live on television were still very much up in the air and G. Schirmer, like most firms, was not interested in publishing expensive operas that would generate only modest income in the short-term. Heinsheimer felt could do little for the composer.

Krenek never composed an American opera that could match the success of contemporary works by Menotti, Weill, and Bernstein. *What Price Confidence?*, *Dark Waters*, and later *The Bell Tower* (1956) never received the same critical accolades that earlier works *Karl V* (1938) and *Leben des Oreste* (1930) received; nor the revenue of *Jonny spielt auf* (1927). Today these three American operas are considered to be good

¹⁷⁴ “But are you feeling well, Father?” Heinsheimer remembers the quote incorrectly here. It is in fact: “Aber ist Euch auch wohl, Vater? Ihr seht so blass.”

¹⁷⁵ Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 17 October 1950.

¹⁷⁶ Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 9 May 1951.

works but are not the same quality as the two classical-themed operas that Krenek wrote during the same period, *Medea* (1951) and *Pallas Athene weint* (1953).

In 1951 Krenek wrote *Medea*, op. 129 (1951), a vocal monologue for mezzo-soprano and orchestra which was performed by the Philadelphia Orchestra and Blanche Thebom, who had also commissioned the work, in 1953. The piece was an immediate success and in January 1953 Heinsheimer wrote that he was excited to hear of something with “so much old-world culture and real inspiration...”¹⁷⁷ In March Heinsheimer attended a performance of *Medea* and was impressed. He sent the New York reviews written by critic Olin Downes to Krenek. And Heinsheimer wrote that the “revigorated style of [his] music auger[ed] well for [his] new opera...” *Pallas Athene weint*¹⁷⁸

Despite having now achieved critical recognition in the United States, Krenek felt that his career was being hindered by the inattentiveness of the publishing houses. Many of his pre-war compositions, all published by Universal Edition, had been out of print and unavailable for many years. Initially, the composer was understandably pleased that Associated Music Publishers (AMP) made efforts throughout the 1950s to reissue and restock works that had been neglected during the war years. In September 1953 Krenek wrote to AMP acknowledging their efforts; the new catalogue included many of his compositions. These were being made available in the United States for the first time in many years, and Krenek was pleased. He was also optimistic that a proposed performance of his 1927 German hit opera *Jonny spielt auf*, by Stanford University,

¹⁷⁷ Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 21 January 1953.

¹⁷⁸ Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 25 March 1953.

might start a revival of the work in the United States. However his letter expressed concern that the University theatre would not have the experience and expertise to put on a good production. Krenek told AMP that he would not allow the production to go on without first discussing the idea with the Stanford producers.¹⁷⁹

The following year Krenek wrote to AMP again. This time he was not so happy with the firm's work. AMP President Charles Wall addressed Krenek's concerns: that the firm had not reissued nearly as many works as Krenek had hoped and that they were doing little to promote his music. Wall replied that the company was trying to do things that were in Krenek's best interest, but there were numerous problems with reprinting UE works. One of the problems they were having was getting the necessary stock from UE essential to reprinting the music. Wall said that the war had ruined the firm financially, and it was just barely back on its feet. Krenek also wanted AMP to print popular German vocal works such as his own "Reisebuch"¹⁸⁰ with new English lyrics to sell in the United States. Wall said that this was not a financially feasible project because they would first have to get permission from the Alien Property Custodian, then they would be required to put up an unwieldy amount of money before they could print the work. An alternative way to approach the project would be to have UE print the work for AMP, then AMP could buy it from UE, but again the initial outlay of money was a major deterrent to the project.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Ernst Krenek to Mr. French, 18 September 1953.

¹⁸⁰ *Reisebuch aus den Osterreichischen Alpen*, op. 62 — Song Cycle published in 1929.

¹⁸¹ Charles Wall to Ernst Krenek, 3 February 1954.

While the composer struggled to get his older works published, Krenek had completed *Pallas Athene weint*, op. 144 (1953). It was premiered in October of 1955 in Hamburg, Germany. *Pallas Athene*, like *Medea*, was immediately recognized to be one of Krenek's most important compositions. In December 1955, Heinsheimer wrote a letter congratulating him on the success of his new opera and expressed his apologies for not being able to do more to help Krenek's career. He wrote: "I know that you had a tough time, and often I have been disturbed in my mind by the fact that it had been impossible for me in spite of our old association to do much about it at least in practical terms."¹⁸² The premiere of *Pallas Athene* ushered in a period of recognition for Krenek. He was increasingly acknowledged as one of the century's preeminent composers, many of his works were revived, and he finally achieved financial stability. Much of this attention did not come from critics and musicians in the United States, but instead came from Europe. Still, Krenek chose to live in the United States, and in 1956 he bought a home in Tujunga, California, far away from the bustling cities of Europe and the United States.¹⁸³

In 1956, the German publisher Bärenreiter, offered to publish Krenek's operas. Unfortunately, many of his other works remained unpublished and out of print through the 1950s and 1960s. In 1964, G. Schirmer completed the acquisition of AMP. With Heinsheimer as vice president, G. Schirmer tried to arouse interest in Krenek's work, first giving his assistant, George Sturm, the job of assessing the copyrights on Krenek's compositions. A 1965 interoffice correspondence from Sturm to Heinsheimer stated that

¹⁸² Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 9 December 1955.

¹⁸³ Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 26 September [1956].

all of the works jointly published by Schott and UE were initially sent to Bryn Mawr. Then in 1964 the works were returned to AMP because UE agency went to Presser in a new agreement.¹⁸⁴ Despite Sturm's efforts, it was difficult to "break the lethargy and easy-way-out attitude of conductors...."¹⁸⁵ and Krenek remained relatively unknown and his music was underperformed.

Longevity proved to be Krenek's greatest ally. He lived long enough to see his own name revived and his works honored at festivals. Even though Krenek died in 1984 as a well-respected composer who spent most of his long life in the United States, his wife, composer Gladys Nordstrom Krenek, felt that the American publishers had "never done anything for her husband."¹⁸⁶ She eventually took all of the contents of his archive located at the University of California, San Diego and moved them to a private archive in Krems, Austria.

Editorial Comments

All of the letters in this chapter can be found at the Ernst Krenek Institute in Krems, Austria. There are also handwritten letters from Krenek to Heinsheimer in the Heinsheimer collection at the Library of Congress not included here. All of the letters contained in this chapter were originally written in English and are printed with permission of Gladys Krenek.

¹⁸⁴ George Sturm to Hans Heinsheimer, 2 April 1965.

¹⁸⁵ Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 20 December 1965.

¹⁸⁶ Personal communication, Gladys Krenek, telephone, May 21, 2004.

Letters

3.1 Dmitri Mitropoulos to Hans Heinsheimer at Associated Music Publishers¹⁸⁷

Minneapolis, 2 October 1938

Dear Mr. Heinsheimer,

I received your letter of September 27 in which you speak of your correspondence regarding Mr. Ernst Krenek. As you perhaps already know, in the meantime, the management of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra has changed. Mrs. Scott resigned and Mr. Gaines is now manager. When I came back, unfortunately I found the season already full of soloists engaged; so I am sorry to tell you that there is no possibility for another soloist. Besides that, with the new spirit coming I am afraid Mr. Krenek, as well as, Mr. Hindersmith is too big for Minneapolis.

To let you hope of next season would also be useless, for I am not quite sure whether I am going to stay longer here.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) D. Mitropoulos

¹⁸⁷ Typed letter, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.

3.2 *Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to Ernst Krenek*¹⁸⁸

New York, 5 May 1950

Dear Ernst,

I received the libretto and the first section of the music to your opera, and I have read the libretto.¹⁸⁹ Of course I knew its basic story, but if I may say so I am a little bit disappointed in the final draft which I had expected to have much more tension, passion and fire. The way it looks now though it reads a little dry and not terribly exciting. The trouble that overcomes the man was much more convincing in the way you told it than it seems to be now. When you told me the story the man seemed to be a colorful interesting figure, but now his whole decision to make this last trip a success isn't quite clear, and also the figure of the son and the love story between the two young people seems to be sketchy, somehow short of breath, altogether too short. It is all matter-of-fact, but to me it lacks psychological development, tension and real dramatic power.

As for the music, I am unable to judge this type of music at all without hearing it, and so I don't want to give any opinion on it.

I am very glad to see that you intend to premiere this work in Los Angeles under your own supervision. There on the spot I am sure you will find out for yourself if there are any changes necessary. It might be easy for you to correct them and to give this work a final form that will make it as successful as I had hoped it would be when I heard about it first.

¹⁸⁸ Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.

¹⁸⁹ *Dark Waters* with a libretto written by Krenek.

As for television, Mr. Hermann Adler and Chotzinoff seem to know about your work and of course these are the people mainly concerned with the project. N.B.C. had a very successful operatic television season. Their last show was "*Tales of Hoffman*" which was a brilliant production, and Adler told me that they are now looking for new material for next season. I would strongly suggest that you stay in touch with him at this particular time.

Thanks for giving me your itinerary for Europe. It appears that we will more or less miss each other all throughout the summer, but I might have to change my present itinerary and still meet you somewhere in Austria or Switzerland.

I am sailing on the 16th and my office will always have my addresses in case you would like to contact me. I will leave the libretto and the music here with my secretary and if you should want it back or have it sent to somebody else please let her know.

All my best.

Cordially yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

3.3 Hans Heinshimer at G. Schirmer to Ernst Krenek¹⁹⁰

New York, 17 October 1950

Dear Ernst,

I can't tell you how much I appreciate your two letters which I found on my desk yesterday morning dealing with your thoughts about "The Consul"¹⁹¹. They are most interesting and provocative and of course your criticism as well as your praise was so well taken that it impressed me to no end. What you say about certain illogical developments in the plot is quite true, but then of course on the other hand this is true in so many other cases, and your suggestion that Magda should try to cross the border illegally and thus avoid all the trouble she has reminds me a little bit of the famous story of the performance of Schiller's "Die Rauber."¹⁹² It begins as you will undoubtedly remember with Franz Moor asking his father "Aber seit Ihr auch wohl, mein Vater",¹⁹³ to which the father in the play has to reply in the affirmative. Well, in this particular performance the father said no, he wasn't — whereupon Franz addressed himself to the audience that due to the illness of his father the show was canceled.

Many plays and operas I am afraid could be terminated just that way but even so your criticism is really very well taken and very interesting to read. I will certainly see to

¹⁹⁰ Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

¹⁹¹ Gian Carlo Menotti's political thriller opera which premiered in 1950 during the cold war.

¹⁹² Influential German melodrama published in 1781. The title translates to *The Robber*.

¹⁹³ "But are you feeling well, my father?"

it that when Menotti comes back to this country he gets the letters which I am sure he would be delighted to see.

You asked me about the German translation. Of course it never occurred to me to ask you, and I am terribly sorry that this came up so late. This would have been, as you quite rightly say, a sensational and I am sure also a successful job, but this is now water under the dam. The translation has been made by Dr. Werner Gallusser in Zurich with my assistance, and the work will be played in the German language first in Basel and Zurich on January 3 and 9, and then in Hamburg on the 31st of January and in Munich on the 1st of April. Vienna is giving a German performance in February.

Thanks again for your letters. Good luck to you for a successful and productive winter, and please stay in touch with me.

All my best,

H.W. Heinsheimer

3.4 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to Ernst Krenek¹⁹⁴

New York, 9 May 1951

Dear Ernst,

Thank you so much for your letter giving additional information on the success of your new opera. As far as the television possibilities are concerned, I am not sure that Dr.

¹⁹⁴ Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

Graf¹⁹⁵ at this point will be able to do anything. This whole Metropolitan scheme is a plan that is far from being put into operation, and at this point the only serious television possibility for opera in New York seems to be the National Broadcasting Company. Of course you know Peter Hermann Adler, and I think he knows your score, but it certainly wouldn't hurt advising him of the success it had in Los Angeles.

I had a meeting with Ebert on his way from Los Angeles to Europe and he told me more details about the success and the performance of "Dark Waters".

The pictures arrived, and I hope that the Musical Quarterly will use one of them to go with my article.

There is a slight possibility that I will be coming west this summer, and if possible I will get in touch with you at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque after June 7th.

All my best,

Sincerely yours,

H. W. Heinsheimer

¹⁹⁵ Dr. Herbert Graf (1903–1973), Austrian-American opera producer who staged works at the Metropolitan Opera from 1936–1960.

3.5 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to Ernst Krenek¹⁹⁶

New York, 21 January 1953

Dear Ernst,

I am so sorry that I couldn't come to your concert after all, but I had been working very hard all Saturday on my next script, and I just felt at night I couldn't drive into the city anymore. I was pleased to see a very good report of it in the New York Times the next day.

I can't tell you how much I enjoyed our meeting this time, and how happy it made me feel that I could still be of some assistance to you just as in the old days. Your new opera is still very much on my mind.¹⁹⁷ I see so much trash, so much cheap and pedestrian material that anything with so much old-world culture and real inspiration excites me. Maybe now more than it did in the past when such things happened more frequently in my life.

The more I think of it, the more excited I am about what I heard, and hopeful for what I haven't heard yet and if, as you go along, you feel like consulting with me again, I will be honored.

Today I received a call from the Royal Conservatory in Toronto, asking whether I thought you would be interested in coming there during the summer to conduct the summer school. I said that as far as I knew, you were not planning to go to Europe and

¹⁹⁶ Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

¹⁹⁷ Presumably this refers to *Pallas Athene weint* op. 144 (1953) premiered 1955.

might be very receptive to such an idea. They will write to you directly, I gave them your address.

Best wishes.

Cordially yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

3.6 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to Ernst Krenek¹⁹⁸

New York, 25 March 1953

Dear Ernst,

I wanted to tell you how much I enjoyed your work last night when the Philadelphia Orchestra performed it here. I am enclosing the reviews of the morning papers. Olin Downes¹⁹⁹ of course is becoming a super Korngold²⁰⁰ and nobody takes him seriously anymore. But I still thought that you should see what the critics have to say.

The piece went very well with the audience and undoubtedly held the attention throughout. Thebom²⁰¹ looked stunning, dressed up in gold and purple and had a Greek hairdo. As far as I could hear from just this one hearing, she did a superb job. I am told that the piece also went very well in Philadelphia.

¹⁹⁸ Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

¹⁹⁹ Olin Downes (1886–1955), prominent American music critic.

²⁰⁰ Julius Korngold (1860–1945), prominent Viennese music critic.

²⁰¹ Blanche Thebom, born 1918, mezzo-soprano.

I am quite sure that this revigorated style of your music augurs well for your new opera.

All my best,

H.W. Heinsheimer

3.7 Ernst Krenek to Mr. French at Associated Music Publishers²⁰²

New York, 18 September 1953

Dear Mr. French,

Yesterday I had a very pleasant conversation with Mr. Post, from which I gathered with keen satisfaction that the vitalization of the AMP business, which your President, Mr. Wall, announced when I had the pleasure of meeting him last spring, is making good progress. Your new catalogues look fine, and I was happy to notice that many of my important earlier works published by U.E. are listed, which indicates that they are now available in this country. It will be very important, of course, to promote these works with increased energy, since through a period of nearly twenty years of inactivity many of them were all but forgotten. I shall be glad to cooperate in this matter as far as possible and let you know of any ideas I may have on the subject.

Mr. Post also told me about the interest expressed by the Drama Department of Stanford University in producing “Jonny spielt auf”²⁰³. Naturally I am very happy to hear

²⁰² Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

²⁰³ *Jonny spielt auf* (*Jonny Strikes Up*, 1927), Krenek’s hit jazz opera produced by Universal Edition.

of this, but, as I have already pointed out to Mr. Post, we have to treat this project with extreme care. This work, which was one of the most successful operas of the 'twenties', is one of our most valuable pieces of property with which we must not take any chances. An inadequate production would be catastrophic. Please be sure that I don't wish to be fussy or difficult for reasons of principle. If I am concerned about the artistic problems of this production, it is because I have above all its business aspects in mind. Twenty-five years ago this opera created a sensation, and a revival will attract extraordinary attention. If anything goes wrong, the consequences will be fatal.

Frankly I have serious doubts as to the ability of any university workshop to produce this work properly, since it requires, among other things, elaborate staging and a sure, exquisitely tasteful, mature style of presentation, not allowing of any embarrassing awkwardness. Not knowing anything about the resources of Stanford University, I am willing at this time to give them the benefit of the doubt.

Since Mr. Post told me that he will go from New York directly to Palo Alto, I suggested that he at first become thoroughly acquainted with the ideas, plans, and possibilities of the potential producers, but no commitment must be made before I had an opportunity to discuss the matter personally with the Stanford people. Among all parties concerned I am really the only one who knows what this is all about, not only because I wrote the piece, but also because I attended and supervised many productions on all kinds of stages big and small.

I therefore request that before giving my consent to this production I see the stage, have thorough discussions with the stage director, the stage designer, and conductor, audition singers, etc.

Mr. Post agreed with me on these points and said that he would act accordingly in Palo Alto. I am sure that you too will agree with my insisting on these precautionary measures. Just a few years ago I suffered a serious setback when a major work of mine was produced in Vienna without my approval in a detrimental manner. We cannot afford a repetition of that experience in this country, least of all with a work which is so prominently in the center of the public attention as “Jonny spielt auf”.

Looking forward to an intensified and productive cooperation from now on, I am with best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Ernst Krenek

3.8 Charles Wall at Associated Music Publishers to Ernst Krenek²⁰⁴

New York, 3 February 1954

Dear Mr. Krenek,

Thank you very much for your letter of February 1. I am glad that we were able to lay before you some of the problems which we have had in regard to your repertoire. I will try and answer now the points in your letter one by one.

²⁰⁴ Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

We would be delighted to see you in New York whenever you can come in. We will be prepared to go over all of the problems which we have. The exact time and availability of personnel must wait upon your own schedule, since I, particularly, have many obligations which take me away from the office and therefore I must plan in advance. I am sure this can be worked out.

We note your comments regarding the marginal remarks recently submitted in connection with our orchestral catalog. The information which you give has been duly cataloged so that all concerned will know these facts.

My comment regarding the limitations of our market was intended to mean that we did not have sales rights from U. E. for things published by them beyond the United States. Therefore, with the exception of those items which we publish ourselves and for which, naturally, we have world rights, we are restricted in territory. The items which we have as AMP publications, including the Third Sonata²⁰⁵, we have exploited abroad. Two years ago, when Mr. Tompkins and I went to Europe, we took a substantial supply of a number of our items including those of yours and exposed them to our European publisher contacts for sale by them. As nothing particular developed from that, last year I again took up the matter of European representation and we have now an active sales and promotion agent for all of western Europe. We are stocking this agent with supply of all of our materials for rental and sale. We anticipate that this will improve our European situation very much and bring to you, through them, increased compensation from concert performances, radio, and other sources.

²⁰⁵ *Sonate für Klavier* NR. 3, op. 92, no. 4 (1943)

In regard to procurement of stock from U.E. I would rather gather that the greatest single deterrent to reprinting by them has been lack of funds. Apparently their business was pretty well broken up as a result of their trouble during the war and only in very recent years has recovered sufficiently to start operations again in any substantial manner. We have had great difficulty in getting all other kinds of stock from them. In fact, we have had to prepay substantial sums to them in order to get new supplies. One of these has been the Philharmonia edition of miniature scores, and just today we received a supply of one of the numbers we had ordered several years ago. It is your Seventh String Quartette and we enclose a copy for your files. It is a nice piece of work.

In regard to the vocal works, one of our principal problems in printing such items with English lyrics would be the basis under which the Office of Alien Property would permit us to do so. If we did it here, we would have to account to the Alien Property Custodian within eighteen months for the entire edition. This means a considerable outlay of money. If U.E. published the English version for us we could buy it, but our problem, again, would be money. We would, therefore, have to weigh very carefully the cost of printing English versions here on those items which are controlled by the Alien Property Custodian. We realize that your "Reisebuch"²⁰⁶ would stand a good chance of becoming as popular here as it is in Europe, but the other considerations in this regard are important too. We will look forward to seeing those new works which you are going to bring with you to New York in March. Any new works we can handle here without any of the difficulties which have beset the U.E. publications.

²⁰⁶ Reisebuch aus den österreichischen Alpen op. 62 (1929), song cycle by Krenek.

We have the orchestra parts to your Second Piano Concerto in stock here. They are available to you any time. We suggest, however, that if you are going to take them to Europe that you have them shipped ahead of time by mail as they are rather bulky to carry if you are going to fly.

Again, let me say that we will be happy indeed to see you when you come to New York and we will do our best then to convince you that your interests are our interests and must ever continue to be so, so long as we represent you.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Wall

President

3.9 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to Ernst Krenek²⁰⁷

New York, 9 December 1955

Dear Ernst,

I was so happy to get your letter this morning. I don't know whether it was in reply to a letter I wrote you care of Radio Koeln in which I had already congratulated you on the success of your opera and with which I have sent you a copy of a review which appeared here in the Musical Courier. Also it seems that you never got the beautiful Japanese edition of your book, "Studies in Counterpoint," which I mailed you care of the Opera House in Hamburg.

²⁰⁷ Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

So as you see I have been well-informed on the success of the opera²⁰⁸, but, of course, the many interesting details which you have filled in your recent letter were not known to me. All this, the concerts, the opera performances, the important people you met, plus the so enthusiastically endorsed new opera for the University of Illinois and your new association with Schott sounds most pleasant and I want to tell you very sincerely how happy I am with such good news. I know that you had a tough time and often I have been disturbed in my mind by the fact that it had been impossible for me in spite of our old association to do much about it at least in practical terms. So it is a very good and heart-warming feeling for me to know that you have such a splendid and so well-deserved comeback and I just wanted you to know how I feel about it. Incidentally, Heinz Joachim has written a long and very positive article on your new opera for the *Musical Quarterly*, not just a review but a long and detailed piece which undoubtedly will make the same impression on the readers which it already made on the editors.

As for the SUITE FOR CELLO SOLO, I have mailed copies to Dr. Steinecke and Mr. Hoelscher and I am also writing to our German agents who import all our music and sell it in Germany to be sure to have copies available. I thought it would be a good idea if you had their name: August Seith Musik-Verlag, Mittererstrasse 1, and München, Germany.

My very best to your mother and to your wife and also personal regards from Elsbeth who joins me in wishing all of you a happy new year.

²⁰⁸ Refers to *Pallas Athene weint*.

Don't forget to let me know your where-about in the Spring. I expect to be on the continent all of May.

Cordially yours,

H. W. Heinsheimer

*3.10 Hans Heinsheimer at Home to Ernst Krenek*²⁰⁹

New York, 26 September [1956]

Dear Ernst,

Having made a similar step six years ago — and never been able since to forget the wonderful day when we sat down to our first meal in our own house in America — I can fully and maybe more than many others, particularly native Americans who might take it more for granted understand how happy and justifiably proud you must be having put your name on your own mailbox at 10424 Pinyon Avenue, looking at your orange trees and taking in the view on the mountains from one spot — three whole lots of them — from where nobody else in the world can take it in, unless you ask him to come in and do so. I can also tell you that this joy and pride will increase, not decrease, as you begin to live in the house, change a window frame or a door, transplant a tree or a few shrubs and, maybe, develop your wilderness into whatever you wish to. So you and your wife have my very sincere congratulations and mine and Elsbeth's²¹⁰ sincere wishes for a happy life

²⁰⁹ Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

²¹⁰ Elsbeth Heinsheimer, Hans Heinsheimer's wife.

in Tujunga. I hope we will soon be able to see it — we plan a trip to the West next summer and should you not be in Europe or away we will certainly drop in.

The transaction seems very prudent to me — no matter how you look at it you live in your own house and garden for \$105 a month (of which a monthly increasing percentage flows in your own pocket as repayment on the capital) and in 13 years its all paid. The \$3000 which you paid down are already forgotten — at least that's the way my mind worked when I made a similar deal — and even in meager times you will always be able to manage the \$105 plus what you need in addition to the oranges and lemons you can eat from your trees. Heavens, how much nicer than to be Direktor of the Musikkonservatorium in Koeln oder Frankfurt or Herr Professor in Wein.

Elsbeth thought that even your handwriting radiates happiness and innere Ruhe. So, good luck and may you enjoy it in perfect happiness.

Although you have a steady abode at Mr. Rubensohn I'd like you to know that our son Thomas is now away in college (M.I.T. in Cambridge) and that we therefore have a guest room at any time you would want to spend some time with us when you come east next spring and before or after you go to Princeton. If not, I certainly hope to have you here for an evening with lots of Spaetzle and lots of talk.

As ever, yours

Hans

3.11 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to Ernst Krenek²¹¹

New York, 20 December 1965

Dear Ernst,

Thanks for your interesting letter. I had known about KARL V in Munich — it must have been a very exciting and memorable occasion for you. I had not known, however, that you and Gladys were on the *Rafaello* — too bad I was not in when you called me in November — I love disasters happily lived through — so please keep it all nicely in mind till we meet again over Spaetzle and Golasch.

The CELLO SUITE went to Peter Doberitz.

As for the works in Schott, I know that Mr. Sturm is aware of your (and mine) desire to awaken them, as you say, from the *Dornroeschenschlaf* and will do his best. To break the lethargy and easy-way-out attitude of conductors is, however, much more difficult than kissing a sleeping princess awake. It is, in fact, quite desperately and becomes more so, not less.

Any chance of your coming here before the summer? I see you are doing a piece for Dartmouth. Will you be there again? I will be here till the middle of June before going to Europe on my business circuit, then Spain for vacation, Salzburg and Switzerland. This year we were in Wengen and I feel still refreshed and rejuvenated!

²¹¹ Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

Best to Gladys.

Yours,

Hans. W. Heinsheimer

3.12 George Sturm at G. Schirmer to Hans Heinsheimer²¹²

Inter-Office Correspondence, 2 April 1965

In answer to your memorandum of April 1st, the following information may serve to clarify the current status of those Krenek works which are the joint publications of Schott and UE: Shortly after the UE agency went to Presser, we sent all the Krenek works to Bryn Mawr in accordance with instructions from Leonard Feist. However, a revision of the agreement covering these works was apparently effected sometime late in 1964 as you may see from the attached letter from Bartlett. Immediately upon receipt of this letter, I wrote to Arthur Hauser requesting the return of all the Krenek material under joint auspices. Hauser agreed to this, asking only to purvey one set of the ELEVEN TRANSPARENCIES for which he had negotiated for an April performance. This set will be returned to us after the performance; the balance of the material was received here some time ago.

Incidentally, one work is missing from the listing in your memo, i.e. the PIANO CONCERTO No. 3, which is also under joint auspices.

²¹² Typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institut, Krems, Austria.

Since we had no material on hand of the so-called DIVERTIMENTO FUER MOZART or of the von Einem works under joint control, there was nothing to send to Presser at the time of the new agreement.

List of Letters

- 3.1 Dmitri Mitropoulos to Hans Heinsheimer, Minneapolis, 2 October 1938, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.2 Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 5 May 1950, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.3 Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 17 October 1950, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.4 Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 9 May 1951, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.5 Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 21 January 1953, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.6 Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 25 March 1953, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.7 Ernst Krenek to Mr. French at Associated Music Publishers, 18 September 1953, typed letter, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.8 Charles A. Wall to Ernst Krenek, 3 February 1954, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.9 Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 9 December 1955, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.10 Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 26 September [1956], typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.11 Hans Heinsheimer to Ernst Krenek, 20 December 1965, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.
- 3.12 George Sturm to Hans Heinsheimer, 2 April 1965, typed letter signed, Ernst Krenek Institute, Krems, Austria.

Chapter 4

Kurt Weill

Chronological Sketch²¹³

Kurt Weill signed his first publishing contract with Universal Edition, A.G. in 1924. Between 1924 and 1937, Weill composed dozens of successful works including the operas: *Der Protagonist* (1924–25), *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1927–30), and the international hit *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1928). With their many performances, and, especially, hit songs, these popular operas helped finance a decade of nonmarketable, “serious” music publications at the firm.

Many of Weill’s German operas were also produced in America. Consequently, when Weill immigrated to the United States in 1937, he was already known.²¹⁴ He immediately began writing music for films and Broadway theatre. In the United States, he enjoyed the same financial success that he had enjoyed in Europe. However, in the United States, most of Weill’s music was published by firms such as Chappell, specializing in songs and popular music. Consequently, Weill had little interaction with

²¹³ For general biographical information see: David Drew and J. Bradford Robinson, “Kurt Weill” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 27, (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), 220–32; and The Kurt Weill Foundation for Music at: <http://www.kwf.org/kwf/>

²¹⁴ *Der Dreigroschenoper* (*The Three Penny Opera*) enjoyed international success for many decades. Most of Weill’s contact with UE and the serious music publishing houses was pertaining to this work after his emigration. After his death, his wife, Lotte Lenya, cared for Weill’s interests and copyrights. In depth study of the relationship between the publishing houses and Weill’s works must include careful study of Lenya’s correspondence.

G. Schirmer, AMP, and Boosey & Hawkes after 1937. The only composition that was published and promoted by G. Schirmer was *Down in the Valley*.

The school opera, *Down in the Valley* (1946), with music by Kurt Weill and libretto by Arnold Sundgaard, was one of G. Schirmer's and Hans Heinsheimer's greatest marketing successes. Recognizing, and then exploiting, an undeveloped market for amateur operetta in the United States, Heinsheimer not only created healthy revenue for the firm in the 1950s, but also uncovered a market for operas which were easy to produce and perform in schools and community theatres around the country.

In 1947, Heinsheimer was giving a talk to a community group in Tennessee when a man in the audience explained that the "Metropolitan Opera would never bring its stars to their little town."²¹⁵ They needed an opera they could produce themselves. This incident immediately brought to mind Kurt Weill's opera *Der Jasager* (*The Yes Sayer*, 1930), the one-act musical play that had been a huge success in German schools and community theaters in the early 1930s. Its brevity, only thirty-five minutes, and small cast of six individual singers and chorus made it easy for amateur groups to produce and perform. *Der Jasager* had been popular in both Europe and the United States nearly two decades earlier, and now, Heinsheimer thought the market might be ripe for another work of that type in the United States.²¹⁶

In 1946, Kurt Weill and Arnold Sundgaard had assembled a small operetta for a television pilot that was to be the first installment in a series of folk-based musical theater

²¹⁵ Hans Heinsheimer to Kurt Weill, 4 September 1947.

²¹⁶ *ibid.*

pieces. Sundgaard wrote the libretto and also suggested that the music of the first work be based on the American folk song “Down in the Valley.” The operetta, designed for a TV time slot and production stage, was short and simple. Thus when Heinsheimer wrote to Weill in 1947 about the possibility of a small-scale work, Weill had a work ready for him. The television project had been shelved, but with a few minor revisions it could meet G. Schirmer’s needs. The simple plot revolved around a love triangle and a murder, making the forty-five minute work full of romance and excitement. The score was quickly created and made ready for sale.

Premiering on July 15th, 1948, at Indiana University, *Down in the Valley* was an immediate success. In the first year, forty-one different high schools, colleges and community theaters produced the work. The following two years saw even more productions, and Heinsheimer was quick to recognize the potential new market for amateur opera in the United States. A piano reduction was ready by 1949. Published with a painting by Grandma Moses on the cover that was titled *The Spring in Evening*, the reduction enjoyed wide sales.²¹⁷

In 1949 Heinsheimer wrote to Weill and expressed optimism about the future of the work. But the publishing agent was not simply thinking of the success of *Down in the Valley*. He saw a whole new market for short amateur musical theater. *Down in the*

²¹⁷ In *Best Regards to Aida* (p. 251), Heinsheimer describes how the decorative cover of the score was a new approach to sales and was so successful that it changed the way they marketed scores in the future. “Hundreds of places all over America which never before had shown interest in opera wanted to produce our new properties. We were utterly unprepared.”

Valley could be produced all over the United States and Europe for years to come, and could be followed by many similar works.²¹⁸

Despite the huge financial success of the opera for G. Schirmer, both Sundgaard and Weill complained of their small earnings. Each expressed, in letters dating from the fall of 1949, their reservations about writing a similar work again or working with G. Schirmer in the future, especially without more financial incentive arising from the project. Sundgaard had talked to Weill about the money situation, and then Weill had relayed this to the publisher. Weill was less concerned with the financial end of the work than Sundgaard.

Heinsheimer was anxious for a follow-up work. At the time, Weill was enjoying critical success with the opera *Street Scene* (1947), which he had written just before he composed *Down in the Valley*. It was also quite short, but it demanded a mature vocal cast and consequently was not a suitable follow-up to *Down in the Valley*. Heinsheimer promoted the work, but it was Chappell and not G. Schirmer that published it.²¹⁹ Before Weill could write a follow-up to *Down in the Valley*, he died of a heart attack at the age of 50. Heinsheimer continued with the project, looking for a suitable composer to match Sundgaard's lyrics.

Down in the Valley premiered on the radio in August 1948 in a performance on NBC under the direction of Hermann Adler. Then in 1950 Adler wrote to Sundgaard stating that he hoped that Sundgaard had something in the works with another composer.

²¹⁸ Hans Heinsheimer to Kurt Weill, 14 February 1949.

²¹⁹ Kurt Weill to Hans Heinsheimer, 20 November 1949.

Adler suggested Aaron Copland, but Heinsheimer eventually convinced Alec Wilder to compose the music for the follow-up work, *Sunday Excursion*.²²⁰

By 1951 Sundgaard was deeply involved in the libretto for G. Schirmer's new project. Heinsheimer, always sensitive to the quality of the libretto, helped advise Sundgaard on the plot. He believed the dramatic attributes of a work were as important as the musical attributes, and although he could read music (he once remarked that he couldn't even read a score), he was himself a natural writer who had tried his hand at writing a libretto. Letters from 1951, show that Heinsheimer was critiquing Sundgaard's libretto as he worked.²²¹ And even before the work was finished, Heinsheimer was promoting it to colleges. He wrote in a letter to Wilmington College in Ohio, where plans for a music festival were underway: "It would, I think, be of great interest to your audience, and particularly to the music educators coming to this event."²²² Wilmington College had produced *Down in the Valley* the previous year as part of a music festival and would need similar works for their next festival. Other colleges and theaters around the country wished for the same.

Short operas were ideal for television. In 1952 Ingo Preminger approached Heinsheimer about obtaining television rights to *Down in the Valley*. Weill had retained exclusive rights to *Down in the Valley* in his original contract. The composer's death in 1950 left the widowed Lotte Lenya responsible for negotiating the terms of a film version

²²⁰ Hermann Adler to Arnold Sundgaard, 12 May 1950.

²²¹ Hans Heinsheimer to Arnold Sundgaard, 20 September 1951.

²²² Hans Heinsheimer to David Larson, 18 September 1951.

of the work. Lenya and G. Schirmer struggled to reach an agreement on the terms of a television version. They finally agreed that NBC could produce a version of the work for the “NBC Opera Theater” with Alfred Drake as Brack Weaver.²²³

Down in the Valley continued to be popular through the 1950s. Its successor, *Sunday Excursion*, was also a hit and continues to this day to generate revenue from the sale of a few revered songs. Hans Heinsheimer was able to recognize an undeveloped market for amateur opera and to exploit it to the benefit of the firm, the composers, and the theatres.

Editorial Comments

All of the letters in this volume can be found at the Kurt Weill Foundation for Music, 7 East 20th Street, New York, NY 10003. Kurt Weill’s letters have been reprinted with permission of the Kurt Weill Foundation.

Letters

*4.1 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to Kurt Weill*²²⁴

New York, 4 September 1947

Dear Kurt,

Well, here I am, believe it or not, nicely and happily installed and, so far, I like it immensely.

²²³ Hans Heinsheimer: An Oral History Interview, interview by Donald Spoto, 12 March 1986, tape recording, Kurt Weill Foundation for Music, New York, New York.

²²⁴ Typed letter signed, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.

During the past weeks I did a lot of traveling and gave a couple of lectures. Everywhere people asked me about opera for young people: what could be done to bring opera down to the young people. In other words: just the problem you faced twenty years ago when you wrote *Jasager*.²²⁵ Well, in my talks I told them all, about *Jasager* and my staging it in Vienna and the tremendous effect it had.

And today I am writing to ask whether you would consider at all trying your hand again in the field of education music and write a school opera of some sort for us here. I don't want to go into details at this point — you might not be interested or might have no time or you might feel that your commitments to Dreyfus are too definite to allow you such an escapade.

You have gone on record repeatedly in your belief that American opera has a future and have stated that Broadway would be “operized” sooner or later. To write for the rapidly increasing number of young people all over the country for whom Broadway is a far and hazy idea and who could not easily undertake to perform an opera of the technical level of *Street Scene*²²⁶ would, in my opinion, be another and very important step in the same direction. It would, if successful, prove the validity of your theories and could make history.

Please give the matter some thought and call me whenever you wish to discuss it. And call me anyhow, even if you don't think you would like to do it.

²²⁵ Libretto by Brecht.

²²⁶ A 1947 American opera with lyrics by Langston Hughes. The score was published by Chappell. Weill received a Tony Award for best original score.

Best wishes to Lenja²²⁷ and yourself,

Always yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

4.2 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to Kurt Weill²²⁸

New York, 14 February 1949

Dear Kurt,

Since I sent you a list of performances for “Down in the Valley” an additional six performances have been arranged, and we have just been notified by our factory that the second printing of the piano score is being prepared, the first edition of 2500 copies having been almost exhausted within much less than a year.

I am writing you today to once more emphasize the importance of this development. We have created without any doubt the most successful school opera ever presented in this country, and what is more we have created something new in the field of dramatic entertainment in American education institutions.

Without getting swept off my feet by this really amazing success, I feel that “Down in the Valley” has really only scratched the surface of its potential success. If there are more than fifty organizations that have done it this year, there is no reason why not several hundred or several thousand should do it in the future. The success is ranging

²²⁷ Lotte Lenya (1898–1981), actress and singer, married Weill. She spent most of her life either singing and performing Weill’s music or protecting and preserving his work after his death.

²²⁸ Typed letter signed, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York

from universities, such as Indiana, Michigan, Tulane, down to little high schools, and there is virtually no limit to the number of small institutions that can do an operetta like this.

Also there is no reason to believe that wherever the opera is presented this will be the end of it. In a year or two another crop of youngsters will be in these various schools and for them “Down in the Valley” will be a novelty just as it has been for the people who did it this season.

What I am driving at is that this is not just a momentary success, but could be developed into something really big and important, even from a monetary point of view, because while it could never be compared with a Broadway hit it will yield a steady source of income to everybody concerned.

With the forthcoming production by the Lemonade Opera and the performance in Zurich we are even spilling over into the professional theater, and it is obvious to me that another play that might be slightly more ambitious would have even better chances to be taken up by professional companies. The problem however will be to make it not too professional and to keep it somehow within the limits set by educational institutions, technically as well as musically. “Street Scene”, after I heard it again the other day, seems too big in its vocal and emotional aspects to be easily adaptable to the facilities available for the average performer in this country at this time, and I think when planning the new work we should try to think more in terms of amateur performances than you could intend to in the case of “Street Scene”.

The reason why I am writing you this letter is only to emphasize once more the importance of a follow up for “Down in the Valley”. I cannot help feeling that we are on the way to creating new outlets for American opera that will be extremely important in the future, and I thought I should express my very serious conviction of what is at stake in a letter which I hope will be of some interest to you and Mr. Anderson in your future discussions on a possible follow-up to “Down in the Valley”.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Hans

4.3 Kurt Weill to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer²²⁹

New York, 20 November 1949

Dear Hans,

I think I should convey to you the following paragraph from a letter from Arnold Sundgaard which I have just received, together with a copy of a letter from Mr. Broder of November 16.

“I had hoped to have some sort of tentative script on the mining opera ready when I returned to New York early next month but I’ve just about decided to give up on the whole idea. The copy of the enclosed letter from Schirmers is one of the reasons. Oddly enough, last month when I was in town for a day I dropped in to see Mr. Heinsheimer and he asked his secretary to call the royalty department so he could give me a little check on my way out. She

²²⁹ Typed letter, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.

returned and said I still owed \$27. Now Mr. Broder writes and says it's \$156.75. I give up. Music publishers are beyond me."

I must admit that I have complete understanding of Arnold's feeling in this matter. I don't know what the reasons are — maybe the fact that you charge very little for productions of Down in the Valley, or maybe the relatively small share which the authors receive — the fact remains that Arnold's and my income from Down in the Valley is ridiculous compared to the success of this piece. As you know it doesn't mean much to me personally, since I have never considered this piece as a financial enterprise. To a man like Arnold, on the other hand, it could mean a great deal.

I have meant for quite some time to discuss this whole problem with you since I feel that you will have a hard time continuing the publication of modern theatrical works unless you reach some drastic changes in methods and point of view. Mr. Broder's statement that it is not Schirmers policy to send reports on the actual income from each production to the authors is one of the reasons why it will be difficult for you to work with theatrical writers who are used to an entirely different treatment. Another justified complaint from a man like Arnold, who has never paid more than the normal publisher's fee of 20 percent on amateur rights and 10 percent on stock rights, is the fact that you are charging 50 percent of the entire proceeds of the work, which means in his case that Schirmer's are getting more than twice as much as the man who wrote the libretto. It is very understandable, therefore, that he is discouraged about this whole enterprise. He knows that it will be a long time before another piece of this type will have the kind of success that Down in the Valley had, and if he cannot earn \$1,000 with 175 performances

of the piece it is hardly worth the effort. I am sure that I am very much inclined to feel the same way. Having created a new market for theatrical music in this country, I feel that I could continue working for this market only if I can find at least an adequate recompense in it. I would certainly have brought up this matter if I were working on another project of this type, but Arnold's letter made me feel that I should bring it up now, since it might be valuable to you in the case of other composers.

I hope to see you, and discuss this whole aspect further with you. In the meantime,

Yours as ever,

Kurt Weill

4.4 Herman Adler at NBC to Arnold Sundgaard²³⁰

New York, 12 May 1950

Dear Mr. Sundgaard,

I had hoped the launching of our "DOWN IN THE VALLEY" recording would give me a chance to meet you and tell you how sincerely I enjoyed your book on this work. Without taking away anything from the tribute due to our late friend, Kurt Weill, I confess that it was the authenticity of the libretto which induced me to start our Television Opera Series with this little work.

I am most anxious to hear whether you have some ideas for a new work along these lines. There would be a definite place in our next year's repertoire for an American folk-opera coming from you and the right composer.

²³⁰ Typed letter signed, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.

The other day when Aaron Copland looked delightedly at the kinescope of “Down in the Valley”, I felt that the ideal combination for such a work had been found. Without my contributing, Copland volunteered the information that he expected to see you this Summer in the Berkshires, where he hoped to discuss with you the possibility of cooperating in such a work. Without mixing in your or Copland’s approach to such a delicate matter, I would like to state from my side that I would be extremely happy if, even before the Summer, the matter could be investigated and perhaps promoted to the point where during the Summer months some concrete work could be accomplished. How do you feel about this? Do you have some ideas or sketches for a new libretto? I believe the sooner such a thing can be discussed, the better, from every standpoint.

Please let me know how you feel about this matter. Even if you should not be able to get together with Copland on this, (but I most sincerely hope you will) any composer of stature should be only too happy to get such a libretto from you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Herman Adler

4.5 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to David Larson²³¹

New York, 18 September 1951

Dear Mr. Larson,

I am replying to your letter of the 11th of September, and we are sending you today the following scores from the rental library on approval:

Lee, Dai-Keong:	Hawaiian Festival Overture
Kubik, Gail:	The Erie Canal
	Memphis Belle
Harris, Roy:	Folk - Song Symphony
Cowell, Henry:	Celtic Set

Some of the other scores which you requested will be sent to you from a different department in charge of music for sale, and we are also sending you copies of our catalogs of orchestral music for rental and for purchase.

If my records are clear you produced last year, in connection with your music festival, Kurt Weill's "Down in the Valley". In this connection I would like to tell you about a new work which might be of interest to you for a possible production at your festival in February, 1952. The work in question is a new opera with words by Arnold Sundgaard, the author of "Down in the Valley", the music by Alec Wilder.²³² While the libretto of the work is completed the music is not yet finished but will be available within

²³¹ Typed letter, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.

²³² Alec Wilder (1907–1980), American composer of mixed genres. Most of his concert pieces were published by G. Schirmer.

the next few weeks, and certainly ample time for a possible production at your festival.

The work requires chorus, a few soloists, [and] almost no stage properties. It is as simple, if not simpler, in its technical requirements as “Down in the Valley”. It will also be, from what I can judge at this point, approximately the length of “Down in the Valley”, in other words something like forty-five minutes, maybe a little more or a little less.

It would, I think, be of great interest to your audience, and particularly to the music educators coming to this event, to see a new opera which, if I may be bold enough to predict, has an excellent chance of becoming a second “Down in the Valley”. We are swamped with requests for a successor to this sensationally successful play, and while, of course, one can never predict anything, I will say that this work by Sundgaard and Wilder has a good chance to fill that bill.

I would be interested in getting your reaction to this project, in which case I will be in a position to send you a libretto and at least samples of the music within a few weeks.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

4.6 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to Arnold Sundgaard²³³

New York, 20 September 1951

Dear Arnold,

Thanks for the revised libretto²³⁴ which is now shaping up beautifully. There are two little things which I still would like to suggest.

A – Johnny looking for a ship to get home on page 12 comes immediately after the news of the ship’s disaster, and I am worried about the audience’s realizing that quite some time has elapsed since. Wouldn’t it be possible to let him say something like “but I have to get home; I have been here almost a year”, or some other words that make it clear to the audience that he has recovered from his sickness and that quite sometime has elapsed.

B – On page 14 Nathaniel says that it has been almost a year since the “Golden Ram” has sunk. I think it would be stronger if it would be exactly a year. This would also be a reason for Dorie’s not to go to church this particular day which to her mind is the anniversary of Johnny’s death. Otherwise, it isn’t quite clear why she should not go to church, and I think the whole thing gains if we make this the anniversary, I would then change a few words of Nathaniel’s part, pointing out that he understands that she wants to be alone this particular day.

²³³ Typed letter signed, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.

²³⁴ The libretto is for *Sunday Excursion* (1953) with music by Alec Wilder. It is a twenty-five minute companion piece opera to be performed in conjunction with another opera.

Please give this a little thought and if you like it maybe you can make use of these suggestions.

Sincerely,

H.W. Heinsheimer

List of Letters

- 4.1 Hans Heinsheimer to Kurt Weill, 4 September 1947, typed letter signed, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.
- 4.2 Hans Heinsheimer to Kurt Weill, 14 February 1949, typed letter signed, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.
- 4.3 Kurt Weill to Hans Heinsheimer, 20 November 1949, typed letter, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.
- 4.4 Herman Adler to Arnold Sundgaard, 12 May 1950, typed letter signed, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.
- 4.5 Hans Heinsheimer to David Larson, 18 September 1951, typed letter, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.
- 4.6 Hans Heinsheimer to Arnold Sundgaard, 20 September, typed letter signed, Kurt Weill Foundation, New York, New York.

Chapter 5

George Antheil

Chronological Sketch²³⁵

George Antheil was born in 1900 in Trenton, New Jersey. In 1922 he moved to Paris to compose and perform. There he earned a name for himself as a talented and controversial composer writing cutting-edge music. In 1926 the Paris debut of his *Ballet mécanique* created a sensation, and the following year he signed a contract with Universal Edition to produce and publish his opera *Transatlantic*. After these early European successes, his future looked bright and his career abroad flourished. In America, however, his career was a disappointment. The public took the 1927 Carnegie Hall debut of the *Ballet mécanique* to be a joke. And his second opera, *Helen Retires*, which debuted in 1930, was a failure.

Antheil returned to the United States and settled in Hollywood in 1936 in response to the growing economic and political crisis in Europe. There he made a living writing articles and composing film scores. He found his reputation as a serious composer in shambles. Consequently, during the 1930s he almost entirely dropped out of the classical music milieu. He quietly composed his Symphony #2 between 1933 and 1935 using American themes to organize the movements. His Symphony #3 (also based on American themes) and his Fourth Symphony followed during the years 1936 to 1939. Beginning in

²³⁵ For general biographical information see: Linda Whitesitt and Charles Amirkhanian/Suan C. Cook, "George Antheil" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 1, (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), 715–19.

1942 he enlisted the help of friend and publishing agent Hans Heinsheimer to promote these symphonies. He enjoyed moderate success with his Symphony no. 4 which was premiered in 1944 in a coast-to-coast radio broadcast conducted by Leopold Stokowski. The work was subsequently taken into the Boosey & Hawkes catalogue. However, Symphony #2 was eventually withdrawn by the composer and #3 enjoyed only partial premiere of the third movement, “The Golden Spike.” Hans Heinsheimer took a personal interest in promoting Antheil’s career but rarely gave official representation to the composer. Antheil’s ballet *The Capital of the World*, carried by the G. Schirmer rental catalogue, became a best-selling record. But without G. Schirmer’s backing, Antheil’s late works, a series of operas, were successful but short lived. When Antheil died in 1959, most of his compositions were unpublished.

During the summer of 1942, George Antheil wrote to friend and publishing agent, Hans Heinsheimer, and briefly mentioned that he had written three new symphonies.²³⁶ Then in February of 1943, George Antheil sent Hans Heinsheimer a seven-page letter explaining how he hoped Heinsheimer would help him reestablish his reputation in America. He wrote, “My musical reputation here in America, such as it is, is 80 percent wrong; I’ve done about everything that could be done to ruin it; still, and as I still feel, I have talent to come out above that — with a little good council and help. From you.” Antheil explained that he had given a copy of the Symphony no. 4 to Leopold Stokowski,

²³⁶ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 26 June 1942, typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York; and George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, December 1942, typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

who lived in his California neighborhood, and mailed a copy of the Second to Serge Koussevitsky, who had earlier “definitely promised that as soon as (Antheil) should write a new symphony he would perform it.” The composer worried that the public might prefer a series of shorter character pieces for orchestra to three long symphonies.²³⁷ But Heinsheimer told him this worry was unfounded. He also added that Antheil’s new music should do well because: “there is now, after all, a definite demand for American Music. Even trash is being played by Toscanini and Stokowski and others for no reason than the label ‘American Music.’”

Heinsheimer suggested Antheil pay Boosey & Hawkes a retainer of \$150 for one year of promotions and provide them with five copies of the scores along with one set of parts and a promotional leaflet. The leaflet and orchestra parts would have to be produced at his own expense. In return Boosey & Hawkes would use their connections to try and secure a performance of the works. They would garner twenty percent of any royalties and performing fees if the works were performed.²³⁸

Letters from March show that Antheil was initially pleased with the offer, but after a few days of reflection, he complained that he should not have to underwrite the production of the orchestra parts. He proposed, instead, that Boosey & Hawkes extract the parts and charge his account against royalties received from future performances. Antheil also wrote that he was almost sure that Stokowski would perform Symphony no. 4 and asked Heinsheimer to order parts of the Second to be copied so that Serge

²³⁷ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 28 February 1943.

²³⁸ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 4 March 1943.

Koussevitsky could read through the work. He added that they could work out payment arrangements later.²³⁹

On March 31 Heinsheimer sent Antheil an Artists' contract with Boosey & Hawkes and told him that he wanted to send the Second Symphony, the same one that Antheil had sent to Koussevitsky, to the new conductor of the New York Philharmonic, Artur Rodzinski, and to Fritz Reiner.²⁴⁰ In April Antheil reported that he had played the piano reduction of the Second Symphony for Aaron Copland and Bernard Herrmann and that they were both impressed.²⁴¹ Heinsheimer wrote back that Rodzinski would only be interested in doing a premiere; thus, to secure a performance with the New York Philharmonic, he should not send the symphony to any one else.²⁴²

Antheil had been anxious to hear from Koussevitsky, who had received a score of the Second Symphony a few months earlier. And in May Heinsheimer reported that Koussevitsky was indeed interested in one of Antheil's symphonies but he still wouldn't commit to a performance until he was able to play through the work at a rehearsal.²⁴³ Both Antheil and Heinsheimer were consequently anxious to get parts for the Second Symphony to Koussevitsky but since Antheil still refused pay a copyist out of his own pocket, Heinsheimer suggested he make payment arrangements to have it done.

²³⁹ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 28 March 1943.

²⁴⁰ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 31 March 1943.

²⁴¹ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 13 April 1943.

²⁴² Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 22 April 1943.

²⁴³ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 9 May 1943.

Heinsheimer would not authorize that Boosey & Hawkes take on the expense and pay the copyist for him but he could advance him the money.²⁴⁴

By 21 May of 1943 Antheil was becoming increasingly uncomfortable with his contract with Boosey & Hawkes and tensions were high over the issue of how copying of parts would be paid for. In an angry letter he asked that Heinsheimer not contact Stokowski as he himself seemed to be making headway in securing a performance of the Fourth Symphony. Antheil also raised suspicions as to the integrity of their agreement.²⁴⁵ On 25 May 1943 Heinsheimer wrote that Rodzinski had rejected the Second Symphony, and he offered to refund Antheil's retainer and forgo the contract for the sake of their friendship.²⁴⁶ Antheil asked that Heinsheimer "burn" the inflammatory letter that he had written on May 21st, order the parts of the Second copied out for Koussevitsky — he would pay for them himself somehow. He added that Stokowski had committed to a performance of the Fourth Symphony on coast-to-coast radio.²⁴⁷

Heinsheimer got back to work, sent a copy of the composition to Fritz Reiner and talked to George Szell about Antheil's new compositions.²⁴⁸ But by the end of July, Antheil received a second rejection from Erich Leinsdorf, who felt that the symphony

²⁴⁴ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 15 May 1943.

²⁴⁵ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 21 May 1943.

²⁴⁶ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 25 May 1943.

²⁴⁷ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 28 May 1943.

²⁴⁸ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 23 June 1943.

was much too long for the amount of material in the work.²⁴⁹ That fall Antheil wrote that he now felt the Symphony no. 2 was “too long” and “repetitious.” He also wanted Heinsheimer to stop any copying of the parts of the Second that were to go to Koussevitsky and recall any scores that had been sent out in order to avoid further “embarrassment.” Reiner had a score at the time, and Antheil asked Heinsheimer’s advice as to how to proceed in order to avoid another rejection.²⁵⁰ Heinsheimer tactfully recalled those scores that he was able to retrieve.²⁵¹

Antheil subsequently made numerous cuts from the Symphony no. 2 reducing it to 122 pages from the original 176. He also re-orchestrated some sections and rearranged others. Despite these changes he decided by October to abort the entire project. He regarded his Third and Fourth Symphonies as much better works.²⁵²

On February 13, 1944, in a coast-to-coast broadcast, Leopold Stokowski performed Symphony no. 4 with the NBC radio orchestra. Virgil Thomson of the *New York Herald Tribune* and *Time* magazine gave it positive reviews.²⁵³ It was subsequently taken in to the Boosey & Hawkes catalogue.

Between 1952 and 1954, Antheil completed four music dramas: *Volpone: A Satire in Music, in Three Acts*, (1949–52), *The Brothers*, (1954), *Venus in Africa*, (1954), and

²⁴⁹ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 23 July 1943.

²⁵⁰ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 4 August 1943.

²⁵¹ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 18 August 1943.

²⁵² George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 25 October 1943.

²⁵³ Virgil Thomson, “Antheil’s Fourth,” *Time* Vol. 43, No. 9 (February 28, 1944), 55.

The Wish, (1954). The correspondence from 1953 to 1955 shows that Hans Heinsheimer was deeply involved in the composition and promotion of these operas (with the exception of *The Wish*) yet gave little official G. Schirmer backing for these projects.

In August 1952 Antheil wrote to Heinsheimer and reported that a small group of singers and a pianist had performed excerpts from his new opera *Volpone* in a “partial premiere” at a small theatre and that it had been received very well.²⁵⁴ The full premiere would take place in January in Los Angeles. In December of 1952 Heinsheimer wrote to Antheil, suggesting that he listen to the upcoming Metropolitan Opera broadcast because he planned to put in a nice plug for the new work.²⁵⁵

When *Volpone* premiered reviews were mixed. Antheil, wanting help promoting the work, but embarrassed by the negative criticisms, did not send Heinsheimer any of the reviews in the hope that the opera would be reviewed again later that week.²⁵⁶ Antheil made cuts and convinced the critics to return for another performance. Liking the changes, the critics gave *Volpone* good reviews, which Antheil sent to Schirmer’s. Subsequently Heinsheimer set up a performance of *Volpone* at the Punch Opera in New York on July 8th. Antheil explained that he thought of *Volpone* as his “university of opera”, his reentry into the composition of opera after a break of over a decade.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 3 August 1952.

²⁵⁵ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 22 December 1952.

²⁵⁶ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 14 January 1953.

²⁵⁷ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 27 March 1953.

In May 1953 Heinsheimer wrote to Antheil. He said that he was planning a trip to Europe and asked Antheil if he had heard anything about Eric Zeisl's new opera *Leonce and Lena*. He also mentioned that Leonard Bernstein's new opera *Trouble in Tahiti* was exciting and only about thirty minutes long.²⁵⁸ While *Volpone* was continuing to be successful, Antheil began work on his next opera which was to be a Cain and Abel story. In August of 1953 Antheil reported that he had decided that he would write his own libretto for the opera. He forwarded Heinsheimer some short examples of what would become the libretto of *The Brothers*.²⁵⁹ By October Antheil had given the opera a title and Heinsheimer had made a number of suggestions for improving it. Antheil's letter of 14 October outlined both the publishing agent's criticisms and the composer's respective changes.²⁶⁰

That fall Antheil briefly abandoned his work on *The Brothers* libretto to score an orchestral version of his ballet *The Capital of the World* for the G. Schirmer rental catalogue. At the same time Antheil was in good spirits as *Volpone*, still running, had just had a sensational premiere in Cleveland. One critic proclaimed that it was "one of the best American operatic scores that [he had ever] heard."²⁶¹ In a letter that March, Heinsheimer reported that the parts for the ballet suite were ready. A hi-fi recording of the *Ballet mécanique* was due to come out shortly and Heinsheimer advised Antheil to

²⁵⁸ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 24 May [1953].

²⁵⁹ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 25 August 1953.

²⁶⁰ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 14 October 1953.

²⁶¹ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 24 November 1953.

consider offering the *Ballet mécanique* to Weintraub for facsimile reproduction so that it could be printed in conjunction with the release of the recording. In his opinion Schirmer's would never print it.²⁶²

Antheil continued polishing *The Brothers*. He also began thinking about his reputation and placement in musical history. In one letter he explained to Heinsheimer that he wanted to make a case that the style of his Fourth Symphony was developed before Shostakovich wrote his First Symphony and that in fact Shostakovich was copying Antheil because the Russians had heard Antheil's style when Igor Glebov, the Russian music critic, took a score of *Transatlantic* back to Russia in the early 1930s.²⁶³

The Brothers was completed by June and the premiere was set for July in Denver. Antheil hoped that Heinsheimer would be able to attend the first performance of the work.²⁶⁴ Unable to attend, Heinsheimer asked that the composer tape record the performance. That summer a Denver article stated that *The Brothers* had been commissioned by G. Schirmer. Alarmed by this rumor, Heinsheimer wrote to Antheil on his personal stationery on July 8, 1954, expressing concern.²⁶⁵ Antheil remained nervous about the premiere of *The Brothers*. He told Heinsheimer that if the opera were a flop he would not hold him even "microscopically" responsible. But, if it was a success he asked

²⁶² Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 8 March [1954].

²⁶³ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 31 March 1954.

²⁶⁴ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 17 June 1954.

²⁶⁵ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 8 July 1954.

that the agent back the project wholeheartedly.²⁶⁶ The production was a huge success.²⁶⁷

In August, Antheil submitted the work to at G. Schirmer for consideration.

After the premiere, Broadway producer Elaine Perry bought an option in *The Brothers*. Antheil began negotiating the terms of the production contract, and he also offered her his new opera, *Venus in Africa*, as a companion piece to be performed with *The Brothers* — the two one-act operas could be paired together for a single full night of musical theatre.²⁶⁸ After hearing a play-through of the piano and vocal score for *Venus in Africa*, Elaine Perry fell in love with the work and agreed to produce it along with *The Brothers*. She sent Antheil a check for \$500 as a front on the production.²⁶⁹ Because he was unable to get to New York to handle further negotiations with Perry, Antheil hired Heinsheimer to handle the negotiations in exchange for a twenty percent commission.²⁷⁰

When Heinsheimer met with Elaine Perry in November, she told him that she now felt the new opera, *Venus in Africa* still needed a great deal of work before it could be produced. Cuts that Antheil had made in the libretto had upset the story. She also didn't think she could produce the works in the spring of 1955 but would have to wait until the

²⁶⁶ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 20 July 1954.

²⁶⁷ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 27 July 1954.

²⁶⁸ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 17 October 1954.

²⁶⁹ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 2 October 1954, and Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 23 October 1954.

²⁷⁰ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 28 October 1954.

fall. All of the details would have to be worked out with Antheil in New York.²⁷¹ Because Perry wanted to extend the contract, Heinsheimer negotiated a penalty clause in the contract in case she opted not to produce after such a long period of time.²⁷² Antheil agreed to let Heinsheimer extend the contract and liked the idea of a penalty of \$1,000. When Perry asked Antheil to send a tape recording of the revisions, Antheil refused to make the revisions until she signed the new contract; further, he was busy with an opera commissioned by the Louisville Symphony.²⁷³ Within a few weeks the new contract arrived in Hollywood.²⁷⁴ Antheil was still unable to get to New York to discuss the production and the changes with the writers, and he didn't have time to get her the tape she wanted. Heinsheimer chastised Antheil in a letter of November 29th for neglecting his responsibilities toward Perry.²⁷⁵ By January of 1955 Antheil was two-thirds finished with the Louisville commission, now named *The Wish*, but he had still not sent Perry the tape recording of *Venus*.²⁷⁶ Michael Dyne, the author of the *Venus* libretto, was planning to come to Hollywood to personally oversee the changes while staying at Antheil's house, but he cancelled at the last minute. Antheil considered flying to New York in order to get the work finished but decided against this since it seemed that Perry wasn't

²⁷¹ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 11 November 1954.

²⁷² Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 17 November 1954.

²⁷³ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 20 November 1954.

²⁷⁴ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 28 November 1954.

²⁷⁵ Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, 29 November 1954.

²⁷⁶ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 4 January 1955.

ready to produce the operas anyway. He felt his time was better spent working on *The Wish*.²⁷⁷ *The Wish* premiered in April, and Antheil spent the rest of the spring and summer preparing for the Broadway production of *The Brothers* and *Venus in Africa*. But when October arrived, Perry opted out of her production contract.

The following summer Antheil wrote Heinsheimer a lengthy and personally revealing letter. Over the course of seven pages he tried to sum up his career, his feelings about the contemporary music scene, and his own reputation as a composer. In a frank way he addressed his relationship with Heinsheimer, both as friend and as business associate. He acknowledged their differences and their shared history. At the same time, the letter was an appeal to the publisher. Antheil wrote that having turned down more than one offer to have his works published by other firms, he continued to wait for G. Schirmer to make him an offer based less on financial terms than on integrity and on the “terms of a vital and dynamic publisher-composer relationship, such as we once had in the best days of Boosey-Hawkes.” He went on and unambiguously stated that despite his personal satisfaction with his career he wished that G. Schirmer would publish his music. Antheil wrote: “Let me say, first, that nothing but nothing would be nearer to my heart — and ambitions too, for that matter — than to have you publish and represent me.”²⁷⁸ Later that year Antheil’s wife wrote a private letter to Heinsheimer. In it she echoed Antheil’s appeal, asking that the publisher see her husband for a “mature composer” and represent him in the Schirmer’s catalogue. She expressed dismay that as works by other American

²⁷⁷ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 12 March 1955.

²⁷⁸ George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 11 July 1956.

composers became standard repertory, Antheil's receded into memory even though he was considered one of the major composers of his day.²⁷⁹ But she was also frank. She said that her husband was proud, suggesting that a publishing contract with G. Schirmer meant more to him than he was willing to say in his letter. And, in Boski's opinion, the reason that Antheil's works were played no more than once was not because they were poor quality but because he did not have good official representation, representation that Heinsheimer could give. The composer died in 1959. Antheil's complete works were not published by G. Schirmer until his estate was sold shortly after Heinsheimer's death in 1993.

Editorial Comments

George Antheil, like Hans Heinsheimer, had a second career as a writer. His letters reflect his love for prose in the length and dramatic tone. They are full of interesting information about Antheil as well as the world in which he lived. Although I chose to follow one vein, that of the composition and promotion of his Symphonies #2–4 and then his late operas, there are many other subplots that can be enjoyed and studied when reading these letters. Most of the letters from Heinsheimer written in the 1950s were addressed from his home. This is obviously an important point as both Antheil and his wife make it clear that although Heinsheimer was involved in Antheil's career it was primarily in an unofficial position outside of G. Schirmer's business. Since I was unable to tell where Antheil's letters were being sent, to Heinsheimer's home or office, they are

²⁷⁹ Boski Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 16 September 1956.

all labeled to: Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes or Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer. All of the letters were written in English. Antheil's letters can be found in the Columbia University Rare Book Collection and are under copyright by Charles Amirkhanian.

Letters

5.1 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes²⁸⁰

Hollywood, 28 February 1943

Dear Hans,

I wrote you several months ago, in response to your letter of two or three months before that. Inasmuch as I sent it to Boosey-Hawkes, I've wondered if you really managed to get it; it contained nothing of serious import, but I half expected you would answer by now. However, I'm such an irregular correspondent that I should never complain of any treatment, whatever it may be, in relation to correspondence.

In my last letter I wrote you concerning the symphonies I had written, and why I wrote them. I hope that all this didn't frighten you. Because, in this letter, I want to write you more about music, and I also want you to help me. Or, more exactly, to represent me if you will.

Let me state the present situation and work backwards. At the present moment I have a good job, which pays me well, and gives me plenty of time to compose. I am, as you know, chief assistant to Manchester Boddy, editor and owner of the big Los Angeles

²⁸⁰ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

newspaper (tabloid) *The Daily News*; I handle the war situation; my work takes time and study, but, being near the very top, most of the drudgery is done by others while I concern myself mostly with quadruple essences, if you know what I mean.

As the job is now fairly well guaranteed, and as I possibly may someday become editor of that newspaper, I see a life before me which I may turn towards the one thing I have wanted to do most — musical composition.

Now this is a very important point in my life. If I choose I could, at this moment, go into the making of money; Boddy also owns a great deal of California, and he produces practically all of the flowers upon the winter tables of the east; he has offered to give me the bulbs of a certain species of rare and expensive flower which cannot be obtained elsewhere but from him; in short, this is a situation which would surely produce a lot of money if I cared to give it my extra time.

However — and I feel this very intensely — I do not feel that the future will concern itself as greatly with money as has the past. If I am wrong, there may still be time to rectify the mistake, but I am going to gamble the other way for the time being. Towards music.

Therefore I am coming to you today in somewhat the same manner that Beecham first came to you. My musical reputation here in America, such as it is, is 80 percent wrong; I've done about everything that could be done to ruin it; still, and as I still feel, I have the talent to come out above that — with at little good council and help. From you.

I wish that you would study my case. My prime objective is not to make money, BIG money from music; on the other hand I should like to make enough to make the

situation interesting for you; newspaper work, while it pays well, does not pay me enough to permit me to pay you outside sums, and I do not have the eternal crust to ask you to work for nothing, nor should I. Still, and out of old close friendship, perhaps you will read this letter and comment upon it.

I think, very probably, that your first impression in commencing this letter will be to think “but I thought that George was happy and successful in his movie work — surely that pays him well enough.” The fact of the matter, however, is that I was not “cut out”, as we say, for movie work, at least not in the scoring department — curiously enough I believe that I would have more success as a producer, and still more curiously enough, so do the studios where I have more than one offer of a job in this direction. But I chaff when at work in the music departments; first of all the type of mentality that one encounters here is intolerable; secondly, in spite of the screen credit’s the work is terribly anonymous — and worst of all nobody can ever hear it but the dubbers (those who put your sound track behind the dialogue in the finished picture) get through with your score. The whole situation is unsatisfactory, even the large checks, for Boski²⁸¹ and I have found that we are not temperamentally fitted to have, alternately, too much money, and too little; we are broke one half of the year, and too heavily weighted with dough for the other half — and the whole situation becomes one long drawn out mess during which I never find time or mental equilibrium to compose. Mrs. Bok²⁸² once had the right idea

²⁸¹ Elizabeth Markus, Hungarian born wife of George Antheil.

²⁸² Antheil’s benefactress, Mary Curtis Bok.

when she used to give me a regular sum every month; if she had stuck to that instead of giving me several unduly large sums in between everything would have been well.

Moreover, and in the movie business, I find that I cannot take the writing of a movie score lightly. I tackle it just as I would tackle any other musical composition — with the result that after two or three month's work, I am almost musically exhausted for the year; added to which I become embittered when I see and hear what becomes of my beloved score.

So much for the movie business.

Now, and during the past year and a half, I have been writing music. Specifically, I have written three symphonies, two of which are actually finished and printed in “lichtpause”; I shall have extra copies of both this week and will send them to you IF you judge that fitting and proper — but naturally I do not wish to encumber you with these weighty manuscripts (and expensive manuscripts, too) unless you REALLY want them, unless you REALLY think that this is the proper course.

To anticipate you, I can now almost hear you thinking “well, for the love of Mike, if George wants to get back into the musical swim — as he now evidentially does — why the hell did he write three large symphonies???” Doesn't he know that a symphony is the most difficult thing in the world to program — especially since he has not only been rather out of the eastern musical picture for some five or eight years, to say nothing of the publicity his “lovelorn” column has occasioned in curious musical circles.²⁸³ Therefore, why didn't he have sense enough to write a series of short orchestral sketches, as brilliant

²⁸³ Antheil wrote a love advice column called “Boy Meets Girl” for *Esquire* magazine.

and as novel as he can make them; here, perhaps, I would have a chance. But three large symphonies!”

Yes, Hans, I will admit you are quite practical here. But, and if you will but bear with me a moment, perhaps I have been right after all in writing three symphonies.

First of all, and perhaps most important, I did not feel like writing anything else. The movies, with its eternal “theater”, showmanship, necessity for compression to the ultra point — all this conditioned me against writing a series of brilliant short pieces with which to make a hoped-for re-entrance into the eastern musical world. Secondly, and also very important, if I made any re-entry at all, this would almost automatically be exactly what the eastern critics would expect of me — and they do not expect the best; as you know, my early capers in the world of music have earned for me the reputation of a number one sensationalist and headline-hunter — perhaps not without considerable justice.

Therefore, and instead of coming out with a series of timely orchestral pieces “Guadalcanal” “Morocco”, or what have you, I wrote three abstract symphonies, the first an

American symphony (this is called “*2nd Symphony*”²⁸⁴ and two other symphonies which are war symphonies true enough, but spiritually so rather than descriptively so. THESE ARE GOOD WORKS. IN THE FIRST PLACE, I DID NOT COMMENCE THE WRITING (OR, IN SOME CASES, REWRITING) OF THEM UNTIL AFTER I HAD SPENT THREE YEARS STUDYING THE MODERN SYMPHONY. I KNOW

²⁸⁴ Later named the Third Symphony “American” also.

PRACTICALLY EVERY RECENTLY WRITTEN IMPORTANT SYMPHONY BY HEART — AND THIS INCLUDES MAHLER AND SCHOSTAKOWITCH AND THE ENGLISH MODERNS OF WHICH I HAVE BECOME VERY FOND. I stress the above because of this: I knew that if I were ever to enter the world of music again it would have to be by brunt of sheer force, through the best kind of music I knew how to write; and the best kind I did write.

Let us suppose, now, that in writing such large works I DID make a mistake. (I shall know that within the next three or four months, after they are sent out!) Perhaps I should have written the smaller works after all. BUT — and this is the important point — I should never have STARTED writing the smaller works, whereas I DID start writing the larger; moreover, I believe that no conductor who REALLY looks over any one or two of them carefully will fail to be at least slightly impressed by them, regardless of whether he believes it tactical to play one of them, either completely or in part.

Thus the first hurdle, that of momentum, has been safely crossed, both on my part, and perhaps even on theirs'. For, and as I stated above, several or more of them will now surely know that George Antheil has written one to three symphonies of a certain import. Perhaps, even, they may be sorry that they cannot play them — to take the chance, so to speak. But in this case there may accumulate a sense of indebtedness, a feeling that they would like to do the next possible work that came along. In short, even though these three works are not played (and that, I insist, may be very very possible under the circumstances!) I believe a certain important ground work will be laid merely by pressing

these symphonies into the hands of conductors who may then be almost tempted to play them.

Please do not get me wrong, however; I am not entering this new situation in a defeatist frame of mind; quite the contrary; in fact I am ready to do everything short of blackmail (or perhaps even that if it were justified!) to get these symphonies played. If only one of them were played this coming season it would work wonders (I feel certain) towards the continuation and expansion of my purely musical career; but the point is merely this — I KNOW IN ADVANCE JUST HOW DIFFICULT IT IS GOING TO BE, BOTH BECAUSE OF THE SIZE OF THE WORKS AND THE ENORMOUS PREJUDICE AGAINST ME BECAUSE OF DIVERS UNLEGITIMATE REASONS NO LONGER TOLERABLE TODAY. Pre-knowledge means precaution; and precaution means adequate preparation.

I am organizing a war to the death, and I am writing the best general I know to take command.

I know that it is difficult for you and I to talk about this situation without your seeing my new music. For all you know, these many crazy Hollywood-SEE-Note²⁸⁵-Glandular-Criminology²⁸⁶-Boy-Advises-Girl years may have driven me utterly to seed; perhaps the symphonies are as bad and as long-winded and boring as such works can

²⁸⁵ Music notation system that Antheil copyrighted.

²⁸⁶ Refers to: *Every Man His Own Detective: A Study of Glandular Criminology* (New York, Stackpole Sons, 1937).

often be. Perhaps I should confine myself to the newspaper business and Manchester Boddy's precious bulbs.

But I think that you know me. There is no doubt that I have committed many idiocies in the past; but no one who knows me will underestimate the depth of my fanaticism, my determination once my course is plotted. I have several time[s] before almost ground myself to death upon my fanaticism, especially in SEE-Note, but my sally into "business" was certainly ill-advised from the beginning; besides, and after the war, all this SEE-Note business may be another story, although I personally shall certainly waster no more time with it. (BUT we have large presses at the *Daily News*, and vast possibilities for publicity.) Let's get back to our present story, however.

As I said before, you know me, therefore you may take a guess as to what the present symphonies are like; indeed, we can do even better than that, for I can send you the two printed ones — if that be your stated and written wish.

The three symphonies (#2, #3, and #4) would then be the basis of our new proposed operations, although not the fundamental plan — which plan I want to discuss with you now. (I am continuing ahead as if you and I were in agreement with everything I've written to date; time is growing short for possible performances during the 1943–44 season, and I want to "iron out" as much in advance as possible; I might be able to do that by writing a full and explicit letter NOW.) BUT, obviously, you are not going to get rich representing me with three symphonies, no matter how or why they were written. Moreover, and as I stated before, my present salary, although more than adequate, still

does not permit me to offer you anything but percentage — or reciprocal favors — or both.

However, and now that I've gotten the three above works off my chest, there is no reason whatsoever for my NOT writing a series of short orchestral works, or for that matter a modern operetta — one, incidentally, which could be manufactured into a movie as well as into a Broadway production. I have, as you know, a very natural and real gift for melody; it has not abandoned me, but grown better, much better.

Amongst other things, I've long wanted to do some "school operas"; I'd like to do a number of orchestral works for school orchestras, too. In fact there is so much I'd like to do I'm bewildered; most of all, perhaps, I'd like to write a violin concerto I've on my mind, and also a piano concerto — which I'd like to play myself — but, and as I've emphasized before, I've probably written enough longer symphonic works for the time being.

* * *

So, old friend, here is the situation: I am 42 (in my best creative years) and now, suddenly, I've got a job that occupies only half my day. In short, I've suddenly peace of mind, and time to write — and what I now intend to do with those two is amply demonstrated by my work during the past year. I know that because America has no sense of humor (artistically speaking) whatsoever America still eyes me with considerable askance — despite the fact that artists of all periods have just as often spent peculiar and colorful lives (such as the writing of love columns, gland-crime books, etc. etc.) as not; what about Michael Angelo? But all this can be overcome — with good

generalship — whereas you cannot overcome a bad symphony, such as Roy Harris' fifth (which I heard yesterday and was unable to distinguish in a single detail from his fourth, third, second and first, except that I think the last movement of the fourth came second this time!). Reputations, in America, are the sheerest fluff; they can be made or unmade by experts such as you. Besides — and to help you if you desire — I can write and publish a book, AFTER I get several works played. I think, too, I can gain some sympathy from fellow newspaper editors all over America — whom I am getting to know personally (and who do not yet identify me with the writer of the Ballet Mecanique!) Remember this; I have learned how to write for ALL the magazines; once I have something upon the symphonic programs, I can commence to write about music again, at first gently to gain a public; later with point and decision.

Well, Heinsheimer old friend, I think you now commence to “see the picture” as we say up in the office when all the editors get together to discuss strategy upon the war or a local gangster. George Antheil wants to recommence where he left off — and you know where he left off. Except in the operetta field, we are to leave the movies out of it — completely. (Unless you want me to plug some guy you're trying to bust into this field out here; I'm in a better position to do it now than when I was dependant upon this field for my very living.) And I want to know what to write. Neither will I conceal my frank interest in getting my symphonies played properly and before too long a time. I think I've gone over the field thoroughly enough, by now.

Perhaps you should know what I've done with the symphonies to date; that is important so that you won't work towards cross-purposes with them.

(1) Symphony No. 1 was printed in lichtpause first. I immediately gave it to Stokowski, who lives around the hill from here. After glancing through it (because he was departing the next day for New York) he telephoned me that he hoped to do it next season BUT that he still hadn't had time to go through it thoroughly, and would not have the time until April–May. He sounded very, very friendly though (but he would be that, now, because of my position on the *Daily News*, so I'm not kidding myself) and now the work is hung up until he returns, for under the circumstances I hardly feel like sending it around elsewhere — and very probably antagonizing Stokowski. I wonder — if you happen to stumble across him accidentally, whether you could further probe his real intentions? If he is kidding me, I should like to anticipate him — for Stoky's kidded me once before. This time, however, I rather think he'll be more careful. The 4th is a natural for Stoky, just up his alley; he'd do it magnificently.

(2) Symphony No. 2 (the American symphony built mostly upon American-like material) has just yesterday been sent to Koussevitsky. I have had not contact with him for years, but years ago he definitely promised that as soon as I should write a new symphony he would perform it; this is a gesture on my part, and very probably nothing will come of it. Still, it might. It is this symphony, incidentally, of which Herbert Graf seems so definitely fond; in fact he offered to show it to Toscanini with his recommendation; again, however, I must state that poor Herbert undoubtedly considers himself obligated to me because of many small favors I've gladly executed for him in this region; I hope to God that he didn't feel obligated to offer to do this. I've just written

him, and asked him candidly, with many reassurances that I of all people could certainly understand if he chose not to show the work to Toscanini with his recommendation.

Thus, and to sum it up, Stokowski has a copy of the 4th, and has offered to play it next year conditional upon a closer look in April–May, when I expect a final word. Koussevitsky has received a copy of the 2nd by this time — a fact which will probably astonish him considerably, especially as “Girl Advises Boy” still appears in the Boston Globe (in fact it is one of their most popular features!) I have considerable hope that Stokowski will play the 4th, but little hope that Koussevitsky will play the 2nd; time, however, may prove the opposite to be true. Stokowski, having a home and considerable activity out here, may be “schmoozing” me. That is not my impression, but it is possible. Koussevitzky, who probably has not the slightest intention of ever coming out here, will judge the work (if he judges it at all) upon its merits — which is all that I ask.

To be complete, I’ve asked Herbert if he cares to show the 2nd to Toscanini — because, and in the case of Koussevitsky, I consider this Koussevitsky possibility remote enough to permit showing the work to another conductor or two — especially as most conductors are now busy arranging their next season’s programs — I do not want Koussevitsky to be the SOLE one to have a copy, and thus possibly miss next season because he fails to get at this work promptly for a decision.

The 2nd, too, might be an excellent work for Beecham. It is gay, colorful, “up his alley.” The first movement is somewhat “steely”, representative of New York; the second was written in New Orleans and is softly Creole; the third was written in San Antonio and is made up of some material from the “Archipeligo” rumba-like piece I showed you in

Cagnes the last time we were in my house there together; the fourth movement is a brand new “Los Angeles” movement with a strong Mexican-California tinge — it’s very jolly, really.

Well, there’s the entire picture. And now, that I’ve finished, I find that I’m too exhausted to continue writing you the really interesting news, which should follow and which I intended to write you after the “business” section of the letter was finished, I guess that will have to wait for next time.

I promise you this, however, if you will only answer me quickly, I’ll write you a whole outline of the immediate possibilities of the war to come — which, incidentally, you probably have as good ideas upon as have I — but we’ll be able to compare them. Big things in the theater-movies are cooking out here too — but not in the “background music” line. Much, much of interest to you.

If you haven’t heard form me often, you must at least know that you have been very often in my thoughts all of these many months. That, under the circumstances, was inevitable.

Boski and Peter²⁸⁷ send their best to you and yours. Once more again I will prematurely tell you that there’s a great chance of my coming eastwards on a trip, during March, but I’m afraid that it will only be as far as Washington, and upon a Liberator Bomber. It’s not certain, but fairly certain. Let’s not bank on it, as we did last year; please write.

²⁸⁷ Peter Antheil (b. 1937), George’s son.

Once again, I sincerely hope that my last long letter, some 6 pages long (like this one) did not get lost. Please notice change of address.

I'm dying to see your children, honest!

Devotedly,

George Antheil

5.2 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to George Antheil²⁸⁸

New York, 4 March 1943

Dear George,

I have to apologize for not having answered your last letter — but somehow I just didn't get around to doing it. I got it, all right, and it was always my intention to write you, but with an ever increasing amount of business responsibility on my mind I have to forego even the pleasure of seeing or conversing with my friends. I am glad to see from your letter of February 28th that you do not mind.

First, let me say that you should not anticipate anything I might say or think. Let me do the saying and thinking. I know better. For instance in stating that I would say: "Why didn't he write some brilliant piece on Morocco or Guadalcanal instead of writing a symphony," you were entirely wrong. Quite the contrary: to state a comeback such as the one suggested by you, you have to offer something, big, important, serious. To overcome the prejudice against *See Note - Boy Meets Girl - Ballet Mechnique - Daily News* and what not, you have to offer a symphony of a definite standing and a definite

²⁸⁸ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

quality not some little piece of no pretension or significance. In other words, I feel that you have not only followed the inspiration of your muse but have done a clever and quite up-to-date thing — provided, of course, the symphonies are good.

Let me say, furthermore, that there is now, after all, a definite demand for American Music. Even trash is being played by Toscanini and Stokowski and others for no other reason than the label “American Music”. Old Toscanini played a most hair-raising program of platitudes the other day on the radio — all American pieces by unknown or only too well known composers. Sevizsky is playing an American piece on each program etc., etc. In other words, all the ini-s and tzky-s are keen to prove their Americanism by playing American music. Now don’t think for one moment that I suggest that a genius like you will need such a wave to put him back on the map. I do not suggest that you are in one line with Morton Gould, Paul Creston and many others. But still, we can say that this is rather a fortunate moment for you to make a return appearance as a composer of Symphonic and similar music.

Of course, if you really would like to be managed by me (by the best man available in this country) you must forget about Stokowski and Koussevitzky and *Daily News* and everything else and must entrust yourself completely to my mercy.

I am afraid I cannot do it for nothing. Here is the reason: my contract with Boosey & Hawkes forbids expressly my doing any private work. I have to do everything through the firm. And the firm cannot work for nothing. However, I am willing to do it under the following terms:

1. You pay us a retainer of \$150. for general promotion expenses upon signature of our contract. This will hold good for one year.

2. We are to receive 20% commission of rental and performing fees collected for you.

3. You will provide us with at least five scores and later, one set of parts of the symphonies you want us to handle.

4. I suggest that we issue a little leaflet with picture and a short story of your musical achievements from Ballet Mechanique to Movies. This can be done here or in Hollywood, at your expense.

I could not judge the symphonies even if you would send to me. I am unable to read a score — and un-afraid to say so.

I have, therefore, to take more or less your word for their quality.

I am willing to bring the scores to the attention of every important conductor — and to do it with determination, skill and the best possible intentions. I do not promise any results: the scores have to speak for themselves. But I am confident that nothing could be done by you to insure in a more promising an less expensive way the best possible method to find out whether you should return to the circle of the immortals or rather spend the rest of your earthly days with the bulbs.

Looking forward to hearing form you, I am

Your devoted friend,

Hans W. Heinsheimer

5.3 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes²⁸⁹

Hollywood, 28 March 1943

Dear Hans,

My two weeks are up and various pressing business eliminated. I lost my suit against Republic Pictures, and the costs. It is rather an unfortunate matter, but I sued them upon a verbal contract — always a risky business.

Now, and as I said before, I liked your straightforward letter, and I will write you one equally as straightforward.

The first item I should like to discuss with you is this paragraph from your last letter “Of course, if you really would like to be managed by me (by the best man available in this country) you must forget about Stokowski and Koussevitsky and *Daily News* and everything else and must entrust yourself completely to my mercy.”

I am afraid, here, that I did not make my situation completely clear to you in my last letters. I have not saved up some \$20,000 or more during the past five or six years upon which I can now retire and entrust myself entirely to the mercies — not of you but of the U.S.A. musical world. I must continue to work at the *Daily News*, if Boski, Peter and I are to continue to eat. Moreover, the *Daily News* job is one which swings a great deal of power with it here in the great southwest, and such power might come in handy someday. Certainly, it will cause persons who intend to guest-artist out here to think twice before writing some of the vapid nonsense about me which some of them have, in the past, saw fit to do; we can be equally prejudiced out here. And there are other

²⁸⁹ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

advantages, such as appointment of new music critics, organization of new symphony orchestras, etc. etc. in which I can be extremely helpful if I choose.

Thus, if this is to be a fundamental condition of our working together I am afraid that our deal is out. And I would say this in deepest regret for I am quite aware that you are the only man in this country for me, the only one who could do the job I want done, right.

In regards to all musical matters, of course, I would defer to your judgment — although I have made some promises of a tentative nature to both Stokowski and Koussevitsky, but these are not beyond diplomatic repair.

The second item which I must discuss with you is this: once again I believe you have overestimated my financial condition, for although I should be perfectly willing to provide you with a \$150 retainer just as soon as I come to an agreement (which I personally hope will be soon) I cannot bind myself to the providing of one set of orchestral score parts of each of the works I wish you to handle. I have not yet been able to estimate the cost of such parts, but offhand I would certainly suppose that each one might cost me \$200 apiece, perhaps more if the parts should be needed immediately. Therefore, to say “yes” to this item might well cost me \$1500 overnight; whereas I would not be willing to provide even so much as \$150 for the copying of orchestral parts of my works during the entire term of our contract, with special exceptions.

My point of view concerning this item is this: I am perfectly willing to provide you with a \$150 retainer IMMEDIATELY, this to compensate you and your firm for the task of going out and attempting to sell my works for performance to various conductors.

Naturally, in so doing, you will entail various expenses, mostly those of your undeniably valuable time and energy. However, and if you are unable to sell (so to speak) the idea of performing the work, or works, to at least two symphony orchestras, there would seem to be but little reason for the copying out of the parts; BUT, if you do “sell” a conductor upon the idea of performance, you have already secured a future royalty of some \$75, or at least one third to one half of the cost of copying the parts.

Now I will say this immediately, for fear of being misunderstood; I have the greatest faith in my scores, and I also have the greatest faith in you. I have faith in my scores because both Stokowski and Koussevitsky have seen both the Second Symphony and the Fourth Symphony respectively, and obviously liked them; and I have faith in you, not because you are one of my best, oldest and dearest friends, but because you alone created the German operatic movement of the late 20's and made it a profitable proposition. Moreover, and in your last letter, I realize that you are not writing to me as an old friend alone, but also as a member of Boosey & Hawkes, which can be an entirely other proposition.

But, and as much as I would like to accept your proposition, I must ask you to attempt some better arrangement concerning the orchestral parts. If, for instance, a conductor should want to have the orchestral parts for trial rehearsal BEFORE he accepts the symphony, that, indeed, would be a different matter; in this case we might make some other arrangement. But, and generally speaking, I would expect you to extract the parts, deducting the costs from whatever royalties may, or may not, accumulate. Boosey & Hawkes is a great firm, and would have better facilities for doing this than I; moreover,

you probably would not order the making of such parts until you were fairly sure that you would get your money back, and quickly.

Koussevitsky, who seems to like my second symphony — for he has answered me almost immediately upon receipt of my score, personally. He said that he might have a chance to play the symphony, and would like to try it over in rehearsal, soon. Stokowski has practically promised to play the Fourth, and under the circumstances (which I cannot fully explain here) I am rather sure that he will. If, for instance, you would now copy out the orchestral parts of the Second Symphony, and send them to Koussevitsky as soon as possible (if you deem this to be the advisable thing to do should you and I come to a final agreement on our proposed contract) I should be willing to give you a larger, or double commission on the work, permanently. And it is a good work, certain to have many performances in the future; of that I personally feel certain.

In conclusion, please do not think that I overestimate the Koussevitsky or Stokowski situations. I do not; I know exactly what they mean. On the other hand, and as you yourself said, the situation for American music is excellent, and I am coming to you with a product for which there will undoubtedly be a great demand someday soon — if not of my work particularly, then of American composers of worth generally. I do not believe that you, as entertaining publishers, can afford to miss a bet, especially that of a not totally unknown name — a name that every time it has come before the American public shows a tendency to draw more attention than would be usual. Frankly, and to sum up, I do not believe that you should ask me to run all the risks, the burden of the expense — ***IF you are obviously unable to do anything with me.

If the Daily News job and the matter of the orchestral parts can be ironed out, then I am ready to sign a contract with you upon a moment's notice. Could I ask you for a speedy reply, for alas I have become almost as busy a man as yourself, with many projects (not all of them of a musical nature but exciting nevertheless) pending, and I too must make my speedy decisions.

I am sorry that I have had to leave your letter wait for two weeks, but it was absolutely beyond my power to do otherwise. Moreover, the loss of my suit must naturally influence me to take the best care of my money available; I have had other heavy expenses and payments, lately.

Please do answer me promptly, old friend, and be assured that I shall be more than happy if there is any possible way of our getting together. As I repeated before, I know full well that there is not a better man in the U.S.A., or in the world, to do the task required. And I want to help you to my utmost.

Yours devotedly,

George Antheil

5.4 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to George Antheil²⁹⁰

New York, 31 March 1943

Dear George,

Thank you for your letter of March 28th. First, let me say that you certainly misunderstood my last letter. Of course I never had any idea of suggesting that you should give up your association with your paper or anything else you might do in the way of earning your living. That would be suicide. As I wanted to say is that, as far as your serious music is concerned, I would like to be in charge and I can see from your letter that you are quite agreeable to this idea. So the first item of your letter can be considered as straightened out.

As far as the making of the parts is concerned, I can easily see your point and I think you are quite right in saying that we should wait for results before going into the expense of copying parts. Of course it is a very good idea to wait until we have a definite performance of the piece and then to use the royalty to cover at least part of these expenses. At the present time I do not think I can commit our firm to any understanding until we have seen how things go. I deal with these matters through our Artists Bureau which is an agency, but we might later on, if we have a success, transfer the whole deal to the publishing house in which case we would acquire the copyright, take care of all expenses, and pay you your royalties. For the present, however, we have to get started, and I would therefore suggest that we leave the matter of extracting parts in abeyance until we have some tangible results. If for instance, the New York Philharmonic

²⁹⁰ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

Orchestra should wish to perform one of the Symphonies, we will extract the parts, pay for all the expenses out of the royalties and charge you for the balance. You will either have to pay in cash if no future performances can be secured, or they will be taken out of future income. This seems reasonable enough.

You might like to know that a few days ago I was invited by Dr. Rodzinski, the new conductor of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, to visit him in Cleveland because he did not know anybody who could give him better advice while he was making up his programs. This sounds almost unbelievable, my dear George, but it is the truth, and I know of course that it does not surprise YOU. Well, I went there, and I spend the whole day with the man and I have already mentioned your symphonies to him. He wants to see the score of at least one of them in May at his country home in Stockbridge. I have today spoken to Mr. Reiner, conductor of the Pittsburgh Orchestra, who also expressed an interest and wants to see a score as soon as possible. There will be many more possibilities and although I am gladly prepared to wait with the extraction of the parts, I shall require a number of scores as it would be impossible to operate with just one copy.

I wonder, furthermore, whether it would not be a good idea to concentrate on two symphonies rather than to work on all three at once. The one which you played for Dr. Graf and which he described to me as really excellent probably should be promoted first and I think I should send this one to Dr. Rodzinski.

Here is what I would suggest we should do:

1. You will send me at least five, if possible more, copies of the scores of the two symphonies which you select for the first promotional effort

2. I am enclosing an agreement between the Artists Bureau and you regarding the terms under which the promotion will be carried out. If these are agreeable to you, please sign one copy of this agreement and return it to me at your earliest convenience.

I gather that this covers everything thoroughly and all I can say is that you should definitely not loose [sic.] one more day. During the next three or four weeks it will really be important for me to have these scores on hand not only to send out to Rodzinski, Reiner, and others, but also because I have visitors almost every day from conductors all over the country and will thus have a first class opportunity to promote these scores.

With kindest regards,

Cordially, H. W. Heinsheimer

5.5 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes²⁹¹

Hollywood, 13 April 1943

Dear Hans,

I'm sending you this contract at this rather late moment because I've really been too busy this week to attend to anything else but business. A great many things should come to final solution this weekend, however, and I'll have more time then.

I did not have the five copies of each score ready, so I first of all sent you my own copy (which, eventually, I'd like to have back for it contains all of my original corrections) of the 2nd Symphony, and since then I've sent two more copies of the second symphony, all three by parcel post. Tomorrow I'll send still another copy of the

²⁹¹ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

second, and by the end of the week I'll have two copies of the 4th symphony ready to send.

I am not enclosing a check with this letter because my check book is not available at this moment, but I want to get this letter off on this day because it's my good luck day. You don't have to worry, however, as by now I've already sent you some \$45's worth of scores, and have \$50's worth more ordered at the printers, and I would not sign this contract today unless I were prepared to go through entirely with our bargain. I hope that you will get to work immediately, as soon as the first score arrives; the 2nd Symphony is really the most easily understood of the two; I played them both for Copland the other night, and he believes this too. He seemed deeply impressed with the 2nd Symphony (which is nearer his particular understanding) and somewhat mystified by the 4th — which, however, he said “should play like a million dollars” nevertheless. I took several criticisms of his to heart, and made some slight alterations. Both Boski and I felt that he went away from this house deeply impressed.

I have to do all this work between analysis, from hour to hour, of the most exciting war in history, and therefore you must occasionally forgive me if I do not answer right away.

I'll write you again inside of a day or two. Good luck, old friend. You were really the only person who every managed to “produce” what he claimed he could produce for me; I have every faith in you.

Your old friend,

George Antheil

5.6 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to George Antheil²⁹²

New York, 22 April 1943

Dear George,

I wish to thank you very much for your letter of April 20th and money order in the amount of fifty dollars which has been credited to your account. I am certainly agreeable to the installment plan as outlined by you and I expect another fifty dollars on the 4th of May and the last to be made on the 18th of May.

I have, in the meantime, a very encouraging letter from Dr. Rodzinski whom I wrote a rather convincing letter after speaking to him in Cleveland, in which I outlined the importance of presenting your symphony with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and he writes to say that he is looking forward with great anticipation to studying the score in May when he will have time to do so. The score has been sent to Stockbridge, Massachusetts where he spends his summer and I think it might be a very good thing if you would write him a letter to this address. He is a man who wants a little bit of flattery, a rather conceited type of individual and someone who is particularly anxious to give American composers a fair chance. If you would write him something of this sort — telling him how much it would mean for your music to be presented by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, how everyone, even in California, is awaiting the New York season of the Philharmonic as something big and important and how much it would mean to American composers if, under Dr. Rodzinski's inspired leadership the Philharmonic would really be a new home for American music. Further, something of the sort that you

²⁹² Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

have, for many years, not been presented properly, having devoted your time more to the movies and that you feel you really have a message in the field of serious music and that you would not know of anyone more worthy to do something about it than Dr. Rodzinski etc. Don't make the letter too long, the man is very busy and would not read it, but dish it out to him nice and thick and good and send me a copy of the letter. It would be best to send it around the first of May. This will be just the time when he will probably make up his programs.

Rodzinski is extremely world-premier minded. We will have not to concentrate on him as far as the Symphony is concerned. If he does it he wants to be the first to do so and you could not get a better or more prominent performance anyway. In other words, please do not do anything else with this particular Symphony at the present time because if anyone else were to announce a performance it would place me in a rather peculiar and difficult position with Rodzinski.

So much for today.

Sincerely and cordially yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

5.7 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to George Antheil²⁹³

New York, 9 May 1943

Dear George,

I spoke to Dr. Koussevitzky on Saturday and he tells me that he is indeed interested in one of your symphonies but has been unable to decide on a performance without hearing it and first playing it through at a rehearsal. He also tells me that you know of this and that you have promised to send him the parts. Please be kind enough to give me a report at your earliest convenience.

Dr. Koussevitzky says the orchestra is now on vacation and he will be unable to rehearse the piece before September or October so there is no hurry and it gives us time to wait for Rodzinski's decision. However, he is seriously interested and I took pains to impress on him how much it would mean for him to produce this piece. Will you be kind enough to let me know just how your arrangements have been made and I shall follow this Koussevitzky business up in due time.

Yours sincerely,

H.W. Heinsheimer

{Just spoke to Bernard Herrmann²⁹⁴ who says he knows the piece and likes it.}

²⁹³ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

²⁹⁴ Bernard Hermann 1911–1975. Film composer best know for his work with Alfred Hitchcock.

5.8 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to George Antheil²⁹⁵

New York, 15 May 1943

Dear George,

I wish to thank you for your long and very explicit letter of May 12th which crossed in the mail with my report on my meeting with Koussevitzky. I had a long talk about the matter and I am afraid that no one will have enough persuasive power — not even I — to convince him that he should play the Symphony without playing it through in a rehearsal.

This of course, brings us again to the problem of the material. I have spoken to our copyist who does all the difficult work for Copland etc. He is willing to do the job for \$250.00 I wonder, George, whether we should not do something about it. Could you afford to make an arrangement with the man to pay him, let us say, \$50.00 per month and have it done in five months? I would advance the money to him if I have our assurance that this can be done. Otherwise, we have to wait for a final decision and we might lose chances. Now, during the summer, he has time to do it. Later it will be a rush job and more expensive. How about it?

Sincerely yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

²⁹⁵ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

5.9 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes²⁹⁶

Hollywood, 21 May 1943

Dear Hans,

I received your May 15th letter several days ago, and decided to sleep over it. And, as this letter is apt to develop some length, I've decided to write it upon this thin paper in order to save mail-plane space.

Let us return to the beginning of our correspondence.

At that time, as now, I was merely receiving a newspaperman's salary — good as such salaries go, but unimportant, perhaps, from the various amusement industries' (such as the movies, radio, etc) stand point. Moreover, even then, there was a possibility that I might be called to Washington at any time as an assistant to William C. Bullitt, Special Assistant Secretary of the Navy — a very honorable job, but one which would pay me but little more than I received here, meanwhile entailing all the expense of moving, and later, the higher living expenses of Washington, D.C.

At this time, too, I had about \$250 to \$300 to spend upon these two symphonies; no more and no less.

Also, and as I commenced this correspondence with you, I definitely had Stokowski's promise to play the IV Symphony (which, as I will explain later, was nevertheless contingent upon something else) and Koussevitsky's interest expressed in the same form he expressed that interest to you.

We are now at the beginning of our correspondence.

²⁹⁶ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

I would like you to understand this, Hans: when I chose you as the more or less recipient of this \$250 (\$150 to you direct, and \$100 in printed scores) I made a very important decision concerning that money. I, too, can get the symphony copied for \$250 (the parts I mean) right here in L.A. providing I gave the copyist all summer to do it; this was no kunststuck; therefore obviously, one of my decisions might have been to pass up the contract with you entirely, relying upon Koussevitsky to accept the symphony once he had heard it in rehearsal; and upon the promise which I had from Stokowski. With Stokowski playing my IVth and Koussevitzky playing my IInd — if that were to prove the case — I should, frankly, not have been in immediate need of your services; although, of course, I should have been in need of them later.

However, frankly, and as Boski and I earnestly discussed the matter then, there seemed no question but that the correct thing to do was to sign with you. In the meantime, too, I had to loan some money to a friend who was in trouble; this was an imperative matter; and so, even as I was about to sign the contract with you, I hesitated for a day or two, anxious that the situation might leave me out of funds to make the change-over to Washington, D.C., for which I might be called upon any day. At last we decided to sign it anyhow, relying upon your trust in me to send you the installments on time.

You did so rely, and so far everything has been satisfactory I hope.

Now, however, we commence to arrive at the point where there may develop a “poker game”, an “upping the ante” situation which, even before it happens, I must tell you I could not participate in even if the alternative meant the shelving of my symphonies

for another year, or five years. It is simply impossible; believe me if it were otherwise I would be deeply tempted to participate.

Hans — you are an old friend, and so, at any risk, I shall speak to you frankly. I feel I CAN speak to you frankly, and upon equal terms because (1) we are truly old friends, and (2) even though the entire world of music should blow up tomorrow my essential family life should not be too tremendously affected thereby; in other words, failure in what I now hope to achieve in musical circles would not deter my plans of tomorrow which, again and in themselves, would include music.

Now, and as I am now being absolutely frank, I would not have ordinarily signed such a contract as I did sign with you; between myself and the young composer who came to Vienna in 1928 with an opera “Transatlantic”²⁹⁷ exists a vast chasm — at least from the business standpoint. Frankly, and after I first read it, my first instinct was to draw up an entirely new one which would have, in some slight way, offered me at least one guarantee — and I was particularly interested in having YOU guaranteed as my agent; for instance, what if you had been called in the draft (which then seemed very menacing) etc. etc. As the contract now stands, and as I signed it, it could be turned over to anybody in Boosey-Hawkes once your personal interest, for one reason or another, might have disappeared in it.

Secondly, I did not like the idea of paying an agent, regardless of whether or not that agent was one of my best friends. I have had a consummate experience with agents in my lifetime, most of which has accumulated here in Hollywood within the last six

²⁹⁷ Antheil’s jazz opera premiered in Dublin in 1929.

years. None of this experience had been too good; in the end I usually “sold” myself, and the agent or agents collected their royalties. I know every in and out and squirm of this game, and it would frankly break my heart to in any way compare what you and I are now trying to accomplish with the kind of malarkey and shenanigans that go out here.

Let me explain the above paragraph in another way; I am an American composer. Regardless of all else, I am that; and as that I deserve a hearing that is not made too impossibly difficult; America owes that to her composers; what is more, inasmuch as I am a writer and newspaper editor as well as a composer, and inasmuch as Boddy shortly expects to expand into the east (N.Y.C.) after the war, it is quite possible that my opinion about the debt America owes her serious composers might eventually be important. Moreover, and even before that time, I may be in Washington, with important access to important ears and thus able to build up an interest, officially, that may someday turn into something of importance in this direction. I do not say this menacingly, Hans, for I am sure that you and I are at one on this subject. In other words, and again perfectly frankly, the ONLY reason I did consent to pay an agent, whomsoever, was that I HAD been out of the public spotlight for some years, and was willing to give \$250 — all I had — as a concession to this period of inactivity, non-publicity.

* * *

So, and to sum up, what have we? I would like you to understand, here, that I do not intend to be critical, for I have EXACTLY the same faith in you as always, and I will so continue. However, and frankly again, I can see some possible avenues of misunderstanding arriving in the future; I would like to point them out to you while we

are upon the present part of our highway — thus to forestall going up them when they arrive.

POINT # 1. Your contract called for 5 copies of each symphony. Now, actually, this would certainly lead anyone to believe that you were planning to send each symphony out to at least a number of conductors, almost simultaneously.

Still, and probably quite rightly, your letter or several weeks ago stressed that we should not give the impression sending these symphonies all about.

As I read this part of your letter the thought passed through my mind “why did Hans want all those copies of each symphony, then? I agree with him, but why did he want all those copies which--trusting what I believed his better judgment — I then sent without question, to the tune of \$100?”

I was going to send you one more copy apiece (you only had four copies) but desisted, at least until this matter was more fully cleared up.

POINT # 2. The Koussevitsky Question.

Symphony # 2 is now in the hands of both Koussevitsky and Rodzinski. The former has looked it over (1st uncorrected copy) and said he may play it after he hears it in rehearsal. The latter, as you see by the letter I sent last time, wants until mid-June to come to a decision.

Now, and here is a ticklish point, our contract — one of the few concessions an otherwise fairly one-sided piece of paper makes (in the matter of guarantees, understand) is that, should either work be accepted, Boosey & Hawkes will extract the parts, costs to

be later and similarly extracted from my account, presumably the accumulation of presumable royalties.

Suppose, now, that Rodzinki [sic.] — or any one of several other conductors to whom you would then (in the event of a Rodzinki [sic.] turndown) send out the 3 additional scores now presumably collecting dust upon the top shelves of the closet in your office? — suppose, now, that one of these should accept the 2nd Symphony before September (or the date when Koussevitsky would presumably want the parts). In that case, Boosey & Hawkes would automatically extract the parts.

However, and as long as we are supposing so much, let us also suppose that I was NOT dealing with H. Heinsheimer, but received a similar letter from B.&H. as I did two days ago. What thoughts, in such an event, would most naturally go through one's head?

At least, these thoughts did go through my head:

“It's a good thing I'm dealing with Heinsheimer, and NOT one of these Hollywood agents, otherwise I would immediately put an end to this thing here and now. For, now that I'm 'over a barrel' so to speak, in regard to Rodzinki [sic.] and his decision, I'm being asked not only to pay for the parts of the 2nd Symphony to what amounts “in advance”; but I am also being forced to consider

(a) Will Boosey & Hawkes work just as hard to get an acceptance for the 2nd Symphony from Rodzinki [sic], etc. etc. etc. during May, June, July, August and early September — FOR WHICH ACCEPTANCE THEY WILL HAVE TO COPY OUT THE PARTS AT THEIR OWN EXPENSE UNTIL

THESE EXPENSES ARE “RECUPERATED” BY PRESUMED
ROYALITES?

(b) Or won't they?

* * *

However, and in this regard, I am going to make the very best proposition I can make.

I propose that you make the parts of the 2nd Symphony, now, and during the summer.

As our contract now stands, you would have to copy out these parts upon any previous acceptance to a possible Koussevitsky one; moreover, if you fail to secure enough performances of it; afterwards, to accept that loss against my account.

This is what I will do: I will accept that loss. In other words, if the parts of the 2nd Symphony do not cost any more than \$250, and by January 1, 1944, you have not secured enough performances of the 2nd Symphony to have justified this outlay, I shall pay you the difference. In other words, if you have gotten .00 performances, I shall pay you \$250.00 providing, of course, that in this case the parts become my property. If, similarly, you have secured only one performance of this work, or \$100 royalty, I will pay you the difference, or \$150 at this date.

This does not apply to the IV Symphony around which there is no “Koussevitsky” situation.

I think this is very fair. In the first place, I could not send you \$50 a month during this coming season in any case, so that proposition as such would be “out” from the very

beginning. However, and rather than to promote any jitteriness in Boosey & Hawkes about the 2nd Symphony parts — particularly now that I so terribly need your cooperation with the Rodzinski matter — I would rather “nip it in the bud” so to speak, and therefore allow you to accept a possible Rodzinski acceptance without any thought of future loss to yourselves. Again, and as I said above, I think that this is fair, a very considerable concession, and one which should iron out whatever difficulties may be creeping up.

In the meantime, do not contact Stokowski, as I have just contacted him here, and we seem to be getting along very well with the IV Symphony, which he now seems inclined to play. I’ll let you know more about this later. But it will still take some weeks, and, meanwhile, I’d very much like to know how you feel about this letter — which I have written you as a friend, solely and only. Believe me this, Hans.

Your devoted,

George Antheil

5.10 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to George Antheil²⁹⁸

New York, 25 May 1943

Dear George,

Your letter of May 21st is at hand and in the same mail I received a letter from Rodzinski stating that to his regret he will not be able to play your symphony after he has read through the score. This seems to be final — but when I see him the next time I shall

²⁹⁸ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

definitely try to get more information from him as to his reasons. I would suggest that you do not write him again at present, but let it go.

This, of course, is rather a disappointment as I know how keen Rodzinski is to perform new American music, and I had thought that a performance here in New York would do more than anything else to promote the piece.

You ask me why I wanted five copies of the scores? At that time I did not know about the Rodzinski interest and I had intended to send several scores to different people. This, as a matter of fact, will have to be done now.

As for the parts, it is difficult for me to understand your suspicions. And if you will permit me to say so, I do not like the tone and the implications of your letter. If you do not like to pay an agent, why didn't you say so? Do you expect me and my firm to spend our time and our very valuable connections for nothing?

George, here is a very fair proposition: I think that somehow you and Boeske do not like the deal. I herewith suggest that we cancel our contract to relieve you from any obligations. I will return to you \$150.00 without charging you anything for my efforts in the past. You can use the money to have the parts extracted for Koussevitzky. I am making this proposition in all fairness. I am much too fond of you and Boeske so as not to wish to keep our old friendship intact without any doubts or ifs. I can understand that a Hollywoodian mind is full of suspicion and cannot see that a man just wants to work straight and without any detours. So please, let us call off the whole thing. I promise you I will continue to recommend your music and to love you.

Please write your okay and you will have your check for \$150.00 by return mail. I would like to keep one each of the scores — I might be able to help you with them.

Cordially yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

5.11 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes²⁹⁹

Hollywood, 28 May 1943

Dear Hans,

I apologize for my last letter. It was written during a fit of despondency about something else, so why don't you burn it; and let's start where we left off if it is agreeable to you? (After all, you are one of my oldest and most trusted friends.)

Rodzinski has, unfortunately rejected the IInd Symphony, but, and almost simultaneously, Stokowski has accepted the IVth. Stokowski was here two nights ago, when he had practically made up his mind to play it after a preliminary two or three days study, but he wanted to hear me play it upon the piano. Which I did, and he stayed to supper. He told me over the supper table that he considers the work a fine one, and that he will conduct it over the radio. He seemed so positive that he will conduct it that I did not go into the matter further, as I am to see him several days from now again, regarding some things in it. I'll find out then.

Now I do not know whether Rodzinski has declined the IInd Symphony because (a) he knows that Koussevitsky also has the symphony, or (b) because he's heard that

²⁹⁹ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

Stokowski has a symphony of mine (does Rodzinski think it is the second), or (c) because Rodzinski doesn't like the IIInd Symphony. But I suspect that it is (c) or that he doesn't like it.

My reason is this: one doesn't listen to a conductor, as I do, over the radio week in and week out, without getting an idea about him. The IVth Symphony is (if it is for anyone at all) for Stokowski or Rodzinski; for instance, it is, so to speak, within their taste cycle, if you know what I mean. On the other hand, the IIInd Symphony is quite within Koussevitsky's, Copland's, Golshman's, Reiner's taste cycle.

My instinct was, from the beginning, to "save" Rodzinski for my IIIId Symphony; it is very much in his direction, the sort of works he likes to play. Or — and I do want you to understand this, Hans, for it will be important if you wish to "sell" the symphonies for me — let us say that my composition has, to date, divided itself up into three periods (1) an early and very harsh period, (2) a mid-period, in which I reacted against the first period, and which is not only often quite "soft" but also has the flaws of an "unbergang's" period, in that the style has not quite ironed itself out, and (3) my last period, from 1936 onwards, which is neither harsh, nor "soft", but somewhat along the pathway — in an American way (and an Antheil way) of course — of Szostakovitch in Russia. I do not claim his talent, understand; I merely say this to you between ourselves, in order to give you a better idea, and I know of no better "secret" way of our understanding ourselves easily than by telling you that my two greatest modern idols are still Strawinsky and Szostakovitch; this is no longer perceptible in the IIIId and IV

Symphony, but it is still somewhat perceptible in the IIInd. I have only developed myself completely in the III & IV.

In other words, I wrote the IIInd Symphony mostly during 1932–1935, and this includes the orchestration (which I merely copied over, mostly, when I put it upon the master sheets; I did not wish to change the original too elaborately.) I have sent it to you because, of all my works, it is American, in the sense of folk-inspiration; but it's style still retains my early love for Strawinsky and Szostakovitch; it is not terribly visible, but it is visible nevertheless. The combination, in the IIInd Symphony, is, I think, calculated to please Graf, Copland, perhaps even Koussevitsky; but somehow or another it would not quite please Rodzinski — please do not misunderstand me, now, for I do not intend to say that I knew all along that Rodzinski would not take the IIInd, nor, for that matter, that the IIInd Symphony, utterly American, is not worthy of performance in spite of the fact that it is more agreeable to Graf, Copland, etc.

* * *

To leave all this complicated welter of what symphony might please whom, let us go back to actualities:

(1) Stokowski has definitely accepted the IVth and promises it a big radio performance next season. We are to study the work together further during the next week, after which time I will have more information — but, and knowing Stokowski all these years, I have never gotten such a definite promise out of him; and I am rather inclined to believe that he is genuinely enthusiastic about the work.

(2) Koussevitsky wants to hear the IInd Symphony — this after some preliminary study.

(3) I have two other works almost finished, or in preparation: the III^d Symphony, and a work based upon Stephen Foster (but not anymore exactly than Pulcinella³⁰⁰ is based upon Pergolese). These two later are entirely finished in piano score (with all orchestration noted alongside) and these piano scores have been written upon transparent paper, so I can send copies of both immediately if desired. The orchestration of both, however, are only partially finished.

(4) The style of the III and IV symphonies, written only a few months apart, are almost identical. In short, I have another, and entirely different symphony, but which is (in my humble opinion, but my opinion is honest) just as good, if not better than the IVth, or the one that Stokowski has accepted. If I work like hell I can probably finish the orchestration of the III^d during the next month; I shall have to do it during my evenings — If I have any and do not have to go to Washington as, from moment to moment, I expect.

So I suggest:

(a) Don't bother about the IVth Symphony parts: I'll take care of that here.

(b) If you can, do the parts of the IInd Symphony; I'll pay you for them by January 1, 1944, but in just what arrangement I cannot, at the present moment, tell. My financial matters have been complicated by a variety of misfortunes, but they should have commenced to straighten themselves out by mid-summer; why don't you therefore get

³⁰⁰ Stravinsky's neoclassic ballet (1919–20)

started on the IIInd Symphony parts immediately; you know my word is good, and that Boosey-Hawkes will lose nothing by betting on me just a little bit.

(c) That you write and tell me whether Rodzinski has been so insulted by the whole score of the IIInd Symphony that he is totally disinterested in seeing further works of mine; and, if he is not, whether WE COULD POSSIBLY SEND HIM THE PIANO SCORE OF THE IIID? If, then, he even rather liked it, it would prove a big incentive to me to stay up all of those necessary nights to finish the work by mid-July. In score.

(d) You may also like to see my Stephen Foster (Steven Foster) Homage; my portrait of a great American musician; I am, of course, very doubtful about a mere piano score — but even a piano score in such masterful hands as yours might be sufficient.

In regard to money: I am broke as hell. But I've sold a book, the third installment payment of which is due me in October, about \$750 dollars. I'll lay away a part of this for the parts of both the II and the IV — it'll be "parts money". But, and this is the point, I haven't got it now.

Also: quite a good deal of money is owed me, now, here in Los Angeles. One of my debtors has just gotten himself a good job: I hope he'll pay me; I'm going to ask him, damn it.

Also: I'm attempting to mosey out of the Washington job, which would certainly be a pain in the neck at this moment. I may succeed.

But it certainly gets one down to have to live in this uncertainty from moment to moment. I live with a packed suitcase. However, and since yesterday, something else has

happened which gives me hope that I can stay here and finish the work I've cut out for myself.

I talked to Boddy yesterday about a gigantic scheme I have for making Los Angeles the music capitol of the new era; and I got him jumping up and down with excitement and approval. Unless I am very much mistaken, you will be hearing about big doings from this quarter of the world before autumn.

But I've been damned terribly busy and overworked. Honest, Hans (better known to me as Kid Nebbich in times past) "Kid Sunshine" has been anything else but that for over a month and a half. I was practically drunk with lack of sleep several weeks ago; I've only now began to catch up. I wish that music could again be my whole life, and after I manage to get things started, both for myself, and for Los Angeles, perhaps that is what will happen again. I'm too temperamental for this particular kind of a life — although I have some considerable talent for it at that.

Boski — who knows nothing about our last several letters — send her best to all of you, as do I.

Your devoted friend,

George Antheil

P.S. Please do answer soon.

5.12 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to George Antheil³⁰¹

New York, 23 June 1943

Dear George,

Thank you for your letter of June 21st. The reason why I didn't write to you is that there is nothing to report just now. The meeting with Rodzinski did not come off. He was taken ill and did not come to town, but he wrote me that he will be coming in in the near future and I will then take up the matter with him.

I saw Dr. Reiner last Sunday and he told me that the SYMPHONY is on his desk and that he will study it at his very first opportunity.

Thank you for sending me the Graf letter. I have called Mr. Steinberg who lives in New Rochelle near New York and he promised to come to see me upon his next visit to New York. At this time I will take up with him the question of one of your Symphonies for Toscanini and for himself.

George Szell will be conducting at the Hollywood Bowl this summer. He is a close friend of mine and I would like you to meet him. I have spoken to him about your music and when he is in Los Angeles, please contact him referring to the conversation I had with him. He has many concerts and might be interested in the Symphonies or more likely in one of the shorter pieces.

I am sending you under separate cover the score of your FOURTH SYMPHONY as per your request.

³⁰¹ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

Cordially yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

5.13 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to George Antheil³⁰²

New York, 23 July 1943

Dear George,

I had lunch with Mr. Leinsdorf³⁰³ and I am grieved to say that we had no success with him. I think I had better tell you frankly that he feels the SYMPHONY is much too long, and that there is not enough material and not enough ideas in it for a piece of such duration. In other words, he is not going to perform it.

Please don't think that this will discourage me. I shall keep trying.

Cordially yours,

H.W. Heinsheimer

³⁰² Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

³⁰³ Eric Leinsdorf, Austrian born conductor who was director of the Cleveland Orchestra beginning in 1943.

5.14 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes³⁰⁴

Hollywood, 4 August 1943

Dear Hans,

I must apologize for not having answered your last letter about the Leinsdorf rejection in such a very long while, but the fact of the matter is that I have been giving this particular situation and its various ramifications a lot of study.

This is what I have decided:

Firstly, the IInd Symphony is too long. I do not wish to apologize for it, as it does not in any sense need an apology; indeed, and of my three symphonies, it is probably the most vital in the purely inventive sense; Copland and Graf both felt this. Copland felt, however, that it could stand cutting. It is repetitious.

Therefore I have given it long re-study, and marked out a number of cuts and readjustments, all of them calculated to help the eventual performance of the symphony. These cuts are very considerable, and would affect the copying of the parts if these parts are already almost finished.

Would you, therefore, please stop the further copying of the parts of this symphony until further notice. You may also instruct the copyist that he will not have to wait very long for the new, and corrected, score; but now it will only be two thirds as long as before.

In conclusion on this first point; I do not in any sense feel that I need apologize for this symphony. But one thing is certain — it was written over a considerably longer time

³⁰⁴ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

than were the other two; therefore, in the many preliminary sketches and over the length of time and changes of my circumstances, it probably tended to lengthen instead of coming to the point. Both the other symphonies are considerably shorter. Now they shall all be of one approximate length. I am very glad that this matter has come up before Koussevitsky tried the piece over in rehearsal.

Secondly, in order to prevent further embarrassment upon this score (it has already had two turn-downs, Rozinski [sic.] and Leinsdorf) perhaps you had better send back to me whatever scores of this symphony you may have at hand. (Please, however, do this at my expense.) I will then “fix” them, and send them back to you immediately.

In this connection I could not possibly imagine what it might be politic to do about Reiner (who also has a copy of this symphony); but, and if in your very excellent judgment in these matters, you should think it advisable to notify him that I’ve made considerable cuts in the score he possesses — with the view towards a better performance of course — it may at least save us a turn down in this direction too.

In short, I fully realize that the symphony is about one third too long for its material and ideas — it is an unusually long symphony anyhow, and this will always be a difficulty that will stand in its way unless I do something immediate and drastic about it now — and I am doing just that. I only regret that after I had written symphony #3 and #4, that I did not return to #2 and give it the benefit of the experience I had gained in #3 and #4; in that case I should certainly have done what I am doing now. But, and as you know, I was so very anxious to send you the work, to “get things going” so to speak. It

was an error, and I must attempt to rectify it; perhaps you will help me; the symphony is worth it.

I have all the corrections made upon the master sheets, here, and I can guarantee that I shall keep whatever scores of the IInd you are now able to send me, only a very short time.

* * *

And now to two other matters:

(1) I have finished two other works, both of which I shall send you by the end of this week, or the beginning of next at the very latest. One of these, called “String Music For The Fourth of July Evening” is a sort of a Concerto Grosso in five movements, all of them symphonically knit together, and all of them using quite some well-known old American material as subsidiary material. I have shown this particular work, in full, to Virgil Thomson, who one was one of my closest friends but with whom I quarreled around about 1932 — but we are close friends again, and he has spent a considerable number of evenings, again, at our house in Hollywood. Virgil likes this piece very much: he has said so repeatedly, and I know him long enough to be very chary in such regards. This piece is completely finished, and is the light-pause man’s right now.

(2) The other work, three pieces for an orchestra “by two” (two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, etc) is called “Mediterranean 1943” and the first piece of it is called “Tunisia”, and second “Sicily”, and the third “The Invasion of Europe.” I have had a lot of fun writing it for, obviously, it is based upon present events — although not in any sense a “tone poem” or descriptive work. The last “number” is, of course, my military

analysis as to where and how the final invasion of Europe will occur — obviously I believe it will occur in the Mediterranean basin.

Do you like the idea? I have the first two pieces already printed — I could really send them to you immediately — I am so busy nowadays that I cannot always be sure that I can deliver when I promise, for the third piece “The Invasion of Europe” is not quite fully scored yet; it is about two thirds finished.

The pieces are short, and colorful — full of the Arabic, French, Turkish, and Italian music I know so well. A sort of “Capriccio Italiano” brought up to date.

I have played these pieces for no one, yet, but feel that they are amongst my most simple, and my best.

If, therefore, you should receive (1) the complete score of “String Music For The Fourth Of July Evening” and (2) two thirds of “Mediterranean 1943”, I hope that you will nevertheless be able to commence doing something with the latter immediately; both of them should be something of interest for the immediate present, or the not too far distant future. You could tell the conductors involved that piece number 3 will be forthcoming immediately.

* * *

And now for intimate, non-musical news:

So many persons commenced to trick me into various pieces of personal publicity that I decided to fire myself from the *Daily News* publicly, while remaining upon it privately. Thus, and to the world, I remain a musician simply — while, privately, I remain Boddy’s principal editorial advisor still. It is quite wonderful.

However, and as the job paid me nothing more than a western editor's salary — which, as you must know, is never too much — I am doing a job on the side which is very interesting, inasmuch as it gives me a public of some 20,000,000 persons. I am the military expert on John Nesbitt's "Passing Parade" broadcast every Tuesday — you might listen to it if you have the chance. (Pall Mall cigarettes) I've been doing this for a month, and at a laughably large and interesting salary — quite a movie salary, really. Of course, it's only for the summer, but it is certainly putting me back on my formerly very shaky financial feet.

Last month a few days before it occurred, we signalled the entire new Mediterranean set-up; recently we've been more or less correct, too. My work, here, is not purely military analysis, but also military background for the stories, news items, etc. etc. Nesbitt tells over his program.

* * *

Well, Hans, this letter is long enough, I hope that everything is going as well for you as you deserve; that would be very good indeed.

Your old friend,

George Antheil

5.15 Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes to George Antheil³⁰⁵

New York, 18 August 1943

Dear George,

Upon returning from a little vacation I found your letter of August 4th. I have written to Leinsdorf and told him that it was, among other reasons, his views which prompted you to revise the SYMPHONY and I have promised him a copy of the revised score later on. In the meantime I have asked him to return the original score. I have written furthermore to Reiner because I think it is much wiser to ask him to return the SYMPHONY now before he may turn it down for the same reason. As soon as I have these scores I will send you the four copies.

{I want to congratulate you on your new radio job — it is simply amazing to see how you get to new jobs — always [something] new and exciting. Have you seen Stokowski? I understand he is back from Guatemala. What about the performance of the 4th Symphony. Nail him down, George!

Cordially,

H.}

³⁰⁵ Typed autographed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

5.16 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at Boosey & Hawkes³⁰⁶

Hollywood, 25 October 1943

Dear Hans,

I have been rather looking forward to an answer from you concerning my letter of October 6, but perhaps it is just as well that you have not yet acted upon it, as per my request.

The original idea in copying out the parts of the IInd Symphony was to send them to Koussevitsky, in order that it might be tried out in his hearing — all this designed towards a possible performance at the end of this season or the beginning of next. However, and during the summer, I was prompted by the Leinsdorf critique of it to sharply cut it down from its original size, this delayed the copying a month or so, but at the time I sent you the revised score it would still not have been too late to have copied out the parts for Koussevitsky.

Now, and with one thing or another, we are upon the verge of November and without much further progress towards the completion of this job. Therefore, and insofar as the parts are concerned, I am going to make a decision. It is this: —

(1) Let us cancel entirely the attempt to copy the parts for this season for Koussevitsky to try them. In this case I shall send you immediately the sixty dollars which the copyist demands now, and you can keep whatever the copyist has done to date until we are a little further advanced upon our future plans, if any, together; i.e., you and I might decide to concentrate (insofar as Koussevitsky is concerned) upon a new work

³⁰⁶ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

which I hope to finish before Christmas — or, on the other hand, you might feel that it is too difficult to “sell” my work to various conductors at the present time, or anyone of a number of possibilities.

In other words, insofar as the present deal on the IInd Symphony is concerned, perhaps we’d better put the whole thing on ice — and concentrate, if you are so willing, upon other things of mine? ~~Or cancel out the present situation entirely.~~

(2) If you have not already sent the other copy of the revised IInd Symphony to Reiner or Leinsdorf, do not do so, in my present frame of mind I am very much inclined to regard my IIIrd and IVth Symphonies as MUCH better, and more indicative of my present direction, than the IInd — which was written over a span of years in which I was not entirely happy or concentrated upon music entirely.

Your devoted friend,

George Antheil

5.17 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer

Hollywood, 3 August 1952³⁰⁷

Dear Hans,

Your wonderful and very much appreciated letter came in during my temporary absence at the Bohemian Grove, 70 miles north of San Francisco, where I have been on a two week vacation. I drove down from there on Saturday to attend the partial (with Piano, and with Kendall’s blessing) premiere of VOLPONE at the Loberio Theater at Santa

³⁰⁷ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

Barbara at 4 o'clock Sunday, and, from there, on to here, were I have arrived today to open my mail. I am so terribly happy about the news you've sent of Ebert's enthusiasm — and, most of all, about your own continued wish to get together with me on the future of VOLPONE. You know, Has, I really wouldn't have written this opera without your encouragement; it is really your open too.

I am extremely happy to report that this little foretaste of the opera, done with five singers sitting in chairs, and Wolfgang Martin at the piano, after two weeks of preparation, WAS A TREMENDOUS AND INSTANTANEOUS SUCCESS WITH THE PUBLIC. We did only one half of the first act; but it was continuous, so that they could understand it as an opera, not as a series of well-chosen concert fragments. Everybody, now, who was there, cannot wait until they see and hear the whole thing, in its final setting. Sheets, the retired head of Socony Oil, who was present, came to me afterwards and offered, outright, to finance this opera's premiere in anyway I see fit; he was so terribly enthusiastic. (But don't tell Ebert, as I prefer, really, to work with it thoroughly at U.S.C., and with him, first.)

It is interesting to see how varied the audience was who so loved it. The Santa Barbara society set, who were our audience, are terribly rich people — but ultraconservative — loved it because, as they said "it is so full of tunes one can remember", and because they understood all of it as a stage work. Martha Graham, who was present, loved it because, as she said to me afterwards (she came up to hug and kiss me) "it is what we all have been waiting for; it is a complete and final expression of you, as well as one of the finest works of modern art" (I quote her literally, as I was careful to

memorize her words, afterwards, for you.) Her sister, Mrs. Winthrop Sargeant (her husband is one of the editors of LIFE who has long wanted to do an article on me, as he is one of my few tremendous admirers) was also wildly enthusiastic about it.

Hans, I write you all this with some trepidation as, in the past, I have often written you about various successes, and half successes of mine which, then, proved to be less than we had hoped. But, with the exception of the Fourth Symphony in Washington under Kindler, I have never had such a wholly spontaneous approval; and, because it might be important to you too, I feel that it is my duty to the work to report the truth, the bare and utter truth. This first foretaste of the opera convinces me that I have done the wisest thing of my life in making these revisions which, truth to tell, are the making of the work.

For, and at the age of 52, it is time to either produce something that could just possibly pass for a masterpiece eventually, or else stop pretending to be a composer of first rank. Therefore, and in this revision, I took care to (1) not spoil the style which, from the first, I had hit upon as correct for VOLPONE, and, too, as a completely new opera style, yet (2) to leave no stone unturned which would make even one moment of this opera inexpert as to technique, or presentation SO THAT EVERY MOMENT ON THE STAGE IS BREATHLESS WITH INTEREST, regardless of whether the music is as slow as molasses, or as quick as a lightning flash. With the NEW Volpone, I assure you, you are going to see something (in the score, and in the presentation) that is ultimate in modern opera technique — as well as a full development of the musical material itself. Not a moment of amateurism.

The young singers, incidentally, sang the whole thing easily, and marvelously; and, above all others, they are wild with enthusiasm because, as they all told me “it gives the singers a chance to get over the footlights as do few modern operas, except *The Consul*”, in fact some of them went overboard as to say it was the only one. They are the same people that did so well in *The Consul*.

Well, enough of that: and let me, now, tell you some funny stories about my vacation. I spent it at the Bohemian Grove which, as any one as well versed in American things as you are, you must know is the most exclusive two-week men’s club in America — and the place where much of the future politics, as well as other matters, of the country is decided. The Bohemian Club, of San Francisco, is composed of San Francisco’s richest men; but the Bohemian Grove, their summer encampment, is a fabulous place where all the richest and most powerful men of the U.S.A. accumulate, or most of them, for two weeks of fun and complete democracy. For instance, let me give you an idea:

I was playing the Steinway in our little part of the camp, inhabited by ten men, all of them away at the moment. An elderly guy, attracted by my Debussy (*Reflections On The Water*, which I used to play as concert pianist) came in and asked me to play some other things for him. I did, introducing myself; and he introduced himself as Julius somebody, I didn’t catch the last name, and anyhow, up at camp, it was not important. So, afterwards, we talked a lot of culture talk about music, painting and, afterwards, went to the big open camp dinner together. (Dinner, at The Bohemian Grove, is always ensemble; but the lunches are at the 150 little camps of about 10–20 men each.) We ate,

had a drink or two at the bar; and I said to myself “here is a lonely man; few people talk to him; I’ll be nice to him and invite him to lunch at our camp-site tomorrow.” So I said, “Governor Warren, Gordon Deann of the U.S.A. Atomic Energy Commission, and Chief Justice Bob Jackson will be our guests at my encampment tomorrow. Would you like to come, Julius?” He said “my name is Junius, not Julius, and I accept with pleasure.” What is more, he came, and I finally found out his last name, Morgan. So we all had a nice lunch; and afterwards I asked Jerry, “who was my guest, Junius Morgan; I really don’t know the guy, but he seemed so lonely.” “For God’s sake” exclaimed Jerry “you don’t mean to say that you don’t know Junius Morgan, son of J.P. Morgan, and the present head of the House of Morgan, greatest bankers in the world?” So, the next day I saw him some more; and he’s invited me to his house, when I go to New York. Only that could happen in Bohemian Grove. However, and in spite of all these great names, I would have a thousand times rather have been with you in Europe — this was just a mild substitute of a vacation, too short at that, but it was rather fun. I don’t want to make this letter too long, but I will write you again, soon.

5.18 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to George Antheil³⁰⁸

New York, 22 December 1952

Dear George,

Thanks very much for your nice letter and for the Christmas and New Years greeting which the whole family reciprocates most heartily. Incidentally, a couple of

³⁰⁸ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

years ago you presented Tommy with a book on stars and other astronomic mysteries, which at that time was a little bit above his age. Now he not only studies it, but reads whole chapters to me while we are traveling in the car, so your gift is appreciated by both of us. He never fails to say, "This is the book George gave me".

I hope you had a chance to hear the Metropolitan on Saturday when I had Peggy Bates as guest. I think she spoke my lines very attractively, and I felt that I had succeeded in writing stuff that she really could say as if it had been her own.

I am writing today particularly to invite you to listen in this coming Saturday, December 27th (La Boheme), because we will have a discussion on opera workshops, and the way the script reads now, there will be a very nice plug for Volpone and its forthcoming production in Los Angeles. However, as you know, there are always many changes and cuts at the last minute so I can by no means guarantee that this will be kept in the script by the time we go on the air, but any way, I wanted you to know about this.

I am not doing the script for La Giocanda on January 3rd, which is something I know very little about, but I am doing again Die Meistersinger on January 10th.

In the February issue of HOUSE AND GARDEN, you will find an article of mine on opera, which might interest you.

I am afraid that it is quite definite that I won't be able to come to California in January. I can neither absent myself so long from Schirmer's here, nor get away from the broadcast schedule, but I am sure you will keep me posted on everything that happens with Volpone, and I promise you to do everything in my power to help you with it later

on. My most ardent wish for the New Year is that your opera will be a tremendous success.

All my best.

Cordially yours,

H. W. Heinsheimer

*5.19 Hans Heinsheimer at Home to George Antheil*³⁰⁹

[New York], 14 January 1953

Dear George,

I was most unpleasantly surprised to receive your letter and to see that you have not sent me the reviews by Goldberg and Mildred Norton — because they might re-review the opera after cuts. Good heavens, George — I have been in this game for over 30 years — for God's sake — keep me posted on what happened and don't try to hide such obvious facts as a poor review. If you want me to HELP you in what seems to be a difficult spot, don't treat me like one would treat a half-wit. It is IMPORTANT that I see these reviews, that I form an opinion on what these people had to say and be prepared, after I heard the tapes and studied the score, to decide where they are right and where they are wrong. Also, if I want to HELP you I have to know what they said to be prepared to battle it out with others.

If Boosey & Hawkes take your opera, you might not need my help. I wish most sincerely they did — but knowing more about their present set-up I bet you that they will

³⁰⁹ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

not take it — they wouldn't even have done so with excellent press. It leads too far to tell you why I think so but I am quite sure of what I say. Betty Bean has been fired just because she tried to conduct an independent branch here in America — ruthlessly fired — and things have not changed since. However, one never knows, only, I wouldn't expect anything from that quarter.

What you should now do, after we have been friends for 30 years:

(1) Not play games with me by withholding reviews from me which only infuriates me. Of course, if you won't send them I will write to the Schirmer office in L.A. and get them — what is this all about?

(2) Send me all reviews, bad or good so that I can see what the general reaction was.

(3) Send me the NEW shortened tape and score.

(4) Permit me to give you, after I heard the work, a candid opinion on what I advise you to do with the work — which you don't have to accept but which I feel it my duty to give you.

This is a very tough game, George, and nothing but absolute frankness and brutal cutting out of any self-delusions can help. I will listen most carefully to your tapes and will analyze the work for you as only a real friend with a little knowledge in the field will do it for you. I don't care what Goldberg³¹⁰ writes or Perry thinks or Ebert smiles or Antheil hopes. I will give you the opinion of the greatest living authority on modern

³¹⁰ Los Angeles music critic Albert Goldberg (1925–1986)

opera — myself — without any restraint or considerations for anything but the work itself.

Jesus Christ — think of it — the guy is not sending me Goldberg!

Love,

Hans

5.20 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer³¹¹

Hollywood, 27 March 1953

Dear Hans,

Your two most welcome letters, one from your home and one from your office, gave me the first real happiness I've had in weeks, honestly. I already knew, of course, about Punch; and, had I not had a letter from you yesterday, I would have written you that this was now fait accompli, and also to thank you with all my heart for your role in this accomplishment. (Weintraub had already written me the day previous; he ended his letter with the words "Heinsheimer has been a perfect angel" — I'll show it to you this summer.)

Hans, one single more paragraph about VOLPONE, and then let's leave that particular opera out of our joint lives forever. I want you to know, particularly, that I regard this opera — as I said in the beginning when I started to write it — as my "university of opera". As you know, the period of 1933–34 was particularly trying to me, spiritually, in fact so much so that I literally stopped writing music for almost seven

³¹¹ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

years. When, after my brother's death, and the resulting shock therefrom, I stepped gingerly back into the field of composition with my Third and Fourth Symphonies, it was like an infantile-paralysis case learning to walk again. Each step was painful. And it took a lot of courage, particularly with a family to support. Now, specifically, the whole 1928–33 period was closely associated with opera; of all the fields of music which frightened me — yet which I had had considerable experience in — was opera. Even though I had re-entered the field of musical composition, it still took a major effort to re-enter that for me most dangerous section it, opera. I have done that, now, and not quite too utterly disastrously. There is a split vote on it and, I think, judgment will be reserved, especially by you, until July 8 (my birthday!) when we shall see whether my “university of opera”, *VOLPONE*, has taught me anything in its “postgraduate course.” My only hope is that it will not be too utterly damned, then, as I have learned so much from it that, with the slightest encouragement, I will certainly devote a major part of the remaining years of my life to opera — which I have re-entered again, after so many mental hazards. And now enough, forever, of *VOLPONE*; and I want you to know, too, that I appreciate, now, everything that you have done and said regarding it. If I succeed, now, in writing a better future opera, there is nothing whatsoever lost; moreover, I think all this has caused you and I to renew our dear friendship, and to have cleansed it. That is one of the most valuable things in my life; and I think, too, it demonstrates that both of us, though growing older and perhaps a little more choleric, are men of considerable stature.

And now to pleasanter things.

It goes without saying, of course, that nothing would give Boski or myself greater pleasure than to spend a month together this summer. Let us immediately say that we shall do it, and leave the details for a little later. My reason is mainly this; I want to discuss the matter of “where” with Boski, and she is leaving, today, for an automobile trip to San Francisco with Peter, on his Easter vacation, which means they will be gone for an entire week. However, now, Boski knows about what we all plan to do, and she promises to give it a lot of thought on this trip. I cannot go with them, much as I would like, for a number of reasons, one of which is that I have to stay here on business of the bread-and-butter kind; a contract is in the making, here, which will probably be jelled this coming week, and I want to be here to sign it, or iron out details; I would hardly be forgiven if I were absent, in San Francisco. Another thing is this: I may very well be in New York during the second and third week of April, due to the fact that I postponed the Trumpet-Sonata plus Ballet Mecanique concert via Peggy Bate last year (we had a long discussion, via mail, on this subject) and that postponement now lights upon April 25th. I would, still, like to postpone this concert until after the Punch Opera premiere, but it looks very difficult, and I would not like to antagonize Peggy too much by asking for still another postponement. Yet, should you advise that, it would still be possible; I’ve talked to Peggy over the phone. A word about that in a moment; in the meantime Boski is going to be away for a week and, directly after that, I am likely to be in New York, seeing you face to face. When I know that I shall probably see someone face to face, soon, I always procrastinate writing about those particular details for, despite all rumor to the contrary, I

do like to talk better than write. It is fun, writing, but more fun talking. Boski and I will have a few days, after her return, to talk this over; and, in the meantime, I'll think too.

But I do like your idea of Mexico. But let's not fix upon it, absolutely, yet. There might be better ideas. I have several already; but, as they would take pages to expound, let's wait just a little longer.

About April 25th, I know it is dangerous, particularly at this moment, to do the Ballet Mecanique again. On the other hand, it will be paired with my Trumpet Sonata, written last year, and which has been extraordinarily successful at Yaddo; I believe you sent me the Times critique yourself. That will be labeled 1952; the B.M. 1924. Though, frankly, I have entirely re-edited it, copying it over on translucent paper-masters so that copies may be made. Needless to say that, in this editing, I have cut everything to the bone so that what was before a composition of over a half hour is now barely 17 minutes, and highly compressed and interesting, every moment of it. (I think.) I was quite amazed, as I went through it, page by page, to notice how often, especially in transitional passages, I had written it in almost pure 12 tone technique, instinctively; indeed, some pages are pure twelve-tone. However, that is it's least important (if it is important at all) angle. It is mostly "supertonal" or atonal with a tonal center constantly stressed. Its rhythms are strange, barbaric, quite different from almost anything I know. In its present state, and if done with any precision, it is almost certain to erase a good deal of the previous bad impression on New York in 1927³¹², when it was really not well done at all — to say anything of the fact that it was too, too long. In my optimistic moments to tell

³¹² Referring here to the poorly received Carnegie Hall premiere of *Ballet mécanique*.

myself that this April 25th date is as good a time to lay the ancient ghost of Ballet Mecanique as ever (it was a success in Paris, where Golschmann gave it a far more exact performance; and I had cut it somewhat, too) and, also, in my more pessimistic moments I also tell myself that this is a hell of a moment, just before VOLPONE July 7, to take such a chance. Anyway, if it is done, I shall be in New York before very many days have passed. I have asked Peggy for a postponement, but not pressed it. She knows that I have been so overworked, recently, that I am almost at the point of collapse; she hears this through a constant correspondence with Ben Lees, whom you met. I understand, through a telephone call he had with her, that she would postpone, rather than permanently injure me, but she hates to as everything is printed.

Actually, I am in fairly good health though, as Benny knows, terribly tired. I need a vacation badly; New York may be the thing. This is the first winter of my life in which I have not had a single cold or day in bed — a record. (I haven't had time; which causes me to believe that they are mostly psychosomatic!) Yes, you are right; the time now comes, gradually, when both of us should ease up a bit.

As I said, this shall be a fairly short letter for me (who usually writes at least 4 pages like this!) because, I think, I shall either see you soon, or have more facts upon which to write; but, in any case, it is decided that we shall spend our summer vacation together, out here, or southwards, somewhere. That is, for me, a most bolstering thought. In the meantime, Hans, thanks, thanks, thanks, for Punch. My heart is wordless, but very, very warm.

Love, much,

*5.21 Hans Heinsheimer at Home to George Antheil*³¹³

New York, 24 May [1953]

Dear George,

Thanks a lot for your letter — glad to know that nothing more serious prevented your writing but the completion of your opera — and congratulations and sincerest wishes at this new turn of the exciting events around *Volpone*. It all sounds fascinating — and I'll be most interested to hear of further developments.

Don't work too hard, kid — we are getting along in years. I feel the strain of a quite overwhelming season — still not let up as you have noticed from the recent broadcasts — now the Voice of America has re-discovered me and has ordered three radio scripts to be done at once. Then, June 12 to June 15 I will be the representative of music at the Brandeis festival at Brandeis University in Boston the other speakers being Louis de Rochemont, Aaron Copland, Karl Shapiro, Peter Viereck and James Johnson Sweeney. I am to speak on Theatre Music at a Symposium, act as Discussant at an evening of new operas (a new work by Leonard Bernstein, *Les Noces*, *Dreigroschenoper* and *Symphonie pur un homme seul* by Pierre Schaeffer — an example of the *musique concrete*) — and then again be a speaker at the closing symposium.

So you see, all this and an executive at Schirmer's too is a big and a little confusing way of life. In addition I am preparing a trip to Europe that was planned as a vacation but is already deteriorating into a business trip. My schedule is: Brussels, Holland, London,

³¹³ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

Zuerich, Milano — then, I hope, a few vacation weeks in Italy - Salzburg - Paris — and home September 3. Leaving here July 11.

You ask me about Musical Courier — of course you are quite right that such a thing is not done by a composer — by all means the answer has to be NO.

We had a nice day with Krenek who came out to our house in the country and apparently enjoyed himself — he looks well and seems to be quite happy with his present set-up. I had a long wire from Eric Zeisl reporting on the success of his opera *Leonce and Lena* — did you by any chance see it or have you any reports on it? The new Bernstein opera *Trouble in Tahiti* is quite interesting — at least from the score — I will see it in Boston a little later — only half an hour and brim full of excitement, it seems to me.

The *Sniper* hasn't shown up in our neighborhood here — as soon as it does I will see it and write you about it.³¹⁴

Love to all,

Hans

5.22 *George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³¹⁵

[Hollywood], 25 August 1953

Dear Hans,

I just received your letter of August 23, and want to tell you again how really completely happy I was with your visit. I know that Boski was happy too, and Peter; but

³¹⁴ Antheil composed the score for the 1952 film *The Sniper*.

³¹⁵ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

one can; ultimately, only speak for oneself. It was one of my most heartwarming experiences, especially after this year, and I think, now, it proved that our friendship is of the strongest, practically unbreakable over every test.

I think that one of the most important items of friendship, true friendship, is to understand, completely, one another's dilemmas, as well as one's strengths. I want to emphasize here that I think that, in the past, we ran into troubles only when business of some kind or another intruded — that was almost inevitable as, frankly, I was always a composer with some ax to grind, some composition to get published or pushed; and you have almost consistently been “the man in power”, one who could get things done for me, if he believed in him, them. You can imagine, dear Hans, the temptation! However, I have learned my lesson this year. I will, still, always ask your advice but only on this multiple condition: that (1) you understand that regardless of the fact that you are “in power”, so to speak, I SHALL NEVER EXPECT YOU TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT; in short, if you like a work, or an idea of mine, I shall never, even slightly, expect you to follow up that approval with business deeds, and (2) regardless of what your advice is, pro or con, and whether or not I act upon it (which I usually do, as it is invariably the best advice possible) I shall not hold you accountable for it, it's success, or non success, ever. I think that this should, now, leave a free and easy situation between us, one in which, whenever emergency arises, leaves me free to ask your most valuable advice; and, too, you free to give it without stint, or worry about where the chips will fall. Believe me, no matter how brutal any of your future criticisms may ever be, I'll not only think twice, but about 25 times, before I ever blow up again; and, I rather fancy, you'll believe this now.

Now, however, I've gone and mailed you a roughed out libretti for a one actor. Hans, I would not have done this if it had not, in principle, been most vitally important for me. In fact, my whole future in opera is at stake for, really, I've practically made up my mind that if I cannot (as a fairly talented writer, who has had lots of experience in dramatization, at least for radio) learn how to write my own libretti, I'll give up opera. It's just too rough with outside writers. Any encouragement, at this moment, from you as to my ability, or possible ability, to write my own libretti, would be most tremendous shot in the arm I could possibly get. However, and if this sample (and, remember, it is only a sample) stinks to high heaven, I know you'll know it, and tell me so in no uncertain terms; and, finally, whatever comes out of it, it will be to the good. Also, however, if it shows the slightest promise (even though I never use this idea at all) I'd appreciate knowing it; for, then, I would concentrate my study. PLEASE DO FORGIVE ME FOR ASKING THIS FAVOR OF YOU. Believe me; I've done it in the utmost trepidation, anxiety. And, too, it probably wasn't the most favorable moment; but I am pressed for time.

As to other matters in your letter, I and Boski are most happy that you've had such a nice — and safe — trip back. (We got Frances letter too, in the same mail; she's such a little darling, and, I confess, I've fallen completely in love with her!) I hear, from the Sykes office, because of an over increasing box-office, they are thinking of continuing it, still, until October. But that is problematic. It is wonderful to hear, from you particularly, that the continued run and box office has made an impression, a good one. It assuages my heart. But do not think that I am in any way satisfied with VOLPONE, or that I have

changed my mind about it. I simply know that I can do much, much better; and, if only the cards fall my way a little, I will.

It is wonderful that you mentioned VOLPONE to Mr. Compton Ball; I certainly will alert Weintraub, instantly. You are such a good person, Hans. Thank you, thank you.

As for me, here, things seem to be breaking, financial-wise. But now, that I've spent a lot of money; I want to start saving it again. The only thing I want to allow myself in the way luxury (and, frankly, I would probably be spending money to save money, tax-wise) is a tiny but nice apartment in New York, with a piano. One of the things that have always prevented me from spending more time in New York is — no base of operations. I just have to have a piano, and music paper, around. I hate to admit it to you, but I guess I'm just a born composer, good, bad, or indifferent, but born..... can't get along without the stuff.

I gave a lecture, last night, which also warmed my heart. It was to a large group of budding young actors, actresses, stage directors, all of the variety one finds at Punch, etc., except that they constantly put on wonderful plays for their friends, etc. I lectured upon modern opera, quoted you throughout the lecture, and, in general, made you the star of the evening. There were quite a lot of beautiful and interesting young girls, there, but I could not stay long enough, afterwards, to make their acquaintances, damn it. Or, perhaps, I was afraid. In any case, they were breathless; it was the longest lecture I ever gave, lasting two and a half hours; and, all in all, it was heartwarming. There is great interest amongst the young.

And now, Hans, have a wonderful winter season. I'll be seeing you, if not in late September, then in January. In the meantime, our house is yours, dear, dear friend, and you know we MEAN it. Love to Elsbeth and the children, when they return; in the meantime we'll write Frances.

Your old and loving friend,

5.23 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer³¹⁶

Hollywood, 14 October 1953

Dear Hans,

I am going, once more, to presume upon your wonderful and generous offer to help me with this libretto, *The Brothers*. But, before I go into details, I want to tell you, again, how terribly happy I am with your first reaction to it; I have, thus, tried to be ultra careful in the rewriting, first breaking down all the faults of the first writing, as so clearly outlined in your various letters on that subject; and, too, I found several of my own. Secondly, this is not just a haphazard rewrite, but the third writing; I am not even sending you the second. Moreover, even though you did not insist upon it, there will still be a fourth and a fifth rewriting, before I personally am satisfied. This is something which must be done slowly, with infinite thought, and well. I am in no hurry to get something slapped down on paper.

Needless to tell you, of course, I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your help. It seems as if, all these days, you were sitting here by me. But, sometimes, your spirit was

³¹⁶ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

not so articulate; so I'm sending this to you to get the real thing, not my imagined criticism. I know that you are, by now, terribly busy; but, just the same, could you possibly spare a few hours, sometime, for your old friend, who trusts you completely?

Again, and before I get into specific detail, I want to say this: we agreed, I think, that the previous libretto, number one, was a little short. And, also, a little too threadbare. Perhaps, now, with 17 pages instead of 10, it is a little too long. Perhaps, before I sent it off to you again, I should have sat down with it once again, and pruned it. But, perhaps, as you read it, you will know that I know it is a little too long, now, and that I intend to prune it. That, sometimes, is less difficult than expanding.

Also, and before I sat down to write, I wrote up, for myself, the characters, even to details perhaps completely unessential to anyone but myself. I followed the advice which I had once give you, and which, then you gave back to me. However, here, let me say hastily, that this list of character analyses may come in just as handy in the eventual musical composition of the libretto. One of the advantages of opera, I think, is the fact that characters in opera are surrounded by their music, their particular themes, developing into character development. Therefore, in reading an opera libretto, I think, one must (as you will) take this into account. On the spoken stage only words can take over a character's development, personality, plus what he does. On the opera stage, I think, music often takes over the verbiage, and "cuts to the chase", character-wise. Nevertheless, in this libretto, I have tried to make each character "talk" as they would, in real life.

I have also tried more, I think, to have them speak more naturally, as characters like this, today, would. The word “blow” for instance, on page 9 of the libretto (middle of the page) means “scram”, only it is more contemporary. The opera is on the grim naturalistic side; I think that this will help it. At least, now, this is my supposition. I hope you will like this rather daring treatment.

You probably have carbons of your letters to me: but, if you don’t care to reread them; I’ll sum up, here, the essence of your criticism and suggestions, then. And, later, I’ll appendix my own.

HANS. (1) Abel’s character is pale, must be expanded. He must not merely be a good boy.

(2) That he has taken Mary’s and the inheritance away from Ken must be brought out much earlier.

(3) Mary must be slightly uneasy about having switched her love to Abel — otherwise, unless some feeling of guiltiness is visible upon her part, the audience is likely to become bewildered.

(4) Ken is, at present, just a rat. This must be changed, so that he becomes a character.

(5) Two blind people on the stage are too much. The blind ex-soldier could be changed to one who sees, but has heard the traitor questioning him from behind a screen in the prison camp — something that actually did happen in Korea.

(6) The end must be completely revamped. Somebody, certainly, must get killed.

Later, during my second trip to New York a few weeks ago, you suggested, further, that one soldier be deaf, not quite, but somewhat, as a result of his prison-camp days. Let us call this Suggestion #7?

GEORGE. (1) The beginning of the first draft version, which started in complete

darkness, with Mary talking, is most difficult stage wise; and is a nightmare to stage-directors, who hate commencing a drama in the utter dark. It should be started on a lit stage.

(2) Someone should die at the end, but whom? The bible, upon which this whole drama is based, specifically says that Cain's punishment is to go out into the world, branded; but, also, that any who should kill him would have vengeance wrecked upon him. The basic symbol of this drama is "Thou Shalt Not Kill"; and Cain, the villain, killed, thus is ostracized by all, a supreme punishment. Moreover, and as this is also a love story, a sad story, a tragedy in fact, the most heart-rending person to die at the end would be, certainly, Abel, leaving Mary alone in her eternal darkness — which, previously, she shared in part with Abel — evenings by the supper table. Thus I'll have Cain kill Abel; exactly as in the bible..... I hope you agree.

(3) Three scenes, instead of two, seem more nicely balanced to me. Also, a full 24 hours gives the play (I think) the basic unity of time, better.

I have tried to solve Han's (1), above, by making Abel a braver man, generally, than in Version One. Indeed, at the end of the piece, he even voluntarily stands before his

brother (who has a knife) and the soldiers (with a gun, and no compunction to kill him, too, if that be necessary) and with the vision of Kenneth attacking his wife still in his eyes. Nevertheless, he is his brother. He dies, traitorously, while protecting him. Also, previously, he is not afraid when he comes in and sees the two soldiers point a gun at him. Etc.

I have tried to solve Hans's (2), above, by adding a scene as a sort of prologue, in which all the business about the inheritance is firmly planted, yet the plot itself is not given away too much. This additional scene, now SCENE ONE (scene one of the previous version now becoming SCENE Two, etc.) also eliminates GEORGE'S (1) — page 2 of this letter, in the middle — in which I found objection to the first version's beginning in the dark.

I have tried to solve Han's (3) by the addition of new Scene One, and throughout the piece, later.

I have tried to solve Han's (4) similarly; for, through the addition of the new scene, and by various other small additions, later, Ken is no longer such a rat — but a psychopath who, perhaps quite legitimately, has had his reason unhinged by first of all losing his fiancée — while he was away at the front — to his younger brother, Abel, who was drafted later and, therefore, had a chance to swipe Mary away from him during his absence. Moreover, now, the fact that Mom and Pop, knowing that Mary was, soon thereafter, blinded, left their entire property to Abel “because Mary's special; she must have a good place to live in” makes (I think) the entire inheritance story a little more probable — though not less reprehensible in Kenneth's eyes. What happened, now,

obviously, was this: Ken was, previously, a good boy, working hard, but a little older and tougher than Abel, the preferred younger son. When war came, he enlisted, instead of being drafted, because he was patriotic. Overseas, at the front, he got a “Dear John” letter, from Mary. Later, she also wrote him that Abel and she had inherited the property from Ken’s parents — we assume because they pitied her and Abel, and, also, because he was always their favorite. This, at the front, made him a bitter man. Captured directly afterwards, he became a traitor. A traitor, thus, cannot operate several years behind a screen without at least an inkling of his name leaking out — amongst the prisoners themselves. But they haven’t seen his face; and he relies on that; he disguises his voice, and is afraid of nobody except, one day, his own brother, who is brought before him, and whom he dismisses without a word. He could have had him killed, there, but he seeks a better revenge. Eventually discharged, possibly as a spy, and back home, he accepts the invitation of Mary and Abel to live with them. Accustomed, through two years, of disguising his voice, he attempts to seduce the blind Mary this way. He has only just commenced, the day before, when our drama opens..... Thus; now, every action of CAIN is legitimate, consequent. Or, so, I fondly imagine.

I have tried to solve Han’s (5) by making the former blind soldier a deafened one — Han’s own suggestion (7), which, I think, helps infinitely in planting the idea that Ken’s voice must be heard fortissimo, and off guard, for JIM to recognize it.

I have tried to solve Han’s (6) by thoroughly revamping the end.

Perhaps, in this Number Three version, not all is explained, or as consequent as it should be; but, certainly, there is improvement; and, for that matter, that which is not

explained fully (which would be pedestrian) could, possibly, be taken for granted.

Essentially, now, the characters stay within their strict frames, are, I believe, articulated and believable. The words, themselves, need a lot more polishing; but that can come later — even during the composition of the music many changes, now ungraceful, will be made musically. The printed libretto of every opera, sold on the stands, and the original version on the composer's desk on the first day of composition must, perforce, differ wildly — except in the case of “Salome.” (?)

Well, there it is, dear Hans; and, needless to say, I will await every mail, in two or three days, breathlessly. Do not be afraid to write me anything; I can take it — from you. I know YOU KNOW. What the hell is the use of writing an opera in music, orchestral score, if, previously it doesn't have a chance in the libretto? I cannot tell you how thankful I am for your offer of help. Should I, by any chance, not compose this particular opera now (though I am terribly sold on it, musically, now — I mean, stylewise, for now I feel that contemporary opera composers should at least try contemporary subjects, understandable to a contemporary public, instead of ancient history and fairy tales) it will nevertheless have been of the greatest worth to me to attempt it. In closing I shall say that all this is still going to get a great deal of polishing..... believe me.

All my hopes, my thanks, and my best to you, and your dear ones who are also my dear ones.....

Your old friend,

5.24 *George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³¹⁷

[Hollywood], 24 November 1953

Dear Hans,

If this letter sounds strange to you, it is only because I am dictating it to Boski while I am orchestrating the very end of my ballet “Capital of the World”³¹⁸. That also will explain some other things: why for instance I have not written lately. Hans this has been one of the biggest hassles I have ever been engaged in.... no movie score excepted. Omnibus and Ballet Theatre decided about two weeks ago that it would have to be done over Omnibus TV on Sunday Dec. 6th, rather than december 20th and in consequence I have had to work day and night to finish first of all the piano score and then the orchestral score..... which later incidentally, is written in two versions, one for 20 men and one for 60. I have written about 130 pages of orchestral score during the last ten days and am still not finished, but I anticipate being finished tomorrow, at which time I will send off the last few pages to Ballet Theatre for their copyist. After that I may either go on directly to Cleveland to see the Karamu presentation of Volpone, or I may go directly on to New York where, I imagine, I am imperatively needed by Eugene Loring, who is doing the choreography of this ballet which, as you might know, was originally written by Hemingway and Hotchner. I understand that they also intend to present it at the opening Ballet Theatre’s new season at the Metropolitan on Dec. 27th. This in the full orchestra

³¹⁷ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

³¹⁸ Composed in 1953, the ballet was choreographed by Eugene Loring of the American Ballet then orchestrated as a Suite for Orchestra.

version. It all seemed rather important, so I dropped, momentarily, my most beloved project which was the libretto of “The Brothers” and threw myself completely into the finishing of this ballet. I know you will understand therefore my silence, which was unintentional.

There are a few pieces of news which, I think, I should write you before I come to New York this Saturday or Sunday.... which [the] latter in itself is a piece of news, for I then will be able again to see your nice face and that of Franzie and Tommie and Elsbeth. Apparently *Volpone* was a great success in Cleveland on Nov. 17th. I was myself unable to go for reasons mentioned in the first paragraph. Elwell and the Cleveland Plains Dealer states that “This is one of the best American operatic scores that I have heard” and raves about it throughout his review. The other two newspapers rave equally: The Cleveland News headlines it with, “Volpone”: Premiere at Karamu Scores Hit with Antheil Lilts” and the Cleveland Press Headline reads, “Karamu Theatre Scores with New Opera ‘Volpone’”. Another piece of news is that the Eastman School people seem to have had a quite favorable reaction to their first glimpse of the piano score of *Volpone* and all they seem to want is for me to change the important feminine role “Celia” into a mezzo-soprano, which would be easy inasmuch as I have written it that way in the first place and only changed it into a soprano for the USC performance because we had no decent mezzos. I have written them to that effect and also informed them of the reaction in Cleveland and also.... I took liberty of telling them that I am coming to New York this weekend and that if there were any emergencies I could be contacted there through you.

This will be the only person or group I shall so inform, for I do not want you to be pestered with letters to be re-directed to me.

The other, and perhaps the most important piece of news is, that the Denver University people have accepted, sight unseen, "The Brothers" for which new performance of a new opera I have you alone to thank, dear and good friend. This once again increases my debt to you and all I can say for the moment is: thank you, thank you. In accepting this I have taken once more your advice.

There are a thousand other things to tell you, but I think I will now limit myself, as I will be seeing you anyway in a few days. Please give my dearest love to all at home.

Love,

P.S. Excuse the typewritten errors, George has dictated this to me directly into the typewriter.

I am sad that I can't come to New York with George again this time, but maybe I can manage it for the Met. premiere. Hans, I rarely say this, but I think the ballet is simply superb and I believe this will be a success. The music is wonderful (and please excuse this, honestly I am not saying this just as a wifely praise, you know me better) and the whole combination is so terrific, with Loring's choreography and the new dancer who is doing the main role, that each time I have seen the rehearsals here, which were numerous, I had a terrific thrill from it and you know how tired one gets to see the same thing over and over again if it does not hold true. Anyhow I hope you will like the ballet and I hope that it will be a great big huge success.

We are still thinking so often of your visit [?] this summer and hope you will repeat it. I feel bad about not having written to you or Elsbeth before, but I too have been pretty busy. However we think of you often, Peter included.

Love to all,

5.25 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to George Antheil³¹⁹

New York, 8 March [1954]

Dear George,

(1) Thanks very much for including me so charmingly in your interview with Harrison. I am enclosing a copy for your files. And congratulations to a fine piece of publicity.

(2) I feel that I was a little short on the phone when you called me to say that you couldn't go to Europe: but I was in the midst of a meeting with Mr. Rickets of Chappell, London, their general manager and VIP and just couldn't talk freely. Also, frankly, it was no surprise to me — I had become quite convinced that with the many happenings of the recent past and the plans for the future you just couldn't go. I am sorry, very sorry, because it would have been great fun, but I also am no fool and I fully understand the wisdom, the necessity of your decision.

(3) I have given you, I hope, a nice mentioning in my column March 1 in the Musical Courier. As I am writing there now every month I would be glad to know you

³¹⁹ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

read my column regularly. The subscription is only \$3.00 a year (119 West 57 Street).

Please get the March 1 issue.

(4) The parts to the Capital of the World have now been copied and the work is available. As I told you, it is too late for this season but I will push it hard for next. Virgil, by the way, asked for a score and got it.

(5) Ballet Mécanique. I have been thinking about this and wonder whether my advice to you not to let Weintraub print the score, was, after all, so wise. Frankly, the chances of its ever being published here are nil. And on the other hand: it should be published at the time the record will come out. Maybe it would be wiser if you would reverse your decision and let Weintraub print the study score in facsimile — at least scores will be available in printed form. I blame myself for having advised you — in a spur of enthusiasm — against it. I am still prepared to take it in our rental library, as I told you: but if you would want to give it to Weintraub I would almost think it wiser from your and my point of view. Please give it some thought and if you wish, let me know so I can send the tissues to Weintraub.

Love,

Hans

5.26 *George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³²⁰

New York, 8 March 1954

Dear Hans,

I have not heard from you yet but hope to any day; I know you must be busy getting ready for Europe. Bu it has been so long, and I have written a few letters about various things and heard nothing, that I am, now, beginning to worry a little. There isn't anything wrong, is there?

I went down to get a copy of the Musical Courier, and found your nice mention about the many performances of VOLPONE, and the new opera. Thank you. In the meantime the new opera is progressing extremely well. I work on it incessantly, scarcely going out of the house. I want to get it all in hand, in short, far enough advanced, so that I wouldn't have to rush anything at the last moment. I've had so much momentum these last months that I might as well keep going, while the good ideas last.

Hans, I cannot copyright Ballet Mécanique because, now, I have no master sheets, and I've sent my only copy to Scherchen. They tell me it is vital to get it copyrighted now; and I have asked you to do it for me. Can you, without any great trouble[?] Please let me know, if otherwise.

I want to do an article on you, someday, a human one. I thought of Reader's Digest, but don't see them with this feature I spoke about. But I'll come around to it someday. What do you think of the idea?

³²⁰ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

By the way, do you remember in Vienna, when you sent the Russian critic, Glebov³²¹, to me (Glebov, as if I need to tell you, was the great Russian critic, to whom Prokokieff dedicated his Classic Symphony) and he listened to me play “Transatlantic” and wanted to commission me for a work (an opera) to do in Russia. (You advised against it, and I declined.) I don’t want you to remember that, particularly; but it would help with a project in mind if you could recall that he asked for a copy of “Transatlantic”, received it, and took it to Russia with him. If you can’t remember the episode, don’t write it; but if you can, or whatever you can, it would be helpful. I want, slowly, to establish that I came upon a style which I have since abandoned — the Fourth Symphony style — before Shostakovitch wrote his First Symphony. The overture to, and final moments of the last act of “Transatlantic” are deeply and absolutely related to both the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies of mine; and Peggy thought this might, someday, be an interesting point to make. The Russians have always pretended to discover everything first; it’d be fun to be able to prove that for once, at least, it is not quite true.

The libretto of “The Brothers” *is* being tremendously polished in the composing. Look out for Noma; she’s a big fraud; and she hates me now, for I’ve told her the truth (and her husband too); she won’t really do a thing for anybody, though she always likes to pretend she will. She’s leaving for Paris immediately anyway, where (I hope) she will stay permanently. My God, what a fool I was, once, about this phony woman.

Everything goes well here; work, work, work.

All of my dearest love to all of you,

³²¹ Igor Glebov

5.27 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G.Schirmer³²²

[Hollywood], 17 June 1954

Dear Hans,

I am, today, plunging into a new movie score “Hunters of the Deep”, a sort of “Living Desert” a la Disney picture, for Dowling Productions. I just got the score of *THE BROTHERS* finished in the nick of time for, scarcely had I finished the last note, the last editing, and phoned the blue print shop to pick up the masters, then the phone rang, and Dowling told me to come over to Republic to get started. The picture is a very beautiful one, almost 100% under water, and depicting life underseas much in the fashion of “The Sea around Us”³²³, the best seller book. It is all in color. It gives me a great chance for a score; moreover, they think they may have a European “academy award” and are anxious to show the picture in the Edinborough Festival in August, so I shall be up to my neck during the next three weeks composing on this. In this interim I may forget or neglect a lot of details concerning various things about *THE BROTHERS*, etc., and I am anxious to attend to them now, my last chance for three weeks. I know that you are coming home on about June 20, three days from now, and there is something I must take up with you immediately upon your arrival, all the more so in that time is pressing, and I have written you in my last letter to Europe (to the address you gave me; I hope you have received it?) that *THE BROTHERS* will be given in Philadelphia on around September 15, and that if you cannot come to Denver, you could see it then.

³²² Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

³²³ Award-winning nonfiction book by Rachel Carson, published in 1951.

I have changed my mind about this for several reasons, and would like to ask you, now, if you could not come to Denver for the premier performance, please. The first reason is this; THE BROTHERS will be given in Philadelphia, now, definitely, but only with two pianos, this under the direction of Joe Levine, who is putting on the show. But, in Denver, they are putting it on with the small orchestra (13 to 18 men) and, therefore, it is this performance, premiere, I should like you to see, hear. Secondly, I so dreadfully needed your advice immediately after VOLPONE'S premiere, here; had you been here I would have been able to make a lot of very important decisions perhaps even before the premiere — in general; to have handled the situation all around better. The same, I am sure, MAY be the case in Denver; i.e., either the opera is a good one and; therefore, you may want to get on with it immediately: or, God-granting-no, it is not but, still, worthy of rescue, in which case I would need you terribly. THEREFORE, PLEASE, COULD YOU NOT ARRANGE TO COME[?] It will be during the last week of July.

I am sending you, herewith, a copy of the synopsis of the libretto, and the libretto, in final form, itself. This, of course, gives you only a literary idea of the piece which, actually, is filled full of what I hope are beautiful melodies and much chance to sing, sing, sing. The whole score, too, is much more personal in style, and, I know, better integrated. I do feel that you will not be disappointed. If you wish, I will airmail you a score, but do not, at this moment, like to encumber you with this unless you wish it.

I hope your trip to Europe has been glorious, and know that it has.

Your old friend,

*5.28 Hans Heinsheimer at Home to George Antheil*³²⁴

New York, 8 July 1954

Dear George,

Thanks for your letter of July 4. And my very best, once more, for Denver. I suggest that you make arrangements (if you have not already done so) for the opera to be tape recorded. Be sure, however, to have the tape made on 7 ½ tapes, NOT on 15 — Denver sent me another opera done there recently on 15 and I can't play it on any of the machines at Schirmers. This would solve the problem of my not hearing the work with orchestra when I hear it in Philadelphia.

George — somehow there is a rumor around that this work is controlled and even commissioned by Schirmers and I would ask you to be very sure not to give out any such information. Theatre and Arts Magazine called me on the phone: they have an article from Denver on your opera and it says the work is commissioned by Schirmers. I told them, of course, that this is not so and they took it out, so no harm done. Then Mr. Wolfes of Karamu called me and was under the impression that Schimers publish The Brothers — and I am afraid he got the impression from you. All this is embarrassing and I ask you most earnestly not to establish any connection between the work and Schirmers as long as Schirmers have not accepted it which they will only do after careful

³²⁴ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

examination by their reader's committee. I am sure you understand that, f.i. Theater and Arts publishing such a statement (which they would have if they would not have sense enough to call me) would only jeopardize Schirmers judgment against you. Let's get this very straight: I have personally given you some opinions on your libretto. I have recommended your work to Denver and they have accepted it, just as I recommended *Volpone to Punch*, *Karamu* and *Rochester* and they took it. These are personal services from one friend to another. Schirmers have nothing to do with it and as far as they are concerned, *the Brothers* is just another opera that will, after completion and submitted by you (should you care to submit it) in score and tape and then, only then, will they do anything about it, one way or the other. It might well be that all this comes from Denver but wherever it comes from, please stop it — and be sure that no such statement appears in the Denver program book or newspapers, it would be very bad, believe me.

I gave Mr. Wolfes a copy of the libretto as he was anxious to study it for a possible performance in *Karamu* and as I have absolutely no time at present to study it. Its too late now to do anything for Denver — lets us see how it goes and, as I say, be sure to have it taped (on 7 ½) so that we can hear it and study score and tapes after you have approved of both.

As far as Adler is concerned — TV is a special medium, shying away from controversial subjects and it doesn't make the slightest impression on me what Mr. Adler and his staff think about anything in the world. I just couldn't care less. They have all kind of angles which do not apply to the theatre but only to TV and when I didn't reply to

this part of your letter so only because it just doesn't mean a blessed thing to me.

However, congratulations on the Louisville commission.³²⁵

I am extremely busy with digesting the great amount of contacts I made during my European trip, an unusual amount of work in the office, setting up a Broadway production for Menotti's new opera in the fall and virtual world distribution of it (with La Scala and Ebert in Berlin giving the first out of America performances, in Italian and German), commuting to my house in Carmel where we have built a lovely porch, making a few additions to an article I just sold for \$1500 to the Reader's Digest, writing my column for the Musical Courier and back covers for Urania Records and a big piece for Holiday on Vienna.....

Krenek just wrote, he will be coming through here the end of the month on his way to Europe. I had a lovely visit with Milhaud at Boulevard de Clichy and passed several times 12 Rue de l'Odeon because some people I know moved into 16 Rue de l'Odeon!

Don't worry about the Schirmer-Brothers incident, just be sure that it is stopped at once — and forgive me for not writing more in detail — there is a limit even to my seemingly inexhaustible strength.

Love,

Hans

³²⁵ *The Wish*, premiered 2 April 1955.

5.29 *George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³²⁶

[Hollywood], 20 July 1954

Dear Hans,

Boski and I are leaving on the plane tomorrow, Wednesday, night for Denver. We shall be staying at the apartment of Dr. Campton Bell, Denver University, University Park, Denver 10, Colorado, until August 1, when we return, together, here. I cannot make the Bohemian Grove this year although, now, I am a full-fledged member. The movie score I just finished, one hour and seven minutes of music, left me too exhausted; I have been unable to do anything for the last four days except sleep and eat, accumulating energy for the coming ordeal.

A letter came in from Joe Levine, saying that they are now definitely going to do THE BROTHERS in Philadelphia on October 15, instead of September 15. That is a long time for you and Schirmers to get to see and judge it; and, I wonder, if in the interim the tapes would be sufficient? Joe writes me that they are simply starting their season later, this year; it will positively be the first production of the season of their company.

And now, my dear and old friend of so many years, so many tumultuous premiers, I would like to say just one word before I depart. I want to say that I am fully aware that whether or not an opera, a new opera, is a success at its premiere, it is not really potentially successful until a man called Hans Heinsheimer is interested in it, believes in it. If he doesn't "go" for it, we opera composers (here in America at least) can just as well go and flush their operas down the toilet. I know that; and you know it; and, as you are

³²⁶ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

one of my only friends in this world, and, perhaps, my dearest friend, that places both of us on the spot.

I want to say just this. Despite your enthusiasm for the fourth and next to final draft of the libretto, the whole idea, I want you to know this: I IN NO WAY HOLD YOU EVEN MICROSCOPICALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR MY HAVING CHOSE THIS SUBJECT. OR HAVING WRITTEN THIS PARTICULAR OPERA. The whole thing is MY responsibility. I mean it. If the opera is a flop because of any number of things (outside of a downright bad performance, in which case I think it merits a second chance at Philadelphia) IT IS MY FAULT ALONE. VERSTANDE?

However, and contrary-wise, if it is a good opera, as commercially feasible as, say Menotti before he had the benefit of your vast effort, WILL YOU PLEASE GO IN AND SLUG? Let it, because of the sake of old friendship, be all one way or the other? I know I don't even have to ask this; but I am putting it on paper anyway.

Dick Jones is coming here tonight. He seems to be absolutely wild about the recording of — now — our ballet, and says he considers it one of the most important records they will issue. Joe Levine did a fine job.

Love from your old,

5.30 Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer to George Antheil³²⁷

New York, 27 July 1954

Dear George,

Thanks for your wire. I am happy you are pleased with THE BROTHERS and its dramatic impact and, seemingly, with the performance. It's most gratifying for me — after all, I think I have given some help with the book and as the Denver production too was my brainchild, anything good that happens there pleases me [to] no end. If anything bad happens, it's your opera, not mine....

I wish I could come, George, but it's utterly impossible. I am busier than ever right here, and there is no chance of my undertaking the trip at present.

So, once more, my best wishes to you and all concerned!

As ever,

H.W. Heinsheimer

5.31 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer³²⁸

[Hollywood], 17 October 1954

Dear Hans,

I finished the score (piano vocal) of VENUS IN AFRICA two days ago, had a copy finished from the mastersheets, and sent airmail to Elaine Perry³²⁹. Boski, who was never

³²⁷ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

³²⁸ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

³²⁹ Elaine Perry (1921–1986), actress and producer.

enthusiastic about VOLPONE until she heard the final tape from Rochester (which is magnificent; they gave it a fine performance) but was enthusiastic about THE BROTHERS on the day I completed it, and she heard it for the first time, is wildly enthusiastic about VENUS IN AFRICA. I, too, think it is my best opera to date. I will say no more, for I know that you hate to have a composer go overboard about a new opera he has written at this point; but, as you know, I seldom go so far as this. If she doesn't take it, I'll eat my hat.

I think, now, that we are fairly well advanced on a possible Broadway production. My reasons are this: Elaine Perry is wild about THE BROTHERS but, after she woke up and found she'd bought an option on it, she found that she was caught with a one act opera. At present we are further advanced from that stage, as follows

- (1) VENUS IN AFRICA is a libretto she approves of, as a companion piece and foil to THE BROTHERS. Moreover, despite headaches and troubles, that libretto is written, and by a friend she admires and respects.
- (2) The piano vocal score, now in her hands, proves if nothing else, that it is there, now exists.

We may further hope that

- (a) She will now look through it (she is a good pianist I understand, having had the idea of becoming a concert pianist once) and, with any good luck, may become inclined towards it musically, even without my appearing immediately. (Though I intend to appear during the next several weeks, if not sooner.)

(b) She and Michael Dyne will also approve of the way in which I have out done his libretto; we all previously agreed that it would have to be cut down.

THE BROTHERS tape times out, playing time, to exactly 53 minutes. With the ten minute intermission at Denver, it played slightly over an hour. The new opera, VENUS IN AFRICA, times out at 46 minutes, exactly. Neither opera really need an intermission. I might write, additionally, two intermezzi, very short, for then. This, together with a fifteen minute intermission between both operas, would bring it out to exactly two hours for the evening — just right I think.

I am now going to suppose that VENUS IN AFRICA IS so good as a theatre-piece, and foil to THE BROTHERS, that there will be little if any question about her accepting it on that ground. (I may be wrong; but we have proceeded with every stop rightly, concerning this.) If I am right — and it may be a great deal to presume at this point — then the ONLY thing between her picking up her option for a production would be, basically, her belief that she can cast it with one or two marquee names of sufficient importance — the rest of the casting will be easy. Of course, too, there is the question of her raising the money; but Michael Dyne told me privately that she intends to do this opera whether or not she can attract outside money — at least that is what he tells me, and he is close to her. So, at this point, knowing that I have written a really smashing opera, Venus in Africa, with another good opera in the Background, The Brothers, I am presuming that, God willing, the only obstacle to her picking up her option would be the casting.

She would, of course, in any case want to hear me play the score. So, after she fingers around with it for a few days, and, also, reads through the cut down version of the libretto as I have adapted it, I plan to come to New York. BUT, at that time, I'd like to be in the position of being able to convince her that we can cast it with marquee names.

Would you, dear Hans, please help me with this? We need really big names, something that would look good on a Broadway marquee. This is a little out of my line, as I don't live in New York, am not really in the theater life there; but you very much are.

You know the big Mary role (she is practically on the stage all the time) in THE BROTHERS so I don't need to tell you how attractive that could be to a person like, say Neway.

VENUS IN AFRICA, however, has developed into a really big role for a barytone. It has everything, insofar as a barytone is concerned. He should be young and good looking. The two other roles, both girls, need good sopranos, both beautiful. But, although they are very big roles, they are not the main one in this opera.

I have about a week's work here, clearing up with Kramer on what we call prescoring problems (I will not actually score the picture until around January — but I have a contract which permits me to do it all in N.Y.C. if I wish; I did this to provide for a possible overlap in production.) I could then come to New York. But, I have made it clear to Elaine, Michael³³⁰, and now, too, you, that I do not wish to come without it's being absolutely necessary; I am so pressed, still, for time everywhere. In short, I can't

³³⁰ Michael Dyne (1919–1989), playwright, wrote many successful shows and adaptations for television.

come to New York, dawdle along there, as I did in August, waiting, waiting. It's three days, to a week, or nothing. I can't help it. That is the reason I've sent the score to Elaine, and, soon, the libretto, so that if there are any problems, carps, etc., it will all come out the first day. The next days, if all is well, I should like to devote a potential casting — convincing Elaine that we CAN cast properly. Would you get me whatever data may be necessary, perhaps even line up one or two prospects to see, hear? I would appreciate it immeasurably.

I will make this letter half of my usual length after writing a large sized work and reporting on it; I'd rather play you the score, and let it speak for itself.

Love to all

5.32 *George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³³¹

[Hollywood], 22 October 1954

Dear Hans,

I want to report for whatever it is worth that Elaine Perry played through the piano vocal of VENUS IN AFRICA on Monday night, and sent me the following telegram on Tuesday:

VENUS UTTERLY DELIGHTFUL, JOYOUS, MELODIC, AMUSING, WARM.
I AM SO HAPPY WITH IT. THANK YOU. AM STILL UP TO MY EARS
REGARDING ANASTASIA. IF OK WITH YOU, BETTER FOR ME IF YOU COME

³³¹ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

LATER, SO WE HAVE MORE TIME TOGETHER. LOVE AND DEEPEST
GRATITUDE FOR A WONDERFUL JOB. ELAINE.

Michael Dyne telephoned me that she was quite crazy about the score, and the whole thing. I offered to come there this week if she needed me, but Michael says to wait for she is really a little concerned about her new play ANASTASIA over which she is having some sort of casting problems. So I shall, now, wait for several weeks or longer before coming to New York; but the casting problems still remain, and I know you will not object to helping me, meanwhile, with these. It is the next and final step, I think towards her picking up her option.

Robert Myer, at Capitol Records, also reports that Dick Jones wrote him that the new record, CAPITAL OF THE WORLD, now out on the stands in New York, was the hit of the HI-FI Show in New York, and the biggest record shop in New York (I forget it's name) sold out almost immediately, and had to reorder. The record sounds quite good to me; and it is my earnest hope that, now, it will enable Schirmers to push our abbreviated 12 minute concert version?

Presently I am engaged in recuperating from one solid year of pressure work and premieres, attending to odds and ends, and keeping Kramer happy. If this letter is no good, it is only because I am tired, very tired. And the smog here is terrible; I can hardly see, as I am highly allergic to it, and my eyes look like a drunk's.

Love to all at home, and, I hope, see you soon. Please send out for a Capitol Record; extra copies haven't hit here, yet, though I have my one copy — received it yesterday.

Love from your old,

*5.33 Hans Heinsheimer at Home to George Antheil*³³²

[New York], 23 October 1954

Dear George,

As you have already seen from Miss Perry's wire she is delighted with Venus in Africa and the enclosed check pro[ves] that she isn't just talking. I am, of course, dying to hear the VENUS IN AFRICA and hope you will soon play it for me. This whole venture, all starting by a casual visit of Mr. Levi of Denver in my office last year, is really something to marvel at. I am very happy for you.

I am enclosing a copy of Miss Perry's letter. I will try and see her as soon as she has time to discuss further details. My very sincere congratulations.

Love,

Hans

Please send me my check to 80-40 Lefferts Boulevard

Copy of Perry's letter:

In accordance with our agreement, enclosed is my check for \$500 regarding Venus in Africa by George Antheil and Michael Dyne.

³³² Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

As George may or may not have told you, I'm rather up to my neck in my forthcoming production of ANASTASIA, but perhaps next week if casting has progressed to that point, and if you have a free lunch hour we could get together and discuss plans regarding the two operas.

I'm extremely pleased with George's work on this — melodically and musically it's extremely interesting and beautiful. I feel, as does Michael that there needs to be some clarification in the book, but I don't think it's anything major that cannot be done and done well from all points of view.

Many thanks to you, and I trust we can get together soon.

Yours,

(Signed) Elaine Perry

*5.34 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³³³

[Hollywood], 28 October 1954

Dear Hans,

Thank you ever so much for your prompt sending of Elaine Perry's check, which arrived a day before yesterday, and which I banked yesterday during a very busy day. This is the first day I could get a little time away from the studio in two days. I am trying to get as much done ahead of time on NOT AS A STRANGER, so that I will have — God willing — plenty of time this winter for what I consider more important things in New York.

³³³ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

I am, herewith, sending you your commission. As I figure it, you get a 20 percent commission, on this deal, on purely what I get; and, as I had to give a third of this \$500 to Michael Dyne, that was \$166.67, which I am sending to him in the same mail. That leaves me \$333.33. Twenty percent of this is, according to my lousy mathematics, \$66.67; and, according, that is what this check is made out for. Correct? And, please, thank you very, very much. You are a wonderful friend for taking care of things so well — believe me, during the next weeks and months I know that I shall need you very much, again and again, and it is my sincere hope that you will not mind.

And thank you very much for sending me a copy of her letter. She really seems enthusiastic, doesn't she? I hope for the best. I am almost certain that you will like *VENUS IN AFRICA*, although I am not idiot enough to be too sure. But one thing is certain, my writing-hand, in opera, is becoming surer and surer. The now quite vast amount of experience I've had is slowly telling. I seldom make vastly conspicuous errors, anyway.

We have been burdened by a whole series of colds, Boski and Peter which, so far, I have been lucky enough not to catch, or only slightly, throwing it off the next day. But there is an epidemic around here; everybody at the studio is sick, including Kramer, who has been in a vile mood. But he is planning his next picture *THE GUN* (about Goya's Spain) entirely for me; and I am already working with the writers. By the way, that reminds me, Capitol Records tell me that my record, *CAPITAL OF THE WORLD*, is now a real big seller and a tremendous hit, selling out all over the country. They hope it will make Billboard in a couple of weeks.

I have so much to write you, dear friends, but, at present no time; but, probably, I will be in New York before too long — though I am not anxious to come especially before she (Elaine) does take up her option.

Love to all at home.

Your old,

*5.35 Hans Heinsheimer at Home to George Antheil*³³⁴

[New York], 11 November 1954

Dear George,

I have your letter of recent date, but in the meantime, you must have received my own letter with the clipping from the NEW YORK TIMES and the picture from Denver as well as my acknowledgment of your check.

Today, I had lunch with Miss Perry and her business manager to discuss further details for the production of your two operas.

It seems there are two main points which were on their minds and which they discussed with me:

(1) While they are very pleased with the music to Venus in Africa, they seem to feel that the opera still needs considerable work, that the cuts you had made in the libretto while writing the music somehow disturbed the story, and that musically, they have a few problems which they hope will be fixed before the opera will be produced. As I don't know the opera, I could not, of course, discuss this with them. I understand that your

³³⁴ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

writer is already in touch with you, but it is felt that when the time comes to put these operas in work, you would have to be here to discuss all this with the writer and the producer and to fix it up so everyone will be satisfied, should you agree to do so. This leads to the second point of our discussion.

(2) It seems that they do not feel they can produce the operas in the spring, but would like to do them in the fall of 1955. Miss Perry says that she cannot possibly start working on these two operas till after her next show which is scheduled for Christmas, and she feels that if she starts work on these operas beginning with the New Year, she will not have time enough to attend to the re-writing of the script, the casting, the selecting of the director, and particularly the financing in time for an opening in March or April. To bring the operas out later than that and so close to the summer would be obviously suicide, and I, too, feel that it might be wiser to agree to production early next season.

This would mean that you would come here after the New Year, do the necessary work on Venus, discuss all the other details with them, so that they can plan carefully and without undue haste for a production in September or October, 1955.

Miss Perry will call you on the telephone in a few days to discuss this with you. In the meantime, I thought I had better get this letter off to you right away so that you can turn this over in your mind and be prepared for her call.

All my best,

P.S. Miss Perry just called and said I should ask you if you could make a tape of Venus on the piano. It is not necessary for the voices to be in this tape; just a straight

reading on the piano, so that we could all sit down and listen to the opera with the vocal score in front of us. As you have your own tape recorder, I presume there will be no trouble and everyone would appreciate your doing this. You can send the tape either to me or to her.

*5.36 Hans Heinsheimer at Home to George Antheil*³³⁵

[New York], 17 November [1954]

Dear George,

Thank you for your telegram, which I took as your authorization for me to negotiate an extension of the contract with Miss Perry.

In the original contract, I did not ask for any guarantee payment in addition to the \$1000 which they have paid for the option because the production date of March 1, 1955 was so close to the option date that there seems to be no need for that.

Now, after they have asked us to agree to a performance date in October, I pointed out to them that that means the properties are tied up for a full year. Just postponing the date of the first performance from March 1 to October 15 would not be sufficient for us, because under the present contract, they could just tell us by October 15 that they are sorry, that they did not get the necessary backing or the proper cast, and they just wouldn't produce it. That would mean that we would get the property back, but there would be no penalty or guarantee from their side and they wouldn't take any risk whatsoever. I suggested, therefore, that there should be a penalty of \$1000 in case they

³³⁵ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

would not produce the operas by October 15, and they have accepted my proposition and will send me an agreement for you to sign. I think this is very fair and agreeable agreement. If, for some unforeseen reason Perry would back out and not produce the operas, you have \$2000 for two unproduced operas which I am sure is more than you ever got for your produced ones all taken together, and at the same time, as long as she is stuck with \$2000 proves that she is serious and will certainly not let go unless she must for some reason beyond her control.

I am quite sure this is a good deal and I hope you are as pleased with it as I am. I expect to hear from Perry in the next few days and will then communicate with you at once. In the meantime, I suggest you do nothing. After the new agreement has been signed, extending her rights until October 1955 under the terms outlined in this letter, then, and only then I suggest you write her to carry on the problems of re-writing, casting, etc. on which I reported to you in my letter of November 11.

Cordially,

Hans

P.S. Miss Perry is most anxious to know whether you accept our proposition to make a tape recording of VENUS as I suggested in my last letter. All that is needed is for you to play the opera on the piano, send her or me the tape so that we can listen to the work with the piano score.

Please wire me upon receipt of this letter whether or not you will do this, as Miss Perry otherwise has to engage a pianist to play the opera for her and other interested parties.

5.37 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer³³⁶

[Hollywood], 20 November 1954

Dear Hans,

I am delighted with your letter of November 17, and the way you have arranged things. I feel, with you, that if Miss Perry obligates herself to another \$1,000 forfeit if she does not produce the two operas by October 15th she will be much more likely to produce them. Thank you, thank you, and thank you. I know I can always depend upon you for the best arrangement under the given circumstances.

As to the tape, I want to emphasize here that I would be delighted to furnish it, and I wish that you would tell Miss Perry this immediately and, if possible, as soon as you have received this letter and digested it. There are no “ifs” connected with this promise; but, just between us, I would DEEPLY appreciate it if you could postpone my doing this until AFTER we have signed this new contract with her. Not that I don’t trust her, or that I am not in favor of doing more work on speculation for her. It is just my heavy program of work, and my health that is in question. If she wants it immediately I WILL do it, but, I also emphasize here, it will not be as good as if she gives me just a little time, say until after, or directly around, January 5th or so.

My reasons are threefold — and, I again emphasize, this is just between you and me, alone. (1) I do not keep previous operas of mine “in my fingers”; in other words, to be perfectly frank, I have been working for three weeks on the new opera for

³³⁶ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

Louisville and am full of that music and so, naturally, have forgotten completely the other — which, if I open it today, would seem almost like a completely new opera to me; I know this sounds insane but, frankly, it is a good thing for, in this way, by utterly forgetting what one has just written, one is better able to compose the new work which, incidentally, is in an entirely different mood. (2) The new Louisville opera must be delivered in piano score to Louisville by January 1 which, frankly, means that I cannot lose more than a day or so, occasionally, and that only to rest; in the meantime, too, I am giving Kramer a little of my daily time, though I won't have the cut picture of NOT AS A STRANGER until somewhere around the second or third week of January, when the actual work on it begins. (In short, I have a terribly cramped schedule up until January 1st but, after that, at least two weeks free.) So, if I have to crowd more into this schedule before January 1st than I have planned now, it really is a strain, not only upon my mental, but also my physical health. (3) She says she wants to use this tape for study, possible investors, etc. That means it MUST be fairly well done. A few days, really, should utterly be devoted to it; it is possible, even, that I should rehearse it with some good-sight-reading singers I know — for, as you well know, the words in an opera are important, and I do know that one does not get much out of an opera in which merely the piano plays the sung melodic phrases. I want to send her a GOOD tape, for much; much could be dependant upon it.

There's the situation, honestly put; and, please, Hans, do the best you can with it. I will be delighted to make this tape for her; will do an excellent one in any case BUT,

please, could we have her contract first AND could she possibly wait until after the finish of the present opera, in which now I am so deeply immersed?

I know that you will do your best, advise me if it is imperative for me to drop all and get this tape to her by airmail special delivery — or, as I deeply hope, at a time more convenient to me. She is producing ANASTASIA now, would not have too much time left over to get after the potential money-men now anyway — or am I mistaken in this? We would have eight months after the first of the year to get everything, including a very thorough revision of VENUS IN AFRICA, ready; and, frankly, what with the quite long postponement into next season of this opera, it seems — at least to me — to be a not unreasonable request. It means a lot to me at this moment, otherwise I would not make such a point of it to you.

As I said, above, I know you will do the best you can and not seriously risk anything in making the above request of her — that is, if you feel you CAN make it.

As a reward, to her, if I can make this tape in my own time, I will make a magnificent one, really something she can play before anybody. On the other hand, if I am pressured now, it is possible even probable that it will not be so good, and we (you, me and Dyne) may risk something unnecessarily.

All, otherwise, goes well. I am deep in the composition of the new opera, having made the revisions you suggested. I am terribly happy with it — and that is another reason I do not like to interrupt it; it spoils the mood, temporarily, and it takes a few days

to get back into it, once it is interrupted by something totally different. Bomhard³³⁷ seems enthusiastic about the libretto, and the idea of producing this opera.

Our routine, here, is quiet, the atmosphere of hard and daily work, but I always remember that I am doing what I like, and that makes up for the often 16 hours a day's work. I get up, work all morning, take a rest at noon, start again at three, and work clear up until dinner time when Boski and I may dine out, or at home in the television room, watching New York shows, etc. Usually, however, I fall asleep before ten. It is not an unpleasant life; but, as an opera grows, the tension of bringing each scene to its own completeness mounts. I do live under tension, but, then, I have been doing that all my life, as have you.

Love to those at home, and all my thankfulness to you. I know that you will, from this letter, understand the situation and do the best you can with it, advising me frankly. In reality this letter is an appeal for a better tape that I would be able to do immediately; that is the main issue.

Your old friend,

³³⁷ Moritz von Bomhard, Kentucky opera producer.

5.38 *George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³³⁸

[Hollywood], 28 November 1954

Dear Hans,

Thank you tremendously for your good letter of November 20, with its enclosure of the contracts, which I have signed and sent on to Michael Dyne. Everything, momentarily, is arranged to my satisfaction for, as I wrote before, it would have been most embarrassing if Miss Perry had picked up her option for production THIS season. I am, incidentally, writing to Miss Perry this morning, explaining WHY I should like to make the tape she requests in January — but, also, emphasizing that I WILL make it SOONER (i.e. immediately) if that is of major importance with her investors, etc.

Forgive this letter if it is short, Hans. You know that you and yours are constantly in my mind, often living here right in this room with me. But my schedule is so heavy that I hardly have time for longish letters — which, nevertheless, I love to write to you; you are, you know, my comrade-confessor, my very best friend in this world. When I write to you, I really, I suppose, write to my other self. But the new opera (working title I LOVE YOU FOREVER) is growing every day; I am already one third finished with the piano score, and there is now no doubt, barring illness, that I will finish it by January 1, 1955. And, too, that it will be amongst the best work I have ever written; I feel it more deeply, even, than the last tragic opera THE BROTHERS. Tragedy is good for me; usually, here in Hollywood, I am elected to do deep tragedies — and, so far, nary a comedy — though I continue to say that I could do a fine comedy score for the pictures.

³³⁸ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

But, now, I am in my natural element; and, so far, all goes better than well with the new opera (more about this opera at a later date.)

Hans, if you get a moment sometime, would you drop me a note and tell me just how much (confidentially) it cost Bel Geddes to produce THE MEDIUM AND THE TELEPHONE?³³⁹ Michael Dyne, who is close to Mrs. Bel Geddes, keeps mumbling something about \$125,000 — and, frankly, this seems incredible to me. He keeps telling me, in order to impress upon me the largess of the task before us, this coming year. He seems to have heard, somewhere, that none of the operas ever done on Broadway ever made a nickel's profit to the investors; and, if this is true, I'd like to know it — in order to have counter arguments — to him alone. I can face anything, but, often, I find I'm facing something more pessimistic than is actually the case. He's a born pessimist, anyhow; not that he is pessimistic about our operas, just cautious.

I'm so glad that you like the recording of CAPITAL OF THE WORLD, and that, now, something will be done about it. Thank you. It seems to have been, is, a huge success on records. I tried to buy it at the normal big record shops, here, last week; and they were all sold out. I hope it keeps up. Is there any other news?

Love to all at home; and you are constantly in my thoughts as I compose, eat, sleep. I am, in a way, rather disappointed that I have to go my New York trip, now, for a few

³³⁹ Operas by Menotti

months, but I will be terribly busy, and March will be here almost before I know it — and, I imagine, you too. I hope for all the best for you.

Your old friend.

*5.39 Hans Heinsheimer at Home to George Antheil*³⁴⁰

[New York]. 29 November [1954]

Dear George,

Miss Perry left for New Haven today for the try-out of her new play which she hopes to bring into New York before Christmas or latest by January 4. Before leaving she called me to ask whether I had heard from you about the tape.

I said, yet, and that you were making it very soon and would send it on without much delay. I could not possibly tell her the shocking fact that, as you wrote me, working on a new opera for Louisville ‘you have already forgotten the previous one’.

George, this woman has just paid you \$1000, has obligated herself to a production or another \$1000 penalty — PLEASE do realize that you have to cooperate with her. The Louisville project seems badly enough timed now that you have a Broadway production coming plus a couple of pictures — but if Perry ever finds out that you are now deeply involved with the Louisville opera and have no further interest in her plans there will be hell breaking loose and quite deservedly so.

³⁴⁰ Typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

It is absolutely unfair of you to push her request aside because of your Louisville commitment. She wants and needs the tape to go to work and if you can't do it, please say so, so she can hire a pianist to make the tape.

She also wants to know when you will be able and willing to come east for further consultation.

Please let me know about the tape and about your willingness and availability to come here after Christmas so that I can notify Miss Perry accordingly.

Sincerely,

Hans

5.40 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer³⁴¹

[Hollywood], 4 January 1955

Dear Hans,

My first letter of this new year goes to you and I hope this is some kind of good omen and that we will have a lot of pleasant correspondence this coming year.

First of all I want to congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the tremendous success of the Menotti opera. All I can say is: "Heinsheimer has done it again!" Apart from the artistic satisfaction that you must feel about it, I am also happy for you financially since you mentioned that you and Elsbeth have invested in it. It really looks as if it will be a terrific money maker. You have sponsored and believed in Menotti's talent right from the beginning and I am truly happy that he is coming through

³⁴¹ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

with flying color. Please tell him when you see him — which I am sure is probably daily — that I am very happy for his success and hope to see the opera when I come to New York.

I do hope, that one of these days, your belief in my work will pay off too in a big way!

I am two-thirds finished with the orchestration of “The Wish”. I have sent the piano score to Bohmhard right on schedule and had already had a most enthusiastic answer from him. He is very happy with the opera and most enthusiastic about its production. He told me that they will be satisfied if they get the full orchestral score in a few weeks, but I am sending him as much as I have in about two days — as I said before — I have 2/3rds of it finished and the rest I will send him before another two weeks pass. So everything is working out satisfactorily. I myself feel very strongly about this opera and believe it is good and very effective. I will send you a piano score, if you wish, in a few days as I am anxious to get your reaction.

It is wonderful that “Anastasia” is such a good success — it should help with the financing of our Broadway opera venture. In fact I heard from Michael Dyne that Elaine Perry is more anxious than ever to put the two operas on since the smashing success of “The Saint”³⁴².

Hans, again good luck for this coming year which, I must say, has started most auspiciously for you. I am not going to make this letter long as I am still up to my neck in the orchestration and also the recording of “Venus” for Elaine Perry. Please tell Tommy

³⁴² *The Saint of Bleeker Street* by Menotti.

that I have set the wheels in motion to send him the most spectacular “cheese-cake” photos and that his pal will be green with envy.

I will write soon again.

Love,

5.41 *George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³⁴³

[Hollywood], 12 March 1955

Dear Hans,

This is just a quick note, to keep you informed of developments and, also, possible plans.

I have just gotten a telegram from Michael Dyne, which read: DESOLATED AND FURIOUS. VISIT POSTPONED. THEY HAVE NOT FOUND ME ANOTHER STORY. WRITING. LOVE. MICHAEL.

The “other story” he refers to is an assignment which he had planned to do here, in our house, while he was making the changes in *VENUS IN AFRICA* — it was (and possibly still is, if they find him another story) for a television show to be broadcast from the west coast. The word “postponed” may mean that he still has hopes of finding a suitable story and, sic., still to come here.

The problem now, briefly, is this. Beyond the premiere of *THE WISH* in Louisville, which takes place April 2, and it’s recording two weeks from that date, I have absolutely nothing on the boards whatsoever until November when I may accept another

³⁴³ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

scoring commitment; but that is not yet certain — December would be a better guess (this would be Kramer's Spanish picture). In short, and from this day onwards (with the exception of that small period in Louisville) I am prepared to devote 100% of my time and effort towards (a) making the proper changes in VENUS IN AFRICA and (b) doing whatsoever else is necessary to get this show on the road. However, as my time becomes increasingly valuable. I do not want to spend a half year going up a blind alley; and, if things do not look at all bright for our Broadway production, it would be a kindness to let me know it now — that is, if you are SURE. I have, at present, no reason whatsoever to doubt that it is a fairly good chance.

Things are so well cleaned up and in control, here, that I could practically board a plane at any minute, and be prepared to stay in New York for months, if need be. Somehow, now, I do not feel that Michael will come — not because he doesn't want to — but, frankly, because he must have this TV assignment in order to pay his expenses; and, if he cannot get a story form the people in questions to which he dares put his name, that will be out. In the meantime.... [section of page missing from archive duplicate.]

Hans, I might be irresponsible in every other way, but certainly not about anything concerning my composition or the production of my works. At great financial sacrifice I have come to New York several times last year to help with the production of the ballet, the "*Ballet Mécanique*", I went to Denver to see to it that the "*Brothers*" gets an adequate production, etc. etc. When I am home I work from seven in the morning until late at night.

If the production on Broadway would have materialized as planned for March I would have certainly dropped the Louisville commission with a very valid excuse and I would have been in New York by now, and working my head off with orchestration, changes, casting, etc. But as it is, I am sure that three weeks' delay at this moment will not make any difference and I shall completely devote my time to it when I am needed. Hans, you must understand, that these operas are my babies too and that I would not do anything to hurt their chances. I was so upset after your letter or rebuke on Saturday that I called Elaine Perry at New Haven and told her that she can have the tape any time she wants it. She was extremely friendly and said that actually she could not use it until after her show comes to New York which will be January 4. I also had a letter from her in the same extremely cordial and friendly way today.

Please don't get sore when you read this letter, your opinion of me means a great deal to me and when I get two letters in succession accusing me of being irresponsible I get terribly upset and I feel as old friends we should try to understand each other. I also understand from your point of view that you were somewhat aggravated and it was a stupid way of expressing myself about "Venus in Africa". However, I am not a good pianist any more, and unless I have been just working on something it is not in my fingers and I do have to practice a work in order to play it well. And it is true that since the production of the two operas has been postponed and I felt that there was not the immediate urgency for the tape, that I could let it go for a few weeks. You can be absolutely sure, Hans, that when the time comes that Miss Perry is ready I shall be ready too and knock my brains out for this production.

5.42 *George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³⁴⁴

[Hollywood], 11 July 1956

Hans, my old friend,

After your nice telephone call from New York the other day, and your subsequent brief but nice note, I have been postponing this letter for days. The reason, very frankly, is this: I made a resolve on the plane for Madrid that I valued you more as a friend than as a publisher, and as the two didn't seem to mix with us, I apparently had the choice between one or the other. I chose to keep you as a friend. My subsequent letter from Madrid, and your answer to me there, seemed to clinch this matter, and for my part I was willing to let it go at that, having you merely represent me with Elaine Perry if and when that matter ever came to a head.

Now, however, you have opened the question of a possible business arrangement between me and G. Schirmer, of which company you are a high ranking executive. I take it, therefore, to be official and, therefore, little as I like to do so, I have to write you in a business way. This, I have discovered to my consternation in the past, always opens up an area of disagreement between us. Because I don't like to disagree with my old and dear friend (and, in the past, we have stood one another in the closest stead, and in the clinches in our personal affairs) or open up old arguments, I frankly approach this letter with the greatest of qualms; in fact I am not at all certain that I should write it at all — and if it ever comes into your hands without having been torn up I hope, at least, that you will

³⁴⁴ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

give me credit for courage. But let us try, dear Hans, in the memory of our mutual beloved Anny of Vienna if for nothing else, not to get into a dispute again.

Let me say, first, that nothing but nothing would be nearer to my heart — and ambitions too, for that matter — than to have you publish and represent me. As, for instance, you did at Boosey-Hawkes of ill-starred omen eventually. But during the time that you did represent and publish me at Boosey-Hawkes I was as happy as a composer could be. If that could come about again, you may be sure that I will do everything, but everything, to help and forward it.

But, and to continue this candid point of view, your offer over the phone (which, probably, was only kidding, and a figure of speech) to the effect that if I signed with Schirmer embracing my motion picture publication, that “we could then occasionally publish a string quartet, or a bassoon sonata” would, of course, (that is if taken literally) be woefully inadequate. You are in a position, in New York, to know that the motion picture publication rights of any ranking Hollywood composer, particularly if he can include songs of his own into a motion picture score, are worth from \$10,000 a year up, to any publisher handling and contracting them. At this moment I can, if I so choose, sign up with two of the largest publishers in the world on this account; and I give you my word of honor that I am telling you the absolute truth. One of them, in America, offers to publish everything I write, plus a yearly guarantee [sic.] of several thousand dollars royalty advance. The other, an English publisher, you know about; but you do not know that this man came especially to Madrid to see Sinatra and myself. Nothing came of it, or the American offer, mostly because of my present deep-seated indifference to the whole of

serious music publishing which, for the most part, seems to me more trouble than it is worth. When a serious music publishing firm is too big, a composer who is not really in their inner circle gets lost in the back shelves; when it is too small, nothing gets done either, either from the lack of vision or initiative of the usually solitary man running it, or his sheer financial inability to do so. In such case it is better that a slightly known composer (not greatly, but at least known) such as myself keep his compositions in translucent paper on his own shelves. At least, if there is interest in any quarter, he can answer his mail with some effectiveness.

Now, and if you do what you usually do when I mention other offers made to me, you will write me a letter which states emphatically that I should then take advantage of them, as you could not be prepared to match them. The point is that I have not taken advantage of them now for a considerable period, although, as far as I know, the offers are still in effect. Perhaps you would like to know the reason for my not taking advantage — outside of the ones above outlines, i.e. my indifference to the world of serious music publishing. The reason is: I hoped, still, that my old friend Hans Heinsheimer would, of his own accord, come to me with an offer. But a real offer, less couched in financial terms (which, although they interest me, do not fundamentally interest me in the world of serious music) than in the terms of a vital and dynamic publisher-composer relationship, such as we once had in the best days of Boosey-Hawkes.

Let us call a spade a spade. If I am interested in anything in serious music at the moment (performances I mean, or publications which, today, lead to performances) I am interest[ed] in (a) operas, (b) ballets, and (c) large works of choral-symphonic score, such

as the cantata "*The Power Within Us*" which I have just finished in Spain. I am NOT interested in sonatas, string quartets, songs, piano pieces. Perhaps, someday, a symphony, but I am not sure of that. I do not know why I am interested; certainly my successes in this direction have not been great, although, yearly, the press and public become more and more enthusiastic, whilst the others of greater reputation previously seem gradually to fade. Perhaps it is because my creative urge cannot be suppressed because of real inner need to compose, regardless of whether this work has any real success or not. It is all a highly personal matter: on the other hand, and as I grow older, I become more and more convinced that the only thing which will count in the end (most probably, if ever, after I am dead) is whether or not I can write good and enduring music; and by music I mean music, and not some concoction of notes currently in style and in demand by the critics and snobs (usually years behind the times, anyway; whenever, in this world, have critics been in advance of their times?)

In other words, and to sum up, my present attitude (which, frankly, really frightens me sometimes, and I try to get out of it as, witness, this letter) I am presently in the most indifferent state that I could ever be in concerning the world of serious music — though now, for the first time, critiques are usually good, or very good, instead of bad or very bad. I would think a million times, for instance, before sticking my neck out in Los Angeles (where, after all, I earn my money) to have a premiere of a work like *VOLPONE* performed here. It is a one-way gamble; I stand only to lose either way — for, (a) if it is a resounding failure, that fact comes to the attention of the producers in a negative way, or (b) if it had been a great success, it would only have convinced the majority of the motion

picture people that I am too high-brow for them. Although I used to have a different point of view, I must today regretfully state that I have never noticed any great benefit from occasional successes in the realm of serious music as reacting upon my financial position in the world of motion picture composing. I am a motion picture composer in demand by certain producers here ONLY because I have proven to them time and time again that when I do a score to their picture, it increases its chance of success. Financial success. On the other hand dubious critiques in the world of serious music can and do injure. For me to continue (as, alas, I must, with or without you[r] help; in fact that is what I have been doing, mostly, although I do give due credit to your recommending me to various opera organizations, etc.) is, in any terms you wish to state, a luxury I can hardly afford, yet, because I must, it automatically becomes a necessity instead of a luxury...

Continuing to call a spade a spade, I know as well as you do that you are the only man to handle an American opera in the world. Your prestige is so enormous that it cannot be underestimated. To give a new opera to anybody else is almost the kiss of death. I hate to inflate your ego any more than necessary (and I say this with a smile, old friend) but it happens to be the truth, and this letter is the place, finally, for truth.

I have always looked upon my motion picture work as a spiritual minus: I actually do not write down to my producers or my public (and if you do not believe this, you should go to “hear” one of my movies) but, nevertheless, it seems to be a dastardly occupation to the elite inner circles of New York (although, as you once so truly wrote, there is not one of that elite who would not gratefully accept my commissions, especially the money connected with them nowadays). However if, now, this motion picture work

could be a means of entry and justification into G. Schirmer, I might well adapt a different attitude to it. Instead of doing one picture a year I could probably easily do three, if I kept at it (which I do not do at present, as I am slightly indifferent to that too, although less so than to the world of serious music.) And, there is no doubt; I could easily include a song in each, or nearly each of them. Even without songs, the publisher income from such pictures is substantial and averages over \$10,000 yearly — a sum which I cannot touch. I do not see why I should not have it work for me nevertheless. Finally, somewhere, I will make some such move, perhaps soon and as I have time to study the whole panorama. Up to now I have been busy from hour to hour with other matters which I rightly or wrong considered more important.

This is getting to be one of my usual long-winded letters in which I pour out my heart and confidences to my old friend, and, I hope, you will treat it as a letter from a friend, not a composer attempting to blast his way into the sacred portals of G. Schirmers. For frankly, Hans, I repeat that it all does not mean that much to me — that, for instance, you and I should quarrel. I am perfectly willing to leave things go on as they are, with you and I old and good friends, and with you representing me with Elaine only as an old friend, nothing more. The headaches are all not worth it. The last time I sat in your office at Schirmers, and you made the pronouncement that “*The Brothers*” would probably be old hat now, as nobody wanted to hear about war, I was deeply tempted to call to your attention that no issue of *The Saturday Evening Post* goes by without a war, or after-war-repercussion story, perhaps (as I noticed in the T.W.A. airplane, where I had read all day) even three of them of that particular week. Or that there are at least five or six television

shows a night dealing with this theme, in one way or another. When you say something, it has the air of finality; and why endanger a friendship of so many years, with so many fine things in it, simply to contradict you and protect one of my own operas? I guess I am growing older, although I do not feel that I am; even this week I took off two more pounds — and, it seems, that I am beginning to get a waistline again. In any case I feel much better thin. Most of our composers here are older than I am, and still going strong; composing, especially of intricate techniques, is just as much a middle-aged man's game as it is for the younger man. I feel that I still have many years to go, and can afford to outwait some of the flashes in the pan as, for instance, some of my pupils that I will not mention here. I have lived to see many younger men go up like a skyrocket and come down like a dud. I am not at all dissatisfied with my lot.

Moreover, as I said years ago, the whole world of music and music-publishing too, is changing. If you will look up one of my old letters written to you around the time that you were outlining your last book, you will see that I believed this, then. I was not too right in the details, but rather correct about the overall picture. Even in the motion picture business we must face the fact that, someday, TV will take it over, although, I believe, it will be beneficial for us who know this medium; as TV, with its omnivorous daily appetite will “can” its stuff, both visually and musically. I am in keen touch with all of this; I have not stood still, ever, and am prepared to take the best advantage of it when it comes, although not in the form I often first visualize. A man who cannot often change his mind is going nowhere — that is one of my first principles.

Well, enough of all of this. This letter is merely background, an effort to bring you up to date with the Interior Of George Antheil, repulsive as that may be, both to you and to me. (And I have to live inside it!) If you have any reaction, one way or the other, I would be more than happy to hear it.

Your old friend.

*5.43 Boski Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer at G. Schirmer*³⁴⁵

[Hollywood], 16 September 1956

Dear Hans,

First of all please excuse George that he has not answered your letters for some time. He has been so deeply engaged in work that all his letters have piled up in a drawer and he will have to attend to them as soon as his present musical project is finished or at least in a shape where he can leave it for a little while. We also received your announcement of the performances of “Capital” by Milton Katims and needless to say we are very, very happy about it.

As long as I am writing to you and as an old friend, I hope that you won’t take amiss what I would like to discuss with you. As you know me for a long time I am sure that you are aware of the fact that I have never tried to meddle in George’s business life and career as an ambitious wife. Maybe it was wrong and I should have taken a more active part in the furthering of his career. Many wives have. But I always felt that his music and his own personality were strong enough to take care of it.

³⁴⁵ Typed letter, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

However, I now feel that I can talk to you about this — again as an old friend — because I do very deeply feel that George’s work is not well represented in the musical life and concert world of America and I also very deeply feel that this is not because of any inadequacy in his music, but a lack of representation. I am not speaking as fatuous wife, but the consensus of opinion about George’s music in the last years has been that he is right up there on top with the other representative American composers. Both the critical and public reactions indicate this. I also know that the playing of contemporary music is a difficult situation here and still the fact remains that the other composers are being played, their works don’t only receive first performances but slowly enter the repertoire of orchestras, while George’s works usually remain to be first performances and then nothing... even though in actuality his works have more ready and willing audiences than many of the other composers.

He is not a young man any more, he is a mature composer who has written many wonderful works, whose reputation has grown with each successive composition and who cannot be brushed aside as a “flash in the pants”. Most of his compositions remain in a big stack in our storage room.... after one performance which usually gets very good criticisms.

Just to show you why I feel that the whole matter is mostly caused by lack of official and dignified representation, the case in point is “Capital of the World”. You have secured many performances of this work because it is in the Schirmer catalogue and because you have put our own personal conviction behind it. If his other works were represented by you and Schirmers, they too would be played. And I am not talking about

financial gains in this respect, because we all know that this, in the serious field of music, is not possible. I know, Hans, that probably you often thought that George's living in Hollywood makes him earn an awful lot of money. Also — just as old friends — you know that George occasionally likes to blow a little bit, very often, as we all do, to cover up. And he is very proud.

The truth of the matter is that he could earn a hell of a lot more money here than he does if he would have become one of the boys and play the game and concentrate on doing as many pictures as they do — which he could and many are offered to him that he refuses. We don't want to be rich at the expenses of George's music. Our whole aim is to earn enough money to live fairly comfortably and for George to retain enough of his time and the intensity of his real aim in life, which is, always has been and always will be his music. And there will be no other place in America where he could do this with only the sacrifice of a few months out of the year when he does one picture which usually carries us, together with royalties, ASCAP and an occasional commission like the Louisville through the year. We are in fine shape financially as long as we don't want more than what we have: a comfortable house (which we bought very reasonably), live our own life, put Peter through college and most of all leave George write his music in which he now has achieved his maturity and a scope and depth that is getting richer every year.

But you should not have to throw all your efforts into the wind and he should be played more often, especially works that have stood the test of critics and public and the only way I can see this possible is by him represented by one of the most reputable music publishers in America and have his works in their catalogue.

Hans this is a strictly private letter between us and having done it once in 25 years I will never open it up again. I know that you and George have had your temperamental disagreements in the past, but I also know that you do believe in George's music and its validity and also that your word at Schirmers means a great deal. I wish it were possible to have Schirmers take George's works in their catalogue just as some of the other representative American composers are part of the Schirmers library. Then I know that with you behind the works, they would get performances instead of gathering dust.

This would be a very silly letter for me to write if George were not one of the representative American composers. It is not a favor for an unknown hopeful. But what I cannot understand is why he is not one of the composers who have a blanket contract with the largest and most important publishing houses. Is it because he is so far away and people think he is "Hollywood"? Or the firm does not approve of his works? In any case Hans, I would very much appreciate if you'd write me. I know for sure that for performances, recordings, etc. the only way this can be accomplished is by being represented by a reputable music firm. At his age you don't go peddling your score to conductors, especially if the scores have proven themselves. And the only way of doing this is through a representative whose authority means much.

So I have had my little say and if you think it is out of order, don't get annoyed. However, if something can be done about it, I am sure that it would be at least a prestige, if not financial advantage to both Schirmers and George.

We are fine here. Peter is going to USC this semester rather than back to Oregon. When is Tommy starting at M.I.T.? Love to Elsbeth and yourself from Boski who probably should not have written this letter.

List of Letters

- 5.1 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 28 February 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.2 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 4 March 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York New York.
- 5.3 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 28 March 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.4 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 31 March 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.5 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 13 April 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.6 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 22 April 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.7 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 9 May 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.8 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 15 May 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.²¹
- 5.9 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 21 May 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.10 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 25 May 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

- 5.11 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, 28 May 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.12 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 23 June 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.13 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 23 July 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.14 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 4 August 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.15 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 18 August 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.16 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 25 October 1943, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.17 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 3 August 1952, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.18 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 22 December 1952, typed letter signed, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.19 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, [New York], 14 January 1953, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.20 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 27 March 1953, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.21 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 24 May [1953], Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.22 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, [Hollywood], 25 August 1953, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.23 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, Hollywood, 14 October 1953, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.24 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, [Hollywood], 24 November 1953, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.25 Hans Heinsheimer to George Antheil, New York, 8 March [1954], Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.

- 5.26 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, [Hollywood], 31 March 1954, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- 5.27 George Antheil to Hans Heinsheimer, [Hollywood], 17 June 1954, Antheil Papers, Columbia University, New York, New York.
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Epilogue

It was hot the day that I interviewed Mrs. Elsbeth Heinsheimer. Robert Thompson, President of Universal Edition, NY, had suggested I meet her. We were going to talk about her husband and his work in music publishing after 1938. Frances Wainwright-Heinsheimer greeted me at the door of a small Manhattan apartment, the same apartment that her parents Elsbeth and Hans had lived in while Hans worked at G. Schirmer. Sitting at a small table by an open window, I could hear the traffic below me, and feel the heat beginning to rise from the asphalt. There was a box of papers on the floor, a collection since deposited at the Library of Congress, Hans Heinsheimer's personal papers, correspondence and ephemera from a day gone by. When Mrs. Heinsheimer emerged from the back of the apartment to greet me, a memorable interview followed. Caught up in the conversation, we talked right through her scheduled afternoon doctor's appointment. When I did finally depart Frances took a few extra minutes to show me some personal family photos and the room where her father wrote. This was the first of more than a dozen interviews with the friends, family and colleagues of émigré music publishers, all of them memorable.

While these interviews profoundly shaped my understanding of at least some aspects of this era in music publishing, little of their content actually made it into my final work. The composers included in this volume may be of greatest interest to most people, but this dissertation is about publishers. Consequently, I wanted the last thing that I said in this dissertation to be about them.

Mrs. Heinsheimer died before my dissertation was finished. Shortly after I met her I interviewed Ms. Phyllis Flick, an AMP employee and colleague of Hugo Winter. At the

time she was in the hospital, terminally ill with cancer. I was told that when she received my phone call she was immediately energized and eager to share her experiences in music publishing. She too has since passed away.

Ms. Flick's eagerness to share her story was not unique in my experience but was instead the norm. Everyone I contacted was anxious to talk and excited that I was researching this topic. Fortunately, I completed my research when I did and not later. Today, there are few people living who participated in — or even remember — this era in America's musical past. Thus, it is my hope that this dissertation will serve not only as a documentary study of music publishing in the United States, but as a scholarly acknowledgment of the contribution that these people made to our musical landscape.

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