Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar

DOKTORI DISSZERTÁCIÓ

HUBAI GERGELY

THE TREATMENT OF ARTISTIC INTEGRITY IN THE AMERICAN FILM INDUSTRY: REJECTED FILM SCORES IN STUDIO FEATURES DURING THE HOLLYWOOD GOLDEN AGE, 1933-1948

Irodalomtudományi doktori iskola
Dr. Kállay Géza egy.tan.
Amerikanisztika doktori program
Dr. Frank Tibor egy.tan.

Védési bizottság elnöke: Dr. Bollobás Enikő DSc. egy.tan.
Opponensek: Dr. Bán Zsófia doc., Dr. Cristian Réka hab.doc.
Titkár: Dr. Szabó Éva Eszter adj.
Tag: Dr. Dragon Zoltán PhD. adj.
Póttag: Dr. Federmayer Éva doc.
Póttag: Dr. Benczik Vera adj.
Témavezető: Dr. Hirsch Tibor doc.

Budapest, 2014

You're not a full-fledged screen composer
until you've had a score thrown out of a picture.
(David Raksin)

Table of Contents

Music is the most abstract of the film arts.
It is also the most abused and the most exploited.
(Tony Thomas)

I: Introduction

I.1: A Brief Guide to Film Music Research

> Despite the thousands of writings on film music, there is much about the subject that is *terra incognita*. It is no exaggeration to say that hundreds of film composers are all but unknown – their careers unchronicled, their music seldom heard and wholly unexamined. […] As film music approaches its centennial, historians, scholars, and musicologists have their work cut out for them (McCarty 1998:xiv).

Even though these introductory remarks were written more than 20 years ago, Clifford McCarty's thoughts on the neglected state of film music research are still valid to some extent. The establishment of soundtrack specialty labels such as Intrada, La-La-Land or the now defunct Film Score Monthly may have preserved thousands of film music recordings from the vaults of major Hollywood studios, this sudden availably of new material didn't result in a similar increase in the number of books and journals discussing these works. Part of the problem can be directly attributed to the interdisciplinary nature of what constitutes film music research and how different authors approach the same subject.

Some of the most important contributors in this field are musicologists and composers, so their main field of interest is "how music works in the film" with an emphasis on "music". Esteemed authors such as Fred Steiner or Fred Karlin were actively working in the business while writing about it at the same time – some would argue that their theoretical work was even more significant than their practical contributions to the field. The books written from a musical perspective usually focus on either one film (such as Steiner's essay on Bernard Herrmann's *Psycho* or Scarecrow Press' *Film Score Guides* series) or look at various musical techniques and list dozens of titles that exemplify these methods (such as how Karlin structured his book *On the Track*). What's common in both approaches is that the authors' primary resources are the musical manuscripts which are frequently featured as illustrations to make a point.

The second group of authors comes from the world of film theory, so their main field of interest is "how music works in the film" with an emphasis on "film". Instead of consulting sheet music or available recordings, the film theorists are looking at the movies only, examining how the underscores affect (or in more interesting cases, manipulate) the audience. *Film Music* by Peter Larsen is perhaps one of the most widely available reference books within this group and it can be considered a representative example of the film-centered approach. The key feature of this type of research is that the author looks at the film and its musical accompaniment much like how a formalist literary critic looks at a text – nothing outside the specific work is of interest for him. Unused cues, alternate recordings or rejected scores are of no consequence in their appreciation of the work.

The Treatment of Artistic Integrity in the American Film Industry belongs to the third major approach to film music research with an emphasis on "history". Following in the methodological footsteps of such recent works as James Wierzbiczki's *Film Music: A History* or Mervyn Cooke's *A History of Film Music*, the dissertation looks at the creation of film music not only through the sheet music or the films themselves but rather through the available research material surrounding the creation of these works. Films and musical recordings are naturally consulted where applicable, but the real focus of the research resides in studio archives, personal correspondences, newspaper clippings, promotional documents and other text-based miscellany pertaining to the filmmaking process. The main goal is to create a linear narrative of events with a critical approach to the sources.

I.2: The Origins of the Dissertation

The basic concept for this dissertation can be traced back to the publication of my book entitled *Torn Music* (2012). The research in that volume centered on the obscurest of film scores which are referred to as "rejected film scores". This is a special type of musical accompaniment that was written and (usually) recorded for a specific film, but wasn't used in the final cut for one reason or another. What makes these unused scores so fascinating is that they are often linked to some of the most important titles of cinema history ranging from *2001: A Space Odyssey* to *The Exorcist* or *Chinatown* to name a few well-know examples. In each case, the mere existence of an alternative version offers a fascinating "what if" scenario to some of the most widely analyzed movies from Hollywood – and this doesn't even account for the lesser-known titles, some of which will be discussed in the following chapters.

Focusing on 300 titles, *Torn Music* was meant to be a simple case-by-case study with little regard to the general name recognition of the films involved. Hollywood classics were listed alongside European cult horrors or independent art house films with only the chronology providing any semblance of narrative. This approach lent the book a sort of fragmented, anthological feel, but it also obscured a concept that came to my mind during the preparation of the manuscript, namely that certain rejections were very strongly linked by different cultural issues. Since the connected titles were often several pages apart from each other and got separated by unrelated films, these finer points were lost in the manuscript assembly, though many of them weren't properly articulated in the first place.

To bring in just one telling example, there were an unusually large number of score replacements in the post-World War II co-productions between England and the United States; it was very frequent that a film was shown with one score in Britain and a different score in the United States. The film-by-film structure of *Torn Music* didn't allow for a continuous explanation of the full story, so the beginning of this Transatlantic cultural conflict was explained in relation to *Night and the City* (Hubai:21-23) which was separated by twenty pages from the conclusion of the story, shared through the example of *Surprise Package* (Hubai:43-45). This way, the decade-long debate concerning the different copyright traditions of the two countries was split into different chapters and the paralyzing effect of this cultural / legal conundrum wasn't explained as well as it could have been.

The Treatment of Artistic Integrity in the American Film Industry attempts to rectify a similar issue by re-examining the major score replacements that occurred in the classic Hollywood studio era (1933-1948) with new research focusing on all the involved parties. The basic contradiction that caught my attention during this time period was that score replacements were a lot less frequent in the classic studio era when compared with post-1948 Hollywood. This discrepancy was of course quite easily explained by the fact that Hollywood studios worked very differently back then and the institution of the music departments didn't allow for many mistakes to happen. After the fall of the vertically integrated studio system in 1948, the emergence of independent producers and directors brought along more possibilities of how films could be approached from a musical perspective – and when more choices are available, there's a greater chance of making mistakes that will inevitably lead to rejected film scores.

On the rare occasion that a film score got replaced in the classic Hollywood studio system (1933-1948), it always happened to some of the most respected and well-known composers of that time period. The final list included a couple of rather interesting names. 1) George Antheil, the "Bad Boy of Music" whose performance of *Ballet Mécanique* caused riots in Paris and New York as well. 2) Arnold Schoenberg, the inventor of the twelve-tone method that revolutionized contemporary music even if the immediate reviews weren't always favorable. 3) Igor Stravinsky, who also caused riots with his performance of *The Rite of Spring* and revitalized the medium of ballet through his associations with Sergei Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* company. 4) And finally Polish-born composer Alexandre Tansman, the internationally recognized composer and virtuoso pianist whose popularity in the 1940s overshadowed his other contemporaries on this list.

The reason I got initially interested in these rejected scores from studio era was the discovery of how the official biographies or autobiographies of these composers simply marginalized their participation in Hollywood history. This kind of neglect is of course understandable in the case of names like Antheil, Schoenberg, Stravinsky or Tansman; the unused scores don't have any significance in their careers and it seemed that the artists themselves shunned these moments because they represented painful artistic failures they wished to forget. The scores were written for films (and filmmakers) that simply didn't want them, so it's only natural that the composers themselves abandoned these works and rarely talked about the humiliation associated with getting their music discarded.

While the casual omission of the painful memories is understandable in the books the composers were personally involved in, I was surprised to find that most major reference works on the four maestros followed a similar pattern. Even the most widely-cited reference works mentioned the rejected film scores in their footnotes if at all – a paragraph or two was all that could be found. Again, there's a reason for this: all four careers have more interesting features: there are dozens of publications on Antheil's *Ballet Mécanique*, but none on his Hollywood scores. Stravinsky's ballets are widely discussed; his attempts at scoring films are relegated to the trivia section. The fact that both types of reference works neglected to discuss these pieces in greater details prompted me to flesh out the composer's previously overlooked contributions to the development of Hollywood.

The dissertation is structured in the form of four quarters, each of which traces the work of the four composers. The four comprehensive discussions complement each other in a way that the main characters in one case history may appear in other ones as side characters to emphasize the close-knit relationship between the immigrant composers in the studio era. Although the four stories follow different people in slightly different time periods, I believe that the interrelated plotlines and the parallel reading of the four case histories will eventually result in a new image, a previously untold version of Hollywood's history examined through the somewhat distorting lens of film music history.

I.3: Research and Presentation

The main part of the dissertation is divided into five sections, four of which are devoted to the four composers' case histories. A preceding chapter contains a general introduction, laying down the basic foundation on the framework in which I will contextualize the rest of the dissertation – since the other four chapters are dedicated to composers who were fighting against a system they perceived as seriously flawed, I feel it's important to familiarize readers with the establishment they were up against. The chapter contains an introduction of the Hollywood studio system and its music departments, followed by a comparison of how the production of film music differed in that period when compared with the contemporary methodology.

***

The second chapter looks at the Hollywood career of George Antheil, the modernist composer who achieved his greatest successes in Europe but was forced to move back to the States in 1933. Antheil penned one significant autobiography (*Bad Boy of Music*) but even a casual look at the contents reveals that the author was an unreliable narrator of his own life. Antheil's book has been released a number of times and while those editions are almost the same in content, there are also fascinating variations of Antheil's earlier manuscripts for the book, now housed at the New York Public Library of the Performing Arts. These earlier drafts contain no additional information about his Hollywood career (which mostly focuses on Salvador Dalí anyway), but a couple of choice excerpts have been cross-referenced for the formative years of the biographical sketch.

Antheil's work on *Ballet Mécanique* is the most frequently discussed aspect of the his life; most major reference works such as Whitesitt's biography or Johnson's biographical sketch for the *Avant-Garde Biographical Sourcebook* mostly focus on the creation, the premieres and the reception of this singular composition. Instead of restating the details that have been already shared elsewhere, I only discuss *Ballet Mécanique* in a brief section with a special focus on its qualities (and inadequacies) as a film score. Instead of relying on Antheil's own exaggerated retelling of the events, I'm using some other contemporary resources to show these scandalous concerts in a slightly different light – but both the formative years as well as *Ballet Mécanique* are only discussed to the extent that they are relevant to the understanding of the Hollywood years.

The main balance of the chapter is based around Antheil's publications on *Modern Music*, a fascinating resource whose virtues are extolled in the relevant section. The journal's archives are located in the Library of Congress; the papers were donated by editor Minna Lederman Daniel in 1975. The collection has a few Antheil correspondences (located in Box-Folder 2/1), but the letters' contents don't seem to touch upon issues of interest for the dissertation. Apart from Antheil's publications in the journal, a few other contemporary commentaries are discussed to allow for some comparison between earlier and later issues, tracing the composer's constantly changing opinion as an author on the subject.

Most of the papers on Antheil are scattered around various institutions. The correspondences between the composer and his most significant financial aid, Mary Louise Curtis Bok are housed in the Library of Congress, covering the era 1921-1940. Although the timeframe includes my main area of research, there are very few letters towards the end of the relationship and no significant information on Hollywood can be gathered from them. The Stanford Music Library at Stanford University also has an Antheil collection, but this selection was actually gathered by collector Charles Amirkhanian who photocopied all the Antheil letters he could find (including most of the Bok correspondence as well). The sheet music (but not the documentation) for Antheil's film work resides at UCLA.

Finally, the research also incorporates a few audio recordings on the composer. *Bad Boy of Music* was hosted by Amirkhanian and originally aired on November 7, 1980. It is a good resource for setting out a research plan, but features no new information when compared with its namesake. The other radio interview on the other hand contained quotes that couldn't be located in other sources: Antheil's interview with Truman Rex Fisher of the KPPC Radio, Pasadena was recorded a year before the composer's death and contains some interesting tales from Antheil's childhood as well as a few sections on his life in California. A particularly poignant quote from the program was selected for the epilogue.

Since Antheil's career in Hollywood was strongly linked to that of Boris Morros, I also consulted a number of resources on the Russian entrepreneur/composer. Just like Antheil, Morros is a rather unreliable narrator in his own autobiography (*My Ten Years as a Counterspy*) and that book also downplays the Paramount years in favor of colorful espionage tales. In order to get a more complete picture on Morros, an assortment of reference works on Russian music and inter-war espionage history have been consulted to find some links between these two aspects of Morros' life.

***

The next chapter examines the role of Arnold Schoenberg and his non-existent film scoring career during his Hollywood stay. The Arnold Schönberg Center in Vienna is the most significant resource on the composer: the collection houses not only musical manuscripts and correspondences, but the composer's library as well (this was especially helpful when examining Schoenberg's interest in *The Good Earth*, which was adapted from the novel by Pearl S. Buck). Since the collection is easy to research and most of the writings are also digitized, a search for relevant keywords unearthed a number of interesting, previously forgotten correspondences in which Schoenberg's tone was radically different than in the articles he wrote about film scoring.

Unlike Antheil, whose biographies are few and focused on his early years, the entirety of Schoenberg's career has been already mapped with dozens of biographies and other reference works. During the research I especially focused on the books that discussed Schoenberg's immigrant years, the most significant being Sabine Feisst's *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* for providing historical context. For comparison's sake, the bilingual *Arnold Schoenberg in America, Volume 4* (released by the Arnold Schönberg Center and Universität für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Wien) seems to have no papers on the composer's Hollywood commissions.

A similar observation can be made about the literature discussing the relationship of Schoenberg and cinema. With the exception of Tony Thomas' primordial research article, most publications are usually discussing Schoenberg's influence on the world of film scoring, not his actual work in the field. Articles such as Huckvale's chapter on Schoenberg in his volume on Hammer films or Sabine Feisst's essay on the composer's relationship with the cinematic arts spend relatively little time on the rejected scores and instead move on to examining the appearance of the twelve-tone system in the world of film music (Huckvale looks as far as Leonard Rosenman's *The Cobweb*, Feisst's focus is a bit closer to Schoenberg's time, looking up on composers like Hanns Eisler or David Raksin).

Finally, Schoenberg's own essays on the subject of film music have been consulted and get discussed in detail to explain the author's strange aversion to the medium of film. In this case the most significant publications were available in one place: *Style and Idea*, the English version of Schoenberg's edited collection of essays, contains one important piece ("Art and the Moving Pictures") while others touch upon the subject of film music in brief, but thought-provoking excerpts that are also referenced.

***

Researching Igor Stravinsky's career in Hollywood poses different challenges than Schoenberg's because the Russian composer was involved in more projects that were also developed much further than any project from his Austrian contemporary. Some of these projects are mentioned in most reference works on Stravinsky, the best outline of his Hollywood commissions is included in Charles M. Joseph's *Stravinsky Inside Out* which references all the relevant resources from the composers' perspectives. My dissertation compares and contrasts these references with quotations from other fields of film music, including the biography of Miklós Rózsa and contemporary reports. Seemingly important reference works (such as *Igor Stravinsky: An Autobiography*) surprisingly lack any mention of film music – either specific to Stravinsky or in general.

Although they don't dwell on the subject of film scoring too much, the publications of Robert Craft are unavoidable in the case of any serious discussion of Stravinsky's works. Apart from the numerous books he published based on his personal correspondences with the composer (including *Stravinsky: Chronicle of a Friendship 1948-1971*), Craft also edited three valuable volumes of correspondences from the artist's archives. The publication of these irreplaceable documents paint a very representative picture of what interested Stravinsky, grand thoughts on the theory of composition and intertwined with mundane business arrangements and petty negotiations regarding copyright issues and unpaid fees. The composer's relationship with the Hollywood film industry is rarely mentioned and when it gets an acknowledgement, the correspondence is usually focused on some minor financial issue instead of a more important artistic one.

In addition to chronicling all of Stravinsky's Hollywood projects and their afterlife, the chapter also discusses the composer's most significant contribution to the world of film music: a re-examination of his significant essay "Igor Stravinsky on Film Music: As Told to Ingolf Dahl", originally published in *Musical Digest*. As the original source of Stravinsky's famous "wallpaper metaphor" for describing film music, the dissertation aims to look at selected excerpts of the text in light of the Hollywood career to explain how a composer who was originally very much interested in the field grew to despise it so much. My argument is that Stravinsky's dismissive attitude shown is this influential essay is strongly linked with the years of unfulfilled promises in Hollywood. Excerpts from the lesser-known rebuttal (written by David Raksin for *Musical Digest*) are also introduced in the discussion for comparison's sake.

***

The last chapter discusses the Hollywood work of Polish-born French composer Alexandre Tansman, who at least completed a number of film commissions in the United States (most notably *Flesh and Fantasy* for Universal). Even though this chapter is primarily based around the material housed at the HRC (see later), the most important reference works on Tansman have also been consulted where applicable. In this case the research was a bit more complicated since the most significant books on the composer were written in French and Polish, though a number of brief English language biographies are also available in musical dictionaries.

By far the most significant resource on Tansman's life is a sort of autobiographical sketch compiled, edited and translated by researchers Jill Timmons and Sylvain Frémaux. The "Tansman autobiography" as it is called is compiled from two French radio interviews the composer did with Michel Hoffman in 1967 and Marie-Hélène Pinel in 1980. The edited version of the interviews is divided into five biographical periods as well as a separate chapter in which Tansman is reminiscing about his American friends, including Schoenberg and Stravinsky. The recordings was originally provided by the Association des Amis d'Alexandre Tansman in Paris while the final translated version used as my reference was published in the first issue of the *Polish Music Journal* in 1997.

The main source of documents in this chapter belong to The David O. Selznick Collection at the Harry Ransom Center which is located at the University of Texas at Austin. The collection contains the full collection of the surviving memos that circulated the producer's office, including memos that were sent and received by the filmmaker. The collection has little material on Selznick's RKO years and the memos only start to get more frequent when the producer started his independent career at around 1936; since the focus of my research was Since You Went Away, made in 1944, this loss of material didn't concern the topic. During the quoting of the resources from the Selznick Collection, I used the reference format suggested by the collection: (sender/addressee mm/dd/yy). All the personal correspondences quoted in the chapter were found in the Selznick collection – if Selznick's name is not mentioned, it means that the memo was an exchange between two other members of his staff.

While this last chapter may deviate from the format of the previous ones in that it's more focused on the producer than the composer, I hope that it will introduce fascinating new documents that could lead to a fuller re-examination of Alexandre Tansman's contributions to Hollywood.

I.4: Thesis

The dissertation has three main goals. The first one is to reconstruct the Hollywood careers of these immigrant composers; by using all the currently available resources (firsthand accounts and secondary resources as well), I plan to write a new, synthesized history of the film careers of these four composers while providing the necessary context through the relevant sections of Hollywood film music history. The second goal is to look at the influential essays penned by the composers and see how these were influenced by the authors' Hollywood careers – in other words, I want to strike a bridge between the theoretical significance and the practical failure of the discussed artists. The first three chapters (Antheil, Schoenberg, and Stravinsky) mainly examine texts relating to film music theory; the main resources for the fourth chapter (Tansman) are film historical documents.

The third goal is of course the most important: to draw new conclusions based on the four case histories and find common elements to determine what is (or what are) the key reason(s) for this neglect of top European talents in Hollywood. Because the four case histories involve different composers and different studios, I feel it's safe to say that score rejections of this era are not just individual artistic differences between musicians and filmmakers; rather they are the symptoms of a more general cultural issue. The correct identification of this problem can lead to a better understanding of how the Hollywood studio system actually worked and how these very direct challenges to the *status quo* resulted in a gradual change of the Hollywood customs – and by extension, the entirety of American popular culture.

We loved the American cinema because
the films all resembled each other.
(Francois Truffaut)

II: The Film Music Traditions of the Studio System

In order to fully comprehend the issues that are brought up in the case histories concerning the four discussed composers, we must first look at the establishment they were up against: namely the classic Hollywood studio system as well as the music departments they ran. This distinction is very important because even though Hollywood is still run by the pretty much the same studios and all of them have music departments, both of these institutions work very differently now when compared with their counterparts from the 1930s and 1940s. The following chapter offers an outline for comparing the filmmaking and film music traditions of then and now.

Since this is an introductory chapter with a more general outline of the studio system used only for contextualizing the key issues of the dissertation, the summary parts will be largely based on a condensed version of the most significant reference works. The section on the peculiarities of The Golden Age is based on *The Classic Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960* Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson and Richard E. Caves' *Creative Industries: Contracts Between Art and Commerce*. The section on the Music Department is based on a comparative summary of the historical part in Richard Davis' *Complete Guide to Film Scoring*, James Wierzbiczki's *Film Music: A History*, Mervyn Cooke's A History of Film Music and Roy M. Prendergast's *Film Music: A Neglected Art*. The section on comparative film scoring practices is based on Fred Karlin's *On the Track* compared with separately credited contemporary interviews for the historical part. Finally, the section on 1930s film music criticism is compiled from an assortment of credited resources, representing extreme views on the major debate points of the decade.

II.1. The Golden Age or The Studio System

There have been several different definitions of the so-called Hollywood Golden Age ever since the era was pronounced dead with the Paramount Case. The term itself (originally called Χρυσόν Γένος) is of course a reference to the alternative creation story of Greek mythology; best discussed by Hesiod in his didactic poem *Works and Days*. According to this story (popularly known as the "Ages of Man"), mankind went through five ages throughout history: Golden, Silver, Bronze, Heroic and Iron. With the exception of the penultimate Heroic age, each of these time periods were significantly worse than the preceding once, thus leading to a deteriorations view of history with the prospect of an even worse period to come.

In *The Classic Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960*, the volume's three authors tried to examine "to what extent Hollywood filmmaking adheres to integral and limited stylistic conventions" (Bordwell, etc.:3). Yet while the authors could find several recurring similarities which helped in defining the features that were distinctive of Hollywood cinema between the birth of film until 1960, the extension or the Golden Age into a 60+ years long period conflicted with other definitions of the era's boundaries. While the authors aimed to break up this long period alongside the structural changes of the American Film Industry (Bordwell, etc. 397-401), this definition of "Classic Hollywood" can only be interpreted as the opposite of "New Hollywood" whereas several years' worth of films are stuck between a cinematic no man's land between the fall of the studio era and the emergence of a new movement.

Apart from finding the exact historical milestones that mark the boundaries of the Hollywood Golden Age, there are also widely different interpretations of the name as well. Instead of quoting the different etymologies, I'd like to refer to Gerald Mast's somewhat cheeky explanation of the name in his 1971 book *A Short History of the Movies*. In this case, Mast proposes that instead of understanding the Golden Age as a sign of qualitative improvement over future generations, we should reconstruct the era based on its quantitative excellence. This definition proposes that the movies filmed in this era are not necessarily better than later productions (though there's hardly any objective way to measure the difference), but we can all agree on that these decades had more wide releases and the box-office returns were excellent regardless of how good the picture actually were.

If we look at the statistics alone, we can see that "between 1930 and 1950, an average of 500 films per year was produced" (Davis:39). In 1938, these pictures were seen by over 80 million Americans who went to the cinema on an almost weekly basis. This means that 65 percent of the population was a frequent cinemagoer who often attended more than one showing; Roy M. Prendergast estimates that this number fell to 10 percent by the time the 1970s rolled around (Prendergast:35). The difference between cinema going habits was so noticeable that it even had an effect on American English as well; in his short history, Mast makes the comparison that "in 1939, Americans went to the movies; in 1970, they went to a move" (Mast:29).

The different cinema going habits were naturally influenced by the different programs as well. In the 1930s and 1940s, there were different kinds of cinematic experiences that were designed for different audiences. An average cinema program didn't consist of just one movie, but usually began with a newsreel or a cartoon depending on the audience, followed by one major or two shorter pictures (the term for B movie originates from the usually inferior quality of the movies placed in the second half of the program). Cinemas used other tricks to get people in the seats every week. Universal for instance produced several serial films, which were 20-minute long short features starring popular heroes like *Batman, Flash Gordon* or *Buck Rogers*. People who wanted to catch the full story had to return to the cinema every week for 12-15 weeks straight until the serial ran its course.

One the flipside of the coin, audiences who wanted a more memorable experience could pay a few extra dollars to attend a special road show presentation. Reserved for the largest motion pictures (such as *Gone with the Wind* or *Since You Went Away*), road show presentations always were only shown once or twice a day to make the occasion more memorable. The whole experience was borrowing elements from the world of theatre: seats had to be reserved in advance, souvenir booklets were available and the two halves of the program were usually interrupted by a 10-15 minute long intermission (often called entr'acte). Even more importantly, the big pictures were usually released as road show presentations first, followed by a wide release once this format ran its course. It's important to point out that every road show release was eventually given a wider theatrical release even if the first round wasn't profitable at the box-office.

Using this quantitative approach to understand what the Golden Age of Hollywood means also explains how the studio system turned into an industry. Constructed to satisfy the public's insatiable appetite for weekly premieres, the studios developed a system that

recalled the efficiency of Henry Ford's assembly lines while it also guaranteed greater studio control and didn't allow for a lot of tempering from any one individual (Caves:90-92).

In this streamlined and efficient system, the screenwriters, the stars, the cinematographers, the composers and even the directors were only cogs in the wheel that couldn't make significant changes from the pre-determined direction. If objections were raised by any creative participant, he or she could be easily removed and replaced – even if it happened to be the director. Such changes were more frequent in the studio era than any other period of Hollywood; the notorious shuffling of the directors during the production of *Gone with the Wind* is a good, although very rare example of the system. The true creative forces behind the films were the studios and the production executives with each studio carving out specific genres and styles for themselves.

The other unique feature that guaranteed this accessibility during the classic studio era was the so-called contract system (Caves:88-90). The main form of employment for the cast and crew were long-term contracts in which the artists' made a commitment to exclusively work for a single studio. For actors, this commitment was almost impossible to break since their faces were projected onto the silver screen. For the technical crew (including musicians and composers), an illegal breach of contract was possible as long as they weren't credited in any way. This type of moonlighting was frowned upon by studios and if an occurrence was ever found out, these filmmakers could be fired. (Rózsa:174)

There were two different types of contracts offered by the studios. One of them specified the number of films the artists got to fulfill for the same company, while the other specified the number of years they had to work in the same place. The original contracts also specified under what terms the contracts could be re-negotiated and when a star misbehaved from a studio's perspective, they could pressure them using the contracts (Caves:89). The biggest stars were also subjected to inter-studio loans were actually or trades. In these cases, the studios specified which star they would lend to a given film, and then named the actor or actress they wanted to feature in their project in return.

The final (and most would say defining) feature of the Golden Age was the system of vertical integration. We've already seen how film studios centralized the whole production process, building up a whole process of film production that allowed for a film to be produced within the studio without leaving the lot for a second (unless location shooting was involved, of course). The system of vertical integration essentially meant that the distribution of the film could be done by the same business entity as the production.

During the Golden Age, eight major Hollywood studios were involved in the system. The most powerful of these studios were the fully-integrated Big Five: M-GM-, Warner Brothers, 20th Century Fox, Paramount Pictures, and (the now defunct) RKO. These studios not only produced and distributed movies, but also operated their own chain of movie theaters. The so-called Little Three (Universal Studios, Columbia Pictures, and United Artists) produced and distributed feature films, but did not own their own theaters. Eventually it was this system of vertical integration that led to the downfall of the whole era. (Caves:94)

When the whole motion picture industry evolved into an oligopoly (a market owned by a few big companies), the Federal Trade Commission began investigating if for potential violations of the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. The 1948 Supreme Court decision in the United States vs. Paramount Pictures, Inc. case forced the Big Five to sell off their theaters, effectively ending the guaranteed market for these studios. Other points of the decision forced the Big Five to stop block-booking short film subjects along with their feature films (marking the end of the movie serials) and ended the institution of blind buying (where the theater districts were forced to buy the films without seeing them). The decision also created an administration board for enforcing these requirements.

Although the Big Five remained almost the same to this day (with the exception of RKO which ceased production in 1957), the studio era effectively ended with the Paramount Case. The selling of the theater chains had other profound effects on the studios, who gradually built down their expensive and cost-prohibitive contract systems, then also built down their production departments to the bare essentials that were still needed for running the studios. (De Vany:171)

II.2. The Music Department

Every major studio of the Golden Age had its own music department which was much larger than what accounts for one these days. Contemporary music departments operate with a limited number of paid employees, usually dealing with promotion of current soundtracks, licensing older titles and simply maintaining the musical legacy of the studios with a special focus on legal issues and music supervision. The music departments of the studio era on the other hand employed over 100 people and made sure that the complete production of the music score can be down within the premises of the studio without hiring outside talents. The differences can be summarized in the following ways:

The first significant difference is that the music departments had a discernible physical location, usually a separate building on the lot. Since the studio was already working very much like a factory, it was only natural that they'd invest in placing their employees in their own compartments. These buildings contained executive offices, cubicles reserved for the composers to write at, a music library housing that studios musical legacy (both written resources and available recordings) and even a soundstage with state-of-the-art equipment where the music could be recorded. The recording stage was especially important because it was one section of the studio lot that could be used for representative purposes as well; studio visits usually included a look at the stage (examples of these visits will be discussed in relation to Boris Morros and Igor Stravinsky).

The second typical difference between a contemporary and a historical musical department involved the autonomy of the institution. While the department solved all the major musical concerns within its walls, it needed close cooperation with producers, directors, sound engineers, the studio's legal departments, accountants etc. All this additional work was overseen by the head of the music department who was also frequently referred to as a "music director" to emphasize the creative side of his job (credits on the actual films invariably preferred the latter format to the former).

During the studio era, the heads of the music department had to take care of a number of different tasks. In short, he was in charge of the musical direction for every single picture made at that studio. If more composers were working on the same picture, he supervised their jobs; he made the decisions and gave ideas for thematic materials. If a filmmaker decided to work with a freelance composer, the music director represented the

studio's interests and made sure that the outsider could provide music whose quality is on par with the regular output of the studio. In simpler terms, they guaranteed the presence of the studio's own unique sound (the entry on George Antheil and his music for *The Scoundrel* will contain more information on this subject).

Most music directors were skilled musicians themselves and the most important ones (such as Alfred Newman at 20th Century Fox or Johnny Green at M-G-M) were keeping an especially close eye on the proceedings (Marcus:179). Since many of the film composers weren't skilled conductors, the more educated music directors could conduct the scores of other contract composers. They were also the official faces of the studio and could often appear in films – Alfred Newman for instance appeared with his orchestra at the beginning of the Fox prestige release *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953). But not every head of the music departments had musical education: Louis Lipstone of Paramount (whom Miklós Rózsa refused to name in his autobiography) for instance couldn't conduct or read music; he just fancied himself as a musical expert and was given the position after the revolution of Boris Morros left the studio in shambles (see the Antheil chapter).

One more interesting feature of the music direction in this timeframe was that the head of the department was frequently given credits and awards for music he had nothing to do with. If a composer was working on a film, he received credit – but if more composers worked on the same score, only the music director was singled out with a credit for the opening titles. Similarly, if a composer wrote music on his own, he could win awards for it – but if more composers worked on the score, the award was given to the music director. If a composer had no contract with the studio (such as how Erich Wolfgang Korngold didn't have at the time of *Anthony Adverse* in 1936), the award was similarly given to the music director - in that case, Louis Forbstein of Warner Bros. (L.MacDonald:42).

The third important difference is the compartmentalization of the working process. Each compartment within the music department was responsible for a different task with clearly defined guidelines. The compartments were arranged into three major groups: jobs relating to pre-production (research, licensing, legal issues), production (writing and recording the music) and post-production (libraries, archiving material). Roy M. Prendergast's book *Film Music: A Neglected Art* features a useful chart for an idealized music department that has all the possible branches. While not all must departments had all the branches, Prendergast's illustration is a useful starting point for understanding the inner workings of the music department (See Chart 1). The break-down below explains what the

most important compartments were responsible for and how each section's job relates to the four stories of my dissertation.

- Music clearance: Since the studio era film scores often referenced pieces of pre-existing music, the legal background of these compositions had to be accounted for. Things worked out fine if the quotations were done from public domain classical compositions or folk songs, but the more fashionable references to contemporary pop songs or jazz standards could pose legal issues. Music clearance took care of the legal aspects of film scoring while also keeping track of the public domain quotations for reference purposes. (Music clearance for instance was a key issue in *Since You Went Away*, to be discussed in relation to Alexandre Tansman).

- Music and disc library: The libraries kept track of all the musical material that legally belonged to the studios. The music libraries contained all the sheet music, conductor's scores and individual parts not only as a reference, but for future usage. For instance in the case of really low-budget films, the score was not written by a composer, rather it was compiled from material that was written for prior project. The disc library had a similar function for the recorded material, but it was used more rarely than the music library.

- Budgeting and scheduling: These compartments within the department had to plan the budget of the musical recording, which usually included a calculation of composer fees and how many sessions could be booked for the orchestra (since the studios had contracted players, the size was pretty much determined from the number of available musicians). The scheduling part of the pre-production largely consisted of booking the studio's own facilities, making sure that each running project would be given ample time at the necessary locations (recording studios, dubbing studios, etc.).

- Music research and advisors: In order to make sure that the actual composers were only dealing with writing music; most studios had a limited number of staff at hand to complete musical researches for different projects. These could include things like studying the music of a historical period for a costumed drama, checking whether a song could exist in a given time period or examining the musical traditions of an ethnicity (such research would play crucial part in the scoring of *The Good Earth*, see Schoenberg).

- Contract and free-lance Composers: There were two types of composers working in the Hollywood studios. Contract composers signed a long-term agreement with the studios and only worked for that studio's productions for a given number of years (usually five). The biggest names of course could be loaned like how the biggest actors were occa-

sionally lent to other studios (see Max Steiner's work on *Since You Went Away* in the relevant chapter). Contract composers could work in two different forms, the details of which are as explained in the next chapter. Free-lance composers didn't sign a contract with any studio and their chances of getting decent jobs usually depended on their friendship with a music director or another filmmaker (see the chapter on George Antheil for more details).

- Contract Orchestra: Every studio had a number of contracted musicians, whose numbers and salaries were guaranteed by agreements with the Musician's Union (the AFM). The musicians could technically only work for the studio and had to be available at all times, but moonlighting (i.e. working on other projects) was quite a frequent occurrence. The number of contracted musicians ranged from 50 (M-G-M) to 36 (Columbia and Universal) and depended on the size of the studio's output; the musicians' average wage rate towards the end of the system was $13.30 per hour (Wierzbicki:186).

- Voice Coaches and Teachers: Apart from the contracted players, each studio had a number of teachers to prepare their actors' for their singing parts. These included technical advices on proper sound production, simple rehearsals of songs or more complicated tasks. Instrumental teachers for instance were kept on the pay roll; their job was teaching actors to properly handle musical instruments if their roles called for it. In the case of composer biographies (to be discussed in relation with Arnold Schoenberg and his Beethoven project), instrumental teachers were used to teach the actors how to play the dummy pianos in a cinematic fashion or how to look like they're actually conducting an orchestra.

- Rehearsal Pianists: As opposed to the teachers, rehearsal pianists were kept at the studio premises to do a wide range of seemingly mundane musical jobs. When the dancers learned the choreography for a musical, the rehearsal pianist was accompanying them with a rudimentary version of the song. When actors needed to practice their songs, the rehearsal pianists were accompanying them, but they could also be used to show demonstration material to producers and studio heads if the composers were not available for such tasks.

- Cue sheet preparation: One of the final steps of scoring was creating a cue sheet for the film; this legal document listed all the music appearing in the film and also added information on who composed each section of the score. With the appropriate timings, the cue sheets were used to calculate additional fees for composers and the music clearance also used it to finalize the number of licensing issues for the project. Nowadays cue sheets are valuable historical documents in clarifying which composers worked on which pictures (a concept that was not always represented fairly in the credits).

One curious omission from the music department is the compartment responsible for the promotional aspects of film scoring, such as issuing sheet music and records. The reason for this is quite simple: while the center of filmmaking was undoubtedly Hollywood, the most important place for the music publishing / record industry was New York. The studios had all the necessary connections on the East Coast, including music publishers and record labels handling all the relevant promotional aspects of film soundtracks. Since they weren't located on the studio lot, they were not part of the music department despite their important job in getting the music to wider audience (more details on the differences can be found in the next section, specific examples of promotional considerations will be illustrated in the chapter on *Since You Went Away*).

To summarize, the music departments were the primary organizational force of music production during the studio era. Each department was designed in a way to allow for a complete production of soundtracks without leaving the studio lot. The departments were lead by the heads of the music departments (or music directors); they were the primary creative forces behind the musical decisions, defining the distinct sound of each studio. The scores were realized by the employees of the music department, including contract and free-lance composers, contracted musicians and other employees who took care of less creative tasks, such as licensing or budgeting. It was a well-tempered machine where the involvement of any outsider creative force (i.e. the composers examined in this dissertation) could mean unwanted complications.

II.3: The Steps of Film Scoring (Then and Now)

Although creating film music can be a creatively rewarding task when it's done right, the various steps of scoring a movie are usually the same in the case of every Hollywood studio release. By using the generally accepted model mapped out by Fred Karlin in his extensive practical guide entitled *On the Track*, I attempt to illustrate how an "average Hollywood score" is created today, then use the same number of steps to highlight the key differences between the contemporary way and the methodology of classic Hollywood.

1. Meeting filmmakers: In order to start working on a picture, the composer must first reach out to the filmmakers either through an agent, a studio executive or any common acquaintance who could establish the contact. If a relationship works out the first time, film composers are very likely to work again with the same group of filmmakers unless there's a contractual hurdle or a scheduling conflict that doesn't allow for this. (Karlin:3-32)

2. Spotting: The first creative decisions are made during the spotting session, usually attended by the composer, the director and/or the producer and the editor (if technical assistance is needed). While any number of people can participate, it's important to decide who has the final word on musical issues so that the communication with the composer would not get derailed by mixed messages. During the spotting session, the composer and the filmmakers watch the final cut of the film together, then decide where music should appears, where the various musical cues should appear. (Karlin:33-50)

3. Planning budgets and schedules: The composer is provided with a musical budget which does not equal the composer's fee. A musical budget is always higher and it's up to the composer to make the decisions about how he is going spend it. For instance, he may hire more musicians to get a better performance, or he may hire less to keep more money to himself. Composers who are only starting out may even add to the budget from their own pockets, hoping that the quality job they do on this film will bring them more expensive and lucrative commissions later on. (Karlin:51-62)

4. Conceptualizing: After the financial issues are settled, the composer should have a clear idea about what he can and cannot afford while working on the project. With the help of the filmmaker in charge of the music (either the director or the producer), he can discuss more general concepts of what the score should sound like, what instruments should be used, what should be avoided, what should be recorded with live musicians, etc.

The filmmakers may use a temp track (a selection of previously existing musical cues) to show what type of music they want. (Karlin:63-100)

5. Demonstration: After the filmmakers share their ideas in the previous phase, it's the composer's turn to do a demonstration of how he sees the music should appear in the film. The demonstration has changed significantly in the last few years: while even a few years ago composers were only required to show the thematic ideas, nowadays they may have to create a rough, electronic version of the whole musical score so that every single detail could be agreed upon before. As a result of this shift, there may be a later demonstration phase after the composition, but this is its traditional place. (Karlin:101-111)

6. Timings and synchronization: Once the general concepts are settled, the composer can work out the intricate details of timing the music to the images. The musical cues fall into their final place, the composer gives them temporary names (usually M1, M2, M3 in order of appearance in the film). The composers also selects where the music should begin and end; he also marks the hit points (i.e. the various on-screen moments that must be acknowledged in the music in some way). (Karlin:111-128)

7. Composing: The actual process of writing the music should ideally start when all the other specifics are clear. In the broader sense of the term, the composition can be viewed as a longer process, starting with the composer's first thematic ideas which were presented during the conceptualization phase. In the more specific sense of the term, this phase only begins when the composer starts working on the actual cues that would later appear in the film. (Karlin:129-296)

8. Orchestrating: After the composer is finished with writing the music, he hands his sketches to an orchestrator, who pours the music in its final shape. He makes decision on the orchestral palette, what instruments should be used, how many of each instrument should be featured, etc. Some composers orchestrate their own music, but hiring specially trained orchestrators is more frequent nowadays. (Karlin:297-340)

9. Recording: Recording is the process of creating the final version of the music which may be achieved in several ways nowadays. The classical symphonic Hollywood film score of course requires a live ensemble, the participation of several musicians who had to be contracted for the project. Thanks to the technological advances, the final recordings of film scores may be sampled now (which means the instrumental sounds are created by software as opposed to live musicians), though the quality depends on the composer's software library. The most common solution is using a sort of hybrid approach for record-

ing: using samples for the instruments that are easier to recreate by software (such as percussion) while using live musicians for the sounds that are hard to reproduce by computers (strings for instance). (Karlin:341-358)

10. Dubbing: Dubbing covers the whole process of merging the picture of the sound – it involves several steps which are not discussed separately due to their irrelevance to the subject matter of this dissertation. Some of the most important steps within this phase include music editing (that is, placing the music and cutting it to the picture) and mixing (creating the best possible balance between the dialogue, the sound effects and the music). (Karlin:359-370)

11. Promotion: After the recording is finished, the score can be exploited outside the film as well. In the case of original film scores, the easiest way is the release of soundtrack albums. Major studios usually have their own record labels to release these CDs, but most of the current Hollywood titles are licensed to various specialty labels which are releasing film scores only.

***

All the steps of contemporary film scoring existed in the studio system as well, but the steps themselves could be radically different. Most of these discrepancies are the result of the music departments which partially existed to make the composer's life a bit easier. Thanks to the manufacture-type organization of the workflow, the composers only had to deal with writing the music and the assorted tasks (such as spotting). Non-musical issues such as budgeting, getting musical clearances for pre-existing works or technical issues (such as synchronization) were always handled by the relevant section of the department. The other main difference stems from the fact that there were two major methods of getting the score done on time.

The first one is what I will refer to as the single-composer approach for the sake of simplicity. These scores were written by one composer who got mentioned in the opening credits for his work. Although it involved less people, single-composer scores were costlier and were reserved for the bigger pictures of each studio. These scores could be done either by a contract composer (such as Max Steiner at Warner Bros.) or free-lance composer (such as Miklós Rózsa during the 1940s until he contracted to M-G-M). The single-composer scores were always credited to the man who wrote the music, though the head of the music department could also get a credit as a music director or a conductor.

The second method is what I will refer to as the multi-composer approach that could involve anywhere between 3-5 five composers (not to mention orchestrators who may had to do actual writing tasks if the deadline necessitated it). The workload during the creation of these scores were usually divided between the composers, either by splicing up the film into roughly equal sections (first, second, third and fourth quarter) or dividing the picture amongst the type of scenes that existed (one composer got the love scenes, another got action, etc.). In the case of the multi-composer scores that were usually reserved for the lesser productions, the opening credits were always given to the music director who would later also accept any award that the score earned.

There was also a third approach for scoring which I'm only mentioning for the sake of completeness. A lot of B-pictures weren't given original scores as the musical accompaniment was compiled from pre-existing cues housed at the music libraries. This approach was especially popular among smaller studios such as Universal where a major score such as Franz Waxman's *Bride of Frankenstein* could be used for hundreds of other projects that couldn't afford to have original music written for them (Bush:143-65). Since these pictures didn't even see an actual composer, they have no relevance to the rest of the dissertation.

In order to highlight only the most significant differences between contemporary and studio era film scoring, both methods will be discussed in the same narrative structure, following the same Karlin steps augmented with relevant historical quotations from the composers who actually worked in this era.

1. Meeting filmmakers: During the studio era, most composers never got to meet the filmmakers they would usually meet today (such as the director or even the producers). Whether the music was to be written by one or more composers, the key decisions were mostly made by the studio executives, so the music department didn't need to meet anyone outside their segment. This lack of communication is exemplified in the memories of Max Steiner, the most eminent film composer of the 1930s who had gained enough trust to be left on his own with a film to give it his own input before the other filmmakers could:

> The first step, of course, is to run the picture as soon as it is finished. I run it first by myself. I don't want anybody around me at this time, neither the producer, nor the director, because they might throw me off with their ideas before I form my own impressions. While I am running the picture, I sit back and decide what kind of a score it requires and make my plans (Thomas 73:79).

2. Spotting: Steiner's first viewing of the picture was also the first time he could think about where music should go – but his position was rather unique, shared only by a handful of the greatest composers at every studio. The average spotting was different in two fundamental ways. Relating to the earlier point, filmmakers were rarely present in this process; only the music departments had to be there to see the film at this stage. The other key difference was a positive one for the musicians: since the films were harder to re-cut, the composers were very likely watching the last cut of the movie, no further changes were possible to the picture. David Raksin's description highlights this type of production:

> On the day when the new film was turned over to the Department for scoring, the staff gathered in our projection room. Present would be [the head of the music department], his assistant, the composers, two or three orchestrators, the head of Music Cutting and a couple of assistants. By lunch, we had "broken the film down" into sequences adjudged to call for music, determined what kinds of thematic material would be required and who would write it. After lunch, while the music cutters prepared the timing sheets that would enable us to synchronize our music with the film, we went off to our studios to compose whatever specific material had been assigned to us (Davis:35-36).

3. Planning budgets and schedules: Raksin's quote is indicative of how a few steps could be skipped if a team of composers had to complete a film in a week. One step that was always left out (at least from the composer's perspective) was the budgeting and scheduling; these questions were handled by other segments of the music department, the composers already knew how many musicians and how many session they could have for their film. The payment was also pre-determined. Freelance composers were hired on film-by-film bases and were given fees which they could keep in their entirety. Contract composers received a weekly salary and again, didn't need to factor with other fees.

4. Conceptualizing: Given the strict deadlines, the step of conceptualizing was usually reserved for the most important single composer pictures where even the other filmmakers had a significant interest in music. In the case of multi-composer scores, conceptualizing and arguments were usually restricted to the department, under the supervision of the music director. Max Steiner's recollections on conceptualizing firmly belong to the first group as he explains how he handled creative involvement from executives:

> When I have thought [the film] over or, in some rare instances, when I have already thought of a few tunes or themes, I will run the picture with the director, if he so desires. He, and perhaps the producer, will then give me their ideas of what should be done. Their ideas do not always coincide with mine. In this event, I may try to swing them over to my point of view, or it may be that their ideas are better than mine. Eventually, we come to a meeting of minds (Thomas 73:79).

5. Demonstration: While the step of demonstration existed in both forms of the composing process, they had significant differences between them. In the single-composer scores, demonstrations were usually reserved for freelance or newcomer composers and were only requested by filmmakers who had a larger-than-usual interest in the music. The demonstrations George Antheil held for Cecil B. De Mille or Alexandre Tansman's demonstrations for David O. Selznick are good examples of this and will be discussed in the appropriate chapters of the dissertation. In the case of the multi-composer approach, David Raksin describes the demonstration as an in-house event:

> We should shortly meet with several version of each theme to decide which ones in each category would best serve our purposes, which were usually quite clear – though never defined. These themes were photostatted and each of us got a set of all the material. By that time the timing sheets were ready, so we divided the work into three parts, and each man headed for home to composer his third… (Davis:36)

6. Timings and synchronization: This is one more step that the composers didn't have to bother with during the classic studio era as other departments had already taken care of this very important moment. As Raksin's previous quote puts it, "the timing sheets were ready" by the time they set out to write the actual score.

7. Composing: While the composing process has been greatly affected by the technological innovations over 60+ years, the basics were the same then as they are now. The most significant difference between the two was where the composers did the actual work. The bigger names were of course allowed to do their work in the comfort of their home; in fact, one of Miklós Rózsa's most important provisions in his M-G-M contract was that he could take his work home. He had an office at the studio lot but mostly used it for business meetings. (Rózsa:159). Lesser names, who didn't have the leverage of multiple Academy Awards, were required to work in their offices as "clock punchers".

8. Orchestrating, 9. Recording, 10. Dubbing: These last three individuals steps can only be differentiated within single-composer scores. In the case of multi-composer scores, where the responsibility was divided shared between different musical talents, the last steps of orchestrating, recording and dubbing happened almost simultaneously due to the rush; the whole process was coordinated by the music director. David Raksin (who was "merely" an average composer on the film) explains the process from his perspective:

> Sometimes there was time to orchestrate one's own sequences but usually the rush was so great that by the next morning we were already feeding sketches to the orchestrators, and by noon they were delivering pages of score to the copyists. On the morning of the fourth day the recording would begin; the Studio had a fine orchestra under contract, and available on very short notice. On the fifth day a couple of days of re-recording (dubbing) would commence. After that, there might be a brief respite, and then the process started again. (Davis:36)

11. Promotion: Due to the technological issues and complicated legal situations that arose from quoting pre-existing material in scores, film music promotion was practically non-existent in the current sense of the word. For instance, the first ever soundtrack LP was made only in 1942, when Miklós Rózsa's re-recorded selected highlights from his *Jungle Book* score (Rózsa:126). Even if the score was done for an important film, the highlights of the music was usually just arranged into a suite to be performed by symphonic orchestras all over the country; Franz Waxman's Rebecca in 1940 was one of the earliest examples of such musical suites (Sullivan:72). So instead of soundtrack releases of the original recordings, the key focus areas of promotion were selling sheet music and radio airplay of specifically created suites.

The steps of film scoring in the studio era were markedly different from the contemporary way it is done. Part of the changes can be attributed to the technological innovations, but the others stemmed from the existence of the multi-composer approach. Since this issue was a key point of film music criticism, the conflict between the supporters of both methods was almost inevitable – as we can see in the next section.

II.4. The Criticism of the Establishment

> The music which accompanies the film is still struggling for its place in the sun: the film people themselves almost invariably treat it very casually and are not quite clear in their own minds about its importance; musicians take it up more for the sake of fees than for art's sake, and he is a rare exception among them who shows any sympathy for its novel forms (London:11).

Kurt London's remarks about the state of film music discussion in the 1930s show an honest concern for a new form of music that may have been born only a few years earlier, it was already misunderstood. Within a few years of writing these sentences, the topic was surrounded by a much wider selection of theoretical essays, exploring the nature, the purpose and the success of film music from different angles. This dialogue was mostly continued in musical journals where composers with all kinds of background chimed in with their opinions. In order to understand the later theoretical writings of Antheil, Schoenberg and Stravinsky, it is important to look at the main questions that divided the contemporary musical elite and see what kind of reactions reflected on the subject matter that fascinated everyone – even those who dismissed film music on the whole.

One of the fundamental questions of film music discussion in this age was whether the underscore of the film could be as valuable on its own as a symphony or any other type of concert music. The question of course does not extend to the run-of-the-mill scores or the major average – instead, the main concern is whether the heights of film music could reach the significance of concert music which needs no visual aid in its performance. This issue is strongly linked with the notion of "heardness" – whether the audience for the films is conscious of the role of music, whether they notice it at all. Stravinsky, whose "wallpaper metaphor" will be explained in greater details in his relevant chapter, obviously represented one extreme. Hans Keller represents another example of this extreme:

> I do not deny that among the mass of Hollywood scores that are beyond hope there are a few which make a useful contribution to the visual. But there will have to be some drastic changes even in the gifted Hollywood composer's environment before he can be expected to contribute beauty to, or to the beauty of, the film (Keller 169).

While these comments were characterized by a passionate bias and a political agenda that stemmed from the increasingly strained relationship between different film scoring cultures, Keller took it upon himself to be the chronicler of the era, criticizing "untouchable works" by American masters like Max Steiner or Miklós Rózsa and championing underappreciated British composers such as William Alwyn or Benjamin Frankel. The Austrian-born author wasn't alone in his opinion, but he was the most articulate about the issue, dedicating several essays to elaborate on what he perceived as the failure of Hollywood film music. Here's another example:

> The typical Hollywood composer is concerned not with the reaction of the public as you might think, but with that of the producer. It isn't surprising, therefore, that all film music originating in Hollywood tends to be very much the same (Keller:168).

Comments like these uniformly had a political edge to them; it's no surprise that Keller preferred his fellow British composers of the Hollywood ones. On the other side of the debate, Herbert Stothart, the head of the music department at M-G-M, took pride in the fact that the audience wasn't actively hearing or seeking out the music. Since he had no other career outside film scoring, he considered his field a whole different art form, claiming the music and picture was inseparable: the music and the images would lose their effectiveness without the other. While writing about the making of film music for a book about filmmaking in general, he summarized:

> The sincere musician in motion pictures does not mind the fact that the public does not realize his music's importance. On the contrary. If an audience is conscious of music where it should be conscious only of drama, then the musician has gone wrong. […] Picture music has to appeal to eye and ear at the same time. Played without the picture being seen, it would lose much of its effect. But so would the picture, shown without the music. That is as it should be (Stothart:143-44).

Stothart's other key idea in this paragraph, which may be the most significant difference between the two approaches, is describing the composer as a person who needs sincerity. The realization that music is subservient to the overall goal (the success of the motion picture) separates the composers who could and couldn't write film music.

George Antheil, who entertained the notion of becoming a film composer one day (mostly to earn money for his other ventures) represented a point somewhere between the two extremes. He tried to find a common thread between film and concert music which he eventually did by comparing the cinematic arts to the world of opera:

> Picture music is more closely allied to the dramatic forms than to the symphonic. By its very nature it must be loose in form and style. It is, quite simply, a kind of modern opera. And operatic music must certainly follow the emotional content of its drama and its accompanying poetry. Unless it does so, it will seem totally beside the point. This is just as true of picture music (Antheil 36/2:49).

This reconciliatory concept actually worked in favor in film music and some of the most successful film scores of the era were written with this idea in mind. Erich Wolfgang Korngold, the most significant supporter of this view designed all his scores with the concept of "modern opera" in mind; he was the first one to pay special attention to the role of dialogue, creating cues where he pitched the music just under the pitch of the voices, timing surges into the pauses between the lines. He also preferred long cues instead of shorter, fragmented chunks of music so dominant in contemporary scoring (Thomas 97:194).

The other major question (which to some degree exists to this day) is whether there's a difference between "composers" and "film composers" – or to be precise, is there even a reason to differentiate between the two categories? The various reactions to this question largely stemmed from the fact that there were several inherent stylistic differences between the concert and the film music of the same time period. While the 1930s audience of the concert halls was already accustomed to the music of Schoenberg or Stravinsky, the 1930s audience for films was still very much in the awe of post-romantic symphonic underscoring which created leitmotivs for every major concept in the picture.

One side of the argument was perfectly summarized by Gail Kubik, a modernist composer who also had a brief career in film music throughout the 1940s and 1950s. His main concern with melding the concepts of "composers" and "film composers" was that the latter group would be considered the voice of their generation – which, according to Kubik's belief, they clearly weren't:

> One point which composers in and out of the industry are aware of – a point which is only beginning to be appreciated among musicians and

> the general public – is this: that music in films has done more than any other single thing in the past ten years to develop, influence, but also confuse, the general public's ideas about modern contemporary music. Ask any man on the street to name some contemporary composers and, if he can think of any, he will probably include the names of Max Steiner, Alfred Newman or Herbert Stothart. He names these men because he has seen their names dozens of times on the screen. When you say "contemporary composer," he naturally assumes that Mr. Steiner or Mr. Newman, since they are writing music for the films of our day, must necessarily be called "contemporary," and their music, "modern." The net result is that since these men and their colleagues become identified in the minds of millions of people as significant contemporary composers, the aesthetic of their music is, therefore, thought to be the aesthetic of contemporary music (Cochran:99-000).

Turning around the argument also works. Going back to the example of Erich Wolfgang Korngold, real composers could lose their artistic credibility if they ever get to work on movies. Korngold started out as a child prodigy whose first work was performed in the presence of Emperor Franz Joseph; after spending a few years in Hollywood writing film scores, the reviews of his concert performances suffered as a result. His symphony and violin concerto written in the last decade of his life was degraded as just "film music" without the film. The critical slender turned into a self-fulfilling prophecy as Korngold started to write more of his concert pieces based on his film themes (Thomas 97:182).

These selected quotes reveal the intense nature of contemporary film music discussions which often turned into personal attacks and crusades against dissenting composers. Film music became a surprisingly divisive issue as composer started to take sides for or against the idea whether film music can be appreciated as art, should it be treated as such and where it could be placed in the spectrum of musical genres. Writing for or against one side of the debate could have an alienating effect and even compromised solutions were unacceptable for hardliners of either side. As the four case histories will reveal, these seemingly mundane exchanges actually had a significant effect on the world of film music, though the change was too gradual to get noticed by contemporaries.

Out here in Hollywood they still call any kind of music 'modernistic'
but one can no longer doubt that Hollywood is developing a real taste for it.
(George Antheil)

III: George Antheil: The Silent Revolution at Paramount

Out of the four discussed composers, George Antheil is the only one who was born in the United States – yet it's problematic to categorize him as an "American composer" because certain elements of his biography suggest that neither part of that statement is true.

Regarding the "American" part, Antheil was the son of German immigrants who kept very close ties with their European roots; even his upbringing was "a fascinating combination of American suburban standbys and German traditions" (Livingston:18). He spent over 14 years in Germany and France (1922-1936), he regularly travelled across Europe and his greatest artistic achievement (the premiere of *Ballet Mécanique*) was attained in Paris. By the time he set his sights on Hollywood, Antheil liked to claim that he spent his whole childhood in Europe and advertised his "Polish" ancestry – possibly in a response to the anti-German sentiments during World War II (Whitesitt:3).

Regarding the "composer" part, even a cursory glance at the full list of his achievements reveals that music was just one of the many facets of Antheil's life. During his lifetime he wrote four books on a wide variety of subjects, including a mystery (*Death in the Dark*, 1930), a reference work on endocrinological crime-solving (*Everyman His Own Detective*, 1937), a prophetic pamphlet on WWII (*The Shape of the War to Come*, 1940) and an autobiography (*Bad Boy of Music*, 1945). He also copyrighted a music notational system called SEE-Note, co-patented a torpedo-guidance system with "unlikely but ideal partner Hedy Lamarr" (Rhodes:4) and also ran a syndicated relationship advice column (Barton:118). As Guy Livingston summarized, the single common point in Antheil's ventures is that he was mostly an "inventor" whose music gained attention for one reason:

> Antheil was a good composer with occasional flashes of genius. But he was not the best composer in America, nor the best composer in Europe. Yet his ideas were so radical, and his ability to lead the media so astounding, that he was constantly on the front pages of the world's newspapers (Livingston:18).

It seems that Antheil could be considered an innovator in several fields, except perhaps film scoring. Unlike the other composers discussed in this dissertation, Antheil did write several film scores, though he wasn't very prolific when compared with his peers; Clifford McCarty's *Film Composers in America, 1911-1970* lists only twenty-five feature length films and three short subjects in its entry for the composer (McCarty 00:26).

His work in this area sadly remains unexplored. Musicologists who take an interest in Antheil's modernist tendencies and more avant-garde compositions have nothing to look for in his film scores which were fairly traditional even by the composer's admission (Antheil 45:313). Another problem is that since Antheil never signed up with any studio for a longer period of time, his recordings for film got scattered over several archives where most of them being deteriorated beyond use. With the exception of his penultimate score for Stanley Kramer's historical adventure *The Pride and the Passion* (1957), none of Antheil's Hollywood works are commercially available (Cooke 2008:191-92).

The composer's theoretical contributions to the field of film music are far more impressive than his actual filmography. His regular column in *Modern Music* entitled "On the Hollywood Front" was the "principal outlet for articles" on film music during the 1930s (Steiner:83), especially when he wanted to discuss modernist tendencies in Hollywood scoring (McCarty 00:x). By establishing the theoretical basis of his ideals and offering practical examples of modernist film music, Antheil turned out to be a rather influential personality of the Hollywood scoring scene, even if his impact is not necessarily measured by his success, rather by his unavoidable failure and how Hollywood reacted to it.

This case study of Antheil's previously neglected Hollywood career traces his work from his much better documented childhood influences through the widely-discussed *Ballet Mécanique* to his Paramount years, exploring how he got to be the leading voice of contemporary film music without doing too many films in the first place. By drawing parallels between the key extracts of his *Modern Music* columns and his rising star in Hollywood, we get a gripping portrait of a man who was constantly reporting not only about film music, but his own eventual demise at the same time.

III.1: The Making of a "Bad Boy"

George Antheil's biography is filled with several gaps but not for the lack of sources, rather due to the overwhelming amount of information from his provocatively titled autobiography, *Bad Boy of Music*. This volume is filled with Paul Bunyan-like exaggerations, tall tales and anecdotes that are frequently hard to separate from reality; "layers of invention obscure the complex realities that defined Antheil in real life" (Livingston:21). The ambiguity can be understood through Antheil's motto, which explains how his real life story is not the book, but his whole body of work: "The main clues of a composer's life are in his music, but it is not always so easy to read them" (Antheil 45:122).

Born as Georg Carl Johann Antheil on 8 July 1900, the composer's childhood is already filled with fantastic tales that should be viewed more like metaphors than true stories. One recurring feature in the text is that Antheil tries to explain most of his later decisions in life by citing early, often traumatic experiences from his childhood. For instance, the composer claims that listening to a nearby machine shop was a primary musical influence for him and it can be attributed to the mechanical playing style he developed later on (Antheil 45:13). At another point, he explains how his interest in ragtime started. The full story is presented here to give a taste of Antheil's vivid style:

> One day, right next door, there moved in two old maids and their piano. To the intense indignation of my parents, these old maids then proceeded to play this piano day and night. They played […] every piece in an album which I was afterwards able to identify as *Five Hundred Favorite Salon Melodies*. They also played in shifts and, if my parents had been concerned less with the noise in the house than in the cellar, they might have been able to detect a faint grating, crunching sound and so prevented one of the most sensational prison breaks in the history of Trenton Penitentiary. For suddenly one night the two old maids stopped playing. The next morning both of them had disappeared. So had sixteen desperate men in the prison across the street. The incessant piano playing, of course, had been a cover for the noise of digging an underground tunnel from the cellar of the house to the prison yard (Antheil 45:13-14).

As hilarious as this story sounds, it is of course completely fabricated. Later research and a comparison with the earlier manuscript variations have proven that the Trenton State Penitentiary mentioned in the autobiography "was at least four blocks away, and such a mythical tunnel would have taken decades to dig" (Livingston:20). Some things just sound too good to be true and *Bad Boy of Music* is filled with similar other examples.

These anecdotes show that Antheil saw music as a pre-determined career path even if his insatiable appetite for music became a constant source of conflict between him and his parents. A couple of choice examples include the boy's theatrical tantrum when Santa Clause got him a toy piano instead of a real one (Antheil 58) or how George would pretend to play the violin while he's younger sister was playing the piano; he'd naturally take over his preferred instrument once the doors were closed (Livingston:19). Some of the more outlandish claims only appeared in the original manuscript. According to the most colorful story, Antheil's love of music was so overwhelming that he was sent to the country where no instruments were available. Young Georg apparently solved the problem by conning a local music shop named Barlow's to deliver a piano to his doorstep (Livingston:21).

Antheil actually started a formal study of playing the piano at the age of six. His first teacher was a German musician named Karl Weissert who used to court his mother before her marriage. The lessons didn't last for long; his teacher's suicide during an alcohol-induced rage was seen as a warning example for the Antheils (Livingston:20). The composer's next teacher was Constantine von Sternberg, a former pupil of Franz Liszt who was living in Philadelphia and taught the enthusiastic student the "European" (or the "proper") way to play the piano (Antheil 45:17). The final important mentor figure in Antheil's life was the more progressive, New York-based composer Ernest Bloch. Bloch was initially skeptical about the boy's talents and it would be fair to say that the young man's enthusiasm was more compelling than his actual compositions. He not only taught him for two years, but gave him aid when his money ran out (Antheil 45:17-18).

Antheil's early musical career was a careful balancing act between writing and performing music. His first masterpieces (as he called them with tongue firmly in cheek) included titles like the "Baby Brother Song", the "Sonata on *The Dying Gladiator*" or more contemporary names like "The Sinking of the *Titanic*" (Antheil 45:13). Whether these compositions actually existed or not, Antheil liked to claim that his early works already featured his trademark piano playing as well (Antheil 45:15). As a performer, his recitals were characterized by strong, mechanical strokes and hits that transformed every composi-

tion into his own image. As ear witness Margaret Anderson of *The Little Review* summarized, Antheil's specialty was that he used "the piano exclusively as an instrument of percussion, making it sound like a xylophone or a cymballo(sic!)" (Crunden:314).

The musician got his big break when he met Mary Louise Curtis Bok, the well-connected founder of the Philadelphia Settlement Music School and future founder of the Curtis Institute of Music. Bok was more than enthusiastic about the young composer, claiming that "Antheil's genius should not be allowed to be wasted on any tedious occupation" (Whitesitt:6). Bok became Antheil's main patron for the next 20 years, even though her financial support increased and decreased based on the reports she received from Europe (and later from New York). Even if Antheil occasionally had to beg for money in his letters to Bok, the generous patron is said to have spent around $39,000 on the composer during the duration of their relationship (Whitesitt:53).

With his finances organized, Antheil sailed to Europe on 30 May 1922. According to his autobiography, love was as important an inspiration for this travels as his thirst for the culture of Europe. As he recalled in *Bad Boy of Music*, the journey was organized because he was simply infatuated with a young woman six years his junior; when the mother sent her daughter to Europe, Antheil decided to find her:

> I didn't know how [to find her]; I couldn't swim, cook, or serve at table. I had an idea to stow away, but abandoned it in favor of a better idea. I would go to Europe as a concert pianist. It would enable me to travel all over Europe, investigate every probable hideaway. In spite of my innocent visage (I had been called Angel Face at school), I had a tremendous amount of sheer, unadulterated brass (Antheil 45:9).

By engaging the manager of tone cluster-pioneer Leo Ornstein, Antheil transplanted his home concerts of mechanical piano performances to a much wider audience at Wigmore Hall in London and other venues in Continental Europe (Antheil 45:9). In 1921/22, he established his European headquarters in Berlin and tried to support himself by touring in the neighboring countries; he gave concerts in Vienna, Budapest and one of the first Donaueschingen Festivals (which later expanded into one of the most significant meeting point for contemporary music). But the emphasis was still on the word "try" as the concerts seemed to cost more money than they actually made. Antheil put up his own money (or the money of Mary Bok to be precise) to finance these extravagant ventures.

In the fall of 1922, Antheil met Igor Stravinsky who turned out to be a great help in directing his career on the right course even if their friendship was a complicated affair. It was Stravinsky's idea to invite Antheil to Paris, thinking that the French audience would be more appreciative of his modernist ideas than the German (Antheil 45:40). The first big disappointment came when Stravinsky organized a concert for his protégé, only to learn later on that the pianist failed to show up on the big night (Johnson:3). By the time Antheil actually moved to Paris, his friendship with Stravinsky was torn as the older maestro learned how his young friend had used his name recognition to boast about how the Russian composer adored his works. Their friendship was only mended years later when both composers became Hollywood outcasts and Stravinsky sent Antheil some family tickets to one of his concerts (White:80-84).

Despite his torn friendship with his mentor, Antheil "emerged continually as an enfant terrible on the Parisian musical scene across 1923" (Johnson:3). When the composer was asked to premiere some of his pieces at the *Ballets suédois*, his program (including the *Airplane Sonata*, the *Sonata Sauvage* and *Mechanism*) literally caused a riot in the hall. Antheil reportedly made the following gleeful comments about the pandemonium: "Paris hadn't had such a good time since the premiere of Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps*" (Garafola:257). The riot was actually filmed and considering how the audience included the likes of Erik Satie, Darius Milhaud, Man Ray, Pablo Picasso, Jean Cocteau and Francis Picabia, it's been speculated that the uprising was organized just for the cameras even if Antheil denied knowledge of prior preparations (Fitch:157).

The Paris of 1920s was an inspirational environment for Antheil, who enjoyed the presence of the artistic whom Gertrude Stein (or her auto mechanic) had dubbed *The Lost Generation* (Hemingway:61). As an American immigrant to Europe, he got in contact with people like publisher Sylvia Beach who regularly lent him money (Fitch:16) or Ezra Pound, "the world's foremost discovered of geniuses" (Fitch:156) who later published a book about the composer upon his return to America. This was the encouraging environment in which Antheil set out to create his most challenging composition yet…

III.2: The First Score: *Ballet Mécanique*

Since he was already captured on film during the *Ballets suédois* riots, Antheil did start to entertain the notion of participating in the world of cinema as a composer rather than a star. His new performances were often accompanied by theatrical gestures such as literally hurting himself from playing the piano keys to hard or unexpectedly placing a revolver on top of his pianos like a Hollywood gunslinger (Johnson:3); the fact that he made no mention about his intentions with the weapon made his performance all the more creepy. *Bad Boy of Music* recounts one such evening from a Budapest(!) engagement:

> In early 1923 I once played a return engagement in Budapest which years later earned me the highly valued friendship of Ben Hecht. Several weeks earlier I had played a concert at the Philharmonie in Budapest and the audience had rioted. That did not disturb me so much as the fact that because of this bedlam they had heard none of the music. So, at my second appearance, I walked out on the concert platform, bowed and spoke up: "Attendants, will you please close and lock the doors?"
>
> After this was done I reached in under my left armpit in approved American gangster fashion and produced my ugly little automatic. Without a further word I placed it on the front desk of my Steinway and proceeded with my concert. Every note was heard and, in a sense, I suppose I opened up the way in Hungary for modern music of a non-Bartók–Kodály variety (Antheil 45:5).

Antheil's chance to score for a movie arrived in the next year with *Ballet Mécanique*, a Dadaist art film conceived, written, and co-directed by French artist Fernand Léger and American filmmaker Dudley Murphy. The movie was designed as a kaleidoscope of seemingly unrelated images held together by the musical score and the rhythm of the editing. In this film, images of young women swinging and smiling are intercut with images of machinery in work: spinning cylinders, turbines, propellers and other gears are rotating in a carnivalesque fashion. Household appliances such as pots and pan lids are also doing the rounds until and Art Deco animation figures interrupt the proceedings. As Antheil described the relationship of the music and the visuals:

> *Ballet Mécanique* is scored for countless numbers of player pianos. All percussive. Like machines. All efficiency. No LOVE. Written without sympathy. Written cold as an army operates. Revolutionary as nothing has been revolutionary (Oja:185).

The exact connection between the film and the score is once again obscured by Antheil's own unreliable retelling of the events. According to *Bad Boy of Music*, Antheil announced the creation of *Ballet Mécanique* as early as the Fall of 1923, then started to look for "a motion-picture accompaniment to it" while already working on the composition (Antheil 45:134). In this interpretation of the events, Antheil came up with the title and planned the movie as just another element of his performance. The film-centric reading of the chronology claims that Léger and his co-director Murphy were already working on the project by the time Antheil started working on his music, so the composer's claim of being the "original impetus behind [*Ballet Mécanique*]" is a mere fabrication (Delson:42).

Regardless of which version of the events we accept as more accurate, the question about the authorship of *Ballet Mécanique* doesn't change the fact that the first premiere of the film played without the music. Although Antheil didn't specify the reasons for this in his autobiography, later correspondences revealed that synchronization issues may have been the cause of this separation of images from sound (Whitesitt:106). Both the filmmakers and Antheil worked separately on their portion of the project, eventually coming up with works of different lengths: the film ran for 19 minutes while the music (depending on the tempo of the performance) could last up to half an hour (Whitesitt:106). The two halves of the project were married for the first time only in 1935 when Antheil arranged for a special performance at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (Antheil 45:196).

Instead of working on the synchronization issues, Antheil decided to premiere his work without its visual component. The promotion for the unusual performance started with a couple of closed recitals open only for reviewers, then followed with an unlikely media blitz as Antheil orchestrated his own disappearance in Africa to drum up the interest for the first performance (Fitch:192). The premiere performance took place on June 19, 1926, at the 2500-seat Champs Elysées Theatre; the first half of the concert featured Weber's Overture to *Freischutz*, a Händel *Concerto for Strings* and Antheil's own *Symphony in F*. Instead of quoting the frequently unreliable narrator on the premiere performance, here's a second opinion by American author Bravig Imbs, one of the several ear witness of the original concert:

> Within a few minutes, the concert became sheer bedlam. Above the mighty noise of the pianos and drums arose cat-calls and booing, shrieking and whistling, shouts of "thief" mixed with "bravo". People began to call each other names and to forget there was any music going on at all […] For an instant, there was a curious lull in the clamor and Ezra Pound took advantage of it to jump to his feet and yell "Vous ê tes tous des imbeciles!" He was shouted down from the gallery, of course, with many vulgar epithets, and the music continued monotonously and determinedly […] When the *Ballet* was over, George got an ovation which was greater than the catcalls, for everyone was willing to applaud a man who had at least accomplished something. He bowed and blushed […] and all his friends were very proud of him (Imbs:100-102).

Following this Parisian premiere, Antheil started to develop the piece further until he was invited to perform the *Ballet Mécanique* in New York as well. The concert, set up for April 10, 1927 was organized by Gerald Friede who assembled a unique program of modernist music: Paul Whiteman's *Jazz Symphony* (performed by the W.C. Handy Orchestra), Paul Whiteman but performed by the W.C. Handy Orchestra; Antheil's *First String Quartet*, his *Second Sonata for Violin with Accompaniment of Piano and Drums*. Just like during the Parisian premiere, *Ballet Mécanique* was meant to be the big closing number, played after an intermission for setting up (Whitesitt:31). Much like the Parisian premiere, the New York engagement descended into madness during the performance:

> The first few minutes of the *Ballet* went off smoothly, and the audience listened to it carefully. And then came the moment for the wind machine to be turned on and all hell, in a minor way, broke loose. Someone had made a mistake, and instead of having the propeller point into the air, where the breeze it would generate would be dissipated before it reached the back of the house, it now was aimed at a point in the eleventh row of the orchestra. While it gathered speed nothing happened, but when it reached full power it was disastrous. People clutched their programs, and women held onto their hats with both hands. Someone in the direct line of the wind tied a handkerchief to his cane and waved it wildly in the air in a sign of surrender (Friede:58).

Although both concerts are described in similar terms, the aftermath was radically different (See Image 1B). In Paris, riots during the concerts have become almost acceptable, a social event and a twisted competition as one contemporary author pointed out: "George by actual count has had a hundred and ten riots at his concerts in Europe; and how many, he asks scornfully, has Stravinsky had? Only one" (Wilson:403). The musical performances divided the audience and while one half of the audience reacted with the extreme acts of boos and cat calls, the other extreme was equally ferocious, supporting the composer as a national hero, carrying him away like a star (Imbs:102).

The New York premiere on the other hand had a devastating effect on Antheil, not the least because the news of the scandalous performance reached his main patron Mrs. Bok, who was reluctant to send any money for some time. This performance was catastrophic not only because of the reaction from the conservative half of the audience, but also because the modernists didn't get what they were coming for: the performance they saw was amateurish filled with logistical errors such as misplaced instruments and inappropriate backdrops. Even worse than that, the great unveil of the mechanic pianos was anticlimactic because the stage hands had to life the curtains in the intermission, thus ruining the surprise (Friede:58-61). As Antheil put it in his own words: "I went back to Paris that 1927 heartsick and broke" (Antheil 45:197).

One of the few positive remarks on the score came from Ezra Pound. His book entitled *Antheil and the Treatise on Harmony* was more "Pound theory then Antheil" (Fitch:156), but it was significant in a way that it promoted the unique composition (which at this point hadn't been performed against its film) as a significant achievement in sound design that managed to addressed (and perhaps resolve) the fundamental tension between sound effects and music. Excerpts like this were among the first exampled of acknowledging Antheil as a capable film composer:

> As for the machine shop, the boiler works, Antheil has opened the way with his *Ballet Mechanique*; for the first time we have a music, or the germ and start of a music that can be applied to sound regardless of its loudness. The aesthete goes to a factory, if he ever does go, and hears noise, and goes away horrified; the musician, the composer hears noise, but he tries to (?) "see" (no, no) , he tries to hear what kind of noise it is (Pound:138).

III.3: The Revolution Starts: Meeting Morros

Following the New York failure of *Ballet Mécanique* in 1927, Antheil moved to Berlin where he started to work as an assistant music director at the Stadttheater. He wrote ballet and theater scores, then presented his first opera, entitled *Transatlantic*, in 1930. The premiere at the Frankfurt Operahaus was a great success; the German reviewers hailed the story of American gangsters and political intrigue as the first significant opera to be staged in Europe by any American composer (Whitesitt:281). Even if the modernist tendencies were more subdued in these works, the 1933 rise of the Nazi party made Antheil's avant-garde tendencies an unwanted property in Germany (Antheil 45:251). The composer moved back to New York in August 1933 not only as a political, but also as an artistic refugee who couldn't make ends meet at his German home.

Upon his arrival to New York, Antheil was in for a crushing disappointment when he compared his American audience with the enthusiastic Germans who had celebrated his *Transatlantic*. "Europeans were growing greatly interested in American compositions" (Johnson:3) but the same couldn't be said of the New York music scene. The negative reviews of his *Ballet Mécanique* still lingered in the public consciousness and Antheil found that writing for magazines was easier than writing music. During a particularly bleak period of his life, he published one of his first essays in *American Mercury* which he appropriately titled "Don't Be a Composer (Whitesitt:54). The facts that his son Peter had just been born and Bok was still reluctant to increase her financial aid didn't help matters either.

The indifference of the American film industry was also particularly hurtful to the composer. With the overseas success of *Ballet Mécanique*, Antheil fancied himself as a real film composer who could work wonders in Hollywood if only he was allowed near any of their films (Antheil 45:312). What he casually forgot to mention is that his experience with *Ballet Mécanique* concerned the European avant-garde scene with no experience in the Hollywood studio system. During the creation of his scandalous masterpiece, the composer didn't gain any experience in such important aspects as collaboration with the filmmakers or synchronization of picture and sound – as a result, the film didn't use the music despite Antheil's credit still appealing in the final version (Whitesitt:106). The composer clearly blamed the Hollywood music directors for his unfair neglect:

> [It] is really the most irritating way one can imagine, particularly when (am I, perhaps, a bit too boastful?) one is a known composer with one's name in almost every musical encyclopedia, and the music directors are without their names in same (Antheil 45:312).

Within due time, Antheil got one interesting offer from writer/director Ben Hecht who was working with his partner Charles MacArthur at the Hecht/MacArthur Productions. He invited the composer to join his company as a music director, a position previously held by Oscar Levant (Hamilton:86). Hecht was apparently following Antheil's career with interest ever since the Budapest incident quoted earlier and he even published one of the few favorable reviews of *Ballet Mécanique* in the *Chicago Daily News* (Antheil 45:9). Even more importantly, his production company was perfectly situated from Antheil's perspective Hecht and MacArthur shot their films in New York and had them scored locally before Paramount took over the domestic distribution of the films (Koszarski:292).

Antheil worked on two films with Hecht's company before Paramount caught up with him. The scoring of *Once in a Blue Moon* (1935), a story of Russians escaping the revolution with a circus train, was so uneventful that the composer didn't even mention it in his autobiography. The second film on the other hand was a crushing disappointment. This picture was *The Scoundrel* (1935), a Noel Coward vehicle where the British entertainer played the ghost of a cruel publisher who is forced to wander aimlessly until somebody sheds a tear for him. The film appears in some Antheil filmographies (McCarty 00:26), but the picture is actually scored with Sergei Rachmaninoff's *Piano Concerto No. 2* (Sinyard:44). The musical collage is credited to Paramount music director Frank Tours, who also replaced Antheil's credit in the film (McCarty 00:329)

This kind of replacement wasn't unprecedented. Several studios used the method when they felt that a freelance composer didn't live up to the studio's usual standards – one such example was *Hitler's Madman* (1943), distributed by M-G-M (Hubai:13). As the domestic distributor of *The Scoundrel*, Paramount held the right to re-score the film and did spend money on a new underscore (though the finished result does sound like a hurried and cheap substitution). The change was almost inconsequential to the studio, but provided a kiss of death to George Antheil, who was now "officially deemed" unsuitable to score a "Hollywood B-movie" (Wilhelm:269). Even if the composer never mentioned *The Scoundrel*, it's a very likely source of his deep-seated hatred of Paramount's musical department.

***

The tables got turned within a year thanks to the involvement of Russian entrepreneur Boris Morros, a most enigmatic figure of the 1930s Hollywood film scene. Born on January 1, 1891 in Saint Petersburg, Morros was an ideal match for Antheil in the sense that both of their autobiographies are filled with colorful anecdotes and outright lies. Originally published in 1948, the Russian filmmaker's life story was released under the title *My Ten Years as a Counterspy: As Told to Charles Samuels*; as the name clearly suggests, the book was more concerned with Morros' controversial political activities as a cultural agent for the Soviet Union than anything else. His career in Hollywood was marginalized in the book unless that work was somehow related to his espionage activities.

According to the autobiography, Morros was a musical prodigy who travelled to the United States in 1922 as the music director of the French revue *Chaive-Souris;* he attained some fame with the popular song entitled "Parade of the Wooden Soldiers" – his claims to this extent were later challenged by other members of the troupe (Gevinson:634). Morros had been living in the States for more than a decade when he became the manager of stage shows at the New York theaters of Paramount. In this capacity, Morros had to react to the sudden shifts of the silent vs. sound film debates, a job he completed so admirably that Adolph Zukor, "the founding father and president of Paramount" named him the general music director of his Hollywood studio (Morros:30).

Morros' sudden rise to fame was rather curious because the music directors were most often nominated from inside the respective studios. Attaining this position was like a promotion that could be earned through decades of hard work. The appointment of an outsider was usually a sign of the studio's dissatisfaction with its own department's achievements and was a last resort solution in most cases.

In Morros' case, the nomination of an outsider was the direct result of Paramount's decline and dethronization as the number one studio of Hollywood. Based on the financial analysis of studio profitability, Paramount was the most successful studio of the early sound era (1928-1930), but its enviable status was taken over by M-G-M for the rest of the decade (1931-1940) (Finler:286-87). The failure of the studio happened to coincide with the most significant changes in early sound film history, including the appearance of dramatic underscores and the development of professional recording technologies. Fearing that his staff was not ready to handle the constant changes in the business, Zukor felt that Morros, who had already solved some similar issues in the New York theaters could handle the situation better than any else (Morros:30).

Morros' appointment was not only unexpected but had serious repercussions on the whole studio system, not just Paramount. As the first order of business, he fired half of the studio's musical staff, claiming that they couldn't provide the necessary accompaniment to the studio's otherwise high-quality films (Prendergast:46). Morros' other challenge to the *status quo* was bringing in more composers who didn't sign any permanent contracts with the studio and got employed on a film-by-film basis. Since the contract composers were protected by their Union, Morros planned to built a new clientele who'd be faithful to him, after all, he was making the decisions of which composer would be assigned to which film As the new music director proudly proclaimed: "only the modern composers should write the scores of modern motion pictures today" (Prendergast:46).

As a final blow to the system, Morros started to openly court all the big name composers he could get his hands on: Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Dmitry Shostakovich and even Sergei Prokofiev were engaged in various discussions with Morros during his tenure at Paramount (Bartig:64). The only one he could actually entice into working with him was Antheil, who turned out to be the most valuable contributor of his revolution (Darby/Du Bois:196). The two set up an almost symbiotic relationship that benefitted both: Antheil used his new job as a journalist and columnist in *Movie Music* to promote and celebrate Morros work at Paramount – in return, he received valuable commissions from the studio. He could score films he couldn't dream of before.

III.4: *Modern Music* and Hollywood

The quarterly publication *Modern Music* was originally issued in New York as *League of Composers Review* between February 1924 and January 1925; it changed its title to *Modern Music* in April 1925 and continued its publication under this new name until the fall issue of 1946. The journal's main purpose was to inform the American public about new idioms and styles pertaining to twentieth century music. Each issue of the journal during the examined years was divided into two main sections: the first part usually featured informative articles and biographies, while the second had reviews with a more technical focus. There were separate sections devoted to dance theater ("With the Dancers"), jazz and popular music ("The Torrid Zone") and of course, film scoring ("On the Film Front")

Modern Music hosted about thirty essays on film music between 1930 and 1939; this made it the most significant industry journal to discuss the subject with varying degrees of success (Steiner:83). In the earlier issues, contemporary composers were invited to chime in with their own opinion about the state of film music, a regrettable decision considering the final results. Many articles proved that the musicians invited usually had no cinematic knowledge or interest; this lead to a string of dismissive articles which had no real merit apart from the name recognition of their authors. The following quote represents a particularly uninformed example by Virgil Thomson who apparently saw no merit in film scoring apart from a single scene in a Jean Cocteau movie – and Franz Schubert of course.

> With the exception of Georges Auric's music in the court-yard scene of Cocteau's *La Vie d'un Poéte,* which is very fine music, I have never heard anything especially written for the films which seemed to me as beautiful and as appropriate as those tremendously dramatic, intimately dramatic (like close-ups), narratively dramatic moments from the symphonies of Beethoven and Mozart that used to envelope us and carry us along through the sorrows of Lillian Gish, the epic adventures of Fred Thompson and of Buck Jones. If any one piece deserves the palm for services to cinematographic art, it is easily, I should say, Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony,* which year in and year out has provided an appropriate dramatic continuity for a larger number of stories than any other single piece classic or modern (Thomson:189).

Thomson's article entitled "A Little About Movie Music" is a representative example of why the early film music articles in of *Modern Music* were so infuriating. This quote in particular shows that Thomson feels the whole topic is beneath his talents and he is confusing two different areas of film music that couldn't be compared the way he does. The unnamed films he is waxing nostalgic about (the ones starring "Lillian Gish, Fred Thompson and Buck Jones") are silent pictures which were frequently scored with excerpts of classical music at the local theaters. The other type of films he's talking about are sound films, which were more likely to use original compositions. The two types of scoring have nothing in common, Thomson simply favors classical compositions and thinks they make for better dramatic accompaniment than original music.

Modern Music featured articles from a number of different composers until Antheil published his first substantial piece in the January/February 1935 issue. His essay entitled "Composers in Movieland" was by far the most informed and readable article up to that point, so Antheil was brought back for more opinion pieces on this very interesting subject. When he took over as a regular contributor in 1936, the column was renamed to "On the Hollywood Front" and Antheil started to act like a "foreign correspondent" who was reporting most exciting developments from the exotic country of "Hollywood". In the course of four years, Antheil took the most influential piece of film music journalism and transformed into his own image. With every single issue up until his retirement in 1940, he took it upon himself to uncover the problems with Hollywood film music, then gradually find the cure that surprisingly turned out to be Boris Morros and his revolutionary work as the head of the music department at Paramount. His description of contemporary Hollywood music began with this sad description of its state, quoted from his first column;

> Every studio keeps a staff of seventeen to thirty composers on annual salary. They know nothing about the film till the final cutting day, when it is played over for some or all of them, replayed and stopwatched. Then the work is divided; one man writers war music, a second does the love passages, another is a specialist in nature stuff, and so on. After several days, when they have finished their fractions of music, these are pieced together, played into "soundtrack," stomped with the name of a music director, and put on the market as an "original score." This usually inept product is exactly the kind of broth to expect from so many minds working at high speed on a single piece (Antheil 35:63).

This passionate attack against pastiche scores paints a rather unflattering picture of the Hollywood film composers, but these words gain a secondary meaning if we consider that Antheil had just had his first major conflict with Hollywood (specifically Paramount at this point). His music for *The Scoundrel* had been rejected and without knowing what it actually sounded like, it's safe to assume that the seemingly random assembly of Rachmaninoff excerpts didn't please the composer (Sinyard:44). The disgruntled mention of "music director" within quotation marks (signifying some sort of inadequacy) can be seen as a reference to Frank Tours usurping Antheil's credit in the film, though as outlined earlier, this problem persisted elsewhere too.

Of course the simplifications made in the column distorted some facts – perhaps deliberately so. The essay only focuses on the average and the mundane without mentioning the significant, technically competent film scores that already existed by that point (Steiner's *King Kong* for instance). But unlike the rest of the article, the conclusion had an optimistic tone in which Antheil envisioned a bright future for exceptional film composers (likely thinking that he'd be amongst the select few as well). As he put it:

> It becomes obvious even in Hollywood that the best original scores must be written by original composers – in other words that they must be composed. Already feelers are being put out from Hollywood in the direction of one-man scores. Naturally when such scores are tried and prove commercially popular, the mechanical organization of the music departments and studios will be adjusted to new methods of score production. And these will be developed on a sound economic basis as effective for speed and expense as the old ones (Antheil 35:64).

Antheil's conclusion in "Composers in Movieland" illustrates that he had a clear idea about what Hollywood filmmakers wanted to hear. The bulk of his essay complained about the aesthetic issues of the pastiche scores, the lack of a singular artistic vision that could only lead to an inferior work. But by the end, Antheil changes his reasoning. While discussing single composer scores, he claim that Hollywood change its mind on the issues when the music proves to be "commercially popular". He doesn't claim that the music will be more "musically coherent" or will be "more valuable" from a creative perspective; instead, he realizes that Hollywood is more interested in turning a profit, so he talks about an environment where these original scores would be more profitable than pastiche scores.

The author makes a similar point when he argues for hiring single composers instead of working with a team of contract composers. In his argument, the scores written by single composers are not important because they have a higher artistic value, but because they are cheaper to make than pastiche scores. The price cut came from two different source. On the one hand, Antheil thought that hiring a composer for a single project was more economic than paying a whole "army" a regular salary for every week they were working – the fact that contract composers eventually ceased to exist proved his point in the long run. On the other hand, whenever pastiche scores featured musical quotations of a copyrighted piece, the studios had to reach into their pockets to pay a hefty price – this too could be eliminated by original composers, according to Antheil's argument.

There's also a bit of word play in the article that may be lost without a closer reading. In his concluding remarks about the future, Antheil's uses the term "original" in two different meanings. When he talks about the "best original scores", he uses the term in the sense that the score was written especially for that film (i.e. it is "original" for that movie). Yet when a few words later he claims that only "original composers" can deliver such scores, he uses the term as a synonym for "inventive" and "creative". By using both meanings in close proximity to each other, Antheil infers that original scores can only be written by original composers – and he would naturally be ready for the challenge.

III.5: The Road to *The Plainsman*

After setting up the diagnosis for why Hollywood's film music was dying, Antheil wanted to share how the cure could be found (Antheil 36/2:46). His prescription for the studios was a book entitled *Music for the Films: A Handbook for Composers and Conductors* by Russian author Leonid Sabaneev. Originally published in 1935 and later translated into English by S.W. Pring, the volume was a practical guide to musicians on how to write "good film music". Unfortunately the book also featured several disparaging remarks about the field which on the whole delighted Antheil. He particularly enjoyed this excerpt, which effectively builds quarantine around the average film composers, separating them from his colleagues who are doing the real valuable work:

> As a rule, the cinema composer stands apart from his fellows, inasmuch as originality and novelty are not required of him; he is an arranger or transposer of the inspirations of others, rather than a creator. The ability to borrow wisely and opportunely, to imitate good and suitable examples, is a valuable endowment in his case, though these qualifications by no means add luster to the ordinary composer (Sabaneev:v)

Antheil's column entitled "Good Russian Advice About Movies" is a follow-up piece to his previous essay, driving the wedge even deeper between "film composers" and "real composers". Quoting the most influential theoretical writing of the era seemingly proves that Antheil is on the right track and if the advices are taken, Hollywood will turn out better (hence more profitable) films. There's also a subliminal message in the title of "Good Russian Advice About Movies" – by this point Boris Morros (who was also Russian) was already working at Paramount. "By default" of his common heritage with Sabaneev indicated he also had the cure for this sickness. The next column (published in the second half of 1936) was already celebrating the great changes of the movie business:

> Within a year's time, a number of composers will come to Hollywood, since motion picture producers have found out that better musical scores pay. First of all it is cheaper to write an authentic and exciting musical background than it is to build an equally authentic and exciting background set. Janssen's Chinese music lifted at least $50,000 off the

> budget of *The General Died at Dawn*. When good scores begin to do things like this they talk to Hollywood in its own language – the language of money. Secondly, the great movie publics of the world are gradually being accustomed to better fitting scores – scores that are especially calculated for the needs of each picture and are not dragged out of the pages of Schubert's *Unfinished*. Today a good score is as essential to a production as good photography (Antheil 36/2:47).

This column was the first example of Antheil identifying a piece of good Hollywood film music by name and title: he claims that Werner Janssen's score for *The General Died at Dawn* "lifted" the picture. Once again, he didn't use any sort of aesthetic qualification when he explained how the music made the movie better, instead he enumerated the positive influence in dollars, claiming that the film looks $50,000 more expensive than it actually cost. His newfound enthusiasm for a single score seems odd considering how he had nothing good to say about the works of Max Steiner or Erich Wolfgang Korngold, yet he thought a minor score by a lesser-known composer was changing the industry.

Following Antheil's glowing comments on the music, Janssen himself authored a similar piece about his experience on *The General Died at Dawn*. His first person account on the creation of the score indicates he was heavily influenced by Antheil's column as he brings up the same issues and uses the same literary techniques that "Composers in Movieland". Unlike Antheil, Janssen was ready to name the person who made all this possible thanks to his new outlook on the field:

> There are different ways of cueing film music. The old way is episodic. The music announces, or describes, almost every piece of action or flicker of emotion on the screen. […] I agree with Boris Morros that this way of fitting music and action is weak and may easily become ridiculous. Audiences soon come to the point of anticipating from the music what is about to happen on screen. That is as bad as being able to guess the plot two reels ahead. Music should establish and intensify the mood of an entire scene. It should not constantly veer from this main track to follow little odds and ends of action. Music is the emotional tone, not the detail (Janssen:X4).

***

While singing praises of Janssen's music for *The General Died at Dawn*, Antheil finally got his chance to prove himself as an "original composer" for a major motion picture that finally befitted his talents. *The Plainsman* by Cecil B. De Mille was a large-scale western that presented the highly fictionalized life stories of Wild Bill Hickok, Calamity Jane, Buffalo Bill Cody and General George Custer (Birchard:293-98). Trusted in the hands of the number one epic director in Hollywood, this Paramount western was one of the most expensive ventures within this genre. In any other circumstance, the hiring of a relative newcomer would have been absurd for such a project, but Morros still enjoyed the utmost support of the studio that was still awaiting his modernist revolution.

In his autobiography, Antheil portrayed his employment at Paramount as an uphill battle where he had to convince the unbelievers about his talents. As usual, his entry to the studio was mired in controversy. According to *Bad Boy of Music*, he brought along Salvador Dalí to get him some work at Paramount. The Spanish painter brought along his own eccentric bag of tricks, such as kissing the hands of Cecil B. De Mille ("the greatest surrealist who ever lived"), then repeating the same thing to the press (Antheil 45:299). Antheil on the other hand organized a showing of Dalí's surrealist feast *Un chien andalou* (1929) for the Paramount brass. The showing reportedly made one of the producers sick and even De Mille stood up during the screening (Antheil 45:301).

This supposed incident with *Un chien andalou* (which, to reiterate, may not have happened or could have happened differently) was a significant step for Antheil's career. As a sign of "repercussions", the composer was ordered to hold a demonstration session for Cecil B. De Mille from whatever he finished from his score. As explained in the chapter on the making of film music, meetings with the filmmakers were extremely rare and only the biggest (or musically most concerned) directors would show any sign of interest in this aspect of the production. Antheil however enjoyed the challenge because it was conforming to his idea of film music writing. His first ever column on the issue condemned the contract composers who created their scores with no creative involvement from the filmmakers (Antheil 35:64); he on the other hand got the chance to engage in a stimulated creative partnership with a director he admired for his achievements.

The demonstration was of course done for reasons other than discussing the specifics. Antheil's writings imply that the screening of *Un chien andalou* made De Mille reconsider the suitability (or maybe even the sanity) of the composer for *The Plainsman*. But there was another reason for such a presentation. As explained in another section of *Bad*

Boy of Music, Antheil never encountered the Paramount contract composer in their professional environment (Antheil 45:306). The problem with this is that the contract composers were also the most significant institutions of self-control within the music department: apart from writing music, the composers could also criticize each other and expel the unsuitable musical ideas before the studio heads could witness the results. Since Antheil was a freelance composer whose previous work on *The Scoundrel* was rejected by the same department, it was obvious that another form of control had to be implemented.

Antheil's recollection of the events marks a turning point in his narrative on the musical revolution at Paramount. By playing the music for De Mille, he will turning into a Hollywood film composer as well if his music is accepted. In a last attempt to pretend he is a modernist, he aims to shock the director by playing an unusually dissonant piece for the scene where Gary Cooper gets captured by the Indians:

> Knowing the end was plainly in sight, I resolved to play him the most dissonant sections of my score on the piano and go down with colors flying. I got out my Indian War Dance Torture scene [...] I accompanied [it] with a furious bedlam of discords on the piano. When I had finished the scene I turned around, ready to go.
>
> "Go on, play the rest of the sequences," De Mille said. An astonished but not totally displeased look had come over De Mille's face. I played the rest of the sequences, most of them very simple and melodic, and I could see that De Mille was becoming more pleased with each one (Antheil 45:302).

Perhaps even more surprising is the way Antheil re-introduces Boris Morros into the story. He casts him in the role of the comic relief who makes basic musical mistakes in the worst traditions of pastiche scoring. This kind of description goes against Antheil's usual depiction of his Russian colleague, who was seen as a musical visionary in the initial columns of *Modern Music* is now described as someone who "possesses to the extreme degree the typical Hollywood weakness of judging all and sundry according to the inches of space they are daily able to wangle out of the press" (Antheil 45:299). When the music director interrupts the demonstration for *The Plainsman*, he turns into a bad joke, a typical example of the unfortunate pastiche composer who runs away in the wrong direction, confused by as simple a concept as a homophone:

> "I've got! I've got [...] the theme for the Indian War Dance Torture scene, of course!" And, without allowing De Mille to answer, Boris produced a copy of Rimsky-Korsakov's "Song of India" and began to whistle it. De Mille had quite a time to convince Boris that Indians from India and Indians in America were not at all ethnographically and ethnologically the same (Antheil 45:302).

By recasting the roles in his narrative, Antheil already admits the defeat of the revolution with his first commission. Instead of modernizing Hollywood, he was becoming part of the system. When De Mille's own autobiography mentions how Antheil's music "deftly incorporating some of Americans best loved folk music" into the score (Hayne:352), it's apparent that the composer of *Ballet Mécanique* was going down the road of becoming a pastiche composer. Although *The Plainsman* already "utilized twentieth-century musical idioms, their scores really exerted little influence among […] more conservative colleagues" (Prendergast:108). As Antheil summarized: "I had sown the seeds of future trouble in the Paramount Music department. This hunch turned out to be one hundred percent correct, but not immediately" (Antheil 45:302).

III.6: The Fall of the Revolution

By the time of his next column got published in the second half of 1937, even Antheil was fully aware about the unfeasibility of Morros' proposals of wooing the likes of Schoenberg or Stravinsky to Paramount. His essay has a disappointing tone which doesn't talk about his successes (like scoring *The Plainsman*) but rather looks at all the other composers who hadn't gotten any jobs. In an eerie foreshadowing about the "closed corporation" of Hollywood, the author predicts his downfall and Morros' departure as well.

> Meanwhile many excellent composers have come to Hollywood and returned East again. Scarcely any one of them have gotten jobs. While on the other hand, the routine Hollywood composers who have been here many years have grown alarmed at the influx of new men, and have used their influence to sew up every future score available. In other words Hollywood music is, at the present writing, a closed corporation (Antheil 37/2:48-49).

Considering the full extent of Boris Morros' extreme revitalization project for the Paramount music department, it's easy to see why the staff composers who could stay at the studio were still holding a grudge against the Russian musician. The new music director not only dismissed half of the regular crew, but also handed the most expensive (and consequently, musically most valuable) projects to his outsider "friends" such as Antheil who never had to sign a permanent contact with the studio. Even worse than that, the columns published in *Modern Music* constantly hinted at more outsiders coming, much to the glee of their author, Antheil (Prendergast:46).

The later recollections of the Paramount contract composers show that even though they had secure agreements at one of the biggest studios of Hollywood, the working conditions were less than ideal even if somebody was inside the system. Leo Shuken joined the music department in 1936 and spent eight years there as a composer / orchestrator (McCarty 00:286-87); he was the type of musician who was so frequently targeted by Antheil. After leaving a studio, Shuken became a freelance orchestrator working with the likes of Burt Bacharach, Quincy Jones and Elmer Bernstein; the talked to the latter composer while recalling the worst aspects of working at Paramount as a contract composer:

> The supervisor actually was God, you had to play the music for him, and some of them I felt, psyched me out. I had more stuff thrown in the wastebasket! You couldn't do anything they considered odd and you weren't permitted to play something with a single instrument. You know it seemed that they were all under the influence of Richard Strauss (Bernstein:19).

Shuken's remarks about the Strauss influence refer to one of the real oddities of the music department system because the "no single instrument" directive was actually initiated at a number of studios. The logic behind this rule was that instead of hiring musicians for the duration of three-hour sessions like today, the studios had to own contract orchestras where the musicians needed to be paid a weekly salary to the tune of $7,000 a year, calculated with $13 dollar/hour wages paid for 10-hour workweeks. As pointed out by the contemporary commentator, "no other union group on the movie lots has a similar pact guaranteeing a minimum annual wage" (Spiro:X3).

Not using every single musician at the composer's disposal was seen as a waste of the studio's resources, so everybody was encouraged to use the full symphonic orchestra and don't bother with cues or even passages that had only a single instrument. This rule had a strong impact on the Hollywood sound and continued at Paramount even after Morros had left the studio. Miklós Rózsa, who was working as a freelance composer while doing *The Lost Weekend* (1945) for Paramount, recalled how he was berated for using a triangle player in one the cues, but that didn't give him anything to do in the next one;: "[the music department] was worried about losing the company money by not giving a solitary triangle-player enough to do!" (Rózsa:149) In the studio's view, the composer was wasting money by not using an instrument to its full potential.

The Paramount music department had other issues related to Morros, who started to behave very suspiciously on his own home turf. The music director frequently invited major composers to the studio lot, walked around with them in a demonstrative way while talking about secretive project and major plans for the future. One such encounter was documented in relation to Soviet composer Sergei Prokofiev, who was also taken to Paramount, but the "conversation likely concerned Morros's pet project of securing American television airtime for concerts of Russian and Soviet music" (Bartig:64). This was one more project that failed to manifest because Prokofiev's other engagements in Europe didn't allow for an extended stay in Hollywood.

The pre-production of the expensive sea-faring adventure *Souls at Sea* (1937) was also used for intimidation purposes: Morros invited composers like Arnold Schoenberg (Ross:323) or Kurt Weill (Weill:215) to watch the film, but his widely publicized events had absolutely no affect on the music. The final score was provided by the usual team of Paramount composers who could have started working earlier unless Morros' promotional. The final film is now credited to Franke Harling (McCarty 00:502).

Morros had another secret side which was hidden at that time to even his most valued confidants: in addition to running the Paramount music department, he also started working with operatives of the NKVD. In 1936, he was introduced to Vassily "Maxim" Zarubin, who was using the alias Edward Joseph Herbert at that time. Zarubin asked for small favors in exchange for guaranteeing that the packages Morros wanted to his parents would reach their destinations (Romerstein/Breindel:358). When the test runs proved successful, Zarubin asked for a small favor: he wanted to travel to Germany and needed a cover identity for the mission. Morros used Paramount stationary and his own name recognition to create forged documents that claimed Herbert was a talent scout, looking for German actors and actresses who could be contracted by the studio (Haynes/Klehr:220).

Even if Morros still hadn't been unveiled as the member of the Soviet espionage network, his shady dealings at Paramount raised suspicions among his friends. For instance, when Antheil noticed that a new Soviet film had improved sonic qualities, he jokingly suggested that Morros made a deal with the Soviets, sending state of the art equipment in exchange for getting Shostakovich for a Paramount film (Riley:32). The suggestion was of course completely made-up on the spot, but it was based on the strange notion that Morros invited a surprisingly large number of Soviet artists to the Paramount lot.

The music director's unavoidable departure from the studio had several reasons. On the one hand, it became quite clear that Morros' promises of modernism towards the beginning of his tenure didn't have any major effects on Paramount's sound. The other major reason for Morros' departure was personal ambition: he became a producer of movies like *Flying Deuces* with Laurel and Hardy and the Fred Astaire vehicle *Second Chorus* (Romerstein/Breindel:358; he also planned to open "the Boris Morros Music Company, a sheet music publishing venture that would also front for espionage activities" (Weber:78). The third reason for Morros' failure as a music director hasn't been discussed widely, but thankfully Leo Shuken was at hand to discuss the incident before anyone forgot about the so-called *Stagecoach* incident:

> Well, going back to the staff composing thing and what it could lead to, Boris Moros(sic!) contracted an independent picture, the original *Stagecoach* – it's a classic – and he had three composer (whose names I shall not mention) composer the score for it and Walter Wanger was unhappy and threw it all out, so had John Leipold and myself rewrite the score and we got an Academy Award for it (Bernstein:20).

The story of course concerns the classic John Ford western *Stagecoach* which Orson Welles described as a "perfect textbook" for filmmakers, something he used to run "after dinner every night for about a month" (Welles:28-29). As great a praise this sounds, the musical problems with the film left a mark on the films main credits, which now read: "Musical Direction by Boris Morros", then "Musical score based on American Folk Songs adapted by Richard Hageman, Franke Harling, Louis Gruenberg, John Leipold, Leo Shuken" (Kalinak 07:49). As explained earlier, the complete listing was rather unorthodox and proves that Morros' was given his contractually obliged credited while the composers who actually salvaged the score were given their fair share with a credit (See Images 2C).

While the crediting of five contract composers seems like a celebration of pastiche scoring in all senses of the word, Hollywood went even further. *Stagecoach* won the Academy Award for Best Music (Scoring), yet instead of handing the Academy Award to the music director as it was customary in the 1930s (and even later on, in the 1940s for certain genres), the statuettes were handed to four of the five credited composers on the picture. Shuken went on to enjoy "a tremendous reputation as an orchestrator that has won an Academy Award" due to this unorthodox presentation of the award (Bernstein:20). Morros became the first music director of any studio who had lost an award on his picture.

***

Despite his own personal disappointment about Hollywood turning its back to Schoenberg and Stravinsky, Antheil was still inside the system even if he hadn't signed a contract. Following the success of *The Plainsman*, Antheil did another film with De Mille entitled *The Buccaneer*. Based on the novel *Lafitte the Pirate* by Lyle Saxon, the story was about notorious French pirate Jean Lafitte and his involvement in the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812 (Birchard:299-305). Antheil share too many details about *The Buccaneer* in his readily available writings, thought the score shows an even deeper descent into the world of Hollywood mediocrity as the composer can't avoid the obligatory quotations of nautical themes so pervasive in contemporary pirate movies.

His third collaboration with De Mille entitled *Union Pacific* (1939) was something more challenging. Hailed as the most excessive of the director's westerns, the promotional department emphasized the grandiosity of the picture in every single press release. The size of the project was illustrated by the fact that the director wanted to use so many trains in his shots that Paramount had to get a regulation railroad operating license from the Interstate Commerce Commission for the duration of the production. The obligatory Indian attack was celebrated as the centerpiece of the film; the studio reportedly hired 100 Navajo extras and rented so many local Pinto horses that real cowboys had to be employed to keep track of them. The historical authenticity was "guaranteed" by the fact that De Mille got Stanford University to lend him the real Golden Spike that was used during the original ceremony on May 10, 1869 (Birchard:306-311).

Much like in the case of *The Plainsman*, Antheil was expected to hold a demonstration for De Mille about some of the musical material he devised for the picture. Instead of working from the final cut of the film like most contract composers, Antheil had the chance to get involved at an earlier stage and provide thematic material for a number of sequences based on the screenplay, but this encounter went down very differently than *The Plainsman* demonstrations. With Morros out of the picture, Antheil faced a different company whom he had to please even if everybody knew that was impossible:

> When I brought my first sketches for *Union Pacific* to Projection Room Number One of Paramount Studios, I noticed something very strange. Previously I could have played any amount of sketches for De Mille without ever encountering a single other movie composer in that projection room; now, however, every movie composer or arranger working at Paramount at that time was mysteriously present! Now C.B. De Mille is a man, if he will forgive my saying so, who likes to keep in touch with the public's pulse; to cut to the chase, he likes to make his pictures by public vote. He is much influenced by everything everybody tells him - especially en masse. Everyone knew this, and, therefore, when I saw the whole music department, which had previously never been too cordially inclined towards a musical radical like myself, I became exceedingly apprehensive - and, as it proved, not without due cause. I knew they were there to turn in a record vote, and that vote would be against me (Antheil 45:306-07).

The story goes into further details about how De Mille game even more chances to Antheil to do revisions; but the opinion of the contract composers didn't change; "Inside of one week I was ready to say 'uncle.' I did not score *Union Pacific*" as he recalls (Antheil 45:308). The rejection at Paramount also put a halt on the composer's other film music endeavors as he practically stopped his work in this field; he focused his attention on writing film music-like program music: the third movement of his Symphony No. 3 (entitled The Golden Spike) uses some material from the *Union Pacific* score (Tawa:92). When Antheil returned to scoring, he only did a few films and never for a major studio.

"The trouble with trying to earn a fortune by writing movie music is that it's such an awful darned nuisance" (Antheil 45:313) claimed the composer and his disappointment shined through for the remainder of his works. He frequently expressed his growing discomfort with Californian life, feeling that he was never really accepted by either "film music or "serious" composers (Whitesitt:58). His ideal solution was doing one or two scores every year, then doing concert music for another nine or tenth months every year (Antheil 58). His later scores were underwhelming compared to his early works; this review of his penultimate score describes those same mistakes Antheil complained about in his essays:

> *The Pride and the Passion* vividly demonstrates a would-be modernist composer […] apparently frustrated by the dictates of the genre: rare moments of inventive scoring are overwhelmed by a heavy reliance on well-worn classical models – Mahler's *First Symphony* for distant fanfares over a dissonant pedal point, Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov,*. for a cathedral scene and Ravel's Bolero for what Palmer would term routine (and in this case irritatingly pervasive) 'Spanishry'; there is even recourse to a Newmanesque wordless chorus and an overlong and flippant treatment of 'The British Grenadiers' to signpost the arrival of the British officer.(Cooke 2008:191-192).

At the end of *Bad Boy of Music*, Antheil almost went full circle when compared with his first column published at Movie Music. Hollywood was still a closed community, though at least he saw some hope; now at least he managed to name a few composers whom he considered worthy of attention: "With the exception of Waxman, Hollander, and possibly Rózsa and Herrmann, not a single composer of new vitality has appeared in Hollywood in year" (Antheil 45:315-316).

III.7: Summary

The Hollywood career of George Antheil is still filled with blank spaces and contradictions, not the least because the composer himself was an unreliable narrator of his own life story. His autobiography *Bad Boy of Music* is loaded with colorful anecdotes, exaggerations and urban legends, but the Hollywood chapter (Antheil 45:291-316) poses a different challenge: the lies are more believable, so they are even harder to spot. The only reliable way to trace Antheil's career in Hollywood was finding parallel texts and other records of the historical events that could be matched up against the composer's own work. The contrast and comparison between Antheil's life and publications about film music reveal several previously hidden connections that put his operations in a new perspective.

1) Antheil had a deep-seated hatred of pastiche scores which he thoroughly documented in his first column for *Modern Music* (Antheil 35). His passionate philippic against Hollywood film music was nothing new in the context of other articles published in the same journal (see Thomson:188-191) and its tone also matched the composer's other musings about the state a film music. Yet a re-examination of Antheil's filmography suggests that the composer's passion was fueled by a personal disappointment: the way Paramount replaced his music for *The Scoundrel* (1935) with excerpts of classical pieces. Even though he never acknowledged this rejection in his autobiography (unlike he did with *Union Pacific*), the fact that his first article on the topic was published shortly after that film's premiere indicates at least a passing connection between the two events.

2) Although his character was marginalized in *Bad Boy of Music*, Antheil had a strong, almost symbiotic connection with Paramount's "revolutionary" music director Boris Morros. While writing about film scoring for *Modern Music*, Antheil gradually became more optimistic about the state of the industry, but his enthusiasm always pointed in one direction. When he finally found a Hollywood film score with some aesthetic merit, it happened to be a Paramount picture (Antheil 36/2). When he reported exciting new developments from Hollywood, it was always connected to Paramount titles (Prendergast:46). In return, Antheil got to score the most important movies for the studio as Boris Morros assigned him two pictures by Cecil B. De Mille (*The Plainsman* and *The Buccaneer*). In short, the *Movie Music* columns provided the theoretical background for Morros' revolution in addition to promoting it. Antheil was "paid" with valuable commissions in return.

3) Morros' revolutionary ideas didn't pan out at Paramount as the big acquisitions he constantly hinted at (getting Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Shostakovich or Prokofiev on board) all fell through one after another. The disappointment is already noticeable in Antheil's later columns for *Modern Music* (Antheil 37/2) as he grudgingly accepts that the workmanlike music departments can't be replaced by name composers if those musical masterminds are not interested in film scoring. His days at Paramount were numbered after Morros' departure and his "execution" during the pre-production of *Union Pacific* had an almost cinematic quality to it (Antheil 45:306-308). He subsequently took a six year break from film scoring, but never worked with any of the big studios again.

***

A year before his untimely death in 1959, Antheil did an extensive radio interview with Truman Rex Fisher. Although he frequently downplayed his Hollywood days in his own writings, the composer was a bit more candid about his Californian experiences in this interview because the program was made for Pasadena's KPPC. The discussion generally avoided specifics and individual projects, focusing on more mundane issues like comparing the cities of New York with Los Angeles. But when the subject of Hollywood came up, Antheil gave the most succinct reasoning for entering the film industry, while also predicting that one day somebody would write about his Hollywood days.

> New York composers are horrified by my coming out her. I think it is rather unjust for anyone to think that I am being corrupted by Hollywood. I am trying to corrupt Hollywood, in a good way, and I hope to get some credit for it… Probably posthumously (Antheil 58).

While he may not have "corrupted" Hollywood immediately, several events that Antheil predicted in his columns did come true in the long run. He claimed that the studio's own interests would dictate the abolishment of the contract composer system (Antheil 35:64) and the institution was indeed marginalized within two decades. He also wrote about directors getting more conscious about the role of scoring (Antheil 36/2:47) and his predictions have come true when a new generation of filmmakers insisted on dictating the musical directions of their pictures. While he personally didn't benefit from these changes, the "Bad Boy of Music" proved he understood the financial necessities of Hollywood more than any other composer in this discussion.

Los Angeles is a completely blank page
so far as my music is concerned.
(Arnold Schoenberg)

IV. Arnold Schoenberg: Destined for Cinema

During his time as a film music columnist for *Modern Music*, George Antheil frequently brought up the names of contemporary composers whom he felt would be ideal for scoring Hollywood films. His lists invariably included Stravinsky and on one occasion, Arnold Schoenberg, who happened to be one of the composers openly courted by Boris Morros for Paramount (Prendergast:46). Though Antheil's sentiments were read only by a handful of *Modern Music* subscribers, his thoughts on the Austrian composer's suitability to working in Hollywood were eventually shared by most Schonberg scholars. Of course commissioning the composer would have been easier if he hadn't had such a complex and sometimes seemingly contradictory relationship with the world of cinema. As he put it:

> When Berlin's UFA made its first successful experiments with talking pictures about 1928 or 1929, I was invited to record myself in picture and sound. The speech I delivered was an enthusiastic address of welcome to the new invention through which I expected a renaissance of the arts. […] How wrong I had been! (Schoenberg 40:153)

Schoenberg's rocky relationship with the world of cinema extends far beyond his years in Hollywood. Back in Germany, he felt that filmmaking was an important contender to the world of opera, viewing the new medium as something to be reckoned with: "[Opera] has less to offer the eye than the film has - and color-film will soon be here too. Add music, and the general public will hardly need to hear an opera [...]" (Schoenberg 27:336). His thoughts of connecting the two art forms was so inseparable that when he wrote an essay entitled "Art and the Moving Pictures", his writing listed the titles of dozens of operas, but not a single film (Schoenberg 40:155-56).

Schoenberg's opinion of looking at film as a rivaling medium didn't change much when he moved to Los Angeles in the early 1930s. Being so close to Hollywood brought along a handful of inquiries about possibly doing some film works, but all these negotiations came to a grinding halt whenever the filmmakers realized what kind of uncompro-

mising artist they are dealing with. Schoenberg's theoretical writings (which will be quoted at the appropriate places) didn't help his agenda either – whenever they are not discussing opera, these essays give the impression of an artist who is clearly interested in the medium, but has no clue about how it's actually produced.

Schoenberg's lack of film commissions in Hollywood also played a significant part in what Sabine Feisst termed as the concept of the "lonesome Schoenberg" – the artist's own image of himself being neglected and misunderstood in a culturally challenged environment. His meetings with filmmakers like Irving J. Thalberg and Boris Morros were often examined within this larger cultural framework, but a re-examination of what actually happened on these meetings could provide valuable additional insight in challenging the image of "lonesome Schoenberg" (as Feisst does it in most of her writings).

The following chapter traces Schoenberg's time in Los Angeles with a clear focus on his film projects. Since his life and concert work in the States have been thoroughly documented by Sabine Feisst in her recent book Schoenberg's *New World: The American Years*, this section of the dissertation aims to expand the academic discussing in the direction of the composer's meeting with Hollywood filmmakers (which is covered in only a few paragraphs in Feisst's volume). Schoenberg's earlier concepts about filmmaking from his German years and some of his other artistic activities in the Hollywood film industry are presented for giving context to the unsuccessful attempts at recruiting the Austrian maestro into the army of film composers toiling in the studios.

IV.1: Flirting with German Cinema

> Our story starts in a moonlit wood. A woman is on her way to meet her love, but she is full of foreboding. She senses a mysterious presence that tries to hold her back and thinks she can hear someone sobbing. Night sounds of birds and animals terrify her, and she stumbles over what she thinks is a dead body, but it turns out to be only a tree trunk. In a clearing filled with curious yellow toadstools she imagines she can hear her lover calling to her and that huge yellow eyes are staring at her. Back on the road she looks for somewhere to rest and stumbles against another tree trunk, but this time it's not a tree trunk. It is indeed the corpse of her lover. She smothers it with passionate, delirious kisses, but, with the dawn, the lovers are parted forever (Huckvale:25).

When writing about the music of Hammer horror films, author David Huckvale quoted this plot synopsis in support of his main thesis that Arnold Schoenberg would have been a natural fit for composing for the cinema. The nightmarish scenario may sound its coming from a German expressionist horror (something by Murnau or Wiene perhaps), it is actually a description of *Erwartung* (in English: *Expectation*), a one-act monodrama by Arnold Schoenberg written to a libretto by Marie Pappenheim. Originally composed in 1909 but only premiering in 1924, the solo soprano monodrama has a very cinematic quality to it and seems like the ideal subject for a short film, proving that "the German expressionist cinema and Schoenberg were so obviously made for each other" (Huckvale:26).

A year after *Erwartung*, Schoenberg started composing *Die glückliche Hand* (in English: *The Hand of Fate*), a 20-minute long one-act "drama with music" divided into four scenes. The piece was written for a baritone, two mimes and a mixed choir of twelve (six men, six women). The main protagonist is a man, singing about his love for a young woman who leaves him for a well-dressed gentleman (these latter two were played by the mimes). Though the woman returns and leaves again, the man can't give up and eventually succumbs to a monster, which has been tormenting him the whole time. Although it was among Schoenberg's more divisive pieces upon its 1924 premiere in Vienna, the project was important for the composer as it was based upon his relationship with his first wife Mathilde who had a brief affair with a painter during their marriage (M.MacDonald:22).

During the preparation of staging the piece upon its completion in 1913, Schoenberg came up with the idea of using previously unseen visual effects during the performance. He wanted to assign special roles to colors in the scenery which was to be designed by a painter like Oskar Kokosckha or Wassily Kandinsky and rely on colored lights changing the scenery (Feisst 99:96). He also thought about using a pre-made silent film to be projected at the performance. In a letter to music publisher Emil Hertzka, Schoenberg weighed in with his opinion on what film could lend to his performance, pointing out that the magic of editing can resolve a number of issues concerning the stage:

> For instance, in the film, if the goblet suddenly disappears as if it had never been there, as if it had simply been forgotten, that is quite different from the way it is done on the stage, when it must be removed by some kind of device. And there are a thousand other things that could be easily done in this medium, whereas the resources of the stage are very limited. My most important wish is to do something opposite to what the cinema usually does. I want the utmost unreality (Schoenberg/Hertzka, Fall/1913, originally in German, translated by author).

The plan of using a film excerpt fell through when the whole premiere was "delayed" by 11 years and Schoenberg radically changed his mind on the medium. But there's also something common between *Erwartung* and *Die glückliche Hand* which made the two musical dramas the prime examples of Schoenberg's undeniable interest in cinema. When talking about the dramatic effects in both projects, Schoenberg used the terminology of photography and filmmaking to describe the application of subjective time in both projects:

> In *Erwartung* the aim is to represent in slow motion everything that occurs during a single second of maximum spiritual excitement, stretching it out to half an hour whereas in *Die Glückliche Hand* a major drama is compressed into about 20 minutes, as if photographed with a time exposure (Schoenberg 30:105).

This quote from the essay "New Music: My Music" reveals that Schoenberg was not only interested in film, but had a little background in photography as well. His description of *Erwartung* summarizes the key idea as a snapshot that got turned into a slow-motion picture to the maximum spiritual excitement. *Die glückliche Hand* on the other hand uses time lapse photography, compressing a lifetime's worth of pain into a mere 20

minutes. While *Erwartung* and *Die Glückliche Hand* would suggest that Schoenberg was enthusiastic about the appearance of the cinematic arts, his relationship with the new medium was rather conflicted. As the previous examples illustrate, he was enthusiastic about the technological advancements and had a great interest in seeing how the new developments could help his own projects.

Schoenberg's most interesting attempt at writing a film score was the 1930 premiere of *Begleitunsmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene* (in English: *The Music to Accompany an Imaginary Film Scene*). This was the composer's most significant experiment at conceptualizing his own work in terms of genre cinema as opposed to applying the concepts of opera to the world of filmmaking. His work was divided into three chapters entitled Threatening Dangers, Panic and Catastrophe – these names indicated a strong thematic relation to the horrors of German expressionism (Huckvale:27). Taken as a demonstration recording of what Schoenberg could have been capable of, *Begleitunsmusik* is his most successful understanding of cinematic tradition, later described by Hanns Eisler's idea that "the shocks of modern music can meet their [horror film's] requirements" (Eisler:36).

***

When he looked back at the history of cinema in 1940, Schoenberg explained his preferred mode of treating the new medium: adaptations of literary classics that would be impossible to recreate on the stage due to their disregard for the Aristotelian rules of drama. Interestingly enough the literary works he recommends for the cinematic treatment are also works that engaged him on a creative level, for instance, Schoenberg contemplated writing a whole oratorio based on Balzac's *Seraphita* (M.MacDonald:21):

> I had dreamed of a dramatization of Balzac's *Seraphita* or Strindberg's *To Damascus,* or the second part of Goethe's *Faust,* or even Wagner's *Parsifal*. All of these works, by renouncing the law of 'unity of space and time' would have fond the solution to realization in sound pictures. But the industry continued to satisfy only the needs and demands of the ordinary people who filled their theatres (Schoenberg 40:154).

The rest of Schoenberg's essay on the moving arts reveals another fundamental discrepancy when it comes to his understanding of the medium. To explain why opera is a superior art form to film, he quotes his own and his friends' experiences about seeing Wagner, Mozart and other operas dozens of times – whereas he never met anyone watch-

ing a film more than twice (Schoenberg 40:155-56). Of course this faulty deduction stems from the fact that Schoenberg is only looking around like-minded individuals, otherwise he may have come across that one film enthusiast who went to watch *Kings Row* sixty times just to hear the music by Erich Wolfgang Korngold (Thomas 97:78).

When Schoenberg had to leave Austria for the United States, he had to give up the frequent trips to the Vienna Opera and replace it with the cheaper thrills Hollywood could offer. Schoenberg's circular to his friends, written on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, featured one of his most original summaries of how he viewed Hollywood even before he got any offers from the film industry:

> Los Angeles (Hollywood is a sort of Floridsdorf or Mödling of Los Angeles only with the difference that here they produce those splendid films whose highly unusual plots and wonderful sound give me so much pleasure, as you know) is a completely blank page so far as my music is concerned (Schoenberg 34/2:28).

The parallels he chose in the text are especially vivid. Both Floringsdorf and Mödling are in the outskirts of Vienna; in fact, Floringsdorf became the 21st district of the Austrian capital in 1904 when Schoenberg was only 30 years old. Mödling, which is just a few miles south of Vienna, was (and still is) known as an industrial center, so its mention in relation to Hollywood may have been a sly comment on pointing out how the Hollywood film scene was an "industrial" rather than an "artistic" venture. But even if he thought the town was a "blank page" for his music, the leading industry of the United States couldn't avoid noticing the great composer settling down nearby. Within a year, he'd get his first offer to score a film.

IV.2: Meeting Thalberg: *The Good Earth*

Schoenberg's first significant offer to score a Hollywood movie came in 1935 when he was approached to write music for *The Good Earth,* M-G-M's adaptation of Pearl S. Buck's 1931 bestseller. Buck completed her manuscript about the life of Chinese farmers at the University of Nanking where she was teaching English literature until 1934 (Conn:345). As the best-selling American novel of 1931 and 1932, *The Good Earth* has been widely credited with influencing the general public to prefer the Chinese over the Japanese prior to Pearl Harbor. Even though its cultural significance has since been challenged by diplomatic historians such as Walter Lafeber, who claimed Buck's Chinese trilogy "did not shape U.S. policy after 1937" (Lafeber:206), the book's prestigious performance on the literary market was a good enough recommendation for producer Irving J. Thalberg, the "Boy Wonder" of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

Of course the chart-topping success of Buck's novel didn't mean smooth sailing for the film adaptation. As far back as 1935, Thalberg had to defend his choice of the literary property to fellow M-G-M executives. In his biography on Thalberg, author Mark A. Vieira quoted specific arguments between Thalberg and his colleagues in which the opponents claimed that previous films about American farmers didn't do good business at the box-office – filming a similar story with Chinese protagonists was unlikely to improve the results. In his retort, Thalberg downplayed the ethnic angle of the story by pushing the universal human drama in the foreground. "[*The Good Earth*] is the story of how a man marries a woman he has never seen before and how they live a life of intense loyalty" (Vieira:323) claimed Thalberg in his defense of the project.

After acquiring the screen rights for this very valuable literary property, the project was developed by screenwriter Salka Viertel who also played a key role in organizing the fateful meeting between Thalberg and Schoenberg on November 20, 1935. Viertel's recollection of the events was shared in her excellent autobiography *The Kindness of Strangers* (1969) and her retelling of the meeting became the most frequently quoted passage from the book. The story of course makes for an excellent anecdote in musical circles, making it the quintessential example of confronting the "ignorant American filmmaker" with the "musical giant" sitting across his table. Since the story has been re-told many times from Schoenberg's perspective, maybe it's time to look at it from a slightly different angle.

Viertel's recollection begins with Thalberg's first exposure to the composer's work: a performance of *Verklärte Nacht* (in English: *Transfigured Night*, 1899) as performed by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. Hearing this early masterpiece on the radio convinced the producer to seek out Schoenberg for *The Good Earth*, instructing Viertel to bring the composer to his office in order to discuss the exact details. As Viertel's story continues, it becomes quite evident whom she supports in the inevitable debate:

> I still see [Schoenberg*]* before me, leaning forward in his chair, both hands clasped over the handle of the umbrella, his burning, genius' eyes on Thalberg, who, standing behind his desk, was explaining why he wanted a great composer for the scoring of *The Good Earth* When he came to: "Last Sunday when I heard the lovely music you have written…" Schoenberg interrupted sharply: "I don't write 'lovely' music." (Viertel:206).

The notion of what the 'lovely music' could have been is one of the contested features of Viertel's tale. Music historian Alex Ross had done more investigation while preparing the manuscript for his book *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* which naturally reprints the classic story too – though he mistakenly gives the year as 1934 instead of 1935 (Ross 2008:322-23). In an article published prior to the book, Ross revealed that he found no records of a performance that could match Viertel's description: *Verklärte nacht* was performed by the New York Philharmonic in December 1935, after the meeting had already taken place. Instead of that piece, Ross suggests that Thalberg may have heard another Schoenberg composition entitled *Suite in G for Strings* which was performed by the New York Philharmonic in October 1935, thus making it a chronologically likelier alternative to the story (Ross 2007).

Of course the question of which work was played on the radio is besides the point when we look at the bigger picture: although *Verklärte Nacht* and *Suite in G for Strings* were written almost 35 years apart (1899 and 1934 respectively), both of them can be described as "more-or-less-tonal string-orchestra pieces" (Ross 2007) which weren't very representative of Schoenberg's larger body of work. In other words, whatever Thalberg heard was amongst the more conventional compositions by Schoenberg – as such, his impression of "loveliness" may have offended the composer, but it wasn't entirely unfounded given the producer's limited musical education. Viertel's story continues:

> Thalberg looked baffled, then smiled and explained what he meant by "lovely music." It had to have Chinese themes, and, as the people in the film were peasants, there was not much dialogue but a lot of action. … I translated what Thalberg said into German, but Schoenberg interrupted me. He understood everything, and in a surprisingly literary though faulty English, he conveyed what he thought in general of music in films: that it was simply terrible. The whole handling of sound was incredibly bad, meaningless, numbing all expression; the leveling monotony of the dialogue was unbearable. He had read *The Good Earth* and he would not undertake the assignment unless he was given complete control over the sound, including the spoken words.
>
> "What do you mean by complete control?" asked Thalberg, incredulously. "I mean that I would have to work with the actors," answered Schoenberg."They would have to speak in the same pitch and key as I compose it in. It would be similar to *Pierrot Lunaire* but, of course, less difficult." He turned to me and asked if I remembered some of verses of the Pierrot and would I speak them. I remembered very well: "Der Mond den man mit Augen trinkt…" I reproduced it quite faithfully, watching Thalberg's face. He must have been visualizing Luise Rainer and Paul Muni singing their lines in a similar key. But he did not move a muscle of his face (Viertel:206-07).

This passage in Viertel's recollection may capture that exact moment when Schoenberg and Thalberg lost all the common ground for communication. The duet between the narrator and the composer indicates a familiarity with a common cultural background that's clearly alien to Thalbeg who "did not move a muscle of his face". Schoenberg melodrama *Pierrot Lunaire* was a major work in the composer's oeuvre, but Thalberg obviously doesn't know it. As a later paragraph suggests, the producer got the idea that Schoenberg intended to write *The Good Earth* as some sort of spoken-word opera:

> "Well, Mr. Schoenberg, " he said, "the director and I have different ideas and they may contradict yours. You see, the director wants to handle the actors himself." "He could do that after they have studied their lines with me," offered Schoenberg magnanimously (Viertel:207).

The rest of Viertel's narrative following the meeting is a bit hazy on the exact details, though it seems that the author wanted to keep a cordial relationship between Schoenberg and Thalberg. Her explanation of why the project fell through is linked to two events: within a few days of meeting with Schoenberg, somebody at M-G-M brought along some Chinese folk songs. These inspired the music director (Herbert Stothart) to write some lovely melodies which Thalberg eventually accepted (Huckvale:36). The other reason was of course Schoenberg's stubbornness that was now mixed with an open contempt for the project. When the composer doubled his fee from $25,000 to $50,000, he gave the following explanation which would have looked just great in the promotional materials:

> I want fifty thousand dollars and an absolute guarantee that not a single note of my music will be altered. If I commit suicide I want at least to live well on it (Levant:127-28).

Over the last few decades, the story has been told the same way over and over again with minor variations. The most frequently reprinted version is of course the one by Salka Viertel, but the anecdote existed before that as well. The confrontation was widely popularized by Theodore Adorno whose 1966 essay "Art and the Arts" contained the following passage: "'My music is not lovely' grumbled Schoenberg in Hollywood when a film mogul unfamiliar with his work tried to pay him a compliment" (Adorno:371). This early occurrence of the legend doesn't credit the producer or the film, but it does definitely refer to this film. The nature of Adorno's quotation is also very indicative of what he thought was important from the story: an American producer doesn't understand contemporary European music and offends a living legend with his off-the-cuff remark.

Partially due to the success of this tale, Thalberg's position as a musical analphabet was cemented in the annals of film music. When André Previn wrote a memoir about his Hollywood career, the title of his book (*No Minor Chords: My Days in Hollywood*) was inspired by a notorious story about Thalberg. In Previn's version of this highly amusing anecdote, the producer was once displeased with what he heard in one of his films. When he was informed that the offending sound was a so-called 'minor chord' he penned a memo that famously read: "From the above date onward, no music in an MGM film is to contain a 'minor chord'" (Previn:86). This doesn't mean Thalberg was oblivious to music in general, in fact, he used the vocabulary of music to describe his pictures: he equated the film to 'a beautiful symphony' and referred to subplots as 'leitmotifs' (Schatz 88:111).

What the popular retelling of the meeting likes to forget is the initial interest Thalberg and Schoenberg had in each other's work. The producer for instance at least took the courtesy of hearing some of the composer's music before deciding on his involvement (as we shall see in the chapter on Alexandre Tansman, missing this crucial step could lead to a crushing disappointment). The composer on the other hand was also interested in the film: the Arnold Schönberg Center still holds the composer's personally copy of Pearl S. Buck's novel which he had had gotten from the studio's library and never returned (BOOK B61). The research center also contains a very interesting piece of correspondence which seemingly contradicts Schoenberg's previous position on taking the project (See Image 3):

> When I left you, about three weeks ago, you told me you would answer in a few days. Having got no answer untill today, I can not believ, this is your intention: to give me no answer at all. Maybe you are disappointed about the price I asked. But you will agree, it is not my fault, you did not ask me before and only so late, that I had already spent so much time, coming twice to you, reading the book, trying out how I could compose it and making sketches. I should be very, very sorry if I had to realize, that you do not only not pay attention to the respectfull way in which I am accostumed do be treated as a person of international reputation, but even not for the time I have spent on this occasion. And I would be very sorry if you should write me, it were only a mistake of an officer, that I got not an answer in time, because I came personally to you and have the right to expect, that you personally examine whether I have been answered so as it is fitting to my rank. As beforesaid, I cannot believe it is your intention not to give me an answer at all. But even in case you are still considering to make me a proposition, I wanted to ask you to give me your decision or at least to write me a letter." (Schoenberg/Thalberg 12/6/35)

This revealing letter (with a few misspellings) can mean one of two things: either Schoenberg used a radically different tone with Thalberg than anyone else on the project, or his displeasure of *The Good Earth* was somewhat exaggerated in the immediate aftermath of his rejection. For instance, this correspondence makes no mention of Schoenberg's increased fee or comparing the film to "committing artistic suicide" – instead, it's a valid

memento of a creative mind who got involved in the project way too early. The materials housed at the Arnold Schönberg Collection prove that at least for a few weeks, the composer was very much interest in the project.

Schoenberg's copy of Pearl Buck's includes annotations for the first 141 pages (at which spot he presumably stopped) and he also filled two small sketchbooks with 54 distinctly different sketches for themes and variations for the score (GA B 14,2 [22]). Working from the novel instead of the screenplay, Schoenberg sketched themes for events (motif for an eventful growing crowd of people, a motif for a turbulent folk scene of the revolution), character themes (themes for Uncle of Ching and Uncle of Wang), themes for recurring symbols in the novel (lotus, fishpond, pearl/wealth) and themes for emotional reactions (the Wang family's fear of soldiers) (Feisst 99:93). As such, *The Good Earth* is by far the most developed project from the composer's brushes with Hollywood.

The primary resources may be biased in one direction, the surviving papers all point to the same direction on why this project fell through. Schoenberg viewed himself as the primary creative force of the project which clashed not only with the established traditions of filmmaking, but also with Thalberg's own position as a producer. Within a meeting with the composer, the M-G-M executive went from standing up for his revolutionary choice to settling in with the tried-and-true formula (as the head of the studio's music department, Stothart had previously scored *Romeo and Juliet* among other things for the producer). Schoenberg may have had spend at least a month with the novel and his sketches, the news of the rejection made him change his mind; soon after the inquiring letter, the composer was already speaking about the film with obvious disdain. But this single meeting should not be viewed as an isolated incident; Schoenberg struck similar chords when he was approached to do film work by friends.

IV.3: Composer Biographies: The Beethoven Project

Schoenberg's second serious offer to score a film in Hollywood was the result of the American film industry's sudden interest in composer biographies, a special subgenre of biographical pictures that were directly linked with the recent evolution of sound film technology. This musical craze lasted for over20 years: it first appeared in British cinema through its classic operetta films such as *Waltzes from Vienna* (Strauss, 1934) or *Blossom Time* (Schubert, 1934), then continued in Hollywood with *The Great Waltz* (Strauss, 1938), *New Wine* (Schubert, 1941), *A Song to Remember* (Chopin, 1945), *Song of Scheherazade* (Rimsky-Korsakov, 1947), *A Rhapsody in Blue* (Gershwin, 1949) and *Magic Fire* (Wagner, 1956). Each film told the life story of a popular composer, underlined and marketed with an adapted score compiled from the maestros' immortal works.

The resurgence of this idea can be traced back to Vienna, where future film composer extraordinaire Erich Wolfgang Korngold was still engaged in the world of musical theater and operetta during the 1920s. With the help of impresario Max Reinhardt, Korngold re-staged a series of successful Strauss operettas (such as *Die Fledermaus* or *Rosalinda*) which had been all but forgotten by this point; Korngold's new versions ushered in a new era of Strauss Renaissance. The composer made some modifications to the orchestration of these works to make them a more natural fit for the taste of the contemporary Viennese audience that gradually started to rediscover the genius and greatness of both Strauss' (Thomas:169).

The new premieres were promptly followed by *Walzer aus Wien*, a musical biography which premiered in October 1930. This new format contained lesser known music from the works of the elder and younger Johann Strauss, set around the story of a generational conflict between the two composers (Traubner:402). With a libretto by A. M. Willner, Heinz Reichart, and Ernst Marischka, the story mostly focuses on the younger Strauss wanting to break out from the shadow of his successful but disapproving father who only accepts his son's talents after the successful premiere of *The Blue Danube Waltz*. Although the biography was fictionalized and had to feature the obligatory love subplot, the format was groundbreaking in the sense that it told the stories of famous composers not through original compositions, but through the very works they created (Carroll:209-11).

This story was successfully adapted into the medium of film in 1934 when Alfred Hitchcock(!) helmed *Waltzes from Vienna* for Gaumont in London. Although Hitchcock himself wasn't thrilled about the format – he was described as an "impetuous young man who knew nothing about musical" (Spoto:135) – the director's interest in creating a sonically exciting feature presentation did lead to a remarkable proof of how this stage format could be executed well in the cinema (Carroll:209-11). While the British operetta film scene was soon bustling with similarly themed pictures (such as *Blossom Time* with Franz Schubert at the main character), it took a few years until the format reached Hollywood.

Director Max Reinhardt and his compatriot William Dieterle had a clear head start in recognizing the success of this formula whose birth they could witness through Korngold's initial reconstruction of Strauss' scores. Recognizing the marketability of using classical scores in film scoring, they transported the basic musical idea of composer biographies into a Shakespearean setting. This major project was the 1935 production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a Warner Bros. picture co-directed by Reinhardt and Dieterle. Although the film won two Academy Awards in different technical categories, it was the musical score that held the most interest for Hollywood.

Instead of using an original score or a pastiche score delivered by a group of composers, Reinhardt and Dieterle decided to use an adapted score based on the works of a single composer. Their choice was of course Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, whose *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was already well-known to the public through its famous "Wedding March". Since Mendelssohn's music was originally written for a theatrical production of the play in 1843, the two directors felt it would appropriate to place it back into a film adaptation of Shakespeare's masterpiece. Reinhardt convinced Warner Bros. to pay for the transportation of Erich Wolfgang Korngold whom he tasked with adapting Mendellsohn's music for the screen (Thomas 97:171).

The musical preparation for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was revolutionary in the sense that it was done in three stages, amassing what may have been the largest musical budget of the time. Excerpts from the score were first done as a pre-recording for the actors who performed music on screen, then a second section matching up the music with the players' line delivery; the last section with the "regular" orchestral recording was done last. "No film score had ever been so elaborately executed, and it made a great impression within the industry" (Thomas 97:171), but even more importantly, it used a more practical version of Schoenberg's idea about matching music with line delivery.

This was the moment when Schoenberg was contacted by Charlotte Dieterle concerning a biography of Beethoven's life (Palmier:533). Dieterle's wife already attempted to get the composer all the help he needed for settling down in the States. In 1935, Charlotte penned a letter of recommendation in which she extolled the virtues of Schoenberg in great details, describing him as "personal friend" whose "credentials are self evident" (Dieterle/Baumann 8/19/35). When she approached Schoenberg to do the Beethoven picture, the format was already available through the extremely complicated soundtrack of *A Midsummer Night's Dream;* the technical excellence of this score was seen as a feature that might interest Schoenberg (Feisst 99:94). The composer replied the following:

> I hoped I could be useful to you concerning the Beethoven film as long as my capacities and circumstances allow. I'm afraid I am somewhat limited in this case. Maybe you read my answer "I will tell you whether I can do it or whom I consider suitable" in a way that it means I cannot do it myself. My position in the musical world compels me to keep a certain attitude even if I do not feel that way. Nobody would understand if I were to form a poetic version of Beethoven's life out of my own imagination and my own feelings towards him, then make a film of it. This conception would a musical one from the beginning and what I would do then with Beethoven's music would not be a mere use of it [his music], but a "fantasy", a symphonic-dramatic fantasy that would necessarily have the same artistic justification as if I were to write variations on a theme by Beethoven. But if I were to "serve" you by adapting Beethoven's music to a "libretto," no matter how good (and I do not doubt that yours is good), written by someone else, it would not be in keeping with what people are entitled to expect from me, namely that I should create out of my own being (Schoenberg/Dieterle 7/30/36, originally in German, translated by author).

Though the negative response is carefully worded to appease an old friend, it doesn't answer the question about why Schoenberg would was considered in the first place. Of course he was known to use Beethoven in his classes (the Schoenberg Center holds a few tests on him) and he created an Adelaide arrangement for voice and orchestra (MacDonal:334) – yet there may be a more general reason for his involvement.

During the production of these composer biopics, Hollywood simply had to rely on recent European immigrants who had the necessary musical knowledge to complete the task. The average American contract composer usually got his musical "education" by accompanying silent films in cinemas (Prendergast:11). They were perfectly capable of adapting pre-existing material in their works (and in fact have been widely criticized for that), but they lacked the historical/cultural education that was essential to scoring a composer's life story with the best possible results.

When a biographical picture was made, the composer was expected to write an adaptation score that incorporated not only the best-known works, but also the most dramatically suitable ones – a decent knowledge of the composer's whole oeuvre, or at least a knowledge of the methodology on how to obtain such knowledge fairly quickly. The contract composer's knowledge on the other hand was most often limited to the bare essentials, the instantly recognizable pieces or ones that has strong connotations; in the case of Beethoven, these would be pieces like "Für Elise", the "Moonlight Sonata" or the opening bars of the "Fate Symphony".

Though Schoenberg's reluctance to get involved with the Beethoven picture may seem like snobbery, a lot of immigrant composers were also avoiding these pictures because of their inferior quality. Anyone who seriously studied the music and life of the involved composers could only look at these Hollywood biographies as iconoclastic romances, capitalizing on the name recognition of Schubert and Chopin instead of celebrating their art. For instance, when Miklós Rózsa was tasked with adapting Franz Schubert's music for *New Wine*, he considered the film a disgrace which he only accepted because it was produced by his longtime associate Alexander Korda (Rózsa:122). He only took the job under the condition that his name would not appear in the final cut – an apparently unfulfilled point in his contract his Rózsa gets credited in the opening titles.

At first glance, the Beethoven project was right up Schoenberg's ally – after all, it was a film where music played a key role in the plot, but the composer himself declined for two reasons. First, he still didn't see himself as the main creative force on the project (that would still be the director) and he had a hard time reconciling his own artistic integrity with such an adaptation job. Second, Schoenberg must have seen at least some of the prior composer biographies and knowing Hollywood's inevitable addition of a love interest to the myth of Beethoven guaranteed it would be a project with many dissatisfactory aspects. Schoenberg solved the issue by not getting involved – even for an old friend's sake.

IV.4: Competing with Weill: *Souls at Sea*

For the first few years, Schoenberg's career in Hollywood was conducted in the shadows, his negotiations and correspondences with the studios were only known to his close circle of friends. This all changed in February 1937 when *Modern Music* columnist George Antheil published his most enigmatic report from the "Hollywood Front".

Like on every other occasion, Antheil was celebrating the achievements of Paramount's Boris Morros, the revolutionary music director who was bent on bringing real musical talent to Hollywood. Even though the quote claims that the author is merely regurgitating previously published industry rumors, it was actually Antheil who broke the silence on this interesting piece of new development: recruiting Schoenberg for Hollywood:

> Last week the Hollywood newspapers announced in their calm way that an Austrian composer had been engaged by Paramount to score their newest and most expensive production, *Souls at Sea*. The man, it seems, is Arnold Schoenberg, who has been, for some time, a resident of Southern California. […] Schoenberg according to Morros, has accepted the commission and will soon start work on *Souls at Sea*; but he will have, as an understudy, one of the Studio staff composers, Ralph Rainger, who will simultaneously compose a second score in case of emergency! (Prendergast:46)

Antheil's 1937 report is not only the most enigmatic, but also the least convincing. The part he got 100% right was that *Souls at Sea* was certainly a very expensive production. "This story, discovered by Paramount scouts in the dusty archives, re-vitalized by Paramount's famed writing staff, now sails across the screen with an all-star cast" (Log of a Great Motion-Picture:8) claimed one excited double-page advertisement in *Life* magazine about this nautical drama starring Gary Cooper and George Raft.

What they left out is that it became the "most expensive production" because director " Hathaway built two nearly identical $20,000 boat sets which helped to push the picture to $339,000 over budget" (Meyers:126). The movie later gained notoriety for claiming the life of actor John Bowers who sailed to the shooting location in order to beg for a part from Hathaway, then disappeared during his return trip to the shore (Brettell, etc.:71). Even its star Cooper could only say "it was nothing to be ashamed of" (Meyers:127).

Antheil's report on Schoenberg's involvement with the nautical potboiler has a few interesting features. For instance, he adapts an uncharacteristically flippant tone; by referencing Schoenberg as some "Austrian composer", Antheil is poking fun at the traditional Hollywood vernacular, an inoffensive mixture of innocence and ignorance. Later in the same column he uses the same literary device in relation to "a Russian composer by the name of Igor Stravinsky" (Prendergast:46).

Morros' reassured confirmation about hiring Schoenberg is another unusual feature because it naturally didn't happen – *Souls at Sea* eventually received a dreaded multi-composer pastiche score by contract composers Franke Harling, Milan Roder and other uncredited contributors (McCarty 00:502). The closing of Antheil's report, which readily admits that he consulted only with Morros, highlights that the news of signing Schoenberg for *Souls at Sea* was more wishful thinking than anything else. Even if negotiations took place, Antheil was too quick to jump the gun with his conclusions (Prendergast:46).

As far-fetched as the report sounds, it does have an element of truth to it through Ralph Rainger, the mysterious "understudy" whose role in the process is treated differently depending on which sources we consult. If we take Antheil's take in the report at face value, it sounds like Rainger is just another staff composer whose musical inadequacies have already been well-documented in other columns of *Modern Music*. Antheil also claims that Rainger is commissioned with writing a simultaneous second score, further supporting the author's theory that Hollywood is simply not trusting the contemporary composers, hence they also hire a reliable "contract composers" no matter how impractical this concept sounds from a financial and scheduling perspective.

But Ralph Rainger was hardly just another contract composer at Paramount. Though he did have a signed agreement with the studio and scored pictures like *Little Miss Marker* (1934), *The Devil Is a Woman* (1935) and *Waikiki Wedding* (1937) (McCarty 00:234), Rainger was also a valuable student of Schoenberg. During the 1930s, many Hollywood composers took at least a few private lessons from Schoenberg: Oscar Levant, Edward Powell, David Raksin, Alfred Newman, Hugo Friedhofer, Leonard Rosenman and Franz Waxman were just a few of the most prestigious names on the list, but Rainger may have been the most faithful of the group.

Apart from taking lessons from the composer throughout 1936 and 1937, Rainger also supported his mentor through various other means, such as sponsoring some premiere Schoenberg recordings by buying four albums at the elevated price of $70 dollars (Feisst

11:119). He also helped the composer to complete his moving to America: by paying his $600 annual fee for his lessons in advance, Schoenberg could ship his furniture from Paris to America (Feisst 11:119). Even when Rainger moved to New York and couldn't take more lessons from the composers, they still exchanged letters, keeping each other in the loop; Rainger also suggested Schoenberg coming to the East Coast to do a series of lectures that never materialized (Rainger/Schoenberg 12/25/39).

While Antheil's reading of the events suggests that Rainger was to be put in Schoenberg's custody "by the studio" which didn't trust the more famous composer, the other reading indicates that things may have happened the other way around. Rainger used his connections to Schoenberg to bring together a meeting with Morros, hoping that the valuable acquisition for the studio could strengthen his position there. In return, he could get a valuable learning experience by working together with his mentor. The two composers could teach each other during the process: Schoenberg could teach about composition while Rainger could introduce the technological aspects of film scoring to his master. Unfortunately the project didn't proceed anywhere and unlike the well-document *The Good Earth*, *Souls at Sea* is less than a footnote in Schoenberg's career (Ross:323).

Looking at the commission from the studio's perspective, there's a bit more to this story. *Souls at Sea* was a troubled and expensive production whose mediocrity was realized immediately upon its completion. It was also the first really big picture where Morros' claim of improving a film through music could become a deal breaker. It wasn't the first big title that came across his way, but the other expensive films (like *The Plainsman* which he assigned to Antheil) had no inherent problems that needed a musical fix-up. *Souls at Sea* on the other hand desperately needed something extra which Morros tried to achieve by hiring a name composer: Schoenberg's involvement was even mentioned in early promotional brochures for the film (Thomas 86:8).

The fact that Schoenberg wasn't the only or even the first composer to be approached with a similar offer is another sign of the desperate search. German composer / songwriter Kurt Weill, who was best known for his collaborations with Bertolt Brecht such as *The Threepenny Opera* was also invited to the Paramount Studios to see the film for himself. Antheil didn't report on this particular invitation, but other resources relate the story. Weill wrote the following letter to his wife Lotte Lenya, who was staying in New York at that time. Although the title is not mentioned, the actors and the plot details prove that he is talking about *Souls at Sea* (See Images 2A-2B):

> The agent seems to be quite clever, and it's not impossible that I'll get a job at Paramount very soon. I spent the entire day there today and have seen the film in question, a gigantic movie with Gary Cooper that has marvelous images of a sinking ship, slavery, etc. They originally wanted Schoenberg for it (but that seems to be difficult); but it seems I'm too expensive for them (that's actually a good thing) (Weill:215).

Weill's letter makes an interesting comparison between his and Schoenberg's involvement in the project: while the latter couldn't get involved due to creative difficulties stemming from his artistic integrity, the former only had to withdraw due to financial considerations. Of course knowing that Schoenberg's asking price was $50,000, one can only wonder how much Weill asked from the studio that was too much. Weill eventually made a compromise with Paramount, but for a different picture, the Fritz Land-directed romance *You and Me* which was a great disappointment for all involved (Hinton:335); only nine out of Weill's twenty-three cues for the picture got used in the final cut (Aaker:76).

While Schoenberg's biographies up to this point tended to look at his approach for *Souls at Sea* as an isolated incident lumped together with his other unfulfilled commissions (Feisst 11:121), Antheil's and Weill's report shows a markedly different picture. It seems that Boris Morros of Paramount was actually shopping around with more composer possibilities, pulling every string to get a name composer to his project – based on the stylistic differences between Weill and Schoenberg, it looks like he was ready to hire anyone as longs as their had a wider audience appeal outside film scoring. But Antheil's report adds another twist to the story:

> They also thought fit to add that a Russian composer had been engaged for Paramount by the name of Igor Stravinsky […] It is understood that he has accepted Morros' invitation to come here but that a picture will not be assigned to him until he arrives in Hollywood (Prendergast:46).

The simultaneous drafting of the two most famous composers from European sounds almost too good to be true and Antheil's reporting in this case was about as reliable as most of his autobiography. He's early announcement of the unlikely commissions also marked the last serious discussion Schoenberg had about a Hollywood film – though he was involved in a number of other activities worth discussing in some detail.

IV.5: Host, Teacher, Hero: Further Activities in Hollywood

Following *Souls at Se*a, it seemed Hollywood simply stopped courting the reluctant composer whose meeting with Thalberg had already become a great anecdote to share. Yet this doesn't mean that Schoenberg completely gave up on Hollywood; he still went to the movies and appreciated the American films for their high entertainment value. As Pauline Alderman wrote in her article "I Remember Arnold Schönberg", Schoenberg was especially partial to spy movies and westerns – two genres that would not be traditionally associated with him (Feisst 99:102). This chapter gives an account of Schoenberg's other activities in Hollywood, including speaking engagements, plans for educational reforms and promoting scripts by his friends.

***

One of Schoenberg's lesser-known activities in Hollywood involved the promotion of screenplays he deemed worthy of filming even if he had no interest in scoring the pictures themselves. From this period we know about at least two such projects.

In 1937, Schoenberg was approached by German poet Else Lasker-Schüler who had emigrated to Jerusalem and was set to work on a filmed version of her play. Her request to have Schoenberg write music met with an unusually favorable response from the composer: "I'm sure if I were asked and what has been described is fairly within my field of expression, it will be a pleasure and I will set to composition immediately" (Schoenberg/Lasker-Schüler 10/3/37, originally in German, translated by author). Unfortunately the picture had no financers, so Schoenberg also volunteered to show the screenplay around Hollywood to see if anyone would be interested. His main target would have been William and Charlotte Dieterle, but there are no further traces of this project.

Written a bit closer to home, Schoenberg's wife Gertrud also dabbled in screenwriting. Previously known for writing the libretto for *Von heute auf morgen* (1928) under a male pseudonym, The Gertrud Schoenberg Satellite Collection houses a few items assorted with a screenplay entitled *Where there is a will, there is a way*. This script was also shown to Dieterle who thought the "form was interesting" but the plot was just another "terrible Hitler story" Crittenden:240). Though only tentatively connected to Schoenberg's career in Hollywood, Gertud's interest in screenwriting is also a part of his Hollywood legacy.

***

Although Hollywood didn't seem interested in his film music, Schoenberg found an unlikely ally in promoting his concert works through Alfred Newman, the head of the music department at 20th Century Fox. Apart from his activities as a composer / conductor, Newman also had a major influence on Hollywood producers who trusted his musical instincts more than they trusted theirs: whenever Samuel Goldwyn had second thoughts about a musical accompaniment, he called upon Newman to fix those mistakes through rewrites (Herman:207). In return, Newman could suggest the financing of musically significant projects, one of which was the first recording of Schoenberg's four string quartets by the Kolisch Quartet throughout 1936 and 1937 (M.MacDonald:78).

As a proponent of Schoenberg, Newman arranged for a representative event that could have introduced the composer to an even wider audience: inviting the composer to the 1938 Academy Awards where he was supposed to give a speech in defense of film scoring, than awarding the winner with a statuette. Schoenberg's main contact in the matter was Donald Gledhill, executive secretary of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (not to mention a key organizer of the ceremony). Though the paper trail indicates Schoenberg was initially interested in delivering the speech, he eventually cancelled his presentation. In an undated letter (which the text indicates was penned on the morning of the ceremony), Schoenberg claimed that his illness from the last two night prevented him from doing any public appearances. While he did send over some remarks that could be quoted at will, his notes on the state of film music were hardly complimentary:

> As almost my whole life as an artist has been devoted – scarcely to the present – but distinctly to the future, I use with pleasure this occasion to express the hope: there will soon come a time, when the severe conditions and laws of modernistic music will be no hindrance any more toward a reconciliation with the necessities of the moving picture industry. By its use of music as a means of stimulation, the movie industry has already succeeded in making the people music conscious. Step by step it will educate them also to ideas and ways of expression, which they cannot appreciate today (Schoenberg/Gledhill 3/11?/38).

Instead of celebrating the current state of film music, Schoenberg was talking about his hopes for a better future where his modernistic music would be accepted by a wider audience. Although the last part of the letter also sends warm congratulations to that year's

winner (*One Hundred Men and a Girl*), his best wishes are delivered in a typically half-hearted and dismissive manner. Instead of specifically naming Charles Previn, the music director of the film, Schoenberg is merely celebrating "the man who Universal Picture Company whose picture 100 men [and] a girl has been chosen by so great a majority of votes to be recognized as the author of this years(sic!) best musical score" (Schoenberg/Gledhill 3/11?/38). Even if he had accepted the commission to speak at the engagement, it's very likely he'd have had nothing good to say about this particular winner.

Though he was absent from the ceremony and the banquet, Schoenberg at least appeared in the papers, thanks to the uninformed reporting of *Los Angeles Times*. Read Kendall's report entitled "Film Awards Bestowed and Picture Notables' Gowns Dazzle at the Academy Fete", the author claimed that the musical award were presented by Irving Berlin for the best song and Dr. Arnold Schoenberg for the best score; he also goes on to claim that the Schoenbergs were seated next to the Berlins and the Capras at the speaker's table (Kendall 3/11/38). It seems that Kendall was either not present at the event, or he simply reprinted information from the original program: the musical award was handed out by Henry Koster, who did forward Schoenberg's wishes to the winner (Feisst 99:102).

***

When he wrote his letter to the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Schoenberg didn't specify when he thought the time would come for his acceptance. In an effort to bring that day closer to the present, the composer eventually appointed himself as a mentor on film music, an extension of his UCLA teaching activities if you will. His concept was called *School for Soundmen*, a lengthy proposal he created in 1940 for the same Academy that had invited him to the Oscar just two years prior. Although the proposal was never finished or cleaned up for a wider publication, even its initial draft offers a fascinating look into Schoenberg's proposed revolution of film scoring, explained through his most radical attack on Hollywood.

In an attempt to shape film music to his own image, Schoenberg planned to tear the whole system down to its vocabulary and accepted terminology which he wanted to rename based on his own ideas. The key notion of Schoenberg's proposal is the "soundman", a general term for the specialist who deals with the aural aspect of filmmaking and is adept at all phases of the production: dialogue, sound effects and music should be constructed in the utmost harmony; otherwise the results could be unprofessional. In this case, his concepts harkened back to the Thalberg meeting about *The Good Earth* where he specified he

had to work with the actors so they'd be speaking with the right pitch that respected his music (Viertel:206-07). Schoenberg outlined the exact task of his soundman by explaining what's wrong with the contemporary Hollywood system:

> The American film production is renowned for the accuracy and thoroughness by which it works out every little detail. [...] One must wonder why the relation between music and action, and between music and words is left in such an imperfect state. [...] I know many grave instances in which neglect for the effect of this power produces imperfection, imbalance, shortcomings which otherwise are not to be found in the action, in the dramatization, in the scenery nor in the photography. [...] There is a problem, and it occurs in every movie, when music "underscores" a scene in which actors have to talk (Feisst 99:104).

Of course this doesn't mean that everybody must know everything about the creation of sound. In another section, Schoenberg differentiated between three major tasks that must work hand-in-hand for optimal results. The first person is naturally the composer, who is tasked with the initial creative tasks: finding representative themes for characters and moods, using thematic ideas to illustrate different aspects of the film and facilitating the shift between different thematic ideas. The second link in the chain, the arranger, was given the job of fine tuning the composer's work, taking care of all the musical nuisances that could interfere with perfection of design. The orchestrator was listed as the third person, though his list of tasks were very similar to that of the orchestrator – perhaps this would have been rectified if the proposal had been picked up (Feisst 99:103-104).

Even in its draft form, the concept for the "School" becomes quite evident if we know Schoenberg's past and usual reservations with the medium of film. When describing the job of the composer, one of the tasks assigned to the musical creator is that of "how to plan the length of a reel." This single sentence illustrates that Schoenberg had no technical knowledge of how films are made, the length of the reels were of course dictated by the standards of the production – "no planning" could have changed the established formats. The suggestion also reveals that Schoenberg once again thought about movies where the composer's music would follow the action almost wall-to-wall (as in an opera) and the picture would be constructed and cut to the music – not the other way around. The outline repeats the same mistakes that cost Schoenberg the chance to do *The Good Earth*.

Although the composer's concept of "soundmen" education was abandoned as soon as he realized that the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences had no interest in his ideas, the same terminology pops up in later as well. In 1945/46, Schoenberg exchanged a number of letters with Robert M. Hutchins from the University of Chicago. Hutchins originally invited the composer to Chicago to deliver a lecture about his work as a composer for the fee of $250 and expenses (Hutchins/Schoenberg 11/19/45). The original offer was done for a more general series – Schoenberg was meant to represent 'The Composer' among a number of other professionals introducing their fields of expertise – but the correspondences gradually evolved into a deeper discussion on musical education. Schoenberg proposed other lectures and course ideas, then finally he brought back his soundmen in a thorough description of his educational revolution from 1940:

> There might be the possibility of adding to the Department of Musicology an Academy of Music, comprising only the main fields of practical musicianship in a number of master classes. If later preparatory classes were to be added this would mean: starting the school at the top and developing it gradually down to the bottom. These master classes might gradually include all the main solo instruments and voice, musical composition, also the stage, the opera, the movies, churches and choirs. It should also offer classes in orchestration, conducting opera and concert, stage direction and education of "soundmen". Soundmen will be trained in music, acoustics, physics, mechanics and related fields to a degree enabling them to control and improve the sonority of recordings, radio broadcasting and of sound films (Schoenberg/Hutchins 6/2/1946).

Schoenberg's whole idea of *School for Soundmen* is nothing but a fascinating idea that had brought up a number of interesting theoretical questions amidst a lot of practical failings of the model. Even if it wasn't linked to any specific project and was more closely connected to "Schoenberg the teacher" as opposed to "Schoenberg the composer", it does illustrate how the elderly maestro would have handled a motion picture if he had the chance. The ideas may have worked in some sort of opera film or in a musical specially arranged for Schoenberg's taste, but the studio films couldn't have handled this approach.

***

Three years before his death, Arnold Schoenberg made the most interesting assessment of his relationship with Hollywood. This letter was written in a response to Johnny Green, who had contacted Schoenberg soon after the free-lance composer and lyricist luncheon at the United Jewish Welfare Drive, a charity event that the Austrian composer apparently missed. In his request, Green asks: "May I appear to you as a colleague to contribute to [the] drive to the greatest extent that you can? Whatever your contribution, it will be gratefully received" (Green/Schoenberg 6/18/48). Schoenberg's response (which is drafted at the back of Green's letter) reads the following (See Image 4):

> I am no Hollywood composer but a retired University Teacher with a pension of $29.60 a month. I never enjoyed the advantage of writing Hollywood style and I feel no obligation to do the same thing in spending as they do who did better in earning than I. All my colleagues – and if I say so, I mean my own colleagues – lived like I live and they do not feel the necessity to be reminded by you to fulfill a duty. I have given more than I can and certainly more in proportion than those who feel they can call me their collegue(sic!). When I am in the position I will not fail to do my share–I have never failed (Schoenberg/Green 6/18/48).

Schoenberg's bitter response is one of his most desperate attempts to distance himself from the commercial composers of Hollywood. Provoked by a request that he felt went over the line, Schoenberg's response became an eloquent summary of the composer's complicated relationship with filmmaking, showing us some of the most honest reasoning of why he never felt at home in Hollywood. In a final twist, when Schoenberg passed away in 1951, John Green (the addressee of the letter) organized a filming of the funeral. The archival material is still available in the Gertrude Schoenberg Satellite Collection for viewing (Feisst 99:112).

IV.6: Summary

In her book about Schoenberg's time in Hollywood (*Schoenberg's New World: The American Years*), Sabine Feisst already disproved the legend of the misunderstood composer stuck in the middle of a hostile, culturally challenged environment. With the main points Summarized in the essay "How Arnold Schoenberg Became Lonely: Imagination versus Reality", Feisst showed that "the image of Schoenberg as a lonesome artist grew out of his own feelings and rhetoric, nourished by his experiences as a German Jew long before he settled in America" (Feisst 11/Web). With his gloomy outlook immortalized in the several essays I've already quoted, Schoenberg was actually quite sociable with several Hollywood friends, including composer / tennis partner George Gershwin or the whole array of Hollywood composers named in the previous chapters.

The fact that Schoenberg couldn't find common ground with filmmakers can be traced to his ambivalent feelings towards cinema. At various points, Schoenberg's personal opinion ranges from the morose critic who feels anything beneath adapting Balzac and Goethe is a disgrace to the infinite possibilities of the medium (Schoenberg 40:154) to fully enjoying Hollywood films whose "unusual plots gave [him] so much pleasure " (Schoenberg 34/2:28). Based on the comparative analysis of the other available resources, Schoenberg's artistic failure can be summarized in the following points:

1) The composer subscribed to the idea that the origins of film music can be traced back to the musical dramas of Richard Wagner (Prendergast:10-11); but he also felt (unlike any other musical contributor) that the *Gesamtkunstwerk* process should be lead by the composer. Traces of this idea can be found in his meeting with Thalberg (instructing the actors on pitch) and the correspondence on the Beethoven project. Simply put, the most important reason for the failure to collaborate was "Schoenberg's refusal to accept the principle of the division of labor required in film production" (Feisst 99:95).

2) Schoenberg's theoretical work exemplified by *School for Soundmen* (and other assorted correspondences) shows that he had no real technical knowledge on how film music is created. He tried to create new concepts by making up a new vocabulary, but his idealized solutions were impractical and sadly dilettantish. Schoenberg's constant overestimation of what role music played in a film lead to other issues, such as the insanely high price he gave to Thalberg ($50,000) on *The Good Earth*.

3) Schoenberg's artistic integrity simply didn't allow for the creation of any musical work where he wasn't in charge. For comparison's sake, Antheil could make a clear distinction between his concert and film music, claiming that there was so much difference between the two that when he focused on one, he couldn't do the other (Antheil 45:313). Schoenberg's more elegant solution for this concern was not writing film music, even if the film (like the Beethoven project) was seemingly made for him. It's just a tragedy that Schoenberg didn't live to see the day when Hollywood started making films that not only needed, but demanded his style.

***

Even if Schoenberg's time in Hollywood could be considered a failure from the practical perspective, his music lived on after the composer's passing. Just ten years after writing his letter to the Academy, Hollywood produced its first film score of serialism, most surprisingly, for a cartoon. Directed by Tex Avery and scored by Scott Bradley, the surrealist animated short *The Cat That Hated People* used the twelve-tone row between a piccolo and an oboe for the eponymous cat's nightmarish trip to the moon (Huckvale:31). Within another seven years, Schoenberg's student Leonard Rosenman wrote *The Cobweb* (1955), the first serialist film score delivered for a feature-length Hollywood picture; Rosenman used this technique "to enter the plot and show something that wasn't immediately perceived on the screen" (Prendergast:119).

Within another decade, Schoenberg's type of serialism was used in pictures of all genres. Ernest Gold used the technique to represent radioactivity in *On the Beach* (1959) (Burt:48) while Jerry Goldsmith's trio of *Freud*, *The Satan Bug* and *Planet of the Apes* paved the way to the methods most famous uses in psychological thrillers, paranoia thrillers and science fiction movies (Caps:28-32). In 1961, Benjamin Frankel used the same concepts in his groundbreaking score for *The Curse of the Werewolf*, the first British horror film to fall back on Schoenberg ideas (Huckvale:38). Now the examples are too numerous to mention; twelve-tone music became not only accepted, but quite fashionable during the 1960s and 1970s. But this shift in the format's appreciation was not only linked with the changing tastes of the public and the filmmakers; it was connected to the changing nature of the films themselves.

What did they do for Stravinsky while he was here,
come to think about it, or Schoenberg? Nothing!
(Bernard Herrmann)

V. Igor Stravinsky: Behind the Wallpaper

Based on the overwhelming number of articles, essays and other selected writings about Igor Stravinsky and his relationship with film scoring, one could easily assume that the Russian composer must have been among the most significant figures of movie music. Apart from the rich academic discourse concerning Stravinsky's legacy in the craft, the composer himself was an active author on the subject, penning several essays and musings on how good film music works or how it should be done. Yet the most intriguing feature of the composer's film scoring career is that all the valuable and immensely quotable theoretical discussion couldn't be translated into practice. In other words, Stravinsky never completed a cinematic assignment in his entire life – either in Europe or in Hollywood.

Stravinsky's most notable treatise on the subject of film music is his frequently quoted "wall paper metaphor" in which he claims that both "wall paper" and "film music" are only good for filling out blank spaces and have no aesthetic values on their own (unlike "paintings" and "real music"). The composer first talked about the metaphor in the September 1946 issue of *Musical Digest*, an enterprising journal published from the funds of chemical magnate / philanthropist Henry R. Reichold. The full title of his article was "Igor Stravinsky on Film Music: As Told to Ingolf Dahl" and was actually a result of the conversation between the two composers that took place on 3 May 1946 (Cooke 2010:275). The metaphor itself was explained in the paragraph below:

> I realize that [film] music is an indispensable adjunct to the sound film. It has got to bridge holes; it has got to fill the emptiness of the screen and supply the loudspeakers with more or less pleasant sounds. The film could not get along without it, just as I myself could not get along without having the empty spaces of my living-room walls covered with wall paper. But you would not ask me, would you, to regard my wall paper as I would regard painting, or apply aesthetic standards to it? (Stravinsky 46:277)

The "wall paper metaphor" is actually just one of the many different dismissive images that Stravinsky brings up in illustrating why film music can be useful, but pointless on the whole. As the most vivid and frequently-quoted moment of the complete essay, the wallpaper overshadowed some of the finer points made by Stravinsky, including the fact that even on his darkest days when he could fully explain his critical attitude towards film scoring, he didn't discount the chance of him scoring a movie some day. With at least half a dozen disappointments behind his back, he could still rightfully say:

> All these reflections are not to be taken as a point-blank refusal on my part ever to work for the film. I do not work for money, but I need it, as everybody does. Chesterton tells about Charles Dickens' visit to America. The people who had invited him to lecture here were astonished, it seems, about his interest in fees and contracts. "Money is not a shocking thing to an artist," Dickens insisted. Likewise there will be nothing shocking to me in offering my professional capacities to a film studio for remuneration" (Stravinsky 46:279)

Stravinsky had a sort of love/hate relationship with Hollywood, but he never mentioned the studios in this article, nor did he talk about the desperate measures he went through to get a job in Hollywood. For those select few who knew about the composer's creative disappointments to make ends meet at the Hollywood studios, "Igor Stravinsky on Film Music" read like a passionate attack against the entire system that failed to recognize a real composer who could have done a significant, culturally important film score. This chapter on Igor Stravinsky aims to draw parallels between the composer's theoretical work in the field of film music, finding common links between his essay and the most throughout chronicle of his unfulfilled film career.

V.1. The Exploited Composer

> I have been asked whether my own music, written for the ballet and the stage, would not be comparable in its dramatic connotation to music in the films. It cannot be compared at all. The days of *Petrouchka* are long past, and whatever few elements of realistic description can be found in its pages fail to be representative of my thinking now. My music expresses nothing of realistic character, and neither does the dance. The ballet consists of movements which have their own aesthetic and logic, and if one of those movements should happen to be a visualization of the words "I Love You," then this reference to the external world would play the same role in the dance (and in my music) that a guitar in a Picasso still-life would play: something of the world is caught as pretext or clothing for the inherent abstraction. Dancers have nothing to narrate and neither has my music (Stravinsky 46:278).

Although Stravinsky claimed that his ballet and theater music couldn't be compared to film scoring, Hollywood obviously thought otherwise. His music for *The Firebird* (1910), *Petrushka* (1911) and *The Rite of Spring* (1913) have all been exploited in cinema without giving a single nod or financial compensation to the composer. Pianist Oscar Levant was stating the obvious when he claimed that "the orchestral pattern of all carousels, incidentally, is derived from Stravinsky's *Petrouchka*" (Levant:139). Even films such as *The Wizard of Oz* borrowed Stravinsky's magic for scenes like the poppy field run or "the phantasmagoric montage depicting Dorothy's return to Kansas" (Rosar:121).

Paying homage to Stravinsky's was especially widespread in animation. Walt Disney popularized Stravinsky by using *The Rite of Spring* in the fourth segment of his animated anthology *Fantasia* (1940) during the depiction of how life began on Earth. "Stravinsky saw his *Rite of Spring*, and said that that as what he had in mind all the time" (Granata:87) claimed Disney in a post-premiere interview about the film and later "inked a deal to use several works by Igor Stravinsky, whose controversial *Rite of Spring* was a dramatic highlight of the original film" (Granata:90) – this follow-up regrettably never materialized. Scott Bradley's scores for the earlier *Tom & Jerry* shorts are also good exam-

ples because “Stravinsky seems to have strongly influenced his explicit use of woodwinds, both as solo instruments and in ensembles” (Goldmark:54).

This kind of overexposure naturally meant that referencing the Russian maestro in the most obvious manners became a cinematic passé by the mid-1930s. During the production of the Marlene Dietrich Russian-set melodrama *Knight Without Armour* (1937), the actress had the following reaction to singing an unrelated ditty entitled *Petrushka*: “This is ridiculous! I can’t sing a song about Stravinsky’s ballet!” (Rózsa:80-81). Whenever one of Stravinsky’s titles grew old and overused, another one could rise in popularity when it was utilized in the right context.

Unfortunately the only person who didn’t benefit from this success was the original composer himself. The main issue was that "Stravinsky was receiving no royalties on his most frequently performed works, the three early ballets" (Evans:252). "The early works, registered in Tsarist Russia, were not protected by copyright and earned him no income; his inter-War compositions were not greatly performed" (Lebrecht:309).

Due to these copyright issues, Stravinsky was especially sensitive to every unpaid use of his intellectual property which is exactly what happened a year earlier with the Warner Bros. picture *The Firebird* (1934). That picture took both the title and the music of Stravinsky’s most famous Ballet – but unlike the other Hollywood bastardizations of his suites, this was brought to the composer’s attention.

The Firebird is based on the popular Lajos Zilahy play *Művész Színház* which was adapted into English by author Jeffrey Dell. The story focuses on an actor who pursues an illicit affair with a politician’s wife among other women; when the actor turns up dead, the play shifts from a bumbling romantic comedy into a casual whodunit with a nice twist at the end. As the plot summary clearly shows, the film had absolutely nothing to do with Stravinsky’s Ballet except for using the title and bastardizing the music for the film. The movie’s director William Dieterle was known for such musical exercises; his adaptation of Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer’s Night Dream* for instance features a score adapted from Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy’s *A Midsummer’s Night Dream* (Thomas 97:171).

The great difference was that Mendelssohn’s work was in the public domain and the composer had already passed away. Stravinsky on the other hand was still alive and while his music was also free to exploit thanks to the unresolved copyright issues, it seemed very likely that Warner Bros. made a lot more money out of "The Firebird" brand than Stravinsky ever did. This marked the first time Stravinsky fought back.

In a letter dated February 28, 1936, a representative of the Société de Droit de Reproduction Mécanique in Paris sent their concerns to the composer. According to their reading of the events, the Warner Bros. film entitled *The Firebird* was misrepresenting the original work (after all, it had nothing to do with the ballet) and did disservice to the music by taking various elements of the ballet and assigning a thematic function to the key ideas. Even worse, the appearance of a Viennese Waltz could even give the viewer the wrong idea that Stravinsky's *The Firebird* was channeling the worst traditions of Johann Strauss in a few sections. As the letter concluded:

> We now have no option but to take Warner Bros. before the Civil Tribunal... but unfortunately, we will have practically no chance. Thanks to your agreement with Forberg, we can only contest your ethical [not material] right to the confusion surrounding the title (Craft 1984:250).

Stravinsky's case was made all the more weaker by the fact that Forberg, who acquired the assorted rights of *Firebird* from Jurgenson during the tumultuous revolution of 1917, did in fact sell the soundtrack rights to Warner Bros. The composer's only appeal to the courts was an ethical claim, reminding the decision makers how Forberg originally got the rights without his involvement and that the ethical thing to do would be to give him financial compensation (300,000 francs) as the author of the original work. The ethical claims of course didn't affect the case, which only ended in 1938 when a French court awarded 1 franc in damages to the composer (Walsh:62).

As it stood, Stravinsky's only real exposure to Hollywood filmmakers was that they liked his music enough to use it, but not enough to pay him. The question was of course would they hire Stravinsky if he was available right on the spot… The composer spent the next decade with trying to convince Hollywood about the suitability of his film scoring skills. Composer / music historian Louis Andriessen estimated the number of unsuccessful attempts to launch a film music career as four (Andriessen/Schönberger:33) – but a close reading of the events suggest there were even more attempts than that…

V.2: Stravinsky at M-G-M, 1935

Stravinsky's first trip to Hollywood occurred in the beginning of 1935, towards the end of an extended concert tour throughout the major cities of America. The composer arrived to the States on January 3, 1935, accompanied by violinist Samuel Dushkin aboard the Italian ocean liner *S.S. Rex*. The seven stop tour started in New York, then proceeded to Boston, Chicago, Detroit and Minneapolis, finally arriving to San Francisco and Los Angeles (Stravinsky Here with New Music:26). As remarked by Stravinsky in a sound recording, this was his first trip to California (Rosar:113).

The Russian composer travelled to the West Coast at the invitation of Otto Klemperer, the conductor of the Los Angeles Philharmonic ("Stravinsky to Appear Here" V:6). The appearance was financed by L.A. publisher Merle Armitage, who was such a fan of Stravinsky that he edited and published an English-language volume of essays from Stravinsky's oeuvre (Armitage:10). The appearances were scheduled for mid-February; Stravinsky was supposed to conduct two concerts on the subsequent evenings of February 21 and 22, 1935, followed by a third one with a slightly different program on February 28.

Stravinsky naturally brought over his most famous compositions by conducting the popular symphonic suites from *The Firebird* and *Petrouchka*. In addition to these well-known pieces, he also premiered two lesser known works for the American audience. The first new addition to his program was a suite of music from the ballet *Apollo, Leader of the Muses* which was originally written for the company of George Balanchine in 1928. The second new presentation was the *Little Suite (Eight Little Pieces for Orchestra).* The third concert, announced for February 28, promised another premiere, a violin concerto with Samuel Dushkin playing the solo, but this new performance apparently wasn't played in Los Angeles (Rosar:112). Instead of conducting, Stravinsky played the piano alongside Dushkin, performing *Suite italienne*, *Divertimento*, *Duo concertant*, *Le Rossignol*, *Petrouchka* and *The Firebird* instead ("Stravinsky to Appear Here" V:6).

Managed by the very capable Richard Copley (Craft 84:304-07), the whole tour was quite successful, but it was only meant to be a prelude of greater things to come. Stravinsky's Californian patrons wanted to introduce the composer to prominent Hollywood film composers and studio heads, thinking that the Russian maestro may be interested in this form of musical expression as well. Examples like Warner Bros' *The Firebird* (1934)

had already shown that the studios' were quite receptive to Stravinsky's style – had the interest been mutual, both parties could have benefitted from a successful collaboration. We have no knowledge about how many studios were approached to host an event with Stravinsky and it is entirely possible that other similar programs occurred in February 1935 – but only one visit to M-G-M was thoroughly documented by the studio and Stravinsky.

The composer visited the M-G-M lot on February 25 and was guided around the building by Herbert Stothart, the head of the studio's music department. In order to assess the significance of Stothart within the wider framework of classic Hollywood film scoring, the succinct summary of the usually nostalgic Tony Thomas should suffice when he describes a man who was "not a great dramatic composer, but he was a great music director and perfect from MGM in those so called golden days" (Thomas 97:46).

Stothart's usual scoring style is characterized by a lush romantic style, which often incorporates quotations of classical music to evoke certain connotations in the listener. Although the retrospective literature on film music had been less kind to the his memory and even marginalized his contributions when compared with other M-G-M composers like Miklós Rózsa, the simplicity of Stothart's music was a perfect fit for the studio, since "Mayer's taste in music tended toward the conventional and the sentimental; he loved the operetta and musical comedy" (Thomas 97:46).

For all his conservative taste in music, Stothart was among the select few who really believed that the Russian maestro could make an excellent film composer if he'd get the right film. When writing an essay on film music for *Behind the Screen: How Films Are Made,* Stothart pointed out how his colleagues were simply experimenting with techniques that Stravinsky had already found in his ballets:

> We do not stress melodic themes as much as we seek musical effects that generate certain impressions. Stravinsky does it on the concert stage, and he has the ideal picture technique (Stothart:144).

Stravinsky's tour around the M-G-M lot had three main objectives. The first one was a technical demonstration to show the composer how the studio is equipped with a superior soundstage and accompanied recording system – this state-of-the equipment could be used for recording both film and concert music if needed. The studio's heavy flow of film musicals demanded the best technical assistance; Stothart believed that this could be useful in wooing the composer to his studio.

To make a compelling case for the technical proficiency at his music department, Stothart organized a recording where he and Stravinsky could have a brief chat with the added assistance of Alexander Merovich, a composer agent who had previously worked with Stravinsky on other concerts. Stothart was talking in English during the recording and made a surprise revelation in his first line:

> I had the pleasure the other night of listening to *Petrouchka* for the first time. I heard it, I mean I heard it conducted for the first time the way I felt it, wanted to hear it. I had the privilege of hearing it from the composer himself. It was the greatest thrill I've ever had in my life (Stothart, transcription from Rosar:113).

The way Stothart changes his tone to correct his own statement in the first sentence has a curious ring to it. The way he starts talking about *Petrouchka* makes it sound like that the Los Angeles performance was the first time he heard it –then he tries to correct this musical embarrassment by adding that it was the first time he heard it the way he "wanted to hear it." This is a small correction and its unlikely Stravinsky would have noticed the mistake since he wasn't proficient in English, he certainly didn't know enough of the language to pick up on small clues like this. Stothart then turns to Merovich to translate his best wishes and ask the composer to speak a bit about Los Angeles. After deciding to use German instead of French, Stravinsky shares his thoughts on California in a few words:

> It is very difficult to express a great impression in merely two words. Yet, I can say to you that not only was it a great pleasure to travel and perform music just in America, but in California as well, a state of which I had not yet known, and which made a great impression on me, an impression of nature, and of the artistic life style. I am very pleased to be here and to have been received by you. I am very grateful for all the interesting things which you are showing me (Stravinsky, translated transcription from Rosar:113).

Stothart closes the recording session with a promise that he will get a copy of the record and send it to Stravinsky so he could play it on his own phonograph. Stothart also made a copy for himself, billing the services as a sound test for the 1935 M-G-M release *Baby Face Harrington* (then known as *Public Enemy #2*). The sound test had to be added because every single service at M-G-M had to be billed to a current production, even if the

occasion was something as notable as a visit from Stravinsky. Just to make sure not to lose the record, Stothart added "Stravinsky Speech" on his copy with pencil (Rosar:118).

Though it seems like a nice gesture, giving a record to Stravinsky as a gift may have been a bit of miscalculation. If he had read any of the composer's theoretical writings, he should have known that Stravinsky firmly opposed the mass reproduction of music through mechanical means. He repeated this sentiment in several of his works, including his autobiography (Stravinsky 36:153) – his only accepted alternative was recording his own performances of his own works for posterity's sake. This intense aversion can also be found in the *Musical Digest* article, where Stravinsky brings in the medium of film as another dangerous place for misleading musical reproduction:

> For the majority of listeners there is every reason to fear that, far from developing a love and understanding of music, the modern methods of dissemination will produce indifference, inability to understand, to appreciate, or to undergo any worthy reaction. In addition, there is the musical deception arising from the substitution for the actual playing of a reproduction, whether on record or film or by wireless transmission. It is the same difference as that between the synthetic and the authentic. The danger lied in the fact that there is always a far greater consumption of the synthetic which, it must always be remembered, is far from being identical with its mode. The continuous habit of listening to changed and sometimes distorted timbres dulls and degrades the ear, so that it gradually loses all capacity for enjoying natural musical sounds (Stravinsky 46:280).

The second main objective of the visit was getting a photograph of Stravinsky, making him the center of attention behind the desk as he gets surrounded by the music department of M-G-M. The photograph features 30 musicians of the department, Stravinsky is sitting in the middle with a miniature edition of *Petrouchka* he inscribed to Herbert Stothart (See Image 5A). Since the members of the music department at this time were mostly arrangers and song writers on musicals, their look of indifference is very indicative of their musical background (Rosar:112). The lack of interest was mutual – Stravinsky viewed the contract composers as slaves serving their masters and forfeiting their rightful payments

(i.e. their musical royalties which were such a crucial issue for Stravinsky). As he summarized in an interview with the Italian newspaper *La Gazetta del Popolo*:

> At Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, I saw forty salaried composers, all working from morning to night to produce music. This way the directors avoid re-runs of music that already exists and do not have to pay royalties to the composers (Craft 72:63).

Stravinsky's opinion on film composers didn't change much over the years; his *Musical Digest* essay brought up similar problems and added new ones. For instance, Stravinsky compared his inability to understand film music to the inability of understanding a foreign language. By trying to communicate in two different languages, he and the average film composers of Hollywood had nothing to say to each other (a fair assessment considering he actually had translation problems with Stothart). The same essay also goes on to describe the film scoring business as a self-sustaining model where talentless composers are trying to solve mistakes that were created by their contributions in the first place:

> There is only one real function of film music – namely, to feed the composer! In all frankness I find it impossible to talk to film people about music because we have no common meeting ground; their primitive and childish concept of music is not my concept. They have the mistaken notion that music, in "helping" and "explaining" the cinematic shadow-play, could be regarded under artistic considerations. It cannot be (Stravinsky 46:277).

The third main objective of the studio tour was the one that couldn't be achieved: organizing a meeting with Louis B. Mayer, the head of M-G-M. Mayer took over the studio's lead in 1929 and built a venerable empire that not only survived the Great Depression, but also managed to bay dividends to its backers (Eyman:79). As an old-fashioned producer, Mayer's contracts for his pictures always stipulated that his name should be prominently displayed: with M-G-M, every movie was a "Louis B. Mayer" production according to the opening credits (Eyman:79).

Organizing a meeting with Mayer was certainly an odd pairing; the head of the studio had a legendarily conservative taste, he even frequently crashed with Irving J. Thalberg, who preferred buying and adapting modern literary properties (such as the already discussed *The Good Earth*) as opposed to filming the old, classic stories Mayer preferred

(Eyman:70). Though the coupling of the notorious studio head with the leading contemporary composer of the era would have been interesting, it never came to be as Stravinsky explained in his interview with *La Gazetta del Popolo*:

> I wanted to meet the head of the company, Signor Mayer, and an interview was arranged. I was led through a grey corridor to a grey room crowded with others, waiting like myself. I remained there a long time, during which everyone talked about Mr. Mayer, though no one had seen him and he might have been a myth. But at long last a door opened and a little man with a large beak appeared, followed by two lieutenants. He approached me, nodded, said, 'I am a man like others, with a lot to do,' and with this, shook my hand and left. At least I can testify that Mr. Mayer is not a myth (Craft 1972:63).

Stravinsky's trip to M-G-M in 1935 had no immediate effect on his career – in fact, it's safe to say that he got a more detailed image of the studio system than the studio system got of him. Comparing his thoughts from *Musical Digest* with the Italian interview he gave shortly after his trip reveals that Stravinsky's low opinion of the system already existed at this point, even if he didn't voice his disdain in the studio itself. When Stravinsky eventually got to meet Mayer upon his return to Hollywood in the 1940s, their meeting became a thing of legends much like Schoenberg's rendezvous with Irving J. Thalberg (Joseph:117). It became yet another colorful anecdote of conflicted artistic interests:

> Stravinsky, ushered into the office, found the executive seated at an enormous desk. For the next half hour, Mayer talked about all the telephones on his desk, about how he could call every director or producer directly from it. Stravinsky was puzzled; he had come to talk about music, not desks. Then Mayer said, 'I have been told that you are the greatest composer in the world.' Stravinsky bowed. 'How much money would you ask as a fee for composing a film score?' Stravinsky named a huge sum, equivalent to about $100,000 today. Mayer retorted without the slightest surprise, 'If you are the greatest composer in the world, you're worth the money.' Stravinsky again bowed. 'Now, how long would it take for you to compose an hour of music?' Stravinsky paused

for a moment, then replied, 'One year.' Mayer stood up and said, 'Good bye, Mr. Stravinsky' (Evans:252-253).

V.3. The War Movies: *Commandos* and *The North Star*

Like most of his fellow immigrant compatriots, Stravinsky was forced to immigrate to the United States due to World War II. Arriving in New York at the end of September 1939, Stravinsky spent a few month on the East Coast, he married his wife Vera in Boston (White:91), but soon enough he set his sight on the West Coast, West Hollywood to be precise. Stravinsky's new circle of friends in the immigrant enclave of Los Angeles included Otto Klemperer, Thomas Mann, Franz Werfel and Alexandre Tansman (who'll be discussed in the next chapter). All things considered, despite some reservations about the cultural state of Los Angeles, Stravinsky's most permanent residence of his life time was his home in West Hollywood (White:390).

Stravinsky didn't give up composition in Hollywood either and unlike Schoenberg, who shunned the offers made by filmmakers and studios, the Russian composer was quite enthusiastic about writing musical scores for motion pictures. Like Schoenberg, he also had significant name recognition and even more importantly, the music directors of Hollywood have already shown that his style was quite acceptable by the standards of any studio. Stravinsky's two most important commissions from this era

***

Up until late 1941, Hollywood studios were reluctant to comment on the war raging in Europe, thus several overtly political messages were eliminated from the productions made around this time. Certain filmmakers could get away with open mockery of the Nazi régime (Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* is an obvious example), but the most significant guideline was a policy of neutrality. This notion extended to not only storylines and casting choices, but also to the musical necessities of the motion pictures.

A frequently retold anecdote shared by Miklós Rózsa claimed that the studio executives of United Artists (one of the more open-minded studios) objected to the usage of "Rule Britannia" in the main title sequence of *That Hamilton Woman*, a movie already plagued with worrying parallels between the Napoleonic Wars and the current conflict. While the solution to the problem was rather simple (Rózsa removed the chorus and the American executives didn't recognize the melody without the words), it perfectly shows the dominant approach of neutrality in respect of the war effort. In this case, UA simply refused to make any kind of political statement even in a period film (Rózsa 121-22).

This all changed after 7 December 1941, when patriotic tales of courage and rebellion against German oppression became all the rage in a short period of time. One of the most popular subjects of these newly emerged propaganda films was the story of the Norwegian resistance fighting against Nazi oppression. The Scandinavian country's fight for freedom was especially interesting for Hollywood because the political backstory of how the Quisling government played an essential role in the German invasion was an interesting backdrop for inspirational stories that weren't tied to Norway in particular.

Patriotism, loyalty and betrayal of one's own nation were all recurring elements in the stories and these notions could be successfully exploited in the recently attacked U.S. as well. The fact that all these movies featured civilians using the American ideal of "civil disobedience" as their main weapon was another major reason for the appeal of these stories – instead of focusing on the fights, the Norwegian resistance films were aimed for the civilian home front, creating support for fighting a war in Europe. In 1943/44, a period of 18 months saw no less than five pictures released in the same topic (Dick 85:122), rushed into theaters to lift the nation's spirit after the Dieppe Raid of August 1942 (Gasher:27).

John Farrow's *Commandos Strike at Dawn* was Columbia's first attempt at sharing stories about the Norwegian resistance, starring Paul Muni as a Norwegian widower who leads a peaceful life up until the Nazi occupation. Enraged by German atrocities, the former fishery observer forms a Resistance group, fleeing his home after an unsuccessful raid. During his staking out in the nearby forests, he discovers a secret German airbase which he aims to report to the English authorities should he ever reach the shore. The film featured actual Canadian troops to portray the soldiers ("Commando Action":43).

Columbia was so taken by the story that they registered a trademark for film titles featuring the word Commando (Dick 96:82), then financed a gender-reversed version of the story, starring Merle Oberon as a self-sacrificing Norwegian woman. Filmed by pioneer female director Dorothy Arzner as her last theatrically released feature (Mayne:79), *First Comes Courage* was the story of a new Mata Hari who dates agents of opposing forces, sacrificing her good name by seeing a Nazi agent in order to feed secret information to her British lover. Yet Columbia wasn't the only studio interested in the topic of Norwegian resistance as other studios quickly gathered to tell their versions of a nation's suffering.

Warner Bros' *Edge of Darkness* starred Errol Flynn as an enraged fisherman who was similarly fed up with the German army stationing in his small village. By arming the 800 villagers against an army of 150 soldiers, this film also featured a fractured community

uniting for a greater cause with the added twist that this particular action is funded by the British government. While previous resistance movies kept foreign relationships on a personal level (such as Paul Muni's fling with an Admiral's daughter or the lover of Merle Oberon's character), Lewis Milestone's picture depicted a more realistic vision of the war where the small group is thrown into the middle of international espionage. In this scenario the Norwegian freedom fighters not only have to battle the Germans, but also have to align with a foreign forces in a prophetic depiction of the war (Dick 85:154).

The Moon is Down was 20th Century Fox's attempt capturing the heart of the Norwegian resistance through the hardships of the villagers and even school children. The film plays around with the ideas of collaboration vs. standing up for ones beliefs with the added complexity of making the German enemy very humanized. Although the film has a downbeat ending with the enemy seemingly winning through breaking the spirits of the villagers, their victory also reveals their fatal flaws that could be eventually exploited in the real world as well.(McLaughlin:181)

Foreign politics come into play even in the least fascinating example of the resistance movies, since the big Hollywood studios weren't alone in exploiting the heroic tales about civilian resistance. Producers Releasing Corporation's *They Raid by Night* was chronologically the first Norway-themed picture to make it to cinemas, but the short deadline for its appearance is more of a testament to the picture's low budget rather than the studio's foresight in exploiting such a popular topic.

PRC was a poverty row studio, which was notorious for shooting movies in a very short time and with a very limited budget that cut corners by reusing sets, scripts and even the occasional film footage. This kind of creative recycling makes *They Raid by Night* only loosely connected to the other resistance movies, which happens to be a fairly traditional war movie that just happens to be set in Scandinavia. As opposed to highlighting civilian casualties, PRC's film pits British soldiers against Nazi generals with only one character being of Norwegian origin in this low budget potboiler.

***

These specific attributes of the Norwegian resistance cycle played an important part in why Stravinsky was even considered for the project. *Commandos Strike at Dawn* was authentic in the sense that its cast and crew included actual immigrants, so it seemed like a good idea to make a similar choice in terms of music as well (Joseph:119). It had a budget of $500,000 which allowed for some musical extravagance (Dick 96:132).

As a composer whose immigration was strongly tied to the German takeover in Europe, Columbia's music director Moris Stoloff actually contacted the team of Stravinsky and his close friend Alexandre Tansman who already had some motion picture experience through his work with Julien Duvivier as well as the Universal anthology film *Flesh and Fantasy* (1942). Though most Stravinsky biographies list this film as an individual commission for the Russian composer (Joseph:119), eyewitness Miklós Rózsa testifies that the other composer was involved as well.

> One night, [Alexandre] Tansman and Stravinsky told me that they had been offered a film; since Stravinsky had never written a film score Tansman had been engaged as his assistant and adviser. It was a war picture called *The Commandos Strike at Dawn*, set in Norway. They asked my advice on all sorts of technical matters, while I was more interested in establishing whether or not they had received contracts. No, they said, but their agent said it was all settled (Rózsa:114).

The two composers formed a seemingly ideal partnership: Stravinsky brought his name recognition while Tansman brought his experience in the field – not to mention both of them fit Columbia's bill of hiring immigrants as much as possible. The only issue was that both composers were inexperienced in the business aspect of things; a freelance composer without a contract had no chance of completing his project with the competition. This is exactly what happened in Rózsa's reading, though the actual reason mentioned by Columbia seems rather dubious, even in the composer's interpretation of the events:

> A month later I met them again. There was still no contract, but they showed me the Prelude Stravinsky had written based on Norwegian folk songs. It was in full score, in his immaculate hand, on paper where, as always, he had drawn his own staves with a little gadget of his own design. I read it through – it was a lovely little piece – and asked again about the contract. Nothing. At last it became apparent that the producer had cold feet. His alleged reason for not engaging the man he called "the great Maestro" was that he knew that the Maestro would need a huge orchestra to do justice to his magnificent music (in fact, after *The Rite of Spring*, Stravinsky's orchestra tended to be smaller than average) and the budget could only run to a small one (Rózsa:114).

Rózsa's claim that Columbia's rejection over the size of the orchestra sounds dubious can be supported with other proofs as well. At this time, the studio had a contracted orchestra of 36 players making it one of the two smallest orchestras in Hollywood – the other was Universal (Wierzbicki:186). Not being part of the Big Five, Columbia certainly had smaller musical budgets than the competition, but the size of the orchestra could hardly be an issue. If one listens to the Oscar-nominated replacement score by Louis Gruenberg, it's obvious that the other composer had access to a regular symphonic orchestra without any problems. So what could have been the reason for rejection?

The likeliest reason can be found in Rózsa's summary of the events: namely that Stravinsky based his music on Norwegian folk songs from a collection his wife had gotten in a second hand book shop in Los Angeles (Brown:56). *The Norway Music Album*, featuring ten pieces of authentic Scandinavian folk music was collected by Edvard Grieg (Walsh:141). Adding local music sounded like a good idea from the composer's perspective since it matched the studio's attempt at making the movie as authentic as possible. But the traditions of war film scoring in Hollywood were quite different: they needed patriotic themes, marches and recognizable military tunes which Gruenberg's score delivered.

Seeing how Stravinsky played his sketches to friends, he must have played it to the studio which means Columbia was forced to come up with a financial reason instead of an artistic one to avoid further conflicts with the composer (Morton:337). Stravinsky also made the frequent mistake of getting involved too early: the film wasn't even made yet, so Columbia's second thoughts about a composer who can write movie music without a movie was completely well-founded from the studio's perspective (Maconie:130).

The adaptation of the Norwegian folk songs didn't go to waste. One of Stravinsky's trademarks was using his aborted film scores in other concert pieces, often basing individual movements on musical cues he envisioned for films. The music for *Commandos Strike at Dawn* is special because he created a whole new concert piece around the aborted project entitled *Four Norwegian Moods* (White 414-415). The four movements entitled "Intrada", "Song", "Wedding Dance" and "Cortège" provide a tranquil setting that was already exploited by Grieg in his own settings, though Stravinsky later denied any connection with the Norwegian composer's prior work (Walsh:141).

***

Stravinsky's other war film project is the lesser explored of the two, though it had one similarity with Commandos Strike at Dawn; namely that it was about the freedom

fights of another exotic European nation. *The North Star* by Lewis Milestone was made for RKO and depicted the struggles of Ukrainian villagers who were using guerilla tactics against the German aggression. The film was made as a pro-Soviet propaganda piece and was later condemned by the HUAC for promoting wrong values in its message of supporting and idealizing Communism (Sbardelatti:235).

Stravinsky's involvement in the project has a stronger logical connection, since he himself was Russian and Hollywood kept categorizing him as the "Russian" composer always at hand (Joseph:117). History seemed to be repeating itself with this project: like with *Commandos,* Stravinsky was confronting a filmmaker who had his own distinct ideas about film scoring. Producer Samuel Goldwyn had just been through a rough patch with another Russian composer named Dmitri Tiomkin during the making of William Wyler's *The Westerner*; this negative experience made him convinced that all Russian composers were too modern for his taste, a bad omen for Stravinsky (Herman:207).

There are no detailed records of this meeting, but Vera Stravinsky's brief diary entries (Joseph:117) indicate that the main issues were creative differences with Goldwyn. Thankfully some of the music is available to understand what could have happened. In 1944, Stravinsky reworked the music he compiled into an orchestral suite for the Paul Whiteman Band. A version of the so-called *Scherzo á la Russe* (named after Tchaikovsky's Op. 1) was first played on the Blue Network Program, then premiered in San Francisco in 1946 (White:419).

Based on the material presented in *Scherzo*, it seems Stravinsky didn't change his approach from *Commandos Strike at Down*. The "folk fluff" as one reviewer called it is a selection of Russian folk melodies which the composer collected from an LA bookshop – just like in the case of his Norwegian material for *Commandos* (Joseph:118). Given its strong nationalistic spirit, it's no wonder that the orchestral suite was later turned into a ballet: choreographer George Balanchine fashioned choreography for the piece and adorned his dancers in Russian folk dresses for the piece's 1972 premiere at a Stravinsky ballet festival in New York (Taper:435).

Stravinsky's folk score approach may have not fit the Hollywood standards, but Columbia didn't tell him this – even if they did, it's unlikely Stravinsky would have compromised his artistic integrity. His war scores were written from the perspective of the victims, not the soldiers or the aggressors. It was an interesting concept, but Hollywood simply didn't take the risks with it.

V.4. The Fox Pictures: *Jane Eyre* and *Bernadette*

Apart from Stravinsky's experiences with the two war movies, a research into his other unused film scores poses a special challenge. As biographer Charles M. Joseph explains: "It is difficult to determine exactly how many film proposals Stravinsky seriously considered let alone to track the music he began but never finished" (Joseph:119). The only thing for sure is that Stravinsky considered himself an active film composer and left at least one record of this: when filling out the forms for gas rationing during World War II, Stravinsky's reasoning for requesting his amount was that he was working with studios and he needed the gas to get to meetings with studio heads (Joseph:118).

Apart from the two war films, Stravinsky also considered working on two pictures helmed by 20th Century Fox. The key figure in the life of the two recently merged entities (20th Century and Fox) was Darryl F. Zanuck who made his studio the third most profitable behind MGM and RKO. Fox was also going through a major transformation with the 1942 appointment of Spyros Skouras (the former manager of the Fox-West Coast theaters) as the president. The studio started to produce more adult-oriented entertainment, including provocative political pictures (such as a biography of *Wilson*, 1944) and adaptations of bestselling novels (such as the color film noir *Leave Her to Heaven*, 1945).

***

Stravinksy's brief and unfruitful association with Fox begin with *Jane Eyre*, an adaptation of Charlotte Brontë's novel which had already been turned into a film just nine years earlier by Monogram Pictures. The whole project was brought together by David O. Selznick, who grew tired of the project during preparation; when he set his sight on *Since You Went Away* (1944) as the next sure thing to win the Academy Awards, he sold the whole package to William Goetz, who lead 20th Century Fox in the absence of Darryl F. Zanuck – Zanuck was doing an 18 month military service at that time (Behlmer 97:64). The package included a number of actors, including Orson Welles who was pegged not as a director, but as an actor playing the role of Edward Rochester.

The question of which filmmaker initiated Stravinsky's involvement with the film is somewhat debatable: the Stravinsky-centered literature uniformly gives Orson Welles as the one who came up with the idea; Stravinsky went along only because of his high respect for Welles' *Citizen Kane* (Joseph:121). Steven C. Smith, who researched the life of re-

placement composer Bernard Herrmann on the other hand claims that Stravinsky's involvement was brought along by Darryl F. Zanuck and the negotiations with the composer simply fell though – a common claim made in relation to unfinished research (Smith:105).

Based on a comparison between the main Stravinsky narratives and the film's production history, the likeliest reason for Stravinsky's eventual failure with the project was that he was invited by filmmakers who had no jurisdiction over the picture's musical direction. In this case, the alternative of Orson Welles' offer seems likelier, but the contributions of Aldoux Huxley to the screenplay may have been another reason for the composer's piqued interest (Walsh:144). When Welles was on board in Selznick's package sold to, he signed on as an actor, but there was a strong idea he could take over directing duties as well (Joseph:121). Since Stravinsky was more drawn to Welles than the film, it seems he left the project once it was confirmed that the filmmaker wouldn't be directing.

Alfred Newman, the head of the music department at 20th Century Fox eventually assigned the film to Bernard Herrmann, a young radio composer who had just completed *Citizen Kane* for Welles and *All That Money Can Buy* for William Dieterle – the latter film also won an Oscar for its musical score. Newman wanted to give Herrmann the chance to work at a major Hollywood studio and *Jane Eyre* seemed like a project tailor-made for the composer; Herrmann loved the literature of English romanticism and later wrote an opera based on Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* – an idea apparently instigated by his work on this film (Smith:110). He made no written reference to Stravinsky's prior involvement.

Just like in the case of *Commandos Strike at Dawn*, the Russian composer made the mistake of getting involved too early. Recalling what happened to Schoenberg and *The Good Earth*, Stravinsky actually got a copy of the novel and started writing thematic ideas based on the book rather than the film. Charles M. Joseph claims that during hi s research in Basel, he came across documents which proved that Stravinsky not only read the novel, but also planned to read some critical literature on the novel to understand it better (Joseph:121). Stravinsky only wrote music for one hunting scene which he later remodeled into his 1943 orchestral piece *Ode* (White:119).

***

Stravinsky's other major commission from 1943 was *The Song of Bernadette*, a story of the Lourdes apparition written by his friend Franz Werfel. This picture marked Zanuck's great return to the scene with a budget of $2 million – the most expensive production of the year at Fox (Solomon:63). The religious epic starred Jennifer Jones, then girl-

friend of producer David O. Selznick who exerted his influence to get Jones the role once actress Linda Darnell had already been selected (Tuska:56). The filming was rife with tension, which can be said about every major film of the era, but part of the problem was Werfel who felt he should be consulted on several matters concerning the film, including minor details that he himself felt important.

One telling example for a confrontation with Zanuck involved the scene of the apparition of the Virgin, where the author took issues with actress Linda Darnell who played the part. Although the role was little more than a glorified cameo (a gift to Darnell for stepping down for Jones), the actress had a bad reputation in Hollywood and even worse, she played the role of Virgin Mary while pregnant. Werfel threatened to write a letter to the *New York Times* and had his name removed from the picture; eventually he could change the color of Darnell's veil from blue to white in a reshot sequence (R.L.Davis:79) even though the author would have preferred to see only Mary's feet (Green:34).

Werfel extended his expertise into film scoring too. Stravinsky was apparently convinced by the author to write music for the film – this speculative scoring process was done under the presumption that if Fox heard the great Stravinsky was already writing music for their picture, they couldn't resist using it (White:429). Once again we can see a lot of similarities between the two Fox projects; while *Jane Eyre* was brought along by an actor from the film, *Bernadette* was brought up by the author of the original novel. However, this was also the least serious offer: as Stephen Walsh put it, it's now hard to decide whether the offer was anything more significant than an "afterdinner proposition between gentlemen" (Walsh:143-144).

The only piece of music to survive from *The Song of Bernadette* was "the Apparition of the Virgin" scene, a key moment from Werfel's novel which Stravinsky seems to have scored based on the description. Once again, Stravinsky made the mistake of starting work on the film before it had been finished. While he thought this was a good point and a sign of enthusiasm, it was unprofessional conduct from the studio's perspective. Fox didn't even offer a proper contract for the composer and the score was eventually completed by Alfred Newman, the head of the department (MacDonald:84). Since his music gathered one of the four Academy Awards of the projects, he was the right decision from the studio's perspective. Stravinsky's music for the Apparition survived as the middle movement of his *Symphony in Three Movements* (White:428).

***

Considering how two of his last film commissions were compromised by Fox, it's only fitting that Stravinsky's greatest theoretical achievement in the field was also challenged by someone from the studio. After publishing his discussion with Ingolf Dahl in two volumes, *Musical Digest* asked Fox's contract composer David Raksin to react to Stravinsky's statement. The article, which was provocatively titled "Hollywood Strikes Back" was also accompanied by a caricature in which the photorealistic caricatures of Raksin and Stravinsky were fencing with each other.

The article (whose full test is included as Appendix 3) takes a stance against Stravinsky's claims and disproves all his key points step by step. Raksin's main argument against the Russian composer is that his criticism leveled against film music could be made in relation to some of his own works. One of the examples he brings up of course is the middle movement of *Symphony in Three Movements*, which of course was based on Stravinsky's own unused music for *The Song of Bernadette*. Though the article makes no indication of the movement's origin, it seems Raksin placed the example there to remind Stravinsky of his own attempts at scoring films (Raksin:282).

Raksin's other main, concern reflects upon Stravinsky's standing in Hollywood and is linked to a previous writing; Ingolf Dahl's program notes for the *Symphony in C Major* which made the following statement: "One day it will be universally recognized that the white house in the Hollywood hills, in which the Symphony was written and which was regarded by some as an ivory tower, was just as close to the core of the world at war as the place where Picasso painted *Guernica*" (Raksin:285). This claim, which was approved by the composer, offers a proof for Raksin in that Stravinsky is fully aware of his status in Hollywood and should not be so critical of the establishment that kept him alive. Raksin summarized his ambivalent feelings towards Stravinsky's attacks in his closing argument:

> I must now point out again that I admire and respect Mr. Stravinsky as a great composer. But as a critic of music in films he leaves much to be desired. Any Hollywood composer can tell him what is really wrong with film music. Mr. Stravinsky himself has pointed out none of the real defects. He has succeeded only in expressing an esoteric and snobbish attitude (Raksin:286).

This was also Hollywood's general reaction, following a decade's worth of negotiations with Stravinsky.

V.5. Summary

> Stravinsky liked his house and the California climate, but not the non-existent cultural life of Hollywood. In the long run he realized he was being treated with complete indifference, and left forever. The only real recognition he got was from a small circle of musicians who gave the Monday Evening Concerts. Their director was proud to announce that they had given more Stravinsky premieres than Diaghilev albeit of works of somewhat lesser importance (Rózsa:116).

Miklós Rózsa's summary of Stravinsky's life in Hollywood accounts for the reasons of his permanent leave, but not for his tormented affair with film scoring. While reading the pages of *Musical Digest* where the Russian composer shared his opinion on film music, it seems that every paragraph, every new point can be traced back to a real life moment in his Hollywood career. Out of the four composers, he tried the most vehemently to get a film score done, so his eventual dismissal of the entire field is more indicative of personal disappointments than anything else.

1) Stravinsky had a distinct bias against Hollywood which is partially related to how his work had been exploited (our outright stole) without any financial compensation. His only major attack that was made public concerned Warner's *The Firebird* which not only took the music, but also the title and the name recognition of his ballet. While he did enjoy other uses of his music (if we can believe Disney's claim concerning *Fantasia*), his overall approach to the film industry was full of doubts. When he visited the M-G-M lot in 1935, he had only positive things to say about the studio, but his tone immediately changed once he was back in Europe. This was an unresolved relationship that grew much worse when he actually moved to Hollywood.

2) Stravinsky's greatest failing as a practical film composer was getting involved too early in the projects. He's problems were a bit similar to Schoenberg who got a copy of Pearl S. Buck's *The Good Earth*, then sketched 50+ ideas based on the notes he took from the novel – but he only made that mistake once. Stravinsky on the other hand started working on *Commandos Strike at Dawn* before a contract and he'd sketch musical ideas for *The Song of Bernadette* after an informal request by Franz Werfel who had no direct influence about the scoring of the film. Stravinsky lived through each case as a rejection of his genius, even when he wasn't formally asked to write the music in the first place.

3) The concept of making a sharp distinction between film and concert music was brought up in Schoenberg's case and the exact opposite can be said about Stravinsky. Based on the number of musical ideas he recycled into his concert works, it's safe to say that the Russian composer didn't approach films any differently than a ballet or an orchestral suite. With little modifications, he could easily transform one into the other, thus showing that his artistic integrity was unaffected by the rules of Hollywood film scoring.

***

During the pre-production of the George Gershwin composer biography *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945), Warner Bros. approached Igor Stravinsky in connection with the film. They didn't want his music of course – they wanted the composer to play himself in the famous recreation of his meeting with the American composer in Paris. According to the story, Gershwin suggested that he should study with Stravinsky; yet when the Russian composer learns how much Gershwin makes each year, he retorts that he should be studying with him. The anecdote poked fun at Stravinsky's bad financial skills, but it is a complete fabrication of course; this urban legend has been told before and since with other composers (Pollack:121-22). Yet the story had lasting power and Warner wanted to capitalize on it…

With this offer, Stravinsky's career in Hollywood came full circle. Within a decade (between 1934 and 1944), he learned the basics of the studio system's financial skills, witnessing how Warner turned a profit with the name recognition of his *Firebird*. He met Louis B. Mayer, got approached by Columbia and Fox to no avail – and now he was back with Warner Bros., talking about an acting part instead of a musical one. The studios wanted his music, but didn't want him. They wanted his name recognition, his face, his character, but couldn't put up with his film belief in doing film music his own way. And eventually, they made *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945) without the Stravinsky cameo.

Knowing all these honest, but somewhat desperate attempts to get work in Hollywood explains a whole lot more about what went behind the "wallpaper." By the time Stravinsky shared his views with Ingolf Dahl, he was beyond Hollywood and honestly believed he and his music had no place in the system. Although he disliked Schoenberg, the two get to share the same image, the misunderstood genius who couldn't make it in the American film industry. Considering how differently they approached Hollywood, it's a shame their fate turned out to be the same.

There is one thing that deserves to be said about music in America:
the country is more receptive than old Europe is to contemporary music.
(Alexandre Tansman)

VI. Alexandre Tansman: The Sixth Place Composer

For all their failings at the practical aspects of film scoring, Schoenberg and Stravinsky are still considered influential figures in the field due to their theoretical work. The same cannot be said of Alexandre Tansman, who remains a lesser known figure despite being more popular in the 1940s than his esteemed colleagues (who were also close personal friends to him). The musical legacy of Alexandre Tansman actually spans over 300 compositions in all genres, including nine symphonies, half a dozen concertos and countless piano pieces. He was a virtuoso pianist who toured Europe and the United States, giving full house concerts on both sides of the Atlantic. He excelled in writing scores too; he penned ballets and theater scores for Diaghilev and Kurt Jooss and engaged in a bit of French film music before historical circumstances forced him to move to Los Angeles.

During his five years in Hollywood (1941-46), Tansman penned about half a dozen film scores, but his contributions to the industry never gained a following like his symphonies did. This kind of neglect towards his cinematic output can be attributed to several reasons; most notably that he never signed a long-term contract with any studio. As a freelancer status, he only got movie commissions through interested filmmakers and producers who insisted on working with him. The other likely reason for the lack of discussion is that when he returned to France after World War II, he started a more substantial collaboration with the O. R. T. F. (the present-day Radio France), making his later years much more productive (and musically interesting) than his Hollywood career.

This case study of Tansman's time in Los Angeles focuses on his brief but intense relationship with producer David O. Selznick, the Hollywood film mogul who was on his way to reinvent his career after the smashing success of *Gone with the Wind*. Their collaboration on *Since You Went Away* may seem insignificant at first, but the casting and eventual dismissal of Tansman is one of the most representative tales of Hollywood's relationship with film music and the immigrant composers. It's a story worth discovering through the firsthand accounts of the David O. Selznick Collection (Pool/Wright:134) which documented almost every step of this tragic clash of creative minds.

VI.1: The Polish Way to Hollywood

Alexandre Tansman was born on June 12, 1897 in the Polish city of Łódź while the country was still split between three different powers; Łódź was the part of Tsarist Russia back then. Although Alexandre's father died when the boy was still very young, the extended Tansman family was relatively wealthy; even without the patriarch, Tansman's mother could afford to have two different governesses to take after her children. With one governess coming from France and the other coming from Germany, the future composer not only mastered both languages but also got familiarized with the two most significant cultures of Continental Europe. Though more branches of the Tansman family had strong ties to Jewish religion, Alexandre was raised in a very liberal household and wasn't' actively practicing his religion.

Tansman got convinced to become a musician at the age of six see when he saw a concert of Belgian violinist Eugène Ysaÿe. His first professional piano teacher, Wojciech Gawroński, moved to Warsaw with the purpose of teaching the young prodigy and was lodged in the family's home. Tansman studied harmony and counterpoint at the Łódź Conservatory, but he never had formal studies of orchestration (one of the reasons he had to work with orchestrators during the composition of his later film scores). Despite a steady career in music encouraged by his mother, Tansman was eventually forced to study philosophy and law at the University of Warsaw. "This was not for professional training but for my general education" explained Tansman in his autobiographical interview. "I find it is essential that a musician also be highly cultivated" (Tansman 67/80).

The composer got his big break when Polish composer / pianist Ignacy Paderewski supervised the first major musical competition of the newly independent country in 1919. Tansman submitted three compositions under three different aliases and won the first three places thanks to this loophole in the rules. Inspired by this success and his familiarity with French culture through his governess, the young musician decided to travel to Paris in 1919 even if it meant he couldn't deal with music for a good year. His first job in the French capitol was a packing job, followed by a promotion *Comptoir National d'Escompte*, a French bank that hired him for to his talent at speaking foreign languages. Tansman kept composing besides his regular day job at the bank and soon made enough money to get his mother and his sister to Paris as well.

Tansman's description of the 1920s Paris musical scene focuses on his strong bonding with other composers – immigrants and Frenchmen alike. He grew especially close to Maurice Ravel and Igor Stravinsky, so much that he was one of the first biographers of the Russian maestro. In addition to becoming a composer, Tansman was also a world famous pianist, doing popular concerts all around Europe, America and even Asia, premiering not only his own compositions, but also works of composers he felt attached to. Though he enjoyed the close proximity of stimulating artistic companions, he didn't like some of the stylistic monikers assigned to his work:

> I never considered myself part of the avant-garde. I think the name itself is a bit objectionable. Originally it was a military expression that designated those destined to die – those on the front line. But I was thrown into the avant-garde under the pretext that my music, harmonically and melodically, was thought to be modern (Tansman 67/80).

Thanks to his extensive touring Tansman also visited the other side of the Atlantic, claiming that he "was the youngest composer ever invited to the United States" (Tansman 67/80) – another bit of self-promotion that's hard to substantiate with facts. His main performing partner in the States was the Boston Symphony with conductor Serge Alexandrovich Koussevitsky. During this time Tansman not only toured the major cities, but also had satellite concerts in smaller cities which had connections through the local chapters of the organization *Pro Musica*. This system of interrelated performances became important later on when these guest performances gave Tansman a higher count of symphonic concerts – a fact that was substantially exploited in his Hollywood film career.

Tansman, his wife and their two children left Paris on the eve of the French capital's Nazi occupation. They initially moved southwards through Toulouse to Nice where they had to spend a year, living off the occasional checks sent by the composer's publisher. With the help of Charlie Chaplin, the whole family got visas and escaped the continent through Spain and Portugal, arriving to the States "aboard the last ship to cross the Atlantic before Pearl Harbor" (Tansman 67/80) though the composer's claim to this extent may be an exaggeration. Spending only a few weeks in New York, Tansman received immediate financial help from the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation, which awarded him $5,000 for his *Fourth Sonata* that he had composed in Nice. The piece, which won the "Award for Eminent Services to Chamber Music" premiered in October 1941.

Though he was greeted with open arms, Tansman moved to Los Angeles within a few weeks. Some of his best American friends, such as Chaplin or Gershwin, lived there and the closeness of his artist friends created a culturally stimulating environment that felt very close to Paris. In his description of contemporary Los Angeles, Tansman actually made a comparison to Weimar, but he made a small yet important distinction: the creative atmosphere was a result of the people (mostly the immigrants) who surrounded him; the Americans themselves added little to the cultural life of their little "ghetto."

> We lived in Hollywood for almost five years, from 1941 to 1946. In those days, Hollywood was a kind of contemporary Weimar. All the European elite were in Hollywood or somewhere on the California Coast. As a result, I was surrounded by a most inspiring cadre of colleagues. We lived in a kind of European ghetto. It was there that I became intimate friends with Stravinsky, whom I already knew quite well. We even saw each other twice a day sometimes. We were truly inseparable (Tansman 67/80).

Tansman's memories also tie in together with the two other composers discussed in earlier chapter, Schoenberg and Stravinsky (See Image 5N). Although living only a few miles from each other, the two musical geniuses of the century didn't get along on a personal level. As Tansman recalls his fruitless attempts to get the two legends together:

> Stravinsky and Schoenberg ignored each other and I never managed to get them together at my home. Their disagreement was due to their different aesthetics and techniques. Perhaps Schoenberg was partly to blame because he wrote sarcastic comments about Stravinsky. He called him the little 'Modernsky,' which was not in the best taste. I believe Stravinsky respected Schoenberg but did not like him personally. One can have respect for someone without having a personal affinity for that individual. In my opinion, Schoenberg was somewhat bitter because he had less success than Stravinsky. Schoenberg was more systematic. Stravinsky, rightfully so, did not like systems so he often changed his writing style while always remaining the great Stravinsky (Tansman 67/80).

Tansman's film career in Hollywood started through an old acquaintance: director Julien Duvivier with whom he had worked together on one of his few French scores *Poil de carotte* (in English: *The Red Head*, 1932). When Duvivier was directing the anthology picture Flesh and Fantasy (1943) at Universal, he convinced the studio to let him hire an outsider for a reduced fee; considering Tansman's name recognition, the studio agreed and gave Tansman that all important "first Hollywood credit". The unrelated string of occult tales provided a rich canvas for Tansman, who didn't think he'd have a great career in Hollywood. When talking about his life, Tansman's only compliment on his scores were that they "enabled me to live and work during our exile" (Tansman 67/80). His complains on the other hand were more numerous:

> The film studio atmosphere was not terribly artistic. Generally, producers were rather uncultured people. There were a number of conventions used in film music. In a love scene, for example, they required divided strings in the high register. On the other hand, I chose to use French horns for such a scene – it was a big issue to have that accepted. [...] Here is another anecdote. I was once conducting the recording of a film score. At one particular point I asked the clarinetist to play the passage an octave lower. The producer objected, however, by exclaiming: 'But I paid for the whole octave!' This shows the level of musical knowledge present in that milieu. We did not have any connections with these people outside the film studios (Tansman 67/80).

Tansman certainly enjoyed some aspects of his Hollywood life more than others. He still viewed himself primarily as a composer of concert music and actually wrote three symphonies during his stay in Los Angeles. His Symphony No. 6 in particular was popular due to its noble program, the so-called *In Memoriam* symphony was dedicated to the soldiers who had fallen for France with each of the four movements using a different instrumentation; this symphony was performed by the French Radio Orchestra upon the liberation of Paris for instance. Touring as a concert pianist as well as performing his own pieces, Tansman became one of the most frequently performed contemporary composers in the United States.

VI.2. The Mounting of an Epic: *Since You Went Away*

> There are few men in Hollywood so completely devoted to their pictures as Selznick. He represents the second generation of a Hollywood Royal Family and takes tremendous pride in his work. Nothing he produces costs less than two million dollars, for he feels that it would not otherwise be worthy of the Selznick traditions (Levant:129-130).

Oscar Levant's comments about David O'Selznick were written at the professional zenith of David O. Selznick's career when the producer had just won back-to-back Oscar statuettes for *Gone with the Wind* (1939) and *Rebecca* (1940) in addition to the Thalberg Memorial Award given for his lifetime achievement. The success of these two movies had a devastating effect of the producer's future as Selznick spent the next few years in self-exposed semi-retirement. He only kept his name in the public consciousness by loaning his contracted artists such as Alfred Hitchcock, Ingrid Bergman, Vivien Leigh and Joan Fontaine to other studios. Each new loan brought a generous credit for Selznick during the opening titles of these motions pictures, so the loans kept his name alive while the producer was trying to find another project that could potentially surpass *Gone with the Wind*.

The much-needed creative spark for his next picture came with the unexpected success of *Mrs. Miniver* (1942), the multiple Oscar-winning sleeper hit produced by M-G-M. The film was based on *The Sunday Times*' domestic advice column written by Jan Struthe who made her fortune by slowly turning the story into memorable snapshots of wartime London during the German attacks. M-G-M bought the screen rights shortly after the Pearl Harbor attacks and the production gained more momentum when President Roosevelt himself asked the studio to speed it up. *Mrs. Miniver* is now regarded as an important propaganda piece which helped the war effort in all forms of media: "The Voice of America radio network broadcast the minister's speech from the film, magazines reprinted it and it was copied onto leaflets and dropped over German-occupied countries" (Yellin 99-100).

While not disregarding the positive moral message of telling such a patriotic tale in the time of need, Selznick was also fascinated by how this simple, modestly-budgeted melodrama fetched 12 Oscar nominations, eventually collecting 6 statuettes. With *Mrs. Miniver* becoming the flagship of the suddenly popular (and politically important) wartime melodrama subgenre, Selznick started to look for a suitable alternate to M-G-M's prized

source material (Schatz 97:257). In June 1942, he eventually settled on the wartime melodrama *Since You Went Away: Letters to a Soldier from His Wife* by author Margaret Buell Wilder. Just like *Mrs. Miniver*, this novel also originated from a series of newspaper columns; the original series of letters were initially published in the Dayton Journal Herald, then got partially anthologized in the 1943 edition of Ladies Home Journal (Shindler:48).

Selznick apparently liked Wilder's style so much that after paying $30,000 for the screen rights, he also invited the writer to adapt her own novel into a screenplay. Wilder's take on the script was a crushing disappointment, so as usual, Selznick took it upon himself to correct the mistakes (Dick 85:184). His most cinematically-centered change was cutting down the number of characters because all of them felt sketchy to him in Wilder's version of the screenplay. By expanding the role of the three principal members of the family, Selznick aimed to create much better scenes to show the emotional range of the characters (Norden:158). Always conscious of maximizing his chances at winning Oscars, the producer already determined to have one strong character in each of the four acting categories.

With the story set, Selznick felt he knew exactly what the public (and the Academy) needed in the midst of war. The story of *Since You Went Away* is an unabashed tearjerker about the life of Anne Hilton (Claudette Colbert), a wife who has to manage her household in the absence of her husband, who is off to fight in Europe during World War II. In order to make ends meet, Anne takes in a lodger in the form of Colonel William G. Smollett (Monty Woolley), whose grandson Bill (Robert Walker) starts an affair with the elder Hilton daughter, Jane (Jennifer Jones). The impressive cast is rounded out by some more comic relief characters such as the perky younger daughter Brig (Shirley Temple) and the witty African American servant (*Gone with the Wind*'s own Hattie McDaniel).

"I'm getting tired of being referred to solely as the producer of *Gone with the Wind* and *Rebecca*, and would like to get some of the other pictures alluded to as often as possible" (Behlmer 00:363) claimed Selznick during the preparations for promoting *Since You Went Away*, later adding that "I can see my obituary now: Producer of *Gone with the Wind* dies!" (Behlmer 00:363). As much as Selznick wanted to avoid further comparisons with his past excellence, the outcry about publicizing his lesser-known pictures seems quite ironic knowing that *Since You Went Away* was eventually advertized with the following overexcited tagline: "The four most important words since *Gone with the Wind – SINCE YOU WENT AWAY*!" He simply couldn't avoid the moniker and seemingly gave up after a while when he invited journalists to find even more similarities between the two epics.

During the preparations for *Since You Went Away*, Selznick changed his original concept and turned the intimate home into an epic spectacle of the home front. To illustrate the conceptual shifts in the pre-production phase, the Selznick Collection holds a very interesting and lengthy telegram between the producer and Katharine Cornell, one of the leading stage actresses of the era (Behlmer 00:360-62). Although Cornell never had a fictional role in any Hollywood production, she was an influential phenomenon on the Broadway and in a telegram dated May 6, 1943, Selznick passionately discusses the role of Anne Hilton with the actress, and also answers some questions she posted in a previous message.

Despite the lengthy discussions about the role, Selznick eventually chose his cast based on their Academy Award wins and nominations, commemorating this idea in the film's boastful marketing campaign with taglines such as "Great!... A Story So Warm… So Human… So Real… you'll wish it might never end! With seven great stars who were never greater!" The reference to so many stars named in the advertisement sounds a lot like a late parallel to Louis B. Mayer's claim that "he had under his command more stars than in heaven" (Thomas 97:46). Even the currently available DVD release clogs up half its cover with a listing that includes:

- Claudette Colbert as Mrs. Anne Hilton
- Jennifer Jones as Jane Deborah Hilton
- Joseph Cotten as Lieutenant Commander Tony Willett
- Shirley Temple as Bridget Hilton
- Monty Woolley as Colonel William G. Smollett
- Lionel Barrymore as Clergyman
- Robert Walker as Corporal William G. 'Bill' Smollett II
- Hattie McDaniel as Fidelia

The production also provided great fodder for the tabloids which were more interested in covering the on-set emotional turmoil than the finer points of filmmaking. Actor Robert Walker was borrowed from M-G-M to appear in this film opposite his real-life wife, Jennifer Jones. Though the pairing was meant to bring along great chemistry, the pair was actually going through a separation process, culminating in their unavoidable divorce in 1945 (Green:39). The coupling of the estranged actors only got more interesting a few years later when Selznick married Jennifer Jones five years after their work on *Since You*

Went Away (Leff:154). The producer of course tried to contain the rumors during the production, providing rich promotional releases to re-focus the public interest on his film.

The July 24, 1944 issue of *Life* magazine featured Jennifer Jones on its front cover, and named *Since You Went Away* the "Movie of the Week" in a three-page spread, followed by a "tasteful" pictorial of war-torn Italy. The article sounds like it is coming straight out of Selznick's marketing department, describing the film as "a panoramic feeling of what has happened to America at war" in "a genuinely heart-warming picture that will deeply move those who are personally involved." The epic scope of was emphasized with further reports about "the most extravagant accumulation of talent since *Gone with the Wind*" - Selznick just couldn't avoid the comparison – but there's also mention of the other actors, who are credited as "approximately 200 speaking parts" ("Movie of the Week:53").

The producer's return to form seemed to be a real hit with the audience. Everything about the project was true to Selznick's extravagant self; a report of a $3,000,000 budget was not a warning sign, but a compliment to the production. The National Board of Review named *Since You Went Away* the fourth most popular film of that year, while other reports claimed that the New York opening for the film was so crowded that the police had to get involved to avoid more traffic jams ("Movie of the Week:53").

When the time came to announcing the Academy Awards, it seemed that the board was agreeing with the audience, giving eight nominations to Selznick's Since You Went Away: it was nominated for Best Picture, Best Actress, Best Supporting Actor, Best Supporting Actress, Best Cinematography, Best Film Editing, Best Special Effects Best Art Direction (Interior Decoration) and Best Dramatic Score. With the announcements made on 15 March, Selznick "finally" got to break the parallels with *Gone with the Wind*: *Since You Went Away* lost in all but one category, mostly to Paramount's *Going My Way*.

A brief outline of the production history with a focus on the Oscar-winning talents is important to offer a bit of insight into Selznick's train of thought during the making of this picture. Completely enamored with the star system of his days, Selznick followed in the footsteps of Irving J. Thalberg and Louis B. Mayer in planning to cast a musical superstar for scoring his picture. But unlike Thalberg and Schoenberg or Mayer and Stravinsky, Selznick actually made the fatal step and gave an unproven film composer a chance. The rest of the chapter follows the rise and fall of the misguided commission which eventually became the last major score rejection of the studio era.

VI.3. Casting the Composer

Even if Selznick thought very highly of the role music played in his pictures, casting composers was a process he was thoroughly unfamiliar with. For the better part of his career the producer always relied on the talents of Max Steiner, the composer most frequently credited with founding the Hollywood sound of film scoring (Kalinak 98:123). The two filmmakers actually met during the bleakest period of movie music when studios were reluctant to use any type of music, worrying that the audience would be confused about where it was coming from (Prendergast:23). Several studios, including RKO and M-G-M, shared a clearly stated policy during the early 1930s that the only piece of music to be used in their pictures (apart from the opening and closing titles) should be "music whose presence was logically dictated by the plot" (Wierzbicki:137).

Selznick and Steiner met in 1932 when both of them were still working at RKO. Due to the budget cuts necessitated by the main directive, Steiner usually had a "ten-piece orchestra, library music, and the limit of a three-hour recording session per film" (Thomas 97:146) to complete his assignments. Selznick (then only 30 years old) was the first producer to think about this issue differently and requested music that wasn't dictated by the plot. The experiment was carried out on *Symphony of Six Million* (1932), a Fanny Hurst adaptation where the death of a character required more emotional support. As Steiner recalled, he was originally asked to provide music only for the main and end titles until Selznick changed his mind and requested a test cue for a previously unscored scene:

> David said, "Do you think you could put some music behind this thing? I think it might help it. Just do one reel – the scene where Ratoff dies." I did as he asked, and he liked the music so much he told me to go ahead and do the rest. Music until then had not been used very much for underscoring – the producers were afraid the audience would as, "Where's' the music coming from?" unless they saw an orchestra or a radio or a phonograph. But with this picture, we proved that scoring would work (Thomas 97:146).

Their first success with *Symphony of Six Million* was followed by countless others (almost 50 pictures if we count every movie made during the producer's role as an executive at RKO). Even when Steiner left RKO and signed an almost exclusive contract with

Warner Bros., he still insisted on adding a provision that allowed him to work with Selznick whenever the producer needed him (Platte:128). Steiner remained to be Selznick's number one choice for composing music; the two had worked together on pictures like *The Garden of Allah* (1936), *A Star Is Born* (1937) or *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1938). Their most significant collaboration was of course *Gone with the Wind* (1939) which proved to be a living nightmare for the underprepared composer.

In one of his first memos on the score for *Gone with the Wind*, Selznick's claimed that "my first choice for the job is Max Steiner and I am sure that Max would give anything in the world to do it" (Selznick/Ginsberg 8/3/39). Unfortunately the composer was already overbooked when he accepted this commission, so he had to write the three hours' worth of accompaniment in twelve weeks while also working on two other simultaneous projects: "Symphonie Moderne" for *Four Wives* and *Intermezzo: A Love Story* also for Selznick (Thomas 97:151). Steiner penned over 300 musical segments featuring 16 different themes and although he got help from five of Hollywood's best orchestrators, he could only keep up the pace of 20-hour workdays with Benzedrine (Thomas 97:151-152). After such ordeals, Steiner was greatly disappointed that his score was practically the only thing that missed out on the Oscar-shower adorning *Gone with the Wind*.

When Selznick got to casting the composer for *Since You Went Away*, Steiner's name wasn't mentioned in any of the early memos relating to the film; even the documents don't mention any sort of scheduling conflict that could explain the sudden neglect. Selznick made only one picture between the two films, but the choices on *Rebecca* (including the musical ones) were made by director Alfred Hitchcock as the producer was still busy firing the directors of *Gone with the Wind* (Sullivan:63). Based on some of the comments appearing in the memo exchanges, one likely explanation for the neglect is that Selznick was still feeling guilty about how Steiner exhausted himself during *Gone with the Wind* and couldn't even get him an Academy Award in return. Other clues hint at the fact that Selznick had radically different ideas for the score and Steiner was simply too big a name to get involved with the picture on the long schedule Selznick originally set up.

As established in the chapter on how typical studio films were scored, composers usually saw the film only when the final cut was delivered – an idea that Steiner himself explained in his quoted description (Thomas 73:79). Selznick on the other hand was prepared to break filmmaking conventions on *Since You Went Away* by hiring a composer for a longer period so that he could familiarize himself with the project. An important and

overbooked composer of Steiner's caliber wouldn't have accepted such a condition. In of the earliest memos to mention the musical question, Selznick suggested the best alternative he could think of: Herbert Stothart, the head of the music department at M-G-M. The reason for hiring him so early was more interesting than why he was considered:

> I am anxious to have the score written during production, from the script and from assembled sequences, so that we don't have that usual long period of delay after a picture is finished, writing the score, (with the alternative of a poor job that has to be rushed. All the themes and general treatment should be composed and devised and be ready by the time the picture is finished so that the creative and is ready and there is then simply the matter of re-working it to fit the timing of the finished picture (Selznick/O'Shea 5/26/43).

This memo shows a glimpse of Selznick's train of thought while making his big prestige pictures. By engaging a composer early on, he wanted to give him preparation time that could include anything from reading the original novel or the script to watching the already shot sequences while their editing was finalized. This extensive preparation certainly made more sense when the (still unnamed) composer of *Gone with the Wind* was instructed to "study the music of the period" during the pre-production (Selznick/Ginsberg 8/3/39). But the story of *Since You Went Away* was as contemporary as it could get, so this project needed little musical preparation was needed. The concept of hiring a musical talent so early seemed not only seemed quite wasteful, but nothing came out of it either because Selznick could find the right name to hire.

The inter-office communication for the following months is practically a "who's who" of the contemporary film music scene with Selznick asking for opinions and suggestions from anyone he'd come across. The surprising thing is that some very low-level composers seem to have been in only an arm's reach from the lofty Oscar bait. One of the memos from production manager Raymond A. Klune for instance mentions Arthur Goodman, a lesser-known contract composer at M-G-M who had left the studio a few years earlier because an illness prevented him from completing pictures with strict deadlines. The biggest compliment from Klune is that Goodman "could be had quite reasonably" (Klune/Selznick 8/28/43). Without sounding disrespectful, Selznick noted that *Since You Went Away* was no time for experimentation like this (Selznick/Klune 8/30/43).

By far Selznick's most interesting choice for doing the music was Bernard Herrmann, the composer who'd become much better known through his later association with Alfred Hitchcock on pictures like *Vertigo* (1958) and *Psycho* (1960). A series of memo and telegram exchanges show that Selznick noticed Herrmann's work through his music for *Citizen Kane* (1941) and the Oscar-winning underscore of *The Devil and Daniel Webster* (1941) – though this doesn't mean he learned to spell his name correctly (he is constantly referred to as "Herman"). The negotiations got as far as making a price offer, which was "$6500.00 for six weeks as a minimum guarantee, pro rata for additional time" – the same amount Herrmann got for his current film *Jane Eyre* (Selznick 8/27/43). The composer however was residing in New York and sent his thoughts on the project in a telegram. The opening remarks suggest he wasn't enthusiastic about the project:

> AFTER READING SCRIPT FEEL AM NOT SUITED FOR THE MUSICAL TREATMENT. BEST I CAN SUGGEST IS FOR ME TO COME OUT FOR TEN DAYS BEGINNING DECEMBER 6TH TO SEE IT AND HAVE FULL DISCUSSION OF MUSICAL PROBLEMS WITH SELZNICK. NO SALARY EXPECTED UNLESS I ACCEPT PICTURE, ONLY FARE FURNISHED. NO OTHER PICTURE OR RADIO POSSIBILITIES HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH ABOVE. ONLY WISH TO DO JOB THAT SELZNICK WILL WANT AND I WILL BE PROUD OF. PLEASE SHOW THIS WIRE TO SELZNICK (Herrmann/Taft 11/11/43).

Herrmann's unavailability and lack of enthusiasm for the melodrama brought along another set of possible candidates. One memo in particular mentions Erich Wolfgang Korngold, the most expensive film composer of the era whose lush style would have been very suitable for Selznick's taste. Unfortunately the great paycheck also came with great issues: Korngold had a very tight contract with Warner Bros. and he also had a lot of unusual demands, like how none of his score could be changed without his consent (Thomas 97:176). This stipulation could have easily soured a collaboration with a controlling producer of Selznick's caliber (Selznick/O'Shea 12/15/1943). Another name throw in from the left-field is Phil Ohman, a jazz musician and songwriter about whom the producer sings praises in a memo dated despite his choice having only a few insignificant credits when compared with the other names mentioned so far (Selznick/O'Shea 11/1/1943).

The search for the best possible composer worked the other way around to. Every agent who heard about Selznick's indecisiveness about the score bombarded Vanguard Films with irresistible offers. One typical letter came from George Landy of the Frank W. Vincent Agency, suggesting Broadway composer Robert Stolz as a possible candidate for the film. Stolz was most famous for bringing Viennese operettas to the Broadway and had no realistic chance of ever scoring Since You Went Away. The document advertising him is noteworthy for preserving the usually over-the-top language of agents and promoters from the 1940s. For instance, the letter gives a very narrow timeframe when Stolz would be available (in order to make him seem busy) while the composer's established salary ($10,000 for ten weeks) sounds outrageous with a bit of perspective – Selznick only offered his first composer of choice $6,5000 for twelve weeks (Landy/Taft, 12/2/43).

On January 14, 1944, Selznick's secretary received a final list of possible composers (confusingly referred to as music directors in this document) which provides a fascinating insight into the inner workings of composer casting and what bits of information were important from Selznick's perspective. The composers he already knew well enough (Steiner, Herrmann, Korngold) were omitted. Just like in previous cases, the names are frequently misspelled (Amofitheatros should be Amfitheatrof, Tunsman should be Tansman, Roenheld should be Roemheld, etc.). The other notable feature is that the credits lack perspective – i.e. they mention only the most recent films, not the best-known or most important ones. The list included the following names, credits and studio affiliations:

MIKLOS ROZSA (Free-lance): So Proudly We Hail, Sahara, All Alexander Korda pictures, Double Indemnity
DANIELE AMOFITHEATROS (Free-lance): Lassie Comes Home, Cry Havoc, Lost Angel, Road to Glory
CHARLES PREVIN (Universal): Deanne Durbin pictures, 100 Men and a Girl, Song of the Open Road
LEIGH HARLINE (RKO): - Tender Comrade
ALEXANDER TUNSMAN (Free-lance): Flesh and Fantasy
DMITRI TIOMKIN (Free-lance): - Bridge of San Luis Rey, Moon and Sixpence, Imposter, The last Wanger picture, All Frank Capra pictures
VICTOR YOUNG (Paramount)
FRED STARK (Walt Disney)
HENRY POTTER (Free-lance): Mr. Lucky
LOU SILVERS (Free-lance)
HEINZ ROENHELD (Free-lance): Yankee Doodle Dandy, Harvest Moon
PHIL OHMAN(pencilled in)

(Willson/Taft 1/14/44)

Unfortunately not every aspect of the pre-production is documented in these memos, so there's no trace of how Selznick actually made his selection. The studio affiliated composers would have been prohibitively expensive considering their stature; Vanguard may have been ready to pay the extra money for borrowing Stothart or Korngold, but it's unlikely they could realistically deal with Disney to get someone like Fred Stark. This way only the freelance composers had any realistic chance to work with Selznick and his final choice was somebody who not only lacked any sort of studio commitment, but also lacked the right sort of credits to do this film. Selznick picked Alexandre Tansman.

VI.4. The Scoring of *Since You Went Away*

When he set out to find the right composer, Selznick sent the following instruction to his production manager: "I don't think on *Since You Went Away* we should monkey around with any new people or take any chances (Selznick/ Klune 9/30/43). A few months later he seems to have changed his mind when he announced the composer and the conductor for *Since You Went Away*. In the typically overblown style of Vanguard Films' press releases, the re-unification of Alexandre Tansman and conductor Charles Previn was celebrated as a significant musical event to be reckoned with (see Image 6):

> "David O. Selznick is uniting as a team Alexander Tansman, world famous composer and pianist, and Charles Previn, the conductor, to create the musical setting for his all-star picture, *Since You Went Away*. The two musicians teamed once before to supply the score for *Flesh and Fantasy*" (Rawson 2/4/44).

The deal was brought together by Abe Meyer, the agent who originally recommended Bernard Herrmann for the job. When that deal fell through, he kept in close contact with Selznick and landed several of his clients on the final list quoted earlier. One of his ideas was pitching Alexandre Tansman and Charles Previn as a team who had already made one successful score (*Flesh and Fantasy*). Previn of course had more experience in film scoring: he was a music director at Universal for seven years, conducting the majority of the scores between 1936 and 1943. More importantly, he also had an Academy Award for *One Hundred Men and a Girl* (1938) – the film where Schoenberg was supposed to hand out the statuette. While Previn brought years of experience, Tansman brought name recognition as further explained by the press release:

> Tansman is the seventh most played of all the living composers in the classic style today and last Fall he conducted the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and the Philadelphia Orchestra in performances of his new Fifth Symphony, commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Polish Republic. *Flesh and Fantasy* is the only picture on which he has worked in this country, but before the war he composed frequently for French pictures (Rawson 2/4/44).

The biographical sketch compiled by publicist Mitchell Rawson contains the real reason of Tansman's hiring, namely the claim that the Polish musician is "the seventh most played of all the living composers." This tidbit was taken from Meyer, who referred to an industry report that counted what living composers were most frequently played by the major symphonic orchestras in the US. Reportedly printed in *Variety*, this position became a major selling point in Selznick's mind who sometimes mistakenly claimed that Tansman was the sixth most played composer even though he himself didn't know where the original poll was conducted.

The musical team was rounded out by a third person not named in the original press release: veteran music director Lou Forbes was tasked with taking care of all the source music heard in the film – that is music that exists within the reality of the picture, such as songs coming from the radio, songs the characters are dancing to, etc. Sharing the workload like this was actually quite frequent because source music was usually recorded much earlier than the score; the songs were often played back on the set to make sure the actors were dancing the right moves. In this case, Forbes actually had to start working even before the composers got hired and he delivered all his material on time even though Selznick was often annoyed by the musician's constant attempts at plugging his own work in the films, hoping that something would become a hit (Selznick/King 5/19/44).

Selznick however had a different idea for this film. In order to lend some sort of nostalgic feel for the film, Selznick wanted to establish a sort of continuity between the underscore and the songs played in the reality of the picture. His main favorite was "Together," a 1928 song by Buddy G. DeSylva, Lew Brown, and Ray Henderson which Forbes had already recorded for the big dance sequence, but the tune was placed in other moments as well: it gets played by a music box and is whistled by Joseph Cotton at one point. One of Selznick's only advices to Tansman and Previn was to take this song, listen to it and incorporate the tune into the score as a love theme of sorts.

During these early stages of the scoring, Selznick was unusually uninvolved in the musical aspects of his picture. To make sure they're still on the same page, Tansman contacted the producer with a few musical question concerning two scenes with a special focus on Reel 22 of the picture (Tansman/Selznick 3/11/44). While the original message couldn't be located, Selznick's reply to the issues indicates that the two problems brought up were simple courtesy calls, the composer's way of giving the producer a feeling of getting involved. The two specific issues which Selznick addresses are not serious problems, in fact,

the first one is solved with a typical solution found in several films by the producer; the juxtaposition of source music (Christmas carols) with the score was a recurring feature in Selznick's filmography as shown here:

> I don't know just what to suggest for the underscoring or just how you can get into it, except possibly by picking up an orchestral reprise of the vocal Christmas carol outside. Maybe just the reprise would be enough; or perhaps you could weave into it a tiny bit of the love theme between Jane and Bill. As to the Liberty Song, it sounds excellent, but I am sure the public doesn't know it, and I think it depends on whether it has the feeling that we want for those who don't know it – not that I want them to recognize the music, but I do want some sort of an American-patriotic feeling in it (Selznick/Tansman 3/15/44).

It was the second exchange about the Liberty Song that revealed an issue Selznick had already been fearing for some time – namely that his composer of choice wasn't too familiar with the traditions of Hollywood film scoring. The issue of the Liberty Song concerns a composition originally written during the period of the American Revolutionary War which Tansman had selected for a portion of the film that needed a quick, immediately recognizable reference to patriotism. As Selznick points out in his reply, the song may be historically significant (it was one of the earliest patriotic songs from the thirteen colonies), it's not very well-known to the general public. While the final film uses a brief quote of "In the Army Now" (McLauglhin:233), Tansman's selection of inappropriate thematic quotation would have resulted in a missed opportunity of musical expression – and now Selznick feared the same mistake would be made too many times.

Two days after receiving Tansman's message and two days before sending his reply, Selznick gave his staff the first signs of having second thoughts about casting the Polish composer. In the most significant memo documenting his doubts, the producer once again decided to break the conventions of film music by requesting a demo recording from the score (see Image 7). The key points of the exchange include the following details:

> Would you please get together with Hal Kern immediately and discuss with him my desire that the Tansman score of *SYWA* should not be done continuously but that the first session should be limited to whatever is the minimum required from a cost standpoint. Also it should, of course,

> be handled diplomatically and be kept between ourselves so as not to frighten or discourage Tansman. My purpose is to hear a couple of reels of his music before he proceeds with the whole picture, so that if I am going to get any shocks or disappointments it will be limited to these few reels and I will know with the least possible delay whether or not I have to make a switch. I have the highest possible hopes for Tansman's work but I don't know enough about it not to want to be absolutely sure that I am right about him before the whole picture is scored (Selznick/Johnston 3/13/44).

What Selznick is proposing here is actually a previously unknown concept that's frequently employed nowadays thanks to significant advances of technology. Back in the 1940s, the filmmakers' first meeting with the musical scores was demonstration where the composers presented the key thematic ideas on their preferred instruments (usually a piano). Once the thematic concepts were accepted by the filmmakers, the next time they heard the music was on the recording stage where the full symphonic orchestra was performing the musical accompaniment based on the approved ideas. The only issue is that a lot of things could go wrong between the two presentations and what may have sounded acceptable in piano form could be unappealing to the producer in its final form.

In this memo, Selznick effectively wants to have an intermediate step between the piano demonstration and the final recording, asking for a smaller symphonic orchestra to perform the first few reels' worth of music from Tansman's score. This way he can get a clearer picture about the composer's approach and repress any second thoughts he's may have about his selection. The test screening was held in the first few days of April and apparently was disastrous: Selznick's only memo directly related to the test screening is a brief reminder to his assistant in which he exclaims "this is getting serious" (Selznick/Keon 4/8/44). Another remark already hints at his already irreversible decision to have Tansman replaced by someone else: "Please remind me […] to decide who is going to do the music on the picture" (Selznick/Keon 4/8/44).

While Selznick himself didn't go on record to immortalize his concerns about Tansman's music, a few problems can be retroactively deducted from the following reply sent by Abe Meyer, Tansman's agent. In this particular letter, Meyer seems to be reacting to specific points raised by Selznick and as such, he provides our best guesses about what could have happened:

> Mr. Tansman's actual work on this consisted of only five or six minutes of music, principally arrangements of the song "Together". This music was not timed to fit the actual scenes in the picture, but the work was done in accordance with the instructions received from your editing department. Tansman was simply requested to make several arrangements of "Together" given the approximate length of the whole scene and the general mood of the scene. Neither Tansman nor Charlie Previn were consulted for the application of these recordings to the scenes, and they had no idea as to how they were used (Meyer/Selznick 4/14/44).

In his first line of defense, Meyer puts the blame on the technical crew who ran the test screening, claiming that the music was inappropriately used and had no dramatic gravitas for the lack of synchronization. The second line of defense is closely linked with the first one: Meyer claims that the demonstrational screening was mostly featuring Tansman's adaptations of the popular song "Together" which was included in the picture at Selznick's request. As such, it should not be used to judge Tansman's original work which has nothing to do with the song – if Selznick had any issues with the composition, he could only blame himself since he insisted on "Together." Meyer's defense also continues:

> I would also like to mention that the recording of the temporary track was made with a small orchestra at Mr. Selznick's explicit request and, naturally, these tracks could not sound as full as the other tracks which were made with much larger orchestras. It might be this comparison which caused Mr. Selznick's disappointment (Meyer/Selznick 4/14/44).

In this paragraph, Meyer points out the technical inadequacies of recording with an orchestra of a reduced size. To give an idea of proportions, M-G-M (who had the largest contract orchestra and was distributing *Since You Went Away*) had a permanent orchestra of 50 people (Wierzbiczki:186) and when Vanguard Films considered putting out a promotional record, they calculated with 38 musicians (Wick/O'Shea 8/1/44). Yet Tansman's music was recorded with even less musicians, possibly the barest minimum of a strings ensemble augmented by single soloists from the brass and the woodwinds sections. Selznick's idea of the "minimum [number of musicians] required" (Selznick/Johnston 3/13/44) may have been overachieved and lead to disappointing results.

> In view of these facts, it seems unfair to judge the work that Mr. Tansman has done for the final recording, especially since Mr. Selznick heard most of the themes, and I understand he was highly pleased with them. Incidentally, Mr. Previn has told me that the music is extremely beautiful and he was very enthusiastic about the score (Meyer/Selznick 4/14/44).

Although this final point seems to imply that Meyer was still trying to salvage the situation and get Tansman's job back, Selznick had already made up his mind. According to a slip of paper with the date May 1, 1944 scribbled on top, Meyer was given the full fee for the two composers ($6560 for Tansman, $3000 for Previn) and delivered all the musical unused materials in exchange – a customary courtesy in the world of score rejections. While Meyer was already suggesting the name of another client (Victor Young of Paramount), Selznick sent the following explanatory letter to Tansman (see Image 8):

> I ask you to accept my sincere regrets that I did not feel your excellent music for *Since You Went Away* was consistent with the dramatic and comedy effects I am after in the film. I have the highest regard for your obviously most extraordinary talent as a composer, but I feel that it was simply a case of miscasting; that the fault is my own and that hopefully we may be associated in something else at a later date, something that is more up your alley, so to speak.
>
> I regret that so much of your time was taken, but I ask you to weigh against this the fact that we suffered considerable loss financially through not using the music in this picture, and – much more importantly – very valuable time. I am sure you cannot do other than agree that I went to every possible extreme and expense to try to convince myself that your music was what I was after, and to give it every opportunity – to an extent I have never heard of before – to have it presented properly. My judgment about it conceivably is quite wrong, but in the final analysis, right or wrong, I must follow my own judgment.
>
> On the whole, I'm happy about and grateful for your characteristically outstanding labor on the score of *Since You Went Away* and even if there are certain things about the score that are not to your satisfaction

> any more than they are to my own, I want you to know that I deeply appreciate how hard you worked and what a Herculean task it was to get the score done, under the circumstances, in the limited time that you had (Selznick/Steiner 6/21/1944).

The musical issues were resolved within a few weeks after Tansman's rejections. Selznick turned towards the composer whose name didn't come up a single time during the casting process, yet he was the producer's number one choice all along: Max Steiner. Even if the composer wowed never to write a score under such a heavy deadline as Gone with the Wind, Selznick made him an irrefutable offer that included $3,300 per week with a minimum payment of $13,200, no matter how long Steiner would be engaged to the project (Steiner/Vanguard contract 5/11/44). With a planned deadline of six weeks for writing and recording over 95 minutes, Steiner half the timeframe of what Tansman got, but he received twice as much payment for his services.

Of course the score could only be completed by applying a number of shortcuts to the usual process. Steiner heavily relied upon his previous scores, going as far as using his original sketches from other projects to fill in the gaps. He relied most heavily on *A Star is Born* (1937) and incorporated three themes from the score (Green:50). The fact that these thematic ideas came from different studio's picture resulted in long, sleepless nights for the legal team of Vanguard Films who had to sort out the alleged copyright infringement involved (Selznick/O'Shea 5/16/44). Despite these issues, Steiner was known as a composer who could deliver the goods on time and he finished by project by May 1944, spending just a bit more time on the film than Tansman.

In a final twist of fate, the musical score became the biggest saving grace of the whole film. Selznick was obsessed with getting as much Academy recognition for his films as possible, but *Since You Went Away* seriously underperformed at the 1944 Academy Awards. The only one of the eight nominations he could get was for the score, arguably the most problematic aspect of his production. In a letter dated July 19, 1944 Selznick wrote to Steiner: "I am really extremely happy with the score now [,,,] no one in the business could have done as fine a job on so much film in so short time" (Selznick/Steiner 7/19/44). This exchange marked the final step in the last collaboration of the two filmmakers.

VI.5. Promotional Considerations

Selznick's extensive exchange of memos has already illustrated how the producer wanted to do the music for this picture differently than the norm. He wanted to engage his composer to work from the script, but this idea fell through for practical reasons. Then he wanted to hear the beginning of the score before the entire work was recorded, but the demonstration ended in a disappointment that cost Tansman his job. Selznick's unorthodox ideas were not limited to the preparation of music, but also to its afterlife. Some of the memos sent out to his PR department during this period show how the producer wanted to exploit the commercial potential of the musical score before a single note was written.

The memos relating to the promotional aspects of *Since You Went Away* are interesting because most of them have two paragraphs with the second paragraph addressed to a smaller circle of people than the first one. The first paragraphs are usually optimistic and paint an idealized picture about the production going smoothly, celebrating the great aesthetic qualities of the score (which, to reiterate, wasn't actually written at this point). The second paragraphs are usually introduced with the word "confidentially" and are directed at Selznick's closer circle of associates. The tone is very different as the producer takes his time to reveal his true motivation behind each step, openly measuring the pros and cons of each promotional consideration.

One of the most interesting memo related to the promotion of the score was sent out in January 1944 when there was still no composer selected for the project. In this memo, Selznick asks his staff to inquire about the services of Deems Taylor, the music critic best-known to the American public. Appearing as the concert master in Walt Disney's *Fantasia* four years earlier, Taylor was not only the most recognized member of his profession, but also had regular columns and radio appearances that Vanguard Films was ready to exploit. In the first half of the exchange, Selznick mentions Taylor as an "old friend" with whom he had dealt before (Pegolotti:58) and asks about his services:

> Would you please inquire of Deems Taylor, who is, incidentally, an old friend of mine, whether he would like to come out for one week, or even a little less, to act as music consultant on *Since You Went Away* in connection with the score, and to be so credited, and if so, what would be the cost to use of his services (Selznick/Flagg 1/26/44).

The designated title of "music consultant" is of course a blanket term that could mean anything, so Selznick explains his exact motivation in the next paragraph. Addressed only to his closer circle of staff members, he explains that he has no intention of giving Deems Taylor any sort of creative input in the film; he is merely interested in using his name recognition and the media outlets he has access to. Since Taylor is primarily significant in the field of contemporary concert hall performances, he could reach out to an audience who doesn't usually go to the movies. A visit to the set, a few publicity stills should suffice as Selznick sums up his grand idea in the last part of the exchange:

> Candidly and confidentially, while I feel that Mr. Taylor would be of great help to whomever does the score, what we have in mind is the publicity value, which hopefully would include, incidentally, some plugs on his radio program but which I also feel we could publicise widely in other ways. I also feel it would give a certain little extra distinction to the picture. However, you can judge from this I don't want to pay very much, so minimise the job and the length of time it would take in your discussions with him (Selznick/Flagg 1/26/44).

Deems Taylor eventually stayed away from the production, but the idea of his early involvement already gives us some clues about which direction Selznick was going with the music. Taylor was no authority in the world of film music, his reviewing experience and radio programs usually concerned contemporary composers and concerts which he plugged in writing and on his programs. By getting him invited, it seems that Selznick wanted to reach out to a brand new audience, one that didn't necessarily have any interest in cinema at all. Even when nobody was named, this document proves that Selznick was thinking about hiring a composer who would have a cross-over appeal with people who had more interest in contemporary or modernist music.

Aiming for the concert hall going audience, Selznick laid down his most unorthodox concepts in a memo sent to his publicity department in the middle of March. In this document, he points out the significance of "unusual publicity" on all the various "musical angles" of the production. At one point he even suggests hiring or assigning new personnel to the dedicated purpose of promoting just the music of the film (Selznick/King /3/13/44). Unfortunately the key concept of Selznick's idea was hidden in the middle of a paragraph-long sentence that tried to clarify why this project was special.

> Granted that publicity concerning the background score only be planted on music pages, and music magazines, and in music columns (although we might be able to crack other columns also), and granted that the readers of these various publicity media are a comparatively small percentage, their great potential value seems to me to lie in the fact that these media never carry any publicity for a motion picture, and that the publicity would therefore be most extraordinary and most valuable with these particular readers, and also the probable fact that a higher percentage of the readers of these media would buy tickets as a result of the publicity and thus we might add hundreds of thousands of ticket buyers (Selznick/King /3/13/44).

Selznick effectively states that a composer who is popular in the concert hall scene could bring in a brand new audience into the cinema. He envisions "hundreds of thousands" of extra tickets, people flocking in to hear Alexandre Tansman's music in the theatres. Of course the ironic twist is that this overzealous memo was sent out on the same day Selznick shared his first doubts about Tansman's hiring. While his production department was instructed to promote the Polish composer and the music even the filmmakers haven't heard yet, Selznick was already having second thoughts about the whole venture. The second part of the memo contains another interesting observation concerning Selznick's argument for hiring Tansman.

> It must be borne in mind that Tansman's position in the music world is so outstanding, and his reputation is such as a distinguished musician as to make the fact that he was written the score of great interest to music lovers. Among musicians and music lovers Tansman ranks head and shoulders over all the other men in Hollywood who are writing scores, most of whom have little or no position in the music world, however effective their work may be for motion pictures. For instance, I understand that in a recent survey made by some magazine – I think it was Variety (you can find out from Tansman) – it was determined that Tansman is the sixth most-often played composer by symphony concert among all modern composers, including such men as Rachmaninoff, by symphony orchestras in this country (Selznick/King /3/13/44).

Instead of naming any of his prior credits (such as *Flesh and Fantasy*), Selznick focuses on Tansman's position as the sixth most popular composer in America. At this point the whole thing reads like he is also trying to convince his own promotional department about the suitability of his choice. When Tansman was fired from the project, the promotional machine didn't stop working, it was merely recalibrated to fit Max Steiner's score. Despite losing the ace up his sleeve, Selznick didn't want to give up on reaching the enthusiasts of concert music. In an unusual, though not entirely unprecedented move, Selznick's musical advisors planned to release a limited edition record of Max Steiner's score squarely aimed at the growing number of radio listeners. As explained by Ted Wick, the planned record was meant to contain a whole suite of Steiner's music, arranged specifically for the album and geared towards the taste of classical music aficionados.

> The plan is to hire an orchestra of 38 men, conducted by Lou Forbes, to record approximately 15 minutes of excerpts from the Steiner score of SYWA. 200 pressings of this disc would be made and sent gratis to the 200 most important radio stations in the United States as supplements to their musical libraries. Each time this recording is played, naturally we would get a picture credit for SYWA. I believe that every radio station in the country would welcome such a disc as a departure from the routine stuff which they are now using on their classical hours. The cost to us would be roughly $1600, including the orchestra, the pressings, and shipping of the pressings to 200 stations (Wick/O'Shea 8/1/44).

Unfortunately there's no more track of this record among the memo exchanges, though Wick suggested that 50 representative stations should be contacted with a questionnaire on how they could use such a record in their programs. Since the memo also makes mention of other legal complications without a follow-up resolution to these issues, it's very likely the proposed LP never materialized (Wick/O'Shea 8/1/44). This rich selection of documents show how Selznick looked at music as an assorted product that could be used in promoting the film – an idea that became commonplace within a few years and the release of more soundtrack CDs.

VI.6. Summary

During the production of *Since You Went Away*, David O. Selznick thought that the war-time melodrama would finally make him something more than "just" the producer of *Gone with the Wind*. The pressure put him into a delicate situation where he didn't want to experiment with the musical accompaniment (Selznick/Klune 9/30/43), yet eventually wound up with a number of unorthodox concepts hindering his project. Such wasteful ideas were hiring a composer too early (Selznick/O'Shea 5/26/43), reaching out to the audience of concert halls through a "musical consultant" (Selznick/Flagg 1/26/44) and re-recording a suite to promote the score at radio stations (Wick/O'Shea 8/1/44). These musical dead ends had no significant effect on the final product and the same can be said about the biggest gamble: hiring Alexandre Tansman. Based on the immense amount of memo exchanges, related interviews and assorted correspondences, the reasons for the sixth most popular composer's rejection can be summarized in the following points:

1) Selznick had no prior concepts about Tansman's artistic qualifications and it's very likely he never heard a single piece of original music from him (if he had, he very likely would have mentioned it in one of his several memos). He was enticed into hiring the Polish composer for that single survey that claimed Tansman was the sixth (or seventh) most frequently played contemporary composer in the United States (Selznick 2/4/44). Whenever he introduced Tansman to his staff members in writing, he didn't name any of his previous credits as usual, but referred to him as the man who was more popular in the concert hall than Rachmaninoff (Selznick/King 3/13/44).

2) Selznick vastly overrated Tansman's general appeal since he wasn't familiar with the world of contemporary concert music. Based on some of the promotional documents, it seems that he expected "hundreds of thousands" of people going to the theaters just because Tansman was providing the music (Selznick/King 3/13/44). Still thinking along the lines of the superstar system that worked in the case of actors, it seems Selznick hoped that Tansman was a composer who'd have a public appeal as wide as Claudette Corbett or Joseph Cotton. Based on the chronology of the documents, it looks like he only changed his mind when the disappointing preview recording showed him how inappropriate music could cause a lot of harm for his film, no matter how well-known or widely-recognized the composer is.

3) Finally, Selznick used the term "modern" in several of his memos but didn't specify the exact meaning of the word. An established composer like Tansman may have thought that Selznick was looking for something contemporary or somebody contemporary when he was looking for "modern" music. Yet based on the final results, it seems Selznick's usage of the word "modern" implied that he wanted something fashionable, something that would bring in a lot of people. When he realized that he couldn't make the music the ninth star of his ensemble cast, he settled for the most conventional solution possible. The fact that Max Steiner's conventional (and almost-pastiche) score delivered an Academy Award proved to him that this was the right road to take.

***

In a certain way, Tansman's replacement served as a symbolic end to Hollywood's flirtation with untested composers whose name recognition may have been more important than the music they produced. The Polish composer was of course also a victim of circumstances. From the quartet discussed in this dissertation, he was the most accommodating as we can see from his single attempt to discuss musical matters with the producer (Tansman/Selznick 3/11/44). His style was also the most conventional; an esteemed pianist with a compositional style that stemmed from the late Romantic period, Tansman had the right credentials to become a film composer (as he had shown in the handful of projects he did). His relative inexperience in the field was less of a problem than Selznick's misguided reasons to hire him. With the fall of the studio system nearby, Tansman's rejection was a symbolic move, a fascinating signpost, placed at the last mile of the dead end direction Hollywood was taking with engaging composers they clearly didn't understand.

VII. Conclusion

In one of the dozens of memos circulated in relation to *Since You Went Away*, Selznick's production associate Barbara "Bobby" Keon sent a brief suggestion to supervising editor Hal Kern concerning a preview test screening for the shipyard sequence. This memo hides the following stunning remark that brings our journey across the 1930/40s Hollywood film music scene to a full circle:

> Another item: For the shipyard stuff on which Hurwitz is working, DOS would like a sort of ballet mechanique(sic!) type of modernistic music. Maybe for preview something of the Levant music from Nothing Sacred (Keon/Kern 2/18/44).

This throwaway remark about an insignificant scene in *Since You Went Away* now means a lot more because we're more familiar with the context. David O. Selznick wanted something like *Ballet Mécanique*, but even when describing the piece, his assistant doesn't use the scandalous performance as a reference point – an unrelated Oscar Levant piece is suggested for demonstration purposes instead. In other words, Selznick wanted something modern and in fact he could have hired the original composer of *Ballet Mécanique* since Antheil was still alive and working in the film business… Yet he wanted nothing from him or his modernist colleagues, preferring the late romantic Max Steiner instead. As we've seen from the numerous examples listed so far, these changes happened numerous times in the given time period of the Hollywood studio era.

The Treatment of Artistic Integrity in the American Film Industry looked at the Hollywood careers of four composers, all of whom had rejected film scores written in the era of the classic studio system. Up until now, the most significant works on film music history (Prendergast, Wierzbicki, Cooke, etc.) discussed these unfortunate occurrences in a rather one-sided manner. In their reading, the most important musical minds of the era had to wage an unwinnable war against a business-minded, culturally undereducated system that was more interested in turning a profit than respecting artistic integrity. My dissertation not only aimed to trace the Hollywood careers of the four composers to give a more even-handed account, but also sought to find the common links between the four case histories

in order to explain the more general cultural issue that lead to the dozens of misunderstandings between European composers and American filmmakers.

The theoretical works of the composers already highlight some of their strong preconceptions on Hollywood film scoring traditions. George Antheil used his film music criticism in *Modern Music* to get more jobs in Hollywood and he was hopeful until Boris Morros was in charge at Paramount; when he was writing that "the best original scores must be written by original composers" (Antheil 35:64), he was most likely thinking of himself. Schoenberg outlined his preferred mode of film music creation in his *School for Soundmen* proposal, claiming that the current method was crooked and dysfunctional. Stravinsky famously compared film music to wallpaper even though he himself never laid down a strip in his life – his criticism stemmed from the fact that Hollywood never gave him a proper commission.

What's common in the writings of all these composers is that they separated film music from every other type of music – some writings even claimed that film scoring was beneath the other fields. Some of the more important examples for these claims are Antheil's inability to focus on film music and normal music due to them being so different (Antheil 45:313), Schoenberg's constant comparisons with the superior medium of opera (Schoenberg 40:155-56) or Stravinsky's claims that film music and concert music could never be compared in any way (Stravinsky 46:278). The problem with this is that at least two of the composers showed that the rule didn't work if they were involved: Antheil reworked his *Union Pacific* into his *Symphony No. 3* (Tawa:92) while Stravinsky did similarly with all his unused scores – the complete list being available in the respective chapter.

The other major contradiction is the composer's relationship with the film composers they looked down upon in writing. In this respect only Antheil seems to be consistent with his philosophy: when Antheil claimed that he was stuck halfway between regular and film composers with neither group accepting him as a full-fledged member (Whitesitt:58), his point was underscored by the fact that his *Bad Boy of Music* mentions no film composer as a regular friend. When he did mention some like Rózsa or Herrmann, he only named them out of professional courtesy and didn't indicate he had any personal connection with either of his favorites. (Antheil 45:315-316)

The other composers however had valuable friendships among film composers. Many Hollywood composers studied with Schoenberg, including the head of 20th Century Fox's music director Alfred Newman or Paramount contract composer Ralph Rainger.

Stravinsky got along with most film composers and his friendship with Alexandre Tansman almost brought them a joint commission with *Commandos Strike at Dawn*. The same composers who claimed that "cinema was wasting its potential" or that "film music was like wallpaper" were more forgiving when they get to know the composers personally. Schoenberg even had some complimentary remarks about a select few colleagues. The close connection is supported with evidence from the other side of the fence: the autobiographies of film composers like Rózsa and Herrmann regularly mention their meetings with Schoenberg, Stravinsky and Tansman.

Based on this evidence, it seems that the great composers' main issues were not with their colleagues, but rather with the filmmakers. A closer reading of the sources reveals that while the contract composers became the target of the most heated attacks from the likes of Antheil, Schoenberg or Stravinsky, they were mostly criticized either for their lack of musical education, or for their submission to higher authorities. All the essays point in one direction, namely that the filmmakers were to blame for what the authors viewed as substandard musical accompaniments. This leads to the question why the composers tried so hard to get acceptance (and work) from Hollywood in the first place.

One of the readily available explanations is a financial one. Based on their accounts on film music, all of these composers looked at their Hollywood commissions as mere paychecks that would give them easier lives. Antheil said that "trying to earn a fortune by writing movie music is that it's such an awful darned nuisance" (Antheil 45:313). Schoenberg was quoted in relation to *The Good Earth*: "If I commit suicide I want at least to live well on it" (Levant:127-28). Stravinsky talked about film music in general when he said "I do not work for money, but I need it, as everybody does" (Stravinsky 46:279). Tansman also said film music "enabled [him] to live and work during our exile" (Tansman 67/80) but had no other positive points to make about the business.

This moment may be the key turning point in understanding why all these Hollywood commissions fell through. When faced with the composers, Thalberg, Mayer, Selznick and all the other filmmakers were first and foremost bombarded with financial demands. Antheil estimated that composers with aptitude could be paid from $3,000 to $8,000 (Antheil 37/1:86); Schoenberg estimated himself to worth $50,000 for "tarnishing" his name with a film (Levant:127-28); Stravinsky reportedly asked for $25,000 from Louis B. Mayer (Lebrecht:309) and Tansman got $6,560 for his involvement in *Since You Went Away* (a very large amount for an "untested composer").

A close reading of the available resources reveals another reason why these composers tried so hard to get acceptance. This secondary recurring feature is that all four composers felt that they had something significant to contribute to the art of film music, something new that could not only improve, but perhaps even reform the entire field. Through the parallel readings of the four careers, we can find very specific moments when the composers thought they were ready to elevate the art of film music to a higher plain.

The enthusiastic writings on film music have already been cited in the main portion of the dissertation, but perhaps they are worth reiterating here: Antheil's *Modern Music* columns up until about 1938, Schoenberg's *School for Soundmen* memorandum, Stravinsky's comments about Fantasia and Tansman's notes to Selznick all show the optimist side of how the composers viewed their role in the shaping of film music. After their failure, each composer had their own dismissive spins on the subjects: the film portion of Antheil's autobiography, Schoenberg's various writings collected in *Style and Idea* or even Tansman's late career radio interviews are good examples of the disillusionment – though none of them can be compared with Stravinsky's wallpaper article in terms of influence. The fact that neither composer could realize their theoretical dreams significantly contributed to their eventual stance of film music and consequently shaped how researches on the subject became dismissive towards the whole field. The aftermath of this argument can be still felt in terms of how film music is marginalized in critical discourse.

***

The opening chapter of the dissertation promised three things to be accomplished: the first two (an attempt an synthesizing the history of rejected Hollywood scores in the studio era and a closer examination of key texts) were attempted in the main body of the thesis. The third goal of drawing new conclusions in order to dismiss the currently favored narrative is pinpointed in several other parts of the dissertation, so perhaps it's best to summarize them here more clearly.

1) The current significant volumes of film music history clearly put the blame on the studios and the producers when it comes to explaining the neglect of Schoenberg, Stravinsky and company. My comparative study of the four case histories on the other hand shows that all four of the composers usually brought up in these discussions committed a number of serious mistakes that lead to their downfall.

a) Antheil wasn't very diplomatic to his colleagues and acted as an independent rebel within a system that valued camaraderie. When the tide turned within the Paramount music department, he was immediately removed from the system.

b) Schoenberg had no concept of how film music worked. Although he claimed to have a serious interest in cinema, his real focus was seeing how film could benefit his music instead of how his music can benefit a film. When he did get interested in one film (The Good Earth), he got invested too early on, starting to work from the book as opposed to doing the "normal thing" and waiting for the final cut.

c) Stravinsky's first major mistake was overpricing himself within such a competitive field; by the time he got a hang of the financial aspects of film scoring, he started to make a mistake similar to Schoenberg: he got involved too early and worked from scripts rather than waiting for the finished film or a signed contract.

d) Tansman's mistake was the lack of flexibility as he simply couldn't keep up with the constantly changing demands and ideas of David O. Selznick. Perhaps worse than this is the notion that the Polish composer had no respect for the producer, which again is related to the social skills all successful film composers must possess.

2) While the filmmakers are frequently brought up by contemporary historians, the relationship of contract composers and freelance composers is rarely brought up in the discussion. Unfortunately this also means that we simply neglect the fact how Hollywood studios had an extremely strong sense of self-preservation against "outsiders" without a fixed studio contract. Even when it was viewed as an ideal destination for European immigrants, who could become millionaires if they succeeded in the film business, the studios could be unbelievably brutal with anyone who didn't have a signed contract with one of them. These four case studies involving some of the greatest composers of the 20th century are the most striking testaments one can find in the whole industry.

3) To put it bluntly, Hollywood wanted to be modern without being modernist. The studios wanted to capitalize on the name recognition of people like George Antheil, but they didn't want to put up with the personal antics that came with the fame. And the producers definitely wanted to share the limelight with Schoenberg and Stravinsky, but didn't want their music unless it was tamed by a contracted professional at their disposal. The mutual disrespect, the preconceptions and the theoretical disagreements didn't allow for any meaningful collaboration between the filmmakers and the composers who didn't consider film a valid art form apart from its entertainment factor.

When framing this story in contemporary film music history, we read the same story in every interpretation of the four case histories: strong-minded composers kept their artistic integrity in the face of a ruthless industry. But if we look at the problem from another angle, the major producers also had artistic integrity they wanted to maintain: they wanted to make money and wanted Academy Awards like everyone in Hollywood, but their also believed they made artworks that kept their names alive. When faced with composers who thought differently about what art consists of, the producers naturally chose to keep their artistic integrity instead of submitting themselves to one of the lesser crewmembers. Somehow we still don't think of film producers as "artists" in any sense of the word, which means our exploration of artistic integrity in Hollywood cannot be completed until we change our mindset on this question.

***

As the opening motto by David Raksin claims, "You're not a full-fledged screen composer until you've had a score thrown out of a picture." The main point of this quote is that score rejection is not unusual at all. *The Treatment of Artistic Integrity in the American Film Industry* only scratched the surface of this fascinating issue by focusing on a handful of cases from a brief period of time (1933-1948) and one single industry (Hollywood) even if it's the most prolific one. There are hundreds, if not thousands of more case histories that could be examined not individually, but as signals of more complex issues of artistic integrity, film politics or cultural differences. In a truly multidisciplinary field such as film music, I can only hope that researches from all neighboring fields (American culture, film studies, music history) can take something useful from my work and use it to reach new conclusions in their own field.

Appendices, Charts, Images

Arnold Schoenberg: Art and the Moving Pictures (1940)

When Berlin's UFA made its first successful experiments with talking pictures, about 5958 or 1929, I was invited to record myself in picture and sound. The speech I delivered was an enthusiastic address of welcome to the new invention through which I expected a renaissance of the arts.

The silent film had reached the lowest point of vulgarity at this time, and save for this new invention it would probably have been dead in a few years. Now I expected a renaissance of the word – of thoughts, of ideas – dealing with the highest problems of mankind.

How wrong I had been!

When I expressed these desires, I had in mind the audiences of the Viennese Burgtheater or the Deutsches Theater in Berlin: audiences which consisted mostly of people who knew not only a few quotations, but could recite by heart whole pages of Shakespeare, Schiller, Goethe, Wagner; audiences which did not go to the theatre only to burst into laughter, but which followed the finesses of a dialogue with a fine, quiet smile; audiences which discussed for a long time afterwards the problems of a drama. They also liked their stars, but their real interest centred in the characters – whether they hated or admired, pitied or envied a hero or a villain. No actor could succeed merely by his personal appeal if he did not possess the power of personification – bringing to life a King Lear, a Piccolomini, a Goetz von Berlichingen, or a Wotan – if his use of the word could not overwhelmingly affect the emotions of his audience as well as satisfy its intellectual expectations.

How wrong I had been: a few months afterwards my dream was destroyed by the appearance of the first 'full-sized' film, 'full-sized' also in vulgarity, sentimentality and mere playing for the gallery. It was the first step downward to the lowest kind of entertainment and never since has a step in the opposite direction been ventured with such success. The production of moving pictures abandoned entirely every attempt towards art and remained an industry, mercilessly suppressing every dangerous trait of art.

Astonishingly, after some reluctance, the more highly educated class of people bowed to the facts. Enchanted by the new technical wonders, they renounced superior ideas and found themselves satisfied with a cheap happy ending. I had dreamed of a dramatization of Balzac's *Seraphita*, or Strindberg's To Damascus, or the second part of Goethe's

Faust, or even Wagner's *Parsifal*. All of these works, by renouncing the law of 'unity of space and time', would have found the solution to realization in sound pictures. But the industry continued to satisfy only the needs and demands of the ordinary people who filled their theatres.

There was no compulsion to renounce the demands of the intellectually minded. Though there were always those works which satisfied the whole of a nation, or even of the entire world, like Mickey Mouse, or some of the films of Charlie Chaplin, Harold Lloyd, and the Marx brothers; like some operas of Rossini, operettas of Offenbach and Johann Strauss, and plays by popular poets, like Raimund and Nestroy; or popular music of Strauss, Offenbach, Foster, Gershwin, and many jazz composers; though there existed works which had the same appeal to the more highly educated as to the average citizen, there still remained unsatisfied those minds whose desires were served by the religious spirits of a Calderon, a Tolstoy, or by a Mass of Bach or Schubert; or by Maeterlinck's Jakob Boehmas, or Swedenborg's mysticism, or by Ibsen's social and Strindberg's matrimonial problems.

Ignoring the very problems of our times – these religious, philosophical, psychological, social, 'Weltanschauungs', economical, national and racial problems – can one ignore the fact that an Offenbach of our times would not dare to write satirically against a Napoleon III, nor could our Moliere venture today to expose our physicians or 'nouveau-riches' to the laughter of an audience? No doubt, a present-day Beaumarchais would not succeed to see his Barber of Seville and Marriage of Figaro undermining customary privileges of the Grandes. At least not in moving pictures could he see them, unless their tendency, right or wrong, were cut down to that zero point which allows for a happy ending – it can't happen here – remember this. Or rather, it can't happen in the movies, where there is as well no space for the ideas of the fighters for liberal freedom, as presented in *Fidelio*, *Rienzi*, *Sicilian Vespers*, *Massaniello*, or *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, as for the expression of religious ideas like those found in Liszt's *Christus*, or *Saint Elizabeth*, or in Wagner's *Parsifal*, or in my own *Moses and Aron*.

Is it admissible to forget the painter, the artist, who, of course, also produces pictures? In moving pictures one meets only with that which corresponds to the period of realism in art. But one knows that since that time great artists have gone through a number of styles, schools of which never a hint has been made in the films.

So much for poetry and painting. As regards music one need not speak about modern music. With a few exceptions the industry has not yet admitted the classic music from Bach to Schubert, not to mention Brahms, Wagner, Berlioz, Debussy, Richard Strauss, or Mahler.

I do not believe that a great majority of the people as a whole would object seriously against being served occasionally with classic music. There is at least no evidence of that. But there is evidence that the audiences of classic music are growing constantly and that classic programmes are played over the radio several times each week and operas are broadcast from the Metropolitan, coast to coast, and also by recordings from many a smaller station. Would the people do this if there was really the same objection against artistic feeling as producers pretend?

I do not expect that producers will change their attitude towards the arts, nor will they admit that the people can become educated and accustomed to art, to that which they themselves, the producers, cannot be persuaded. And I think there is a different and better way to fulfil the demands of the intellectually minded.

One can assume that, though people of higher ranks may have participated in 'panem to circenses', devoted primarily to the plebs, there might also have existed entertainments devoted to adherents of intellectualism. At least one knows for certain that there exist opera and operetta houses distinctly devoted to the demands of different kinds of people. It may be admitted that operas, in contrast to operettas, were generally not self-supporting. Though I knew also opera theatres whose administration was perfect and accordingly self-supporting. But with moving pictures it can be different.

In Vienna I once met a man who had heard the Ninth Symphony, when I conducted it, only for the fiftieth time. Another man told me he had heard the *Merry Widow* more than a hundred times. When I was twenty-five I had heard operas of Wagner between twenty and thirty times each. The average non-professional music lover in Germany or Austria could likewise claim such a record; he had heard *Butterfly* twenty times, *Tosca, Boheme,* and *Cavalleria* eighteen times each, *Aida, Carmen,* and *II Trovatore* fifteen times, *Tannhauser, Meistersinger,* and *The Barber of Seville* twenty times, *Lohengrin, The Flying Dutchman,* and *Tales of Hoffman* nine times, *Faust, Figaro,* and *Tristan* about eight times each, *Mahon, Fra Diavolo, Magic Flute,* and *Salome* about seven times, *The Prophet, Don Juan,* and *Freischiitz* six times, *Fidelio* four times, besides lesser known operas once or more.

This investigation was made in a circle of typical music lovers about 191o, and checked somewhat in later years. Twenty-six operas are listed which comprise 285 opera visits. That means that each person questioned attended each of these operas, on the average, more than ten times. Operas which at present are seldom played are not listed. Those listed have been favoured by the regular opera audiences, on the average, for more than four decades, some for more than a century. That means that four generations of opera lovers have seen these works, all told, at least forty times.

But let us assume that each opera has been attended only twenty times. What conclusion can be drawn?

I know only a very small number of people who have seen a movie more than once.

Producers of movies can obtain an attendance of 100 per cent of the movie-going population only in the case of a great success.

Suppose the audience which can be acquired for serious plays and operas is only five per cent of the people (which seems not too exaggerated a hope if one considers how symphony audiences have grown), and in four generations every single person of these audiences would see a work (not ten times, as my account shows) only five times: five times four generations means twenty times for each work. Twenty times five per cent of the population amounts to the same too per cent of the population for which the movie industry aims so badly.

Now, my conclusion.

There can, and must be, founded a production of plays and operas to satisfy the demands of the more highly educated, plus the demands of art.

I do not assume that the industry, which at present produces moving pictures, could, or cares to start such a turn towards pure art. This could only be done by men who had not used their talents in the opposite direction. This can only be done by new men.

I, further, do not assume that the theatres which are owned by the industry should be used for such works of art. Art does not need so much pomp. Its own splendour created a scene of dignity, which cannot be surpassed by materialistic profusion.

There are, of course, many problems involved. They need not be discussed at present. There is time enough to do this, especially as the industry might shortly be forced to consider some problems of its own, imposed on it by the advent of television. Perhaps people might come to realize then that art is less expensive than amusement, and more profitable.

Igor Stravinsky on Film Music: As Told to Ingolf Dahl (1946)

As Igor Stravinsky is eminently a "contemporary" composer and decidedly a "modernist," it is sometimes difficult to remember that this Russian innovator in tone, born in 1882, was already 15 years old when Brahms died. It is almost as hard to realize today that *The Firebird, Petrouchka* and *Rite of Spring* ballets were composed prior to the outbreak of World War I, while Histoire du Soldat was created before that war ended. Even the much later *Symphony of Psalms,* which had been composed for the fiftieth anniversary of the Boston Symphony, dates as far back as 1930. Such biographical details are worth mention, not only for the record but as collateral tribute to the vitality and verve of the composer and his creations. As for the man himself, his opinions on the relation of music to moving pictures set forth in this article acquire additional weight and momentum, of course, because Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps* (*Rite of Spring*) reaches the celluloid in Walt Disney's *Fantasia*.

Some of the Russian's views may startle some readers; hardly one reader will be shocked into anything less profitable than a fresh examination of his own opinions.

/Ingolf Dahl/

What is the function of music in moving pictures? What, you ask, are the particular problems involved in music for the screen? I can answer both questions briefly. And I must answer them bluntly. There are no musical problems in the film. And there is only one real function of film music – namely, to feed the composer! In all frankness I find it impossible to talk to film people about music because we have no common meeting ground; their primitive and childish concept of music is not my concept. They have the mistaken notion that music, in "helping" and "explaining" the cinematic shadow-play, could be regarded under artistic considerations. It cannot be.

Do not misunderstand me. I realize that music is an indispensable adjunct to the sound film. It has got to bridge holes; it has got to fill the emptiness of the screen and supply the loudspeakers with more or less pleasant sounds. The film could not get along without it, just as I myself could not get along without having the empty spaces of my living-room walls covered with wall paper. But you would not ask me, would you, to regard my wall paper as I would regard painting, or apply aesthetic standards to it?

Misconceptions arise at the very outset of such a discussion when it is asserted that music will help the drama by underlining and describing the characters and the action. Well, that is precisely the same fallacy which has so disastrously affected the true opera through the "Musikdrama." Music explains nothing; music underlines nothing. When it attempts to explain, to narrate, or to underline something, the effect is both embarrassing and harmful.

What, for example, is "sad" music? There is no sad music, there are only conventions to which part of the western world has unthinkingly become accustomed through repeated associations. These conventions tell us that Allegro stands for rushing action, Adagio for tragedy, suspension harmonies for sentimental feeling, etc. I do not like to base premises on wrong deductions, and these conventions are far removed from the essential core of music.

And – to ask a question myself – why take film music seriously? The film people admit themselves that at its most satisfactory it should not be heard as such. Here I agree. I believe that it should not hinder or hurt the action and that it should fill its wallpaper function by having the same relationship to the drama that restaurant music has to the conversation at the individual restaurant table. Or that somebody's piano playing in my living-room has to the book I am reading.

The orchestral sounds in films, then, would be like a perfume which is indefinable there. But let it be clearly understood that such perfume "explains" nothing; and, moreover, I can not accept it as music. Mozart once said: "Music is there to delight us, that is its calling." In other words, music is too high an art to be a servant to other arts; it is too high to be absorbed only by the subconscious mind of the spectator, if it still wants to be considered as music.

Furthermore, the fact that some good composers have composed for the screen does not alter these basic considerations. Decent composers will offer the films decent pages of background score; they will supply more "listenable" sounds than other composers; but even they are subject to the basic rules of the film which, of course, are primarily commercial. The film makers know that they need music, but they prefer music which is not very new. When, for commercial reasons, they employ a composer of repute they want him to write this kind of "not very new" music – which, of course, results in nothing but musical disaster.

I have been asked whether my own music, written for the ballet and the stage, would not be comparable in its dramatic connotation to music in the films. It cannot be compared at all. The days of Petrouchka are long past, and whatever few elements of realistic description can be found in its pages fail to be representative of my thinking now. My music expresses nothing of realistic character, and neither does the dance. The ballet consists of movements which have their own aesthetic and logic, and if one of those movements should happen to be a visualization of the words "I Love You," then this reference to the external world would play the same role in the dance (and in my music) that a guitar in a Picasso still-life would play: something of the world is caught as pretext or clothing for the inherent abstraction. Dancers have nothing to narrate and neither has my music. Even in older ballets like Giselle, descriptiveness has been removed – by virtue of its naiveté, its unpretentious traditionalism and its simplicity – to a level of objectivity and pure art-play.

My music for the stage, then, never tries to "explain" the action, but rather it lives side by side with the visual movement, happily married to it, as one individual to another. In Scènes de Ballet the dramatic action was given by an evolution of plastic problems, and both dance and music had to be constructed on the architectural feeling for contrast and similarity.

The danger in the visualization of music on the screen – and a very real danger it is – is that the film has always tried to "describe" the music. That is absurd. When Balanchine did a choreography to my Danses Concertantes (originally written as a piece of concert music) he approached the problem architecturally and not descriptively. And his success was extraordinary for one great reason: he went to the roots of the musical form, of the jeu musical, and recreated it in forms of movements. Only if the films should ever adopt an attitude of this kind is it possible that a satisfying and interesting art form would result.

The dramatic impact of my Histoire du Soldat has been cited by various critics. There, too, the result was achieved, not by trying to write music which, in the background, tried to explain the dramatic action, or to carry the action forward descriptively, the procedure followed in the cinema. Rather was it the simultaneity of stage, narration, and music which was the object, resulting in the dramatic power of the whole. Put music and drama together as individual entities, put them together and let them alone, without compelling one to try to "explain" and to react to the other. To borrow a term from chemistry: my ideal is the chemical reaction, where a new entity, a third body, results from uniting two different but equally important elements, music and drama; it is not the chemical mixture where,

as in the films, to the preordained whole just the ingredient of music is added, resulting in nothing either new or creative. The entire working methods of dramatic film exemplify this.

All these reflections are not to be taken as a point-blank refusal on my part ever to work for the film. I do not work for money, but I need it, as everybody does. Chesterton tells about Charles Dickens' visit to America. The people who had invited him to lecture here were astonished, it seems, about his interest in fees and contracts. "Money is not a shocking thing to an artist," Dickens insisted. Likewise there will be nothing shocking to me in offering my professional capacities to a film studio for remuneration.

If I am asked whether the dissemination of good concert music in the cinema will help to create a more understanding mass audience, I can only answer that here again we must beware of dangerous misconceptions. My first premise is that good music must be heard by and for itself, and not with the crutch of any visual medium. If you start to explain the "meaning" of music you are on the wrong path. Such absurd "meanings" will invariably be established by the image, if only through automatic association. That is an extreme disservice to music. Listeners will never be able to hear music by and for itself, but only for what it represents under the given circumstances and given instructions. Music can be useful, I repeat, only when it is taken for itself. It has to play its own role if it is to be understood at all. And for music to be useful to the individual we must above all teach the self-sufficiency of music, and you will agree that the cinema is a poor place for that! Even under the best conditions it is impossible for the human brain to follow the ear and the eye at the same time.

And even listening is itself not enough, granted that it be understood in its best sense; the training of the ear. To listen only is too passive and it creates a taste and judgment which are too general, too indiscriminate. Only in limited degree can music be helped through increased listening; much more important is the making of music. The playing of an instrument, actual production of some kind or another, will make music accessible and helpful to the individual, not the passive consumption in the darkness of a neighborhood theatre.

And it is the individual that matters, never the mass. The "mass," in relationship to art, is a quantitative term which has never once entered into my consideration. When Disney used Sacre du Printemps for Fantasia he told me: "Think of the number of people who will thus be able to hear your music!" Well, the number of people who will consume music

is doubtless of interest to somebody like [impresario] Mr. [Sol] Hurok, but it is of no interest to me. The broad mass adds nothing to the art, it cannot raise the level, and the artists who aims consciously at "mass-appeal" can do so only by lowering his own level. The soul of each individual who listens to my music is important to me, and not the mass feeling of a group. Music cannot be helped through an increase in quantity of listeners, be this increase effected by the films or any other medium, but only through an increase in the quality of listening, the quality of the individual soul.

In my autobiography I described the dangers of mechanical music distribution; and I still believe, as I then did, that "for the majority of listeners there is every reason to fear that, far from developing a love and understanding of music, the modern methods of dissemination will . . . produce indifference, inability to understand, to appreciate, or to undergo any worthy reaction. In addition, there is the musical deception arising from the substitution for the actual playing of a reproduction, whether on record or film or by wireless transmission. It is the same difference as that between the synthetic and the authentic. The danger lied in the fact that there is always a far greater consumption of the synthetic which, it must always be remembered, is far from being identical with its mode. The continuous habit of listening to changed and sometimes distorted timbres dulls and degrades the ear, so that it gradually loses all capacity for enjoying natural musical sounds."

In summary, then, my ideas on music and the moving pictures are brief and definite:

The current cinematic concept of music is foreign to me; I express myself in a different way. What common language can one have with the films? They have recourse to music for reasons of sentiment. They use it like remembrances, like odors, like perfumes which evoke remembrances. As for myself, I need music for hygienic purposes, for the health of my soul. Without music in its best sense there is chaos. For my part, music is a force which gives reason to things, a force which creates organization, which attunes things. Music probably attended the creation of the universe. LOGOS.

David Raksin: Hollywood Strikes Back (1946)

I live in a land where deference towards one's elders is scarcely the rule; young people grow up to think in terms of a man's essential worth rather than his seniority. "Essential worth" is, of course, a fancy generalization. It is a variable, a term that permits too many subjective responses. Nevertheless, the essential worth of a man like Igor Stravinsky is hardly disputable – when he is writing music. In the role of critic, however, his greatness is questionable. His recent pronouncements make this abundantly clear.

In writing of a man who was composing Le Sacre du Printemps the year I was born, I must first make clear my great admiration for his genius and for the music he has created. It is not with this that I would quarrel, but with his opinions on artistic matters that appear to be quite beyond his understanding.

In his interview with Ingolf Dahl, which appeared in the Musical Digest of September 1946, Mr. Stravinsky contends that "there is only one real function of film music – namely to feed the composer." Aside from the fact that I have found this function a consistently useful one, there are other less personal reasons for holding it in respect.

One wishes, as he reads the oftentimes sad history of music, that it might have operated on behalf of Mozart and Schubert. The world has so often neglected its great men that one looks with pleasure at the composer who eats regularly as a result of the indulgence of a wealthy patron or of an organization (sometimes called commission), or by composing or orchestrating for the ballet. In a world where man does not live by double-fugues alone, perhaps the composer who works in films is most fortunate of all. At least he works as a composer and does not wear himself out teaching dolts, concertizing or kow-towing to concert-managers, dilettantes and other musical parasites.

While he may sometimes work with people whose intelligence is somewhat below that of Leonardo da Vinci, this is in no way different from the "Classic" position of the composer, who has always had to cope with employers or patrons who were fundamentally unmusical, from the Archbishop of Salzburg to Louis B. Mayer. The whole struggle of the new generation of American composers has been just this: that they should be able to live from their work as composers. If film music makes this possible, so much the better.

Mr. Stravinsky is absolutely horrified at the esthetics of film music. "I find it impossible to talk to film people about music," he says, "because we have no common meet-

ing ground; their primitive and childish concept of music is not my concept." So long as he assumes the position of godhead in esthetic matters, there are, of course, no grounds for argument. What is primitive and childish is often open to question. Mr. Stravinsky appears to be using against film music the same arguments that were directed against his own ballet, Le Sacre du Printemps, when it first appeared. And if complexity and maturity be the opposites of the qualities that Mr. Stravinsky so despises, he will have great difficulty in convincing all critics that these are the typical qualities of his own music.

A popular, non-technical magazine is hardly the place to be quoting musical examples; otherwise it would be easy to set Mr. Stravinsky's words against his music. For now, it must be sufficient to wonder aloud how the second movement of his Symphony in Three Movements and parts of Scènes de Ballet fit in with his dicta. It has always been interesting to see how often an artist's stated principles are contradicted by his art.

It is an inevitable corollary of Mr. Stravinsky's esthetics that film music, as he sees it, cannot "be regarded under artistic considerations." He said no; I say yes. Impasse. But it is an impasse arising out of a dogmatic assumption with which he could trap the unwary. Evidently Mr. Stravinsky's definition of art is a restrictive one, and if he can maintain it, he has indeed succeeded where philosophers have been frustrated for centuries. He, of all people, should beware of such restrictive definitions. A genuine orthodoxy, sanctioned by theories and accomplishments of generations of great artists before his own time, might conceivably exclude most of his own art. Mr. Stravinsky's definitions must perforce be broad ones, lest he find himself a pariah among those to whom he would appear as a god. Neither Mr. Stravinsky nor I will decide these matters. They will be decided through the same process of selection that constantly refines and revitalizes our musical heritage. Such selective processes have a way of disregarding respectability, theories and venerable age, and of deferring only to essential worth.

The doctrine of essential worth, if I may presume so to dignify the idea, is not one that requires definition. It is quite satisfied with illustration. If one cannot say what it is, one can at least say what it does. It has freed artists from oppressive esthetic standards of both the past and present. It has repeatedly sent the status quo crashing into ruins. It has broken the charmed circle and destroyed the exclusiveness of the daisy chain. It has assured universality and immortality to any piece of music that is good, whether it be a symphony, a popular song or a sequence in a film score. More than that, it has made room in the contemporary musical scene for Mr. Stravinsky.

It is true, of course, that a sequence of film music may not measure up as a musical entity – that is, it may not satisfy the logic of "pure" music. But it may, nevertheless, remain a good piece of film music; and as such, it may be as worthy of artistic consideration as other music for, say, the opera, or the ballet or the dramatic stage. If one were to quibble with Mr. Stravinsky's music as he quibbles with Hollywood's, it would be fair to ask just what "pure" logic is satisfied by the final bars of Petrouchka. By themselves they are hard to justify, but in the context of the ballet they are inevitable. So with film music: many a sequence derives its meaning from the context of the film and the rest of the music. The "wall-paper" theory of film music which Mr. Stravinsky so glibly expounds may help him to maintain the defensive position of a neo-classicist who does not wish his preconceived attitudes to be affected in any way by facts. But it cannot be other than ridiculous to the film-goer, to whom the function of film music is an actuality which he does not need to be convinced of, since he experiences it.

"Put music and drama together as individual entities," says Mr. Stravinsky, "put them together and let them alone, without compelling one to try to 'explain' and to react to the other." Then, contradicting himself, he explains that his ideal is "the chemical reaction where a new entity… results." Aside from the fact that Mr. Stravinsky thus rules out almost all of the operas the world has learned to love in favor of his own esoteric preferences, it seems sheer presumption to say arbitrarily that this reaction never occurs in film music. Anyone who has ever seen the silent footage of a film in its rough cut and then the final scored version can testify to the transformation. The expressiveness of film music has frequently been derided; too often it overstates the case. But to deny its eloquence requires an extreme degree of insensitivity.

Here one runs into another of Mr. Stravinsky's dogmas, the statement that "music explains nothing, music underlines nothing." This may be for Mr. Stravinsky a satisfactory defense of his own aversion to expressiveness. But it hardly conforms to the facts. Mr. Stravinsky's music may indeed be more expressive than he himself suspects. For even when he sets out to say nothing he succeeds in saying much about himself. And this is why he has come to be recognized as one of the great masters of our day. What we revere in his music is precisely what he has explained and underlined about himself, not what he has hidden from us.

Pursuing his idea, Mr. Stravinsky goes on to ask, "What is 'sad' music?" I confess that I find this question narrow, contemptuous, disillusioned, insensitive, precious – and

deaf. Does the man who grew up in the land of Tchaikovsky and Moussorgsky really ask what is sad music? Ask the artist who painted Guernica what is horror, the author of the Twenty-ninth Psalm what is exaltation. Mr. Stravinsky seems hardly the one to pause for an answer to such questions, for his esoteric point of view excludes the simple, direct and accessible aspects of art.

I do not hold to the extreme opposite of insisting that every note of music must have some "significance" – social or otherwise – in order to justify it. This approach to art is as intolerable as it is dull. But somehow it seems closer to the realities of life than a philosophy of detachment and scorn.

No one can quarrel with Mr. Stravinsky's prerogatives as an artist, or with his analyses of his own music. They are interesting but not final. Just as Mr. Stravinsky has searched deeply for the intrinsic quality of the music of Pergolesi in Pulcinella, so do we who listen to Stravinsky's music search for the meaning that it has for us. These meanings, I suspect, are far greater than Mr. Stravinsky prefers to acknowledge. Consider, for a moment, the Introduction to the second part of Le Sacre, or Jocasta's aria, Oracula, Oracula, from Oedipus Rex. Examples fall over themselves to be heard, but if I may hark back to an earlier paragraph of this article, let us forget the author of the Twenty-ninth Psalm, and ask the composer of the last movement of the Symphony of Psalms, with its Hallelujahs, what is exaltation?

That Mr. Stravinsky is not unaware of the significance of his music is demonstrated by his acceptance of Ingolf Dahl's program notes for the Symphony in C Major, which included the following sentence: "One day it will be universally recognized that the white house in the Hollywood hills, in which the Symphony was written and which was regarded by some as an ivory tower, was just as close to the core of the world at war as the place where Picasso painted Guernica." Many of us were greatly surprised when Mr. Stravinsky approved this passage; some questioned its validity, which now seems to this writer more apparent than it was at first. The important thing is that Mr. Stravinsky, by his approval, admits to this significance.

The difference between the meanings that a composer intends and the meanings that an audience infers constitutes the very richness of art. Speaking of his Scènes de Ballet, Mr. Stravinsky says, "the dramatic action was given by an evolution of plastic problems." This is undoubtedly true – although one notes that he uses the word "dramatic" in describing the action. But it is not the whole truth. For not all of the problems of today's

composers are plastic problems. Many of them are dynamic problems presented by events of the composer's inner and outer life. Expressive music does not have to dig very hard into the history of musical art to find examples in abundance. One can find them even in Mr. Stravinsky's music – in the opening of the Symphony in Three Movements, for instance, in the outer movements of the Symphony of Psalms, in the Pas de Deux of Scènes de Ballet, with its sentimental trumpet solo. These may have been plastic problems to Mr. Stravinsky; but the finished product, as we hear it, is packed with feeling and emotion.

On the basis of his music, Mr. Stravinsky, who has fathered the latest cult of inexpressiveness (an earlier one was sired by Nero), seems himself not quite able to fulfill the membership qualifications. This may come as a great blow to him, but the gulf between his own music and that of the films is neither so wide nor so impassable as he would like to imagine. A man who writes such pretty thirds and sixths, whose music from the ballet, Firebird, is soon to be the subject of a tap dance in a film, and whose new ballad, Summer Moon, may soon be a contender for Hit Parade honors, is hardly in the best possible position to espouse austerity.

I must now point out again that I admire and respect Mr. Stravinsky as a great composer. But as a critic of music in films he leaves much to be desired. Any Hollywood composer can tell him what is really wrong with film music. Mr. Stravinsky himself has pointed out none of the real defects. He has succeeded only in expressing an esoteric and snobbish attitude.

"Music," says Mr. Stravinsky, "probably attended the creation of the universe." Certainly. It was background music.

Chart 1) The music department of an average Hollywood studio (Prendergast:37)

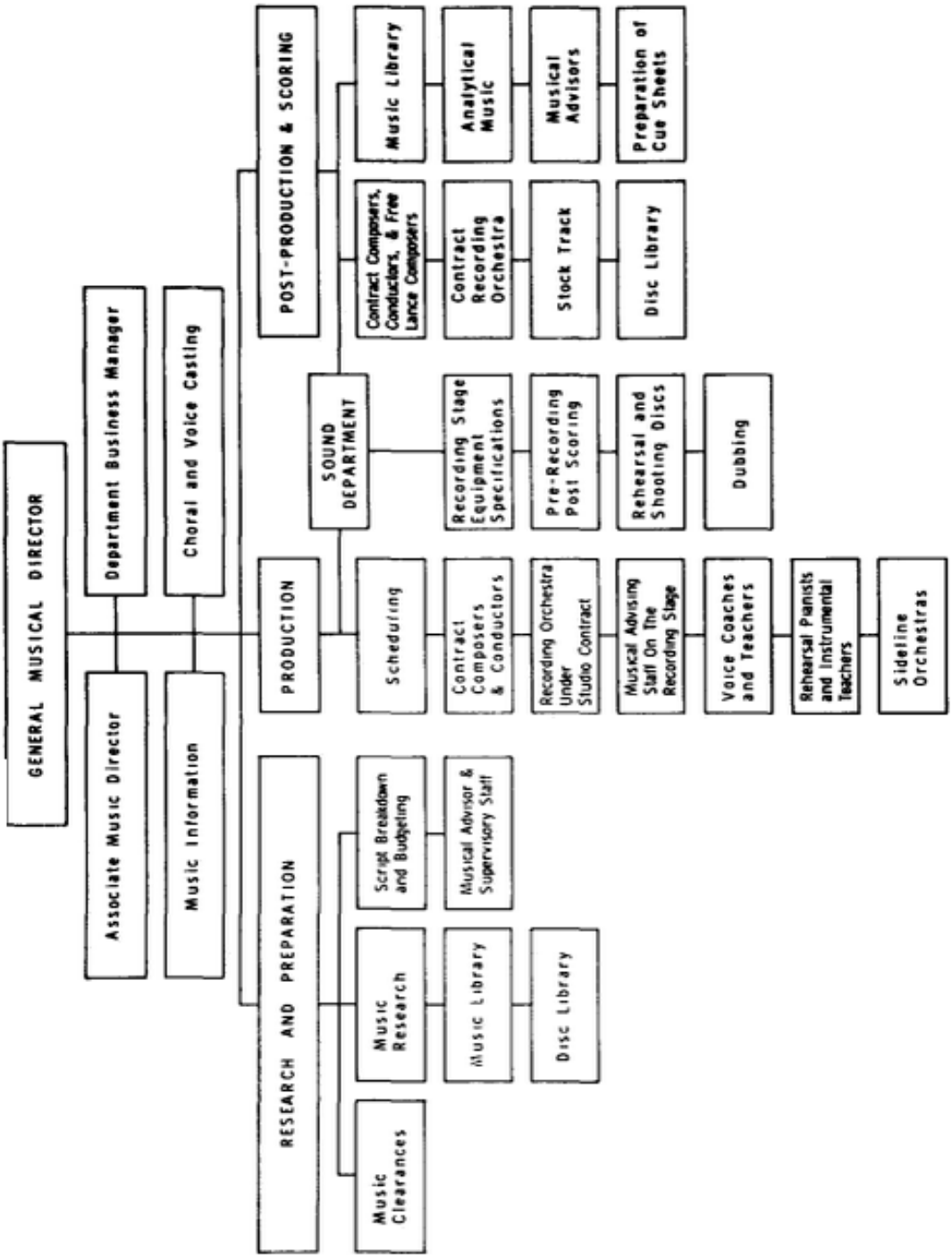


Image 1A) George Antheil at the piano (George Antheil Collection)

Image 1B) Contemporary cartoon of George Antheil by Miguel Covarrubias

Published in the *New York Sun*, April 10th 1927 (The premiere of *Ballet Mécanique*)

Image 2A-B) Boris Morros with Kurt Weill at the Paramount (Kurt Weill Center)

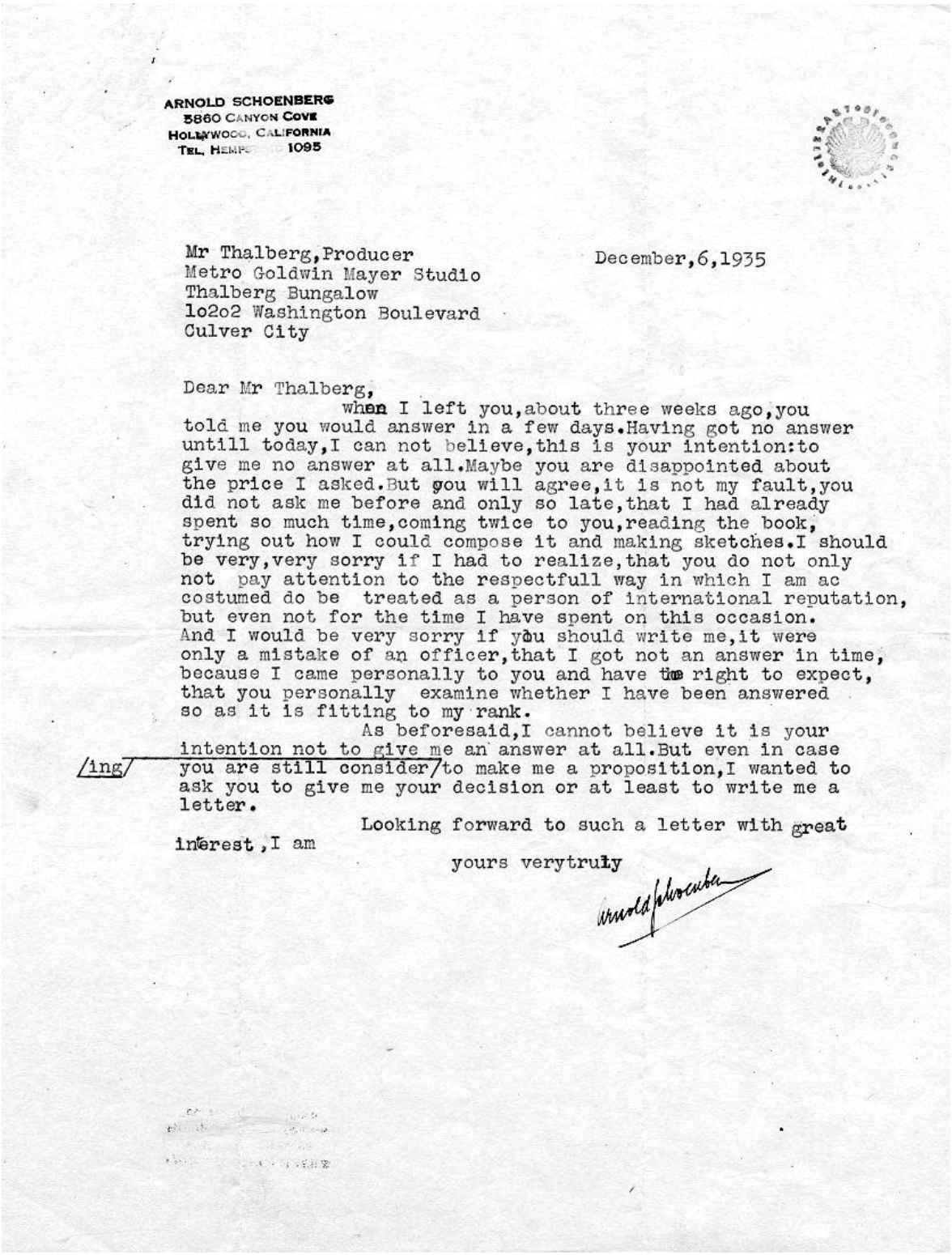
Photos most likely made during *Souls at Sea* (1937) and *You and Me* (1938)

****

Image 2C) The musical credits of John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939)

The credits unusually list all the composers (DVD by Criterion Collection)

Image 3) Carbon copy B of Schoenberg's letter to Irving G. Thalberg regarding his work on *The Good Earth* (Arnold Schönberg Center)



ARNOLD SCHOENBERG
5860 CANYON COVE
HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA
TEL. HEMP[illegible] 1095

Mr Thalberg,Producer
Metro Goldwin Mayer Studio
Thalberg Bungalow
1o2o2 Washington Boulevard
Culver City

December,6,1935

Dear Mr Thalberg,

when I left you,about three weeks ago,you told me you would answer in a few days.Having got no answer untill today,I can not believe,this is your intention:to give me no answer at all.Maybe you are disappointed about the price I asked.But you will agree,it is not my fault,you did not ask me before and only so late,that I had already spent so much time,coming twice to you,reading the book, trying out how I could compose it and making sketches.I should be very,very sorry if I had to realize,that you do not only not pay attention to the respectfull way in which I am accostumed do be treated as a person of international reputation, but even not for the time I have spent on this occasion. And I would be very sorry if you should write me,it were only a mistake of an officer,that I got not an answer in time, because I came personally to you and have the right to expect, that you personally examine whether I have been answered so as it is fitting to my rank.

As beforesaid,I cannot believe it is your intention not to give me an answer at all.But even in case /ing/ you are still consider/to make me a proposition,I wanted to ask you to give me your decision or at least to write me a letter.

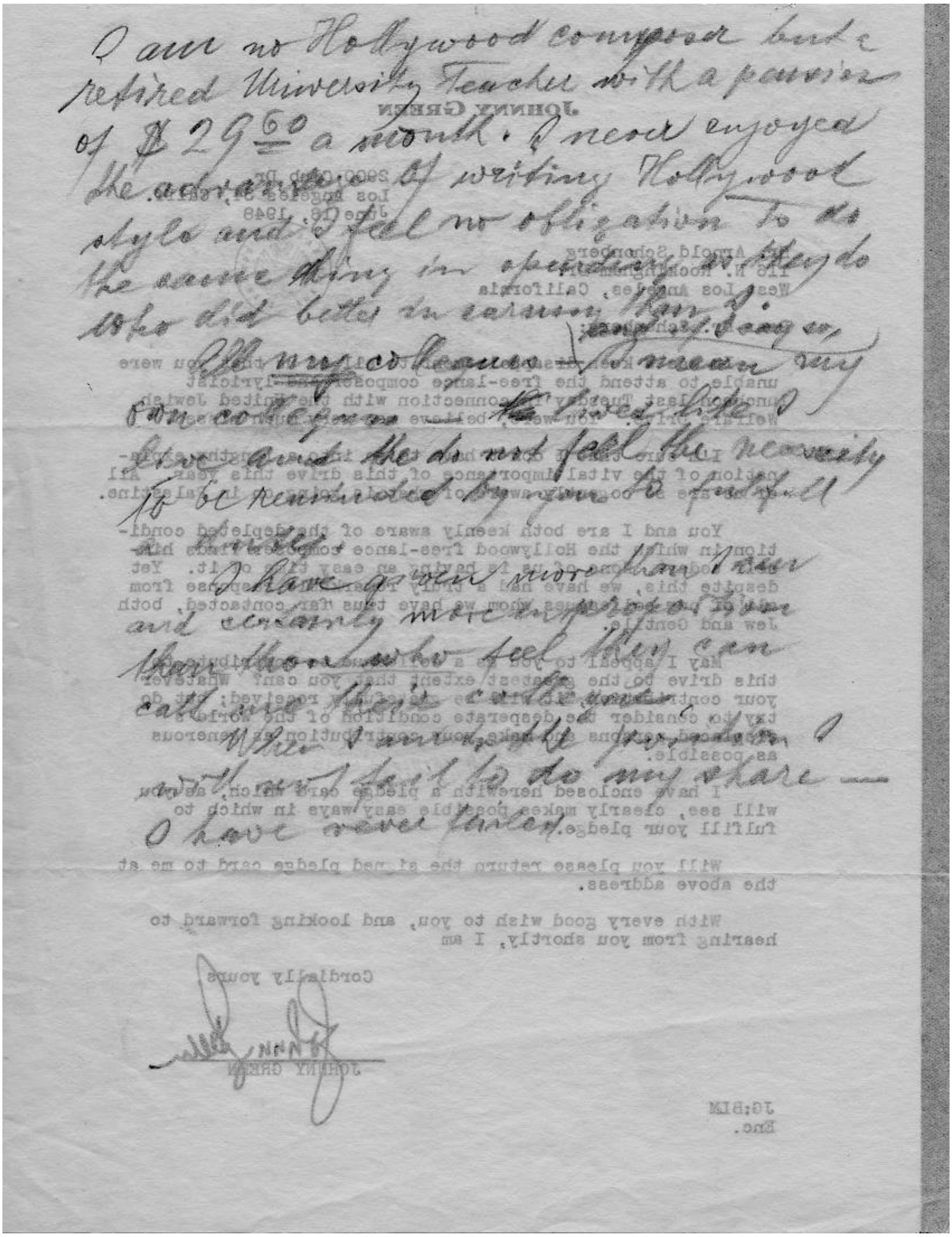
Looking forward to such a letter with great interest,I am

yours verytruly

arnold schoenberg

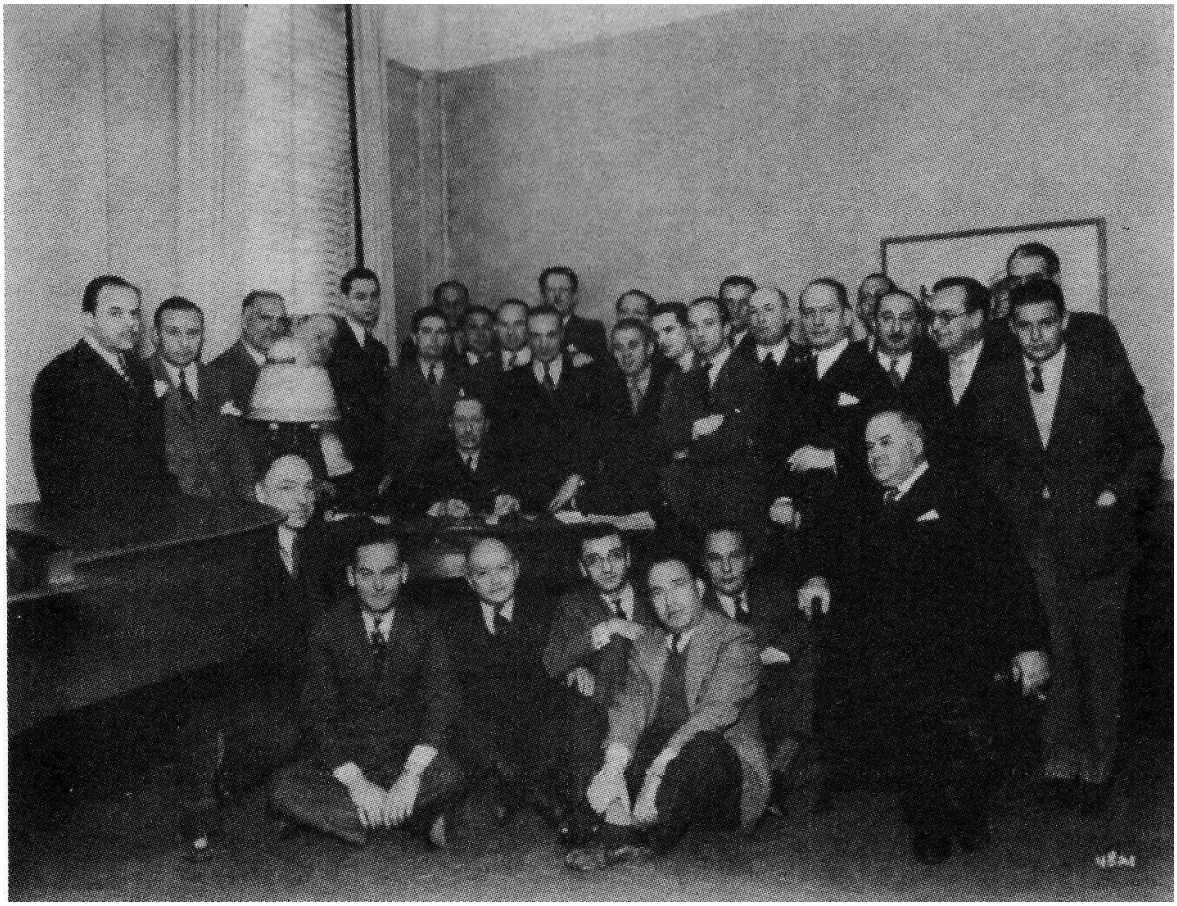
This copy was signed – unlike carbon copy A, which Schoenberg kept

Image 4) Handwritten draft of Arnold Schoenberg's response to John Green concerning the United Jewish Welfare Drive (Arnold Schönberg Center)


I am no Hollywood composer but a retired University Teacher with a pension of $29⁶⁰ a month. I never enjoyed the advantage of writing Hollywood style and I feel no obligation to do the same thing in spending as they do who did better in earning than I. [illegible] All my colleagues I mean my own colleagues [illegible] and they do not feel the necessity to be reminded by you to fulfill [illegible]. I have given more than I [illegible] and certainly more in proportion than those who feel they can call me their [illegible]. When I am able [illegible] I will not fail to do my share — I have never failed.

Green's original letter is still visible in the back!

Image 5A) Igor Stravinsky and the M-G-M music department, February 25, 1935
(Herbert Stothart Estate, Republished by the Film Music Society)



***

Image 5B) Igor Stravinsky and Alexandre Tansman in Hollywood, 1945
(Alexandre Tansman Collection)

Image 6) Copy of the press release about casting the composers for *Since You Went Away*

David O. Selznick is uniting as a team Alexander Tansman, world famous composer and pianist, and Charles Previn, the conductor, to create the musical setting for his all-star picture, "Since You Went Away". The two musicians teamed once before to supply the score for "Flesh and Fantasy".

To motion picture audiences, Previn is probably the better known. He won an Academy award with his musical direction for "100 Men and a Girl". He was musical director at Universal for seven and a half years and has conducted the music for a long list of films, among them "Shadow of a Doubt", "Saboteur", "My Man Godfrey", "Mad About Music", "If I Had My Way" and "Boys From Syracuse".

Tansman is the seventh most played of all the living composers in the classic style today and last Fall he conducted the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and the Philadelphia Orchestra in performances of his new Fifth Symphony, commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Polish Republic. "Flesh and Fantasy" is the only picture on which he has worked in this country, but before the war he composed frequently for French pictures, his music for Duvivier's "The Red Head" being a French award winner.

---

sn 2-4-44

"SINCE YOU WENT AWAY" is a SELZNICK INTERNATIONAL PICTURE

Unlike the other quoted documents, this was meant for the public

Image 7) Inter-office communication between David O. Selznick and his crew about organizing a test screening for *SYWA* with its unfinished score

INTER-OFFICE COMMUNICATION

FROM

DAVID O. SELZNICK

CULVER CITY, CALIFORNIA

TO Mr. Johnston - cc: Mr. O'Shea

SUBJECT: SYWA

DATE 3/13/44

Would you please get together with Hal Kern immediately and discuss with him my desire that the Tansman score of SYWA should not be done continuously but that the first session should be limited to whatever is the minimum required from a cost standpoint. Also it should, of course, be handled diplomatically and be kept between ourselves so as not to frighten or discourage Tansman. My purpose is to hear a couple reels of his music before he proceeds with the whole picture, so that if I am going to get any shocks or disappointments it will be limited to these few reels and I will know with the least possible delay whether or not I have to make a switch. I have the highest possible hopes for Tansman's work but I don't know enough about it not to want to be absolutely sure that I am right about him before the whole picture is scored.

Because of the time element should I have to make a switch I think that the recording of the first reel or two should go ahead without any delay and I wonder whether this can't be done without holding up work on the preview.

I would like you and Hal to come and see me about this as soon as you have discussed it between yourselves.

DOS

dos:lh

Image 8) Selznick's rejection letter to Alexandre Tansman after hearing the diappointing demo for *SYWA* (The David O. Selznick Collection)

May 5, 1944

Mr. Alexander Tansman
5007 Rosewood Avenue
Los Angeles 4, California

Dear Mr. Tansman:

I ask you to accept my sincere regrets that I did not feel your excellent music for "Since You Went Away" was consistent with the dramatic and comedy effects I am after in the film. I have the highest regard for your obviously most extraordinary talent as a composer, but I feel that it was simply a case of miscasting; that the fault is my own; and that hopefully we may be associated in something else at a later date, something that is more up your alley, so to speak.

I regret that so much of your time was taken, but I ask you to weigh against this the fact that we suffered considerable loss financially through not using the music in this picture, and - much more importantly - very valuable time. I am sure you cannot do other than agree that I went to every possible extreme and expense to try to convince myself that your music was what I was after, and to give it every opportunity - to an extent I have never heard of before - to have it presented properly. My judgment about it conceivably is quite wrong, but in the final analysis, right or wrong, I must follow my own judgment.

Warmest regards to Mrs. Tansman and yourself.

Sincerely yours,

dos:is
bcc: Mr. Chas. Previn

Works Cited

Aaker, Everett: *George Raft: The Films*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2013.

Adorno, Theodore: "Art and the Arts." in Tiedemann, Rolf ed.: *Can One Live After Auschwitz?: A Philosophical Reader*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2003:368-387.

Antheil, George. "Composers in Movieland." *Modern Music* 1935. Vol. 12, No. 2:62-68.

---. " Good Russian Advice About Movies." *Modern Music* 1936. Vol. 13, No. 4:53-56.

---. " On the Hollywood Front." *Modern Music* 1936. Vol. 14, No. 1:46-49.

---. "Breaking Into the Movies." *Modern Music* 1937. Vol. 14, No. 2:82-86.

---. "On the Hollywood Front." *Modern Music* 1937. Vol. 15, No. 1:48-51.

---. "On the Hollywood Front." *Modern Music* 1938. Vol. 15, No. 4:251-254.

---: *Bad Boy of Music*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1945.

---: Radio interview by Truman Rex Fisher. KPPC Radio, Pasadena, California, 1958.

Andriessen, Louis & Schönberger, Elmer: *The Apollonian Clodckwork: On Stravinsky*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Armitage, Merle ed.: *Igor Strawinsky*. New York: G. Schirmer, 1936.

Bartig, Kevin: *Composing for the Red Screen: Prokofiev and Soviet Film*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Barton, Ruth: *Hedy Lamarr: The Most Beautiful Woman in Film*: Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 2010.

Behlmer, Rudy ed: *Memo from Darryl F. Zanuck: The Golden Years at Twentieth Century Fox*. New York: Grove Press, 1993.

--- ed.: *Memo from David O. Selznick : The Creation of "Gone with the Wind" and Other Motion Picture Classics, as Revealed in the Producer's Private Letters, Telegrams, Memorandums, and Autobiographical Remarks*. New York: The Modern Library, 2000.

Bernstein, Elmer: "A Conversation with Leo Shuken." *Filmmusic Notebook*. 1975. Vol. I, No. 3:16-28.

Birchard, Robert S.: *Cecil B. De Mille's Hollywood*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

Bordwell, David, Staiger, Janet, Thompson, Kristin: *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Brown, Craig: *Hello Goodbye Hello: A Circle of 101 Remarkable Meetings*. New York: Simon & Shuster, 2011.

Brettell, Andrew; Imwold, Denise; Von Roh, Heather; Leonard, Warren Hsu: *Cut!: Hollywood Murders, Accidents, and Other Tragedies*. Barrons Educational Series, 2005.

Burt, George: *The Art of Film Music*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994.

Bush, Richard H.: "The Music of *Flash Gordon* and *Buck Rogers*." in McCarty, Clifford ed.: *Film Music I*. Los Angeles: The Film Music Society, 1998:143-166.

Caps, John: "Serial Music of Jerry Goldsmith." *Filmmusic Notebook*. 1976. Vol. II, No. 1:28-32.

Carroll, Brendan G.: *The Last Prodigy: A Biography of Erich Wolfgang Korngold*. Milwaukee: Amadeus Press, 1997.

Caves, Richard E.: *Creative Industries: Contracts Between Art and Commerce*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Cochran, Alfred W.: The Funtional Music of Gail Kubik. in Gorbman, Claudia; Sherk, Warren M.: *Film Music 2: History, Theory, Practice*. Sherman Oaks: The Film Music Society, 2005.

"Commando Action". *Life*. January 11, 1943:43-44.

Conn, Peter J.: *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Cooke, Mervyn: *A History of Film Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

---: *The Hollywood Film Music Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Publishing, 2010.

Craft, Robert: *Stravinsky: Chronicle of a Friendship 1948-1971*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.

---: *Stravinsky, Selected Correspondences Volume I*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982.

---: *Stravinsky, Selected Correspondences Volume II*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

---: *Stravinsky, Selected Correspondences Volume III*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.

Crittenden, Camille: "Texts and Contexts of *A Survivor from Warsaw*, Op. 46." in Cross, Charlotte M. & Berman, Russel A. ed.: *Political and Religious Ideas in the Works of Arnold Schoenberg*. New York: Garland Publishing, 2000.

Crunden, Robert Morse: *Body & Soul: The Making of American Modernism*. New York: Basic Books, 2000

Darby, William & Du Bois, Jack: *American Film Music: Major Composers, Techniques, Trends, 1915-1990*. London: McFarland, 1999.

Davis, Richard: *Complete Guide to Film Scoring*. Boston: Berklee Press, 1999.

Davis, Ronald L.: *Hollywood Beauty: Linda Darnell and the American Dream*. Oklahoma City: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

De Vany, Arthur: *Hollywood Economics: How Extreme Uncertainty Shapes the Film Industry*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Delson, Susan B.: *Dudley Murphy: Hollywood Wild Card*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Dick, Bernard F.: *The Star-Spangled Screen: The American World War II Film*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1985.

---: *The Merchant Prince of Poverty Row: Harry Cohn of Columbia Pictures*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1993.

Eisler, Hanns: *Composing for Films*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948.

Evans, Mark: *Soundtrack: The Music of the Movies*. New York: Hopkinson and Blake, 1975.

Eyman, Scott: *Lion of Hollywood: The Life of Louis B. Mayer*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012.

Feisst, Sabine.: "Arnold Schoenberg and the Cinematic Art." *The Music Quarterly*, 1999, Vol. 83, No. 1:93-112.

---, Sabine: "How Arnold Schoenberg Became Lonely: Imagination versus Reality." July 29, 2011, *Berfrois*. Web.

---: *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Finler, Joel W.: *The Hollywood Story*. New York: Crown, 1988.

Friede, Donald: *The Mechanical Angel: His Adventures and Enterprises in the Glittering 1920s*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.

Garafola, Lynn: *Legacies of Twentieth-Century Dance*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005.

Gasher, Mike: *Hollywood North: The Feature Film Industry in British Columbia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002

Gevinson, Alan ed.: *Within Our Gates: Ethnicity in American Feature Films, 1911-1960*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Goldmark, Daniel: *Tunes for Toons*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Granata, Charles L.: "Disney, Stokowski, and the Genius of *Fantasia*" in Goldmark, Daniel ed.: *The Cartoon Music Book*. Chicago: A Capella Books, 2002:73-92.

Green, Paul: *The Life and Films of Jennifer Jones*. New York: McFarland, 2011.

Hamilton, Ian: *Writers in Hollywood 1915-1951*. New York: Harper & Row, 1990.

Hayne, Donald ed.: *The Autobiography of Cecil B. De Mille*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1959

Haynes, John Earl & Klehr, Harvey: Early Cold War Spies: The Espionage Trials that Shaped American Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Hemingway, Ernst: *A Moveable Feast: The Restored Edition*. New York: Scribner, 2010.

Herman, Jan: *A Talent for Trouble The Life of Hollywood's Most Acclaimed Director, William Wyler*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1997.

Hinton, Stephen: *Weill's Musical Theater: Stages of Reform*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Hubai, Gergely: *Torn Music*. Los Angeles: Silman-James Press, 2012.

Huckvale, David: *Hammer Film Scores and the Musical Avant-Garde*. London: McFarland & Company, 2008.

Imbs, Bravig: *Confessions of Another Young Man*. New York: Henkle-Yewdale, 1936.

Janssen, Werned: "Scoring for the Screen" *New York Times*. August 23, 1936, X4.

Johnson, John Andrew: "George Antheil (1900–1959)" in Sitsky, Larry ed.: *Music of the Twentieth-Century Avant-Garde: A Biocritical Sourcebook*. Post Road West: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002.

Joseph, Charles M.: *Stravinsky Inside Out*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Kalinak, Kathryn: "Max Steiner and the Classical Hollywood Film Score: An Analysis of *The Informer*." in McCarty, Clifford ed.: *Film Music I*. Los Angeles: The Film Music Society, 1998:81-108.

---: *How the West Was Sung: Music in the Westerns of John Ford*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Keller, Hans: "Hollywood Music – Another View." *Sight and Sound*. 16.64 (1947-48):168-169

Kendall, Read: "Film Awards Bestowed and Picture Notables' Gowns Dazzle at the Academy Fete" *Los Angeles Times*, 11 March 1938.

Koszarski, Richard: *Hollywood on the Hudson: Film and Television in New York from Griffith to Sarnoff*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008.

Lafeber, Walter: *The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations Throughout History*. London: Norton, 1997.

Lebrecht, Norman: *The Book of Musical Anecdotes*. New York: The Free Press, 1985.

Leff, Leonard J.: Hitchcock and Selznick: *The Rich and Strange Collaboration of Alfred Hitchcock and David O. Selznick in Hollywood*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1987.

Levant, Oscar: *A Smattering of Ignorance*. New York: Doubleday/Doran, 1940.

Livingston, Guy: "Der Mann hinter dem Mythos: George Antheil s amerikanische Kindheit." in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Vol. 162, No. 5 (September–October 2001):18–21

"Log of a Great Motion-Picture in the Making – Paramount's *Souls at Sea*." *Life*. August 30, 1937:8-9.

London, Kurt: *Film Music: A Summary of the Characteristic Features of Its Histoty, Aesthetics, Tecnhique; and Possible Developments*. Translated by Eric S. Bensinger. London: Faber & Faber, 1936.

MacDonald, Laurence E.: *The Invisible Art of Film Music: A Comprehensive History*. 2nd ed. Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2013.

MacDonald, Malcom: *Schoenberg*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.

Maconie, Robin: *Experiencing Stravinsky: A Listener's Companion*. Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2013.

Marcus, Kenneth: Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Music Culture 1880-1940. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004.

Mayne, Judith: *Directed by Dorothy Arzner*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

McCarty, Clifford: "Introduction: The Literature to Film Music." in McCarty, Clifford ed.: *Film Music I*. Los Angeles: The Film Music Society, 1998: ix-xv.

---: *Film Composers in America 1911-1970*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000

McLaughlin, Robert: *We'll Always Have the Movies: American Cinema during World War II*. Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 2006.

Meyers, Jeffrey: *Gary Cooper: American Hero*. New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001.

Morros, Boris: *My Ten Years as a Counterspy: As Told to Charles Samuels*. New York: Viking Press, 1948.

Morton, Lawrence: "Stravinsky at Home" in Paster, Jann ed.: *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986:332-348.

"Movie of the Week: *Since You Went Away*". *Life*. July 24, 1944:53-55.

Norded, Martin F.: *The Cinema of Isolation: A History of Physical Disability in the Movies*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994.

Oja, Carol: "George Antheil's *Ballet Mécanique* and Transatlantic Modernism." in Ludington, Townsend ed.: *A Modern Mosaic: Art and Modernism in the United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, p. 185, ISBN 0-8078-4891-3 2000

Palmier, Jean-Michel: *Weimar in Exile: The Antifascist Emigration in Europe and America*. Translated by David Fernbach: London: Verso, 2006.

Pegolotti, James A.: *Deems Taylor: A Biography*. Lebanon, NH: Northeastern University Press, 2003.

Pollack, Howard: *George Gershwin: His Life and Work*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Pool, Jeannie Gayle & Wright, Stephen: *A Research Guide to the Film and Television Music in the United States*. Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2011.

Pound, Ezra: *Antheil and the Treatise on Harmony*. Chicago: Pascal Covici Inc., 1927.

Prendergast, Roy M.: *Film Music: A Neglected Art*. 2nd ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 1992.

Platte, Nathan: "Conducting the Composer: David O. Selznick and the Hollywood Film Score." in Wierzibicki, James ed.: Music, *Sound and Filmmakers: Sonic Style in Cinema*. New York: Routledge, 2012:122-137.

Previn, André: *No Minor Chords: My Days in Hollywood*. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

Raksin, David: "Hollywood Strikes Back" 1946. in Cooke, Mervyn ed.: *The Hollywood Film Music Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010:281-296.

Rhodes, Richard: *The Life and Breakthrough Inventions of Hedy Lamarr, the Most Beautiful Woman in the World*. Vintage Reprint, 2012.

Riley, John: *Dmitri Shostakovich: A Life in Film*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005.

Romerstein, Herbert & Breindel, Eric. *The Venona Secrets: Exposing Soviet Espionage and America's Traitors*. Washington D.C.:Regnery History, 2000.

Rosar, William H.: "Stravinsky and MGM." in McCarty, Clifford ed.: *Film Music I*. Los Angeles: The Film Music Society, 1998.

Ross, Alex: "Schoenberg-Thalberg: The truth revealed?" *The Rest Is Noise*. July 24, 2007.

---. *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century*. London: Picador, 2008.

Rózsa, Miklós: *Double Life*. 2nd ed. New York: Wynwood Press, 1989.

Sabaneev, Leonid: *Music for the Films: A Handbook for Composers and Conductors*. Translated by S.W. Pring. London: Pitman, 1934.

Sbardelatti, John: *J. Edgar Hoover Goes to the Movies: The FBI and the Origins of Hollywood's Cold War*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2012.

Schatz, Thomas: *The Genius of the System: Hollywood Filmmaking in the Studio Era*. New York: Pantheon, 1988.

---: *Boom and Bust: American Cinema in the 1940s*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Schoenberg, Arnold: "The Future of the Opera." (1927) in Black, Leo ed.: *Style and Idea*. London: Faber and Faber, 1975:336.

---: "New Music: My Music." (c.1930) in Black, Leo ed.: *Style and Idea*. London: Faber and Faber, 1975:99-105.

---. "Circular to My Friends on My Sixtieth Birthday." (1934) in Black, Leo ed.: *Style and Idea*. London: Faber and Faber, 1975:25-28.

---: "Art and the Moving Pictures." (1940) in Black, Leo ed.: *Style and Idea*. London: Faber and Faber, 1975:153-158.

Shindler, Colin: *Hollywood Goes to War: Films and American Society, 1939-1952*. 2nd ed. Londong: Routledge, 2013.

Sinyard, Neil: "Knowing Your Place: David Lean's film adaptation of Noël Coward's *This Happy Breed*." in Palmer, Robert R. ed.: *Modern British Drama on Screen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013:44-61.

Solomon, Aubrey: *Twentieth Century Fox: A Corporate and Financial History*. Plymouth, Scarecrow Press: 2002.

Spiro, J.D.: "Hollywood Resume: Producers and Petrillo Face the Music." *New York Times*, August 15, 1948: X3.

Spoto, Donald: *The Dark Side of Genius: The Life of Alfred Hitchock.* Boston: Little Brown, 1983.

Steiner, Fred: "What Were Musicians Saying." in McCarty, Clifford ed.: *Film Music I*. Los Angeles: The Film Music Society, 1998:81-108.

Stothart, Herbert: "Film Music" in Watts, Stephen ed.: *Behind the Screen: How Films Are Made*. New York: Dodge Publishing Co., 1938:139-144.

Stravinsky, Igor: *Stravinsky: An Autobiography*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936.

Stravinsky, Igor: "Igor Stravinsky on Film Music: As Told to Ingolf Dahl" 1946. in Cooke, Mervyn ed.: *The Hollywood Film Music Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010:273-280.

"Stravinsky Here with New Music." *New York Times*, January 4, 1935:26.

"Stravinsky to Appear Here: Own Compositions Program Feature." *Los Angeles Examiner* September 1934: V:6

Sullivan, Jack: *Hitchock's Music*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006

Taper, Bernard: *Balanchine: A Biography*. Berkeley: University of Southern California, 1996.

Tawa, Nicholas: *The Great American Symphony: Music, the Depression, and War*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Thomas, Tony: *Film Score: A View from the Podium*. South Brunswick, N.J.:A.S. Barnes & Co.:1973.

---: "Hollywood and Arnold Schoenberg." *Cue Sheet* Vol. 3, No. 1, 1986:8-9.

---: *Music from the Movies*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles: Silman-James Press, 1997.

Thomson, Virgil: "A Little About Movie Music" in *Modern Music*. 1933. Vol. 10, No. 4:188-191.

Traubner, Richard: *Operetta: A Theatrical History*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Tuska, Jon: *Encounters with Filmmakers: Eight Career Studies*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991.

Vieira, Mark A.: *Irving Thalberg: Boy Wonder to Producer Prince*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

Viertel, Salka: *The Kindness of Strangers*. New York: Holt, 1969.

Walsh, Stephen: *Stravinsky: The Second Exile: France and America, 1934*-1971. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Weber, Katharine: *The Memory of All That*. New York: Random House, 2011.

Weill, Kurt: *Speak Low (When You Speak Love): The Letters of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Welles, Orson: *This is Orson Welles* Revised Edition. New York: Da Capo Press, 1998.

White, Eric Walter: *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Whitesitt, Linda: *The Life and Music of George Antheil, 1900-59 (Studies in Music, 70)*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983.

Wierzbicki, James: *Film Music: A History*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Wilhelm, J.J.: *Ezra Pound in London and Paris 1908-1925*. Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990.

Wilson, Robert Forrest: "Paris for Young Art" *The Bookman*, June 1925:403-412.

Wintle, Christopher, ed.: *Film Music and Beyond – Writings on Music and the Screen, 1946-59*. London: Plumbago Books, 2006.

Yellin, Emily: *Our Mothers' War: American Women at Home and at the Front During World War II*. New York: Free Press, 2004.