Journal of the Society for American Music (2023), **17**, 101–125
doi:10.1017/S1752196323000044

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

RESEARCH ARTICLE

More Than One "Double Life": Artistic Conceptions, Networks, and Negotiations in Benny Goodman's Commissions to Paul Hindemith and Darius Milhaud

Elisabeth Reisinger

Department of Musicology and Performance Studies, University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, Austria.
Email: reisinger-e@mdw.ac.at

Abstract

Beginning around the mid-1930s, clarinetist and bandleader Benny Goodman engaged with classical music, adding standard solo pieces to his regular performance and record portfolio. He also stimulated the emergence of a modern clarinet repertoire by granting commissions to composers, such as Béla Bartók, Paul Hindemith, Darius Milhaud, and others. In this article, I explore why and how these projects evolved and how the collaborations unfolded. My focus is on the commissions to Hindemith (1941/47) and Milhaud (1941). The newly found correspondence of Eric Simon, a Viennese-born clarinetist who advised Goodman and initiated contact with Hindemith and Milhaud, reveal Goodman's "double life" as a multilayered sphere for various actors, each with their own specific background and agenda. My analysis follows three topics that decisively shaped the investigated projects: Goodman's relationship with classical music, which I discuss in light of the intersectionally biased structures of U.S. musical life; the situation of European émigré artists experienced by Hindemith, Milhaud, and Simon; and the promotion of new music, which linked the lives, networks, and agendas of the aforementioned protagonists and even defined their relationships. By highlighting Goodman taking center stage as a performer-commissioner, I argue for more serious attention to performers' impact on musical production and repertoire formation, given that they represent the ultimate gatekeepers to the living repertoire.

On January 18, 1938, teenagers and college kids across the United States were probably caught by surprise when they turned on their favorite radio broadcast *Camel Caravan* on CBS. Instead of the familiar swing and dance tunes, Mozart's Clarinet Quintet filled their living rooms as the popular clarinetist and bandleader Benny Goodman (1909–1986) for the first time performed classical music for a broad audience.[1] A few months later, he became the first clarinetist to record the Mozart Quintet.[2] The classical clarinet repertoire, from Mozart to Brahms, from Weber to Debussy, became a fixture in Goodman's portfolio. At the height of his popularity, he not only refocused his career but also intended to make his own mark on the world of classical music: He commissioned composers to

This research was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) (J4281-G2; V882-G). For the purpose of open access, a CC BY public copyright license is applied to any author accepted manuscript version arising from this submission. I presented an earlier version of this paper at the American Musicological Society conference in 2020. I owe many thanks to my dear colleagues Alyssa Cottle, Elaine Fitz Gibbon, Maya Garcia, David H. Miller, Anne C. Shreffler, and John D. Wilson for feedback on drafts in various stages.

[1]For this live performance, Goodman was accompanied by the Coolidge String Quartet (see Catherine Tackley, *Benny Goodman's Famous 1938 Carnegie Hall Jazz Concert* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 149). The show aired 2 days after Goodman's appearance at Carnegie Hall.

[2]Benny Goodman and the Budapest String Quartet, *Quintet for Clarinet and Strings*, RCA Victor BS 022903-9, April 4, 1938, 10". The recording is also available on various rereleases and via diverse platforms such as YouTube and Spotify.

write for him, significantly extending the clarinet repertoire. The following list represents the result of this endeavor:[3]

- Béla Bartók, *Contrasts* for Clarinet, Violin and Piano (1938)
- Darius Milhaud, Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra, op. 230 (1941)
- Benjamin Britten, Concerto for Clarinet (1941/42; only sketches for a first movement)
- Alex North, *Revue* for Clarinet and Orchestra (1946)
- Henry Brant, Concerto for Clarinet and Full Dance Orchestra ("Jazz Clarinet Concerto," 1946)
- Paul Hindemith, Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra (1947)
- Aaron Copland, Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra (1948)
- Ingolf Dahl, Double Concerto (ca. 1950?; not completed; joint commission with Reginald Kell)
- Morton Gould, *Derivations* for Clarinet and Band (1955/56)
- Malcolm Arnold, Clarinet Concerto no. 2, op. 115 (1974)
- Gordon Jenkins, Clarinet Concerto (1977)
- William Walton, Clarinet Concerto (1982?; outcome unknown)
- Allen Shawn, Concerto for Clarinet, Cello, and Orchestra (1983)

Except for Bartók's *Contrasts*, which drew interest from Bartók scholars,[4] this music has not yet received proper recognition. How did these projects evolve, and why? Who was involved? How did the collaborations unfold? Addressing these questions, I focus on the commissions to Paul Hindemith (1941/47) and Darius Milhaud (1941) and draw on detailed documentation in the correspondence of Eric Simon, a Viennese-born clarinetist who advised Goodman on questions of classical clarinet technique and initiated contact with Hindemith and Milhaud. Because these letters are largely new findings, I provide complete translations of those subsequently quoted in the Appendix.[5]

Biographers and Goodman scholars have often condensed Goodman's involvement with classical music into separate excursus chapters, thereby preventing a holistic view of his artistic persona.[6] Lewis A. Erenberg, who in his *Swingin' the Dream* (1998) ascribes a major role to Goodman, does not reference classical music at all. David W. Stowe (1994) presents a more complex relationship between swing and other musical traditions, particularly the classical, from a sociohistorical perspective, but still reduces Goodman's impact to the 1938 Carnegie Hall concert.[7] Researchers who explicitly explore encounters between the "classical" and "jazz" spheres, such as John Howland (2009), rather focus on questions of hybrid musical styles and thus on Goodman's composing and arranging

[3]In addition to this list, Maureen Hurd mentions three projects that only made it to the rudimentary planning stage: With William Walton in 1936 (as a joint commission with violinist Joseph Szigeti, see Maureen Hurd, "Benny Goodman—The Classical Clarinetist, Part I," *The Clarinet* 34, no. 4 (September 2007): 32) and with Zoltan Kodály and Aram Chatschaturjan in the 1960s (Maureen Hurd, "Benny Goodman: Part 2—The Classical Clarinetist," *The Clarinet* 35, no. 4 (September 2008): 48). Letters documenting these contacts exist in series II, box 10, folder 1, MSS 53 The Benny Goodman Papers, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University. The information in the list is derived primarily from the Goodman Papers at Yale and Hurd's articles as well as findings published in John Snavely, "Benny Goodman's Commissioning of New Works and their Significance for Twentieth-Century Clarinetists" (D.M.A. diss., University of Arizona, 1992); and Vera Lampert, "Benny Goodman and Bartók's *Contrasts*: An Extraordinary Collaboration," *The Musical Quarterly* 101, no. 1 (spring 2018): 6–34.

[4]See Lampert, "Benny Goodman and Bartók's *Contrasts*"; Márton Kerékfy, "'Contrasts?' Practical and Abstract Ideas in Bartók's Compositional Process," *Studia Musicologica* 53, no. 1/3 (2012): 41–51; Tibor Tallián, *Béla Bartók's Reception in the United States: 1940–1945* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, 2017).

[5]In this article, I refer particularly to the correspondence held at the UCLA Library Special Collections and the Hindemith Institute in Frankfurt. Thanks to Heinz-Jürgen Winkler for supporting me with access to the documents at the Hindemith Institute. All translations of letters originally in German and French are mine unless otherwise indicated.

[6]See for instance D.[onald] Russell Connor, *Benny Goodman: Listen to his Legacy* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1988); James Lincoln Collier, *Benny Goodman and the Swing Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Ross Firestone, *Swing, Swing, Swing: The Life & Times of Benny Goodman* (London, Sydney, and Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1994); and Tackley's more recent *Benny Goodman's Famous 1938 Carnegie Hall Jazz Concert*.

[7]David W. Stowe, *Swing Changes: Big-Band Jazz in New Deal America* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1994), 17–22.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

contemporaries. The clarinetist's way of bridging the "two worlds" is no less significant and representative.[8] His "double life" unfolds as a multilayered sphere for various actors, each with their own background and agenda. In this article, I examine how Goodman, as a performer, took center stage in the creation of a new repertoire and discuss how factors such as social class and migration experiences shaped the positions of the involved individuals. Initially, I address Goodman's relationship with classical music. Referring particularly to the profound premises presented by Howland, I frame this analysis within the hierarchization of musical genres of Goodman's time, which was decisively formed by intersectional biases.[9] Furthermore, I explore the specific connections of the other individuals: At the time that they were composing for Goodman, Milhaud and Hindemith were both experiencing life as expatriates, as was Simon, who had fled Austria in 1938. Through their stories, I illustrate the situation of European émigré musicians, who significantly influenced the new music scene in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s. In this respect, I build on the work of scholars such as Sabine Feisst (2011; on Schoenberg) and Erin K. Maher (2016; on Milhaud), who have examined and re-evaluated this topic from differentiated perspectives.

Throughout his career, Goodman invested a notable amount of money in financing composers to write for him. Additionally, he enabled the performances of the compositions and influenced their "afterlives" through his prominence and the networks and infrastructure available to him. The promotion of new music is thus the overall frame that I apply to this topic. Not only does it interlink the lifeworlds, networks, and agendas of the named protagonists, but it even defines their relationships. Goodman's commissioning activities can be understood as a form of *patronage*, as they match central criteria in this regard, that is, the regular provision of economic capital and the enabling of performances. The exertion of patronage also represents a claim to power, and it is not without reason that much of the related research focuses on the social and political elites.[10] As I will prove, performers such as Goodman can also adopt such a power position. Additionally, Goodman seized an entrepreneurial opportunity. His biographer Ross Firestone interprets Goodman's career as a migrant son's three-step journey toward the "American Dream": Holding a job with someone else (the early dance band engagements), working for oneself (as a freelance artist), and opening one's own business (as a bandleader).[11] Although the framework of patronage helps capture social power structures within the art world of classical music, musical *entrepreneurship* covers Goodman's diversity as a genre-crossing commissioner, performer, and professional. To this end, I follow William Weber's call to take musicians "seriously as business people and as social forces."[12]

Approaching Classical Music

Goodman first encountered classical music, in the broadest sense, during his musical training as a child. At the age of approximately eleven, he studied European nineteenth-century method books

[8]Such wordings as "two worlds" and "double life" were regularly used in press articles about Goodman after 1938, e.g.: Benny Goodman, "I Lead a Double Life," *House & Garden*, April 1951, by Goodman himself, or a concert critique by Howard Taubman, "Goodman Concert Covers '2 Worlds,'" *The New York Times*, November 6, 1963, 33.

[9]Further perspectives on conceptions of how the performing arts were shaped by classist and racist structures are presented, among others, in: Ralph Locke and Cyrilla Barr, eds., *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); David Savran, *Highbrow/Lowdown: Theater, Jazz, and the Making of the New Middle Class* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009).

[10]Foundational work in the field is presented, for instance, by Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Kelley Anne Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[11]Firestone, *Swing, Swing, Swing*, 145.

[12]William Weber, "The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700–1914," in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 3.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

with Franz Schoepp, a retired (German) clarinet teacher from the Chicago College of Music.[13] It is tempting to assume that characteristics of Goodman's playing, such as a flawless finger technique and a clear and controlled tone in all registers, were a result of the foundations and ethos that he adopted during those years. However, his early involvement with African American and dance music may also have contributed.[14] James Lincoln Collier points out the impacts of the early jazz clarinetists—such as Bernard Berendsohn, known for his precise technique, Ted Lewis, or Jimmy Noone, who also studied with Schoepp.[15] Thus, although parts of Goodman's performance style could possibly have been related to Schoepp's reported rigor, it cannot be confined to one particular musical genre.

Another event might just as legitimately begin the narration of Goodman's "double life," as it features his first documented encounter with the classical repertoire per se. In 1935, he joined a string quartet at the suggestion of his producer at Columbia (and later brother-in-law) John Hammond, who himself played the viola. They eventually performed the Mozart Clarinet Quintet in the home of Emily (Vanderbilt Sloane) Hammond, John's mother.[16] At this event at Hammond's "palais" on the Upper East Side, attended by the New York elite, Goodman, who had grown up in poverty, perhaps got a taste of an opportunity to achieve prestige within the (white) middle and upper classes. Erenberg argues that Goodman, because of his lower-class origins, was placed "outside the traditional middle class value system" and that, for him, music was foremost a means of self-improvement as well as a career.[17] However, the musical world in which Goodman was socialized and in which he now operated was characterized by a dichotomy between "high" and "popular" cultures, between "art" and "entertainment," with a hierarchical descent from the former, represented by the sacralized European canon, to the latter, denoted by the "vernacular" music rooted in African American communities. Goodman probably could not elude these structures and how they shaped his own notion of musical traditions.

Both Black and white artists explored hybrid composition and performance styles.[18] Along the boundaries and intersections between "jazz" and "classical" they negotiated social inequality and racial

[13]In his autobiography, Goodman recalls: "The two years I spent with Schoepp was the only real teaching I ever had, but I went through the regular books like Baermann, Klose and Cavallini with him, and got the foundation for a legitimate clarinet technic." Benny Goodman and Irving Kolodin, *The Kingdom of Swing* (New York: Stackpole Sons, 1939), 26–27. A volume of Carl Baermann's etudes bearing Schoepp's name stamp has survived at Yale (series I, box 1, MSS 53 The Benny Goodman Papers).

[14]On Goodman's early engagements, see Firestone, *Swing Swing Swing*, 28–32. Collier analyzes Goodman's playing style throughout his 1989 *Benny Goodman and the Swing Era* and frequently points out the relevance that the technical foundations of the instrument had to him: "Because Goodman was right from the beginning one of the finest technicians of jazz, it became customary to think of him as always playing in a fluid, graceful and perhaps slick manner. It is critical for us to realize that, however flawless and flowing a line he could produce when he felt called upon to do so, he was essentially a hot, driving musician." Collier, *Benny Goodman and the Swing Era*, 73–74. "Benny Goodman, then, was a driven, indeed obsessed musician, to whom nothing less than perfection was good enough. […] And furthermore he worked himself even harder than he worked the men [of his band]." Collier, *Benny Goodman and the Swing Era*, 155.

[15]Collier summarizes his observations as follows: "Sorting out all of these cross lines of influences is difficult. Goodman was affecting the other men as much as they were affecting him, and no doubt all kinds of feedback were at work. However, we can certainly say that Goodman began a dixieland player in the Roppolo-Shields-Dodds-Berendsohn mode. By 1926 when he made some home recordings on cylinders with some of the Chicago musicians, his playing was closer to that of Teschemacher than anyone else's, although it does not follow that he was modeling himself on Tesch. Noone may have had some influence, especially in respect to low register playing, but otherwise Goodman never really played in the Noone style." Collier, *Benny Goodman and the Swing Era*, 69.

[16]Goodman and Kolodin, *The Kingdom of Swing*, 166–69. The audience included, for instance, members of the Vanderbilt (Emily's relatives) and Carnegie families.

[17]Lewis A. Erenberg, *Swingin' the Dream. Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 71.

[18]On the formalized type of jazz concerts in "classical" performance venues, see, e.g.: Scott DeVeaux, "The Emergence of the Jazz Concert, 1935–1945," *American Music* 7, no. 1 (spring 1989): 6–29. On the genre of "symphonic jazz": John Howland, "*Ellington Uptown*": *Duke Ellington, James P. Johnson and the Birth of Concert Jazz* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009). On "jazz versions" of classical pieces: John Wriggle, "Jazzing the Classics: Race, Modernism, and the Career of Arranger Chappie Willet," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 6, no. 2 (2012): 175–209. Forms of, at times ruthless, cultural appropriation by white musicians and overwriting of African American contributions in this context have been addressed, for instance, by Oja, *Making Music Modern*; Jeffrey Magee, *The Uncrowned King of Swing: Fletcher Henderson*

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

discrimination, as Howland demonstrates in "*Ellington Uptown*" (2009). Stowe attributes a specific role to swing musicians in this context, as they tended to consciously "position themselves on the median,"[19] where we also find Goodman from the moment that he presented Mozart on *Camel Caravan* in 1938. The eventual notion of music and musicians as "classical" (or not), however, is based not so much on stylistic characteristics as on social and racial biases, as Howland (2009) illustrates with the examples of Duke Ellington and James P. Johnson. Goodman's case also reflects this. Although he practiced racial integration early in his small jazz ensembles, he did not do so in his classical music. He sought his collaboration partners among artists who were associated primarily with the great concert halls. This meant a choice along the color line—a pattern also apparent in Goodman's commissions. Starting with the trio by Bartók in 1938, Goodman's portfolio of commissions over a period of about 45 years covered a spectrum of composers that was to some extent international but not overly diverse (see the list above): They were all male and white, from the United States or Europe. Their works appear manifold at first glance, but earlier projects in particular did not prominently feature stylistically hybrid forms.[20] Even though later projects after the war did, African American artists, for instance, were still not represented. This probably was not Goodman's deliberate decision but rather the result of the aforementioned structural factors.

Since the nineteenth century, the bourgeois sacralization of the European canon has shaped musical programs, concert halls, and cultural institutions in the United States. Regarding Goodman as a performer, this manifested in a striving for fidelity to the score and its creator. In his 1939 autobiography, coauthored with the (classical) music critic Irving Kolodin, Goodman emphasizes the role of the composer, even if dead, as the one to claim interpretational sovereignty over the work (in contrast to jazz, where the performer would take center stage):

> First they [classical performers] want to take the music apart and find out just what the composer put into it, as far as each note in the individual parts is concerned. Then, after that they try to express what the composer meant in their own way, or as they say, *interpret* it. The difference here is that all the time you're trying to get back to the original idea of what Mozart had in mind, while in the music we play, when somebody plays a solo, he tries to put his own ideas across.…
>
> In other kinds of music [classical music], it's the idea of measuring yourself against what a great composer was thinking.[21]

Goodman constantly sought a mediator between himself and the pervasive authority of the composer. Regular coaching with "classical experts" may also have helped him remain flexible in switching quickly between the various playing styles. We know, for example, of Goodman's lessons with Simeon Bellison (soloist with the New York Philharmonic) from the late 1940s through the 1960s and with the British clarinetist Reginald Kell around 1950.[22] The first classical musician from

and Big Band Jazz (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); John Wriggle, *Blue Rhythm Phantasy: Big Band Jazz Arranging in the Swing Era* (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2016). Erenberg, *Swingin' the Dream*, mentions this important aspect frequently but generally glorifies the swing era, and Goodman's role in it, slightly too much. Firestone, *Swing, Swing, Swing*, presents an almost surprisingly sober picture, in particular on the sometimes overromanticized picture of Goodman as the great breaker of the color line. Further pioneer work in this sense can be found in Tackley, *Benny Goodman's Famous 1938 Carnegie Hall Jazz Concert* and Christopher J. Wells' recent article "'Spinnin' the Webb': Representational Spaces, Mythic Narratives, and the 1937 Webb/Goodman Battle of Music," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 14, no. 2 (May 2020): 176–96.

[19]Stowe, *Swing Changes*, 27.

[20]In general, the pieces share a rather conservative tendency, manifested in recourse on the one hand to neo-classical/romantic tonal language and on the other to swing and big band jazz of the 1930s and early 1940s.

[21]Goodman and Kolodin, *The Kingdom of Swing*, 242–43.

[22]Collier, *Benny Goodman and the Swing Era*, 340–41. Together, Goodman and Kell commissioned a double concerto from Ingolf Dahl. For general information on the piece, see Carrie Anne Budelmann, "Symphony Concertante for Two Clarinets and Orchestra by Ingolf Dahl: A Critical Edition" (D.M.A. diss., Rice University, 2008).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

whom Goodman took his cue in the late 1930s was the Hungarian violin virtuoso Joseph Szigeti (1892–1973).[23] When Bartók sent the score of *Contrasts* (composed for Goodman and Szigeti) across the Atlantic in the fall of 1938, Szigeti served as the leading reference to Goodman in the rehearsals, as a mediator between composer and performer. Goodman refers to this collaboration in his autobiography:

> In rehearsing that Bartok piece I played with Szigeti last winter, I got a marvelous lesson just from working with him, and seeing the way he went about studying something.… The way Szigeti explained the score, and the way we worked it out in rehearsals, noticing how in one place you'd come across an idea that had first occurred a while back, only here it was in a different rhythm or turned upside down, or one instrument was playing a part of it while the other instrument answered with a different part, you realized it was all completely logical and carefully worked out.[24]

Goodman was eager to understand the compositional structure and to learn from Szigeti's insights.[25]

Under the headline "Benny Goodman, clarinetist, is taking clarinet lessons," the New York-based magazine *PM* introduces Eric Simon as Goodman's teacher in an article dated July 13, 1941:

> To Goodman worshipers who regard their hero as nothing less than perfect, the news that he is taking lessons may come as a bit of a shock. But the fact remains that, though many think him unrivaled in jazz clarinet playing, he admits he has a lot to learn in the classical field… . Hence the lessons with Simon. And Mr. Simon is well qualified for the job of teaching Mr. Goodman.[26]

Simon (1907–1994) was a gifted multi-instrumentalist. In his birthplace of Vienna, Austria, he had studied clarinet with Viktor Polatschek and been a member of the orchestra at the Vienna State Opera.[27] He arrived in the United States in 1938 and soon became engaged with teaching and performing with various ensembles in New York. In early October 1940, he mentions Goodman as his new student in a letter to a friend.[28] Goodman had just returned to New York following a health-related break (including a back surgery). He probably consulted Simon to restore his fitness on the clarinet. The sources, however, do not tell us how their paths crossed. John Snavely, who interviewed Simon for his 1991 dissertation, suggests that John Hammond was the one who instigated the contact.[29] Hammond and Simon could have connected over their political views. Hammond was involved in New York's leftist scene.[30] A similar political orientation is also suggested in Simon's biography (featuring an engagement with a Russian orchestra in the early 1930s), his circle of friends (including musician, musicologist, and communist Georg Knepler), and especially his extensive

[23]On Goodman's friendship with Szigeti see Lampert, "Benny Goodman and Bartók's *Contrasts*," in particular 9–10.

[24]Goodman and Kolodin, *The Kingdom of Swing*, 242–43.

[25]The impressive result of this detailed preparation is preserved on the 1940 recording of *Contrasts* by the two commissioners themselves, together with the composer: Béla Bartók, Joseph Szigeti, Benny Goodman, *Contrasts*, Columbia WXCO 26819-A, 26820-A, 268121-A, 26822-A, May 13, 1940, 12". The recording is also available on various rereleases and via diverse platforms such as YouTube and Spotify.

[26]Mark Schubart, "Benny Goodman, clarinetist, is taking clarinet lessons," *PM Weekly*, July 13, 1941, 59.

[27]Polatschek was the principal clarinetist of the Vienna Philharmonic until he immigrated to the United States in 1932 to take the same position with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. An anonymous obituary (without title) in *The New York Times*, October 9, 1994, 53, mentions Simon's engagement at the Vienna State Opera under Klemens Krauss; references to this activity can also be found in the entry "Erich Simon" in Schenker Documents Online, accessed May 3, 2022, https://schenkerdocumentsonline.org/profiles/person/entity-006148.html, which refers to a biographical summary on the Yale Music Library's website as a source (MSS 84 The Eric Simon Papers, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University, accessed May 3, 2022, https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/6/resources/10601).

[28]Simon (New York) to Hans Weigel, October 8, 1940, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, Collection PASC-M 128, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

[29]Snavely, "Benny Goodman's Commissioning," 19. Snavely probably received this information during a telephone conversation with Simon, but when I talked to him, he could not recall details. Tape recordings were not preserved.

[30]On Hammond's political activities, see Erenberg, "Swing Left: The Politics of Race and Culture in the Swing Era," in *Swingin' the Dream*, 120–49; Stowe, *Swing Changes*, 62.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

correspondence.[31] Additionally, *PM*, which published the quoted article about Simon, exhibited a leftist orientation.[32] Regarding Goodman's political opinions no final claims can be made, even though he too, at least at times, maintained a closeness with left-wing circles.[33]

Goodman consulted Simon for 2 years, with their meetings crammed between Goodman's numerous other commitments.[34] They worked on new pieces written for Goodman, such as a clarinet version of Milhaud's *Scaramouche*,[35] and quite likely on *Contrasts* before Goodman's performance with Szigeti and Bartók in 1941.[36] They also rehearsed standard pieces, such as the Mozart Concerto that Goodman would play in a concert at the New York Lewisohn Stadium on July 14, 1941 (Figures 1 and 2). In the first half, Reginald Stewart and the New York Philharmonic presented, among others, Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and the Mozart Clarinet Concerto (with Goodman as soloist); the second half was billed as "Benny Goodman and His Orchestra (15 musicians) playing popular works of their jazz repertoire," including hits such as "One Clock Jump," "Don't Be That Way," "Sing, Sing, Sing," and "Lady Be Good" (Figure 2).[37] Mixed programs of this kind, with predecessors in the genre-crossing concerts of James Reese Europe or W.C. Handy, became one of Goodman's specialties. As Scott DeVeaux notes, such programming may have been related to "the imposing concert environment" (such as concert halls or perhaps stadiums, as in this case), which demanded "something extra, a certain seriousness in either material or the manner of presentation to justify the new venue."[38] According to Howland, such a program compilation was also an educational effort, following the model of pops concerts and aiming to appeal to a socially diverse audience.[39] The underlying ambition—to make "good music" (a synonym for classical music derived from the nineteenth-century sacralization of the European canon) accessible to the broader population—was certainly in line with Simon's attitude, which he expressed in a letter from 1946:

> However, it is essential that our great classics of music and literature become the common good of all. They were not until 1938, and they can become so only through model performances. Through performances not only in the Imperial-Republican Burgtheater, but in performances that bring the works to the people in the suburbs.[40]

On this level, Simon connected with Goodman, who was playing the classics in stadiums, on recordings, and on nationwide radio broadcasts. For Goodman, who, unlike Simon, did not come from a wealthy bourgeois family, this may have had even greater symbolic value, as he had grown up in a country where previous generations had defined access to "good music" as a welfare goal.[41]

[31]In several letters to his friends, e.g., to writer Hans Weigel, in the Simon Correspondence at UCLA, and to Herbert Zipper, preserved in the Herbert and Trudl Zipper Archive, The Colburn School Special Collections, The Colburn School, Los Angeles, CA, Simon clearly takes a stand for communism and expanding efforts of the Soviet Union. Many thanks to Annie Wickert for her immense support in providing access to the material at the Colburn School despite the pandemic.

[32]See Jacqueline Foertsch, *American Culture in the 1940s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 8.

[33]See Erenberg, *Swingin' the Dream*, 120–49. On the general relations of jazz artists with leftist circles, and the role of the Popular Front, see Stowe, *Swing Changes*, 53.

[34]A short, anonymous article ("Eric Simon Plans Twilight Concert") in the *New Milford Times* from December 3, 1970, mentions the duration of Goodman's lessons with Simon as 2 years (Mannes School of Music: Clippings and Scrapbook Collection, call number MA 03.01.01, box 2, The New School Archives & Special Collections). In the *PM* article, Simon reports: "I don't know when he [Goodman] gets time to practice. Most of the time he's out of town and I can't see him at all. And when he is in town, lessons have to be sandwiched between dates." Schubart, "Benny Goodman, clarinetist, is taking clarinet lessons," 59.

[35]Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), November 6, 1941, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

[36]This concert in Boston in February 1941 was the only occasion when Goodman, Szigeti, and Bartók together performed *Contrasts* on stage. A compilation of critiques is printed in Tallián, *Béla Bartók's Reception*, 96–98.

[37]On details of the second half of the concert, see: R.P., "Goodman Rouses Stadium Audience," *The New York Times*, July 15, 1941, 22.

[38]DeVeaux, "The Emergence of the Jazz Concert," 18.

[39]Howland, "*Ellington Uptown*," 263.

[40]Orig. German; Eric Simon to Hans Weigel, June 30, 1946, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA.

[41]This process is illustrated in several sections of the volume Locke and Barr, *Cultivating Music*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

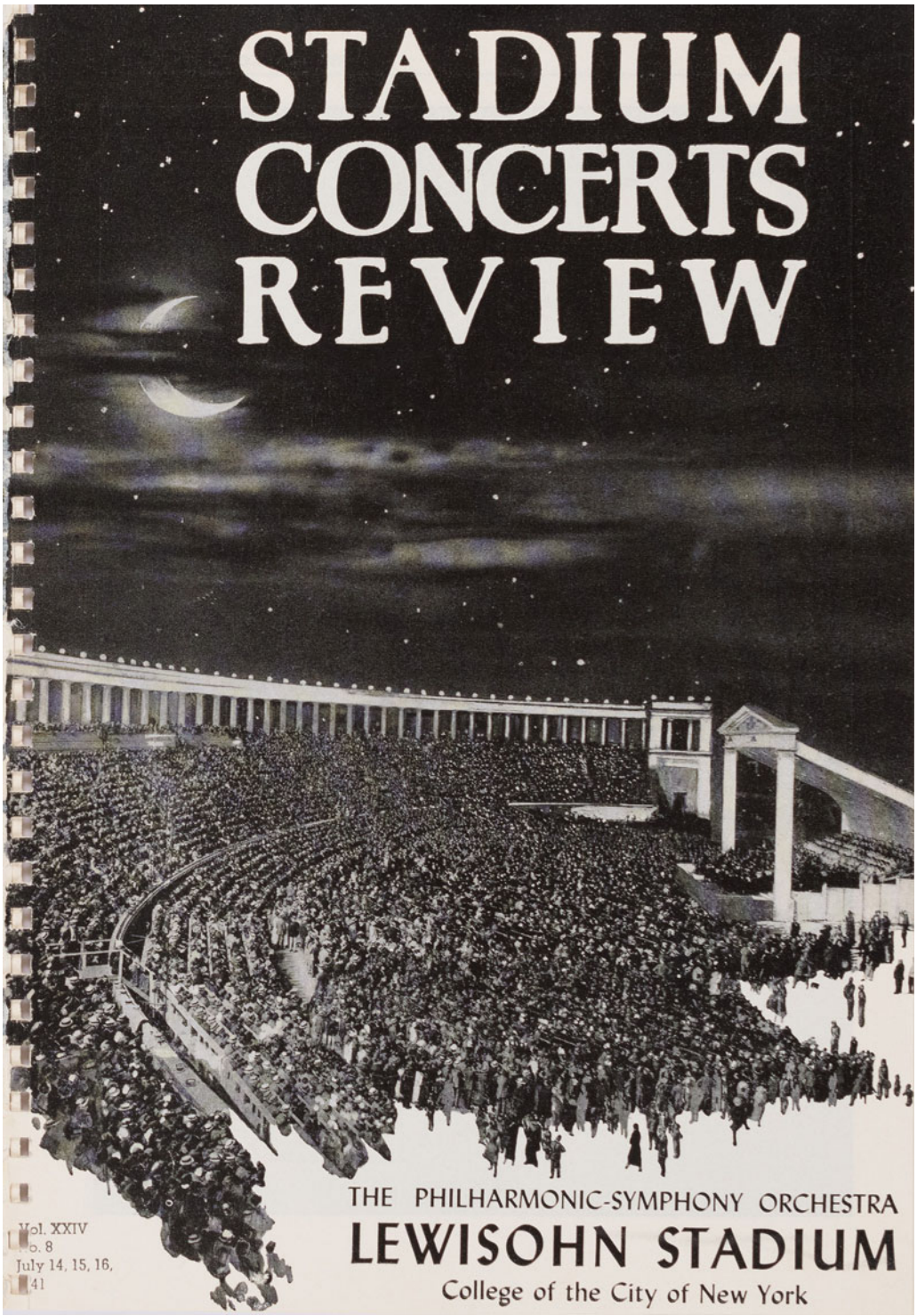
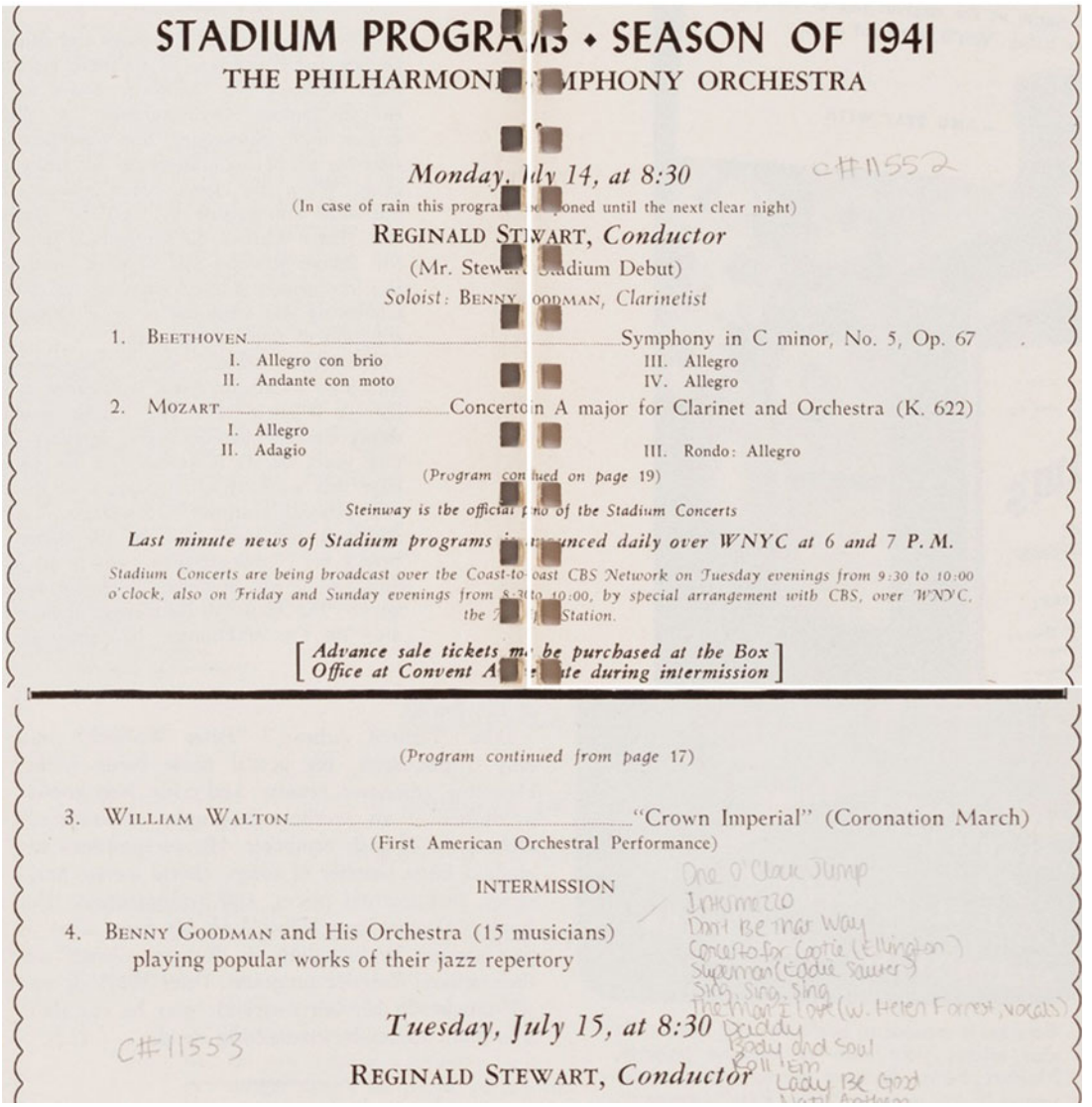


Figure 1. Title page of the program book for the 1941 Stadium Concerts at Lewisohn Stadium in New York. The image gives a sense of the audience size at those events, which furthermore were broadcast on CBS. Program ID 11552, New York Philharmonic Leon Levy Digital Archives, https://archives.nyphil.org/index.php/artifact/92075bb9-88df-4294-bca7-cdac279bcd4c-0.1, accessed May 3, 2022; with courtesy of the archive.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press



STADIUM PROGRAMS • SEASON OF 1941

THE PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Monday, July 14, at 8:30

(In case of rain this program will be postponed until the next clear night)

REGINALD STEWART, *Conductor*

(Mr. Stewart's Stadium Debut)

Soloist: BENNY GOODMAN, *Clarinetist*

1. BEETHOVEN ..... Symphony in C minor, No. 5, Op. 67
   I. Allegro con brio
   II. Andante con moto
   III. Allegro
   IV. Allegro

2. MOZART ..... Concerto in A major for Clarinet and Orchestra (K. 622)
   I. Allegro
   II. Adagio
   III. Rondo: Allegro

(Program continued on page 19)

Steinway is the official piano of the Stadium Concerts

Last minute news of Stadium programs announced daily over WNYC at 6 and 7 P.M.

Stadium Concerts are being broadcast over the Coast-to-Coast CBS Network on Tuesday evenings from 9:30 to 10:00 o'clock, also on Friday and Sunday evenings from 8:30 to 10:00, by special arrangement with CBS, over WNYC, the City Station.

[*Advance sale tickets may be purchased at the Box Office at Convent Avenue Gate during intermission*]

(Program continued from page 17)

3. WILLIAM WALTON ..... "Crown Imperial" (Coronation March)
   (First American Orchestral Performance)

INTERMISSION

4. BENNY GOODMAN and His Orchestra (15 musicians)
   playing popular works of their jazz repertory

Tuesday, July 15, at 8:30

REGINALD STEWART, *Conductor*

Figure 2. Program of the July 14, 1941 concert featuring Goodman and Stewart. The titles of the tunes played by the Goodman Orchestra were penciled in by the owner of the program. Program ID 11552, New York Philharmonic Leon Levy Digital Archives, pp. 16–17, 19; with courtesy of the archive.

Participating in this endeavor connected Goodman with left-wing intellectuals as well as it would elevate him closer to the level of upper-class patrons. However, as a businessman, Goodman might have sensed the opportunity to base his own career on more pillars. Although he probably had not known as early as 1938, it would prove wise to take that chance.

Approaching Classical Composers

After the success of the 1930s, the 1940s were marked by greater uncertainties for Goodman. These included dissolutions and reformations of the Goodman Orchestra, issues with record company contracts, and the general decline of the big band business.[42] His back pain exempted him from army

[42]Firestone details the impacts of the economic development, the strikes of the American Federation of Musicians, and the war on Goodman's career. Firestone, *Swing, Swing, Swing*, 257–363.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

service but continued to cause him problems when playing. In addition, he may have sensed creative stagnation around him. Gunther Schuller cites Ellington in this context, lamenting the "repetition and monotony of the present-day Swing arrangements which bode ill for the future, … leaving inspiration to die a slow death."[43] Goodman needed new strategies. As he appeared primarily as a performer (unlike most of his fellow bandleaders, he usually did not arrange or compose himself), commissioning a new repertoire of classical music for him to perform may have seemed to be an obvious step. New works, which would forever be linked to his name, would serve as hallmarks for this new phase of his career. The initiative sprang from Goodman's friendship with Szigeti, who proposed approaching Bartók with a commission. The violin virtuoso was close to the composer and crucial to the promotion of his music, especially outside Hungary. Although Bartók enjoyed a strong reputation in his home country during the 1930s, his professional situation at the end of the decade was quite problematic.[44] Worried about his friend's poor financial status, Szigeti later recalled that the Bartók commission arose not only from artistic inspiration but also from these concerns.[45] *Contrasts* meant financial support for the composer (an honorarium of $300, covered by Goodman) and moreover secured him publicity before and shortly after he emigrated to the United States in 1940.

Goodman apparently enjoyed the role of sponsor, patron, *and* first performer of new music and was soon thinking about further projects. Regarding the choice of composers, it was of no interest to him whether they had previously engaged with jazz, swing, or dance music. Rather, it was their status within the classical sphere that counted, as he clarified to Vivian Perlis when interviewed for her Copland biography:

> At the time there were not too many American composers to pick from—people of such terrific status—as Hindemith and Bartók. I recall that Aaron came to listen when I was recording with Bartók. Copland had a great reputation also. I didn't choose him because some of his works were jazz-inspired.[46]

In Goodman's eyes, the selection of classical composers of American origin was limited, indicating that he perceived the field of classical music as still dominated by Europeans.[47] In that sense, he conformed to a preference of the music-promoting upper class that was developed in the nineteenth century and decisive for concert programming in the United States. Goodman's decision to promote this type of music, with an initial focus on European composers, could also be interpreted as an expression of his social aspirations, in the sense of Kelly Anne Harness' theory of aristocratic patronage: A patron's choice of, for example, a certain genre, stylistic characteristics, or, as in this case, the geographical background of the composers, would mirror their social status.[48] However, Goodman was just beginning to build a network within those circles. Besides Szigeti, Simon was now one of the first with specific European connections to whom he could turn. Simon suggested commissioning Paul Hindemith, whom he contacted in early 1941:

> Do you still remember me? When I contacted you about playing *Harold* with "us," the Vienna Concert Orchestra, on the occasion of the first performance of your *Mathis* (unfortunately, due to the recently change in German circumstances, nothing came of it)…. I am Benny

[43]Gunther Schuller, *The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz 1930–1945* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 23. Schuller refers to an issue of *DownBeat Magazine*, February 1939, without further specifications.

[44]Tallián, *Béla Bartók's Reception*, 14.

[45]See Lampert, "Benny Goodman and Bartók's *Contrasts*," 7–8.

[46]Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *The Complete Copland* (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2013), 197.

[47]The general focus on European artists in American concert programming is discussed for the nineteenth century in: Locke and Barr, *Cultivating Music in America*; and for the early twentieth century in: Oja, *Making Music Modern*. Moreover, the general notion of who was a *composer*, again, was intersectionally biased and exclusively applied to the creator of the canonical masterpiece, in opposition to the lower-class *arranger*, who merely sketched music for the entertainment sector. See Howland, "*Ellington Uptown*," 66, 176–78.

[48]Harness introduced this concept in her research on renaissance Florence. Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices*, 8.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

> Goodman's teacher and advisor on classical issues…. He is looking for new pieces…. So he recently asked me who would and could write a clarinet concerto with orchestra for him. When I mentioned your name, he was very enthusiastic.[49]

With these lines, Simon revived an acquaintance from his earlier professional life. Born to a well-situated Jewish family in 1907 in Vienna as Erich Simon, he enjoyed sophisticated private musical training on the piano and the clarinet.[50] Later, although he enrolled in law at the University of Vienna, he also studied conducting and worked as an editor for Universal Edition, a performer (on both clarinet and piano), and a concert manager—occupations that connected him with a number of renowned composers, such as Arnold Schoenberg.[51]

However, the deteriorating political situation in Europe eventually led to a caesura. Simon was Jewish and socialist. Staying was not an option. He and his wife fled Austria in 1938, just a few weeks before the country's *Anschluss* to Nazi Germany. Via Switzerland, they reached France, where in early May they boarded a ship in Boulogne-sur-Mer that brought them to New York City.[52]

Hindemith, who himself had left Europe in 1940, received Simon's letter at his Connecticut home. With his full professorship at Yale, concerts and composing for Hindemith were usually limited to nonteaching periods, especially the summers. In a letter to Simon dated January 28, 1941, the composer accepted the commission, suggesting a meeting with Goodman in New York, when he would travel up the East Coast for the premiere of his cello concerto.[53] The next trace of the project is a letter from Hindemith to Simon in late September 1941 in which the composer indicated that the "desired clarinet concerto can be ready on any date after the New Year."[54] Apparently, Hindemith had not used the summer break to work on the piece. Perhaps the renewal of his professorship for another 3 years in early 1941 had prevented the project from moving forward. According to Luther Noss, there "was no time for Hindemith even to think about writing any new music during the first seven months of 1941" due to his involvement in the reorganization of Yale's School of Music and the preparation for the classes he was to teach in Tanglewood in the summer.[55] After Hindemith's letter in September 1941, there is no further evidence of the project before or during the war. Perhaps he became busy with teaching again, as Goodman did with touring. When bequeathing parts of his correspondence to Hindemith scholar Kurt von Fischer in 1970, Simon argued that, at this point, Goodman did not want to be associated with anything German, at least for the duration of the war.[56]

[49]Simon (New York) to Hindemith (New Haven), January 25, 1941, photocopy, call number 3.319.6, Frankfurt, Hindemith Institute, by courtesy of the Foundation Hindemith, Blonay [CH]; for full translation see the Appendix.

[50]In the United States, he tended to use the English form *Eric*, which is found in most letters and documents, especially, but not exclusively, when he used English. On the question of the use of English by émigrés as a sign of acculturation, see Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World. The American Years* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 113. It is also the form given in Simon's Certificate of Naturalization from 1944, box "Eric Simon," Herbert and Trudl Zipper Archive.

[51]Apart from his clarinet lessons with Polatschek, he studied conducting with Herrmann Scherchen: For a biographical summary (especially on his youth in Vienna, but lacking numerous primary sources for his time in the United States), see Walter Pass, Gerhard Scheit, and Wilhelm Svoboda, *Orpheus im Exil. Die Vertreibung der österreichischen Musik von 1933 bis 1945* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1995), 39–42; the connection to Schoenberg is also mentioned in the Schenker Documents Online database.

[52]This information was reconstructed from Simon's passport, box "Eric Simon," Herbert and Trudl Zipper Archive.

[53]Hindemith (New Haven) to Simon (New York), January 28, 1941, photocopy, call number 3.319.2, Hindemith Institute; for full translation see the Appendix. It is unclear whether that meeting happened, as there is no further documentation of it. The cello concerto was premiered in Boston on February 7, 1941 (Luther Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 80).

[54]Hindemith (New Haven) to Simon (New York), September 24, 1941, photocopy, call number 3.319.6, Hindemith Institute; for full translation see the Appendix. Maybe this meeting did happen; at least, it is documented by a short entry in Hindemith's pocket diary date book, as transcribed by Hindemith biographer Luther Noss: "1941/Sep 30. Seen Benny Goodman in Bridgeport." Noss's handwritten notes are preserved in series VII, box 20, MSS 47 The Paul Hindemith Collection, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University: "PH personal pocket diary date book/entries while in the U.S./Compiled by LN [Luther Noss]/the original book preserved in the Paul Hindemith Institute Frankfurt—May 1975."

[55]Noss, *Paul Hindemith*, 113.

[56]Simon (Sherman) to Kurt von Fischer (Erlenbach), February 26, 1970, photocopy, call number 3.319.7, Hindemith Institute; for full translation see the Appendix.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

After the collaboration with Hindemith had stopped, Simon promptly came up with an alternative. In October 1941, he wrote to Darius Milhaud in fluent French, requesting not only a concerto but also a clarinet arrangement of *Scaramouche*.[57] Milhaud had arrived in the United States in 1940, following the German invasion of France. Apart from his teaching position at Mills College, this phase of his career was characterized by numerous activities in networks on both the West and East Coasts, as well as great compositional productivity. Accordingly, Maher (2016) corrected the previous scholarly marginalization of this phase of Milhaud's life.

Simon and Milhaud had been in occasional contact ever since they had met in Europe prior to Simon's emigration.[58] In early May 1938, for instance, Simon wrote to Milhaud from Switzerland, where he first took refuge:

> Now, many things have happened in the world since that time. The consequence for us is that Stiedry is in America and [plans to] stay there, that of course the *Pierrot lunaire* is not being performed here. I … am leaving Boulogne for New York on the 10th. I will see Stiedry, of course, and hope to realize in America what has become impossible in Europe.[59]

Not yet 31 years old, Simon was part of a generation of young professionals whose careers ended or changed drastically in 1938. In a later interview, he recalled those days:

> I should have played in the Second Mahler Symphony—but suddenly I was no longer there. It happened without me. We wanted to go to the USA and immediately after the Anschluss we applied through Zurich. We got the April quota for the USA, and on 16 May, 1938 we immigrated. And so I was here and soon got a job. I became Stiedry's assistant.[60]

At a time when his future student Goodman was riding a wave of success, Simon had to re-establish professional stability. He started teaching, both privately and at The New School for Social Research in New York, an important social and professional hub for immigrants.[61] The driving force behind this position was Rudolf Kolisch, a friend of Simon's from Vienna and a major player within New York's networks of immigrant musicians.[62] Furthermore, Simon was engaged in ensembles led by Kolisch and in Fritz Stiedry's New Friends for Music.[63] Stories such as Simon's invalidate the long-held narrative of emigrants isolated in exile, against which Maher and Feisst convincingly argue in their works on Milhaud and Schoenberg.[64] Simon strengthened existing contacts, made new ones, and established a rich and diversified professional portfolio as a teacher, instrumentalist, conductor, concert manager, editor, and writer. He was socially and culturally involved in his new living environment, as were Hindemith and Milhaud. Furthermore, Hindemith, Milhaud, and Simon all obtained U.S. citizenship only a few years after their arrival.[65] In contrast to the two composers, however, Simon never

[57]Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), October 21, 1941, carbon copy, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

[58]Simon also stayed in contact with Milhaud after the Goodman project; the Simon Correspondence at UCLA contains letters up to 1961.

[59]Simon (Zurich) to Milhaud (Paris), May 3, 1938, carbon copy, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

[60]Interview with Simon, October 15, 1992, in Sherman, Connecticut, cited in Pass, Scheit, and Svoboda, *Orpheus im Exil*, 110, orig. German.

[61]A teaching position was an important condition for receiving a nonquota visa. See Manuela Schwartz and Horst Weber, *Quellen zur Geschichte emigrierter Musiker. 1933–1950, I: Kalifornien* (München: Saur, 2003), XXIII. On the impact of The New School and on Schoenberg's association with this institution, see Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*, 96.

[62]Pass, Scheit, and Svoboda, *Orpheus im Exil*, 112.

[63]Such engagements are documented by several concert programs in the Rudolf Kolisch Papers, 1886–1978 (MS Mus 195), Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[64]See Erin K. Maher, "Darius Milhaud in the United States, 1940–1971: Transatlantic Constructions of Musical Identity" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016) and Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*.

[65]Simon's Certificate of Naturalization is dated February 24, 1944, box "Eric Simon," Herbert and Trudl Zipper Archive.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

considered permanently returning to Europe, although he visited Austria and other countries several times after the war. In 1939, he wrote to his friend Herbert Zipper, with whom he shared a long history and who at that time was living in Manila:

> America is a country where no one is a stranger, since all are "emigrants"—there may be no one at home—, and everyone can contribute to shaping this "country."[66]

Simon indeed made his mark, realizing in the United States what he could not in Europe. As Szigeti had done earlier, he leveraged his relationship with Goodman to support composers according to his own preferences. In particular, he promoted other émigré artists who were trying to assert themselves in a new market and who sometimes struggled to adapt to the infrastructure of classical music production in the United States, as Feisst illustrates by Schoenberg's example. Goodman, on the other hand, who would still conceive of classical music as primarily European, was dependent on the network and insight that Simon provided.

Negotiating between Performer and Composer

In the projects discussed herein, Goodman left the negotiations with the composers to persons who had established the contact and were already moving within their network, such as Szigeti in the case of *Contrasts*. Szigeti reached out to Bartók in August 1938, negotiated the contractual terms, answered inquiries about technical and stylistic aspects of the composition, and discussed issues of interpretation.[67] In the projects with Hindemith and Milhaud, Simon assumed this role. His correspondence provides insight into how performer and composer positioned themselves and how they perceived each other. Simon balanced between them, seeking to make both feel appreciated, as we see in one of his letters to Milhaud:

> If Benny didn't want to pay the full price you asked for, it wasn't to bargain. He has made arrangements with other composers (although I believe you are the only composer of your rank)…. I believe that by agreeing to his proposal you will acquire a true friend. It is not the difference of 250, but it is the sense on his part that you will cooperate with him. I am sure you know that there is an inferiority complex to overcome when a swing musician starts playing classical music.[68]

Simon turned to Milhaud after contact with Hindemith was interrupted. Like Hindemith, Milhaud had already explored the clarinet in chamber music. Furthermore, Milhaud engaged with African American music and his compositions were known for featuring jazz idioms.[69] The latter, as mentioned above, may not have been as important to Goodman, but both factors—as well as both composers' experience in working on commission—may have made them suitable candidates in Simon's eyes. With regard to Milhaud, Goodman may have also expressed his interest in *Scaramouche* beforehand, as a clarinet arrangement of it was requested alongside the new concerto.

[66]Simon (New York) to Zipper (Manila), July 2, 1939, box "Eric Simon," Herbert and Trudl Zipper Archive, orig. German.

[67]Szigeti's initial letter, dated August 11, 1938, was published in the original Hungarian, accompanied by a German translation in Denijs Dille, ed., *Documenta Bartókiana*, vol. 3 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968), 226–28. An English translation can be found in Todd Crow, ed., *Bartók Studies* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976), 130–31. The surviving correspondence between Szigeti and Bartók is cited in Lampert, "Benny Goodman and Bartók's *Contrasts*"; and Kerékfy, "'Contrasts?'"; see the latter for details on the artistic exchange between the composer and the performers. Lampert recently reconstructed the piece's emergence based on correspondence and on the manuscript score and clarinet part held at Yale University. Béla Bartók, *Contrasts*, autograph manuscript, Misc.Ms.606, S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.

[68]Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), November 6, 1941, carbon copy, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

[69]Hindemith's engagement with jazz remained reduced to a brief episode around 1920. See Michael Kube, "Paul Hindemiths Jazz-Rezeption—Stationen einer Episode," *Musiktheorie* 1, no. 10 (1995): 63–72.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Milhaud responded positively to Simon's letter of October 21, 1941, naming a price of $1,000 for the concerto and suggesting a 1-year reserve period for Goodman to perform it.[70] Simon countered with $750 and exclusivity until January 1944.[71] The guarantee of exclusive performance rights for a certain period was the norm and ranged from 2 to 3 years, with which, for instance, Bartók and Hindemith complied. Compared to other composers writing large-scale pieces for Goodman, Milhaud set the price somewhat lower. Hindemith estimated the fee for a concerto with orchestra at $2,000–4,000, and for the concerto by Copland, one of Goodman's subsequent commissions in 1947/48, $2,000 was agreed upon.[72] Compared to the fees Hindemith and Copland requested, Milhaud's initial request of $1,000 appears to have been a bargain but was still more than Goodman was willing to pay. Eventually, Milhaud accepted the partly disadvantageous conditions that Simon had mediated ($750, 2 years of exclusivity). The composer expressed high hopes for "admirable performances" and "great publicity" for his work, given Goodman's popularity, which would outweigh even the low payment.[73] Unfortunately for Milhaud, Goodman never performed the piece on stage, nor did he record it. The reasons for this remain unclear, because no statement by Goodman—either positive or negative—is known. Perhaps his busy schedule prevented further involvement with a new piece in the near future, as the request for an extension of the exclusive performance rights suggests.[74]

With respect to compositional realization, Goodman (via Simon) provided Milhaud with some instructions concerning length ("about 20 minutes") and instrumentation, as decribed by Simon: "Benny wouldn't want a big regular orchestra. Either a chamber orchestra, without clarinets, or only massive groups of strings, brass and, perhaps, percussion." However these were "only suggestions, not prescriptions."[75] Additionally, the composers often received a reference to Goodman's outstanding technical abilities, as Szigeti informed Bartók or Simon Milhaud.[76] Indeed, technical brilliance and virtuosic proficiency across both the low and high registers were hallmarks of Goodman's playing. The composers could easily appreciate this quality from Goodman's numerous recordings. As a result, they approached their compositions as if they could demand almost anything on the technical level.

There were no further stylistic guidelines, and Goodman did not interfere during the creation process. Only the finished score was delivered to the commissioner, who then sometimes made minor suggestions with regard to feasibility, probably with an eye toward a live performance. In the case of the Copland Concerto, for example, Goodman suggested some adjustments of particularly high notes toward the end of the piece that he was afraid would be difficult to hit. The initial version (Example 1) is preserved among Copland's sketches for the concerto at the Library of Congress, including a handwritten note at the top of the page: "1st version—later revised—Coda of Clarinet Concerto (too difficult for Benny Goodman)."[77] By this point, the performing clarinetist would have already invested extreme embouchure strength throughout the piece. I transcribed the revised (and final) version of that passage, as seen in Example 2, from the autograph piano score that

[70]Milhaud (Oakland) to Simon (New York), October 24, 1941, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

[71]Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), October 29, 1941 box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

[72]Hindemith (New Haven) to Simon (New York), September 24, 1941, photocopy, call number 3.319.6, Hindemith Institute; for full translation see the Appendix. On the price for the Copland Concerto, see Copland and Perlis, *The Complete Copland*, 196. Firestone, *Swing, Swing, Swing*, 193, estimates Goodman's income in 1937 at around $100,000, which would have translated into a weekly amount of approximately $1,900.

[73]Milhaud (Oakland) to Simon (New York), November 2, 1941, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

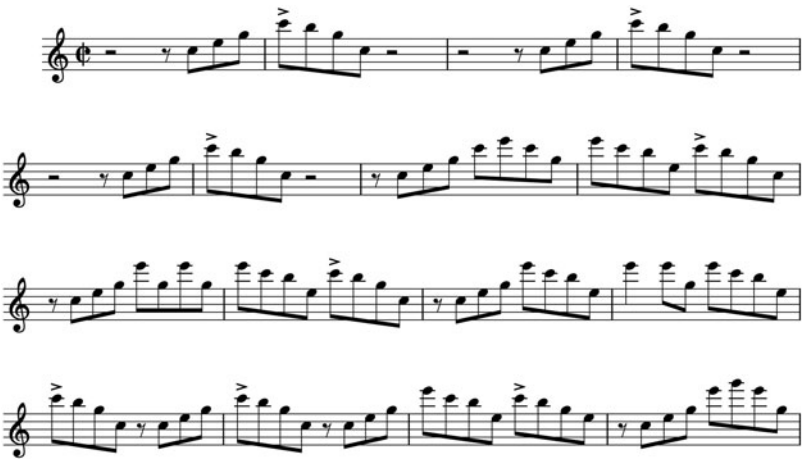
[74]Milhaud to Simon, March 17, 1942, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix: "He [Goodman] told me that he has no time for the concerto and requested another year of exclusivity (until January 1, 1945)."

[75]Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), October 29, 1941, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

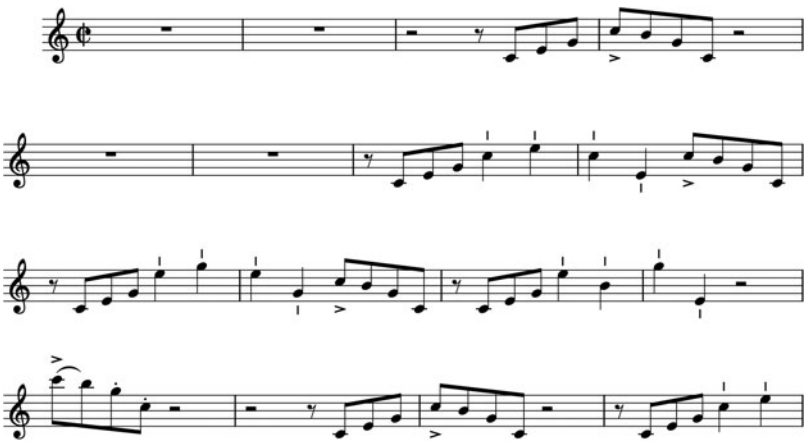
[76]Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), October 29, 1941, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA ("The clarinet part could be very brilliant").

[77]Aaron Copland, *Clarinet Concerto Sketches*, notated music, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, accessed May 3, 2022, https://www.loc.gov/item/copland.sket0030/.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Example 1. Aaron Copland, Clarinet Concerto, clarinet part, version 1 from the autograph piano score, in concert pitch, mm. 441–456. Transcribed from: Library of Congress, Aaron Copland, Clarinet Concerto Sketches, Notated Music, https://www.loc.gov/item/copland.sket0030/, accessed May 3, 2022; © 1949, 1952 The Aaron Copland Fund for Music, Inc. Copyright Renewed. Boosey & Hawkes, Inc., Sole Licensee; with courtesy of Boosey & Hawkes Bote & Bock, Berlin.



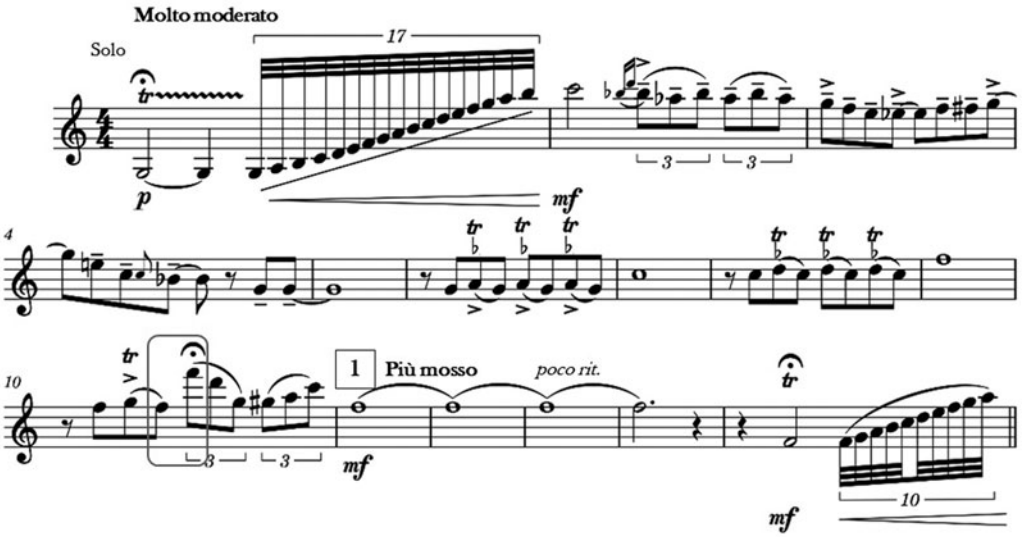
Example 2. Aaron Copland, Clarinet Concerto, clarinet part, version 2 from the autograph piano score, in concert pitch, mm. 441–456. Transcribed from: Yale University, MSS 53 Goodman Papers, box 2; © 1949, 1952 The Aaron Copland Fund for Music, Inc. Copyright Renewed. Boosey & Hawkes, Inc., Sole Licensee; with courtesy of Boosey & Hawkes Bote & Bock, Berlin.

Copland sent to Goodman, which is now held at Yale. Both music examples are notated in concert pitch, as Copland himself did.

A comparison of the two versions easily captures the simplification: More breaks, several eighth note figures simplified to quarter notes, the register partly lowered one octave. Although Copland had ascertained the feasibility level from listening to his client's recordings, Goodman distinguished between the requirements of an improvised solo, in which he occasionally bumped into a particularly high pitch, and those of a notated score, which required a certain tone at a certain time.[78] Goodman's wish to minimize the risk may have become especially pertinent when the premiere was set as a live

[78]Copland remembers, "Benny made a few suggestions—one concerned a high note in the cadenza (I knew Benny could reach that high because I had listened to his recordings). He explained that although he could comfortably reach that high when playing jazz for an audience, he might not be able to if he had to read it from a score or for a recording. Therefore, we changed it." (Copland and Perlis, *The Complete Copland*, 196). Goodman would not approach this new concerto without backup by a classical expert—as Copland recalled, he brought clarinetist David Oppenheim to their reading session "for moral support" (Copland and Perlis, *The Complete Copland*, 196).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Example 3. George Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*, beginning of the clarinet part, in transposed pitch. Goodman squeaked in jumping from f^2 to f^3 in m. 10. Just the same leap is featured in Copland's first version of his Clarinet Concerto, m. 451 to m. 452 (see Example 1).

radio broadcast in 1950 with the NBC Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Fritz Reiner.[79] An earlier experience may still have been fresh in Goodman's memory at the time: When invited in 1942 to participate in a performance of Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* with Toscanini conducting the NBC Symphony, Goodman, live on air, totally blew the famous clarinet solo at the beginning. Instead of the octave leap before the fermata in measure 10 (Example 3), a massive squeak sounded throughout the country.[80]

In 1950, Goodman played it safe with the Copland concerto. Even though everything went well, he took no risks with the final run and played note-by-note what should actually have been a glissando. It was not only Goodman's caution but also practical reasons that played a role in such decisions. He certainly used different reeds, perhaps even different mouthpieces, depending on where and what he was performing. On the swing stage, he probably preferred a softer reed and a wider opening between the reed and the mouthpiece, which would better allow him to bend notes, reach high pitches, and realize glissandi, which are generally challenging for the clarinet; harder reeds and smaller openings, which are common in the classical repertoire, limit this type of flexibility to provide more control over tone colors.[81] The Goodman Papers at Yale contain a typescript by Goodman entitled "My Concept of the Clarinet," dated around December 1955, in which he describes his preferred material:

> My mouthpiece, facing is long and open, similar to a Selmer HS. I always tend to use a medium soft reed, the exact shading of strength depending on whether I am playing chamber music, concerto, or with my own band. In playing against a rhythm and brass section, I would keep the reed a little farther from the soft side.[82]

[79]A recording of this performance was later released, e.g., on the CD *Legendary Conductors: Fritz Reiner*, Fritz Reiner, Benny Goodman, Alexander Kipnis, NBC Symphony Orchestra, New York Philharmonic, AS 628, Legend LGD122, 1994, and is also available on YouTube.

[80]NBC presented this encounter between the "King of Swing" and the "King of Classics" as an important media event (see Stowe, *Swing Changes*, 28). The recording has been released on several CDs and can also be found on YouTube.

[81]This notion is derived from my own performance experience as a clarinetist; such characteristics of the material are also described in Collier, *Benny Goodman and the Swing Era*, 339–40.

[82]Benny Goodman, "My Concept of the Clarinet," December 1955, box 53, folder 29, MSS 53 The Benny Goodman Papers.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Without a close exchange with Goodman, the composers, some of whom had not engaged with the clarinet as a solo instrument before, were probably unaware of how such factors influenced the performance.

In the case of the Milhaud Concerto, Goodman never provided any feedback, although Simon had asked for prompt delivery of the finished score because Goodman was looking for pieces to perform in his upcoming concerts.[83] Although the composer eventually presented a concerto for full orchestra of approximately 12 minutes (thus not complying with the initial requests, which I described above), he at least delivered quickly (the autograph piano score in the Yale Music Library is dated "Milhaud/Mills, 10–22 Nov 1941").[84]

The paused project with Hindemith resumed 5 years later, resulting in the composer's only concerto for clarinet and orchestra. He eventually completed it in the fall of 1947 in Switzerland during his first postwar stay in Europe.[85] By 1949, Hindemith had grown impatient because Goodman, who had obtained exclusive rights for 3 years, still had not performed the piece. The eventual premiere was also not to Hindemith's liking, as it was part of a concert for students at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia in December 1950 with Goodman and the Philadelphia Orchestra, conducted by Eugene Ormandy.[86] Neither Hindemith, who was ill, nor his wife, who had witnessed a rehearsal, attended, but both were dismayed. Gertrude Hindemith wrote in a letter to her husband's publisher, Willy Strecker, about the rehearsal:

> Unfortunately, and incomprehensibly, the concert was a "Student Concert," and not generally advertised. Whoever made this clever arrangement for a world premiere performance I do not know.… We are shaking our heads.[87]

In a letter to Ormandy, she recalled the event more than 2 years later, emphasizing that her husband was "rather disappointed with the treatment [Ormandy] gave the Clarinet Concerto," which in Hindemith's eyes was "worth more than just one 'First American' performance at an afternoon youth concert."[88] For the composer, it was not only the economic benefit of such a major commission that mattered, but also the chance to quickly reach a wide audience in the United States, as David Neumeyer notes in his introduction in the Hindemith *Gesamtausgabe*.[89] Hindemith presented "a large work, complex in its construction and with substantial technical requirements, as much as a display piece for composer and soloist."[90] With the exception of *Contrasts*, Goodman commissioned only

[83]Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), October 29, 1941, carbon copy, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

[84]Milhaud Concerto Autograph Piano Score, November 10–22, 1941, series I, box 6, folder 80, MSS 53 The Benny Goodman Papers. Milhaud announced the completion in a letter from November 24, 1941, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

[85]David Neumeyer, ed. *Paul Hindemith. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. III/7: *Bläserkonzerte* I (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1983), IX. In a letter from January 20, 1947, Hindemith mentions to his publisher Willy Strecker that he has returned to the clarinet concerto and promises to finish it by the end of the year, Paul Hindemith to Willy Strecker, January 20, 1947, photocopy, series IX, box 16, folder 297, MSS 47 The Paul Hindemith Collection. The fair copy of the score is also preserved at Yale; see "Switzerland/New Haven, Conn./Summer 1947," series XIa, box 31a, folder 433, MSS 47 The Paul Hindemith Collection.

[86]Neumeyer, ed., *Bläserkonzerte*, IXf.

[87]Gertrude Hindemith to Willy Strecker, December 16, 1950, series IX, box 16, folder 289, MSS 47 The Paul Hindemith Collection; orig. German.

[88]Gertrude Hindemith to Eugene Ormandy, January 2, 1953, carbon copy, "Ormandy, Eugene," Hindemith Institute; Mary H. Krouse, Ormandy's secretary, answered in defense: "Mr. Ormandy further states that Mr. Benny Goodman was engaged for a very important evening performance for students, where other important works are always being performed, and it was Mr. Goodman who offered the premier for this concert, realizing the importance of this event." Mary H. Krouse to Gertrude Hindemith, January 15, 1953, "Ormandy, Eugene," Hindemith Institute, by courtesy of the Foundation Hindemith, Blonay [CH].

[89]Neumeyer, ed., *Bläserkonzerte*, X. Indeed, Hindemith and Goodman together were featured on the cover of *The Billboard* (October 25, 1947), which the composer alone would hardly have been considered for (the issue can be found on Google Books: https://books.google.at/books?id=-R4EAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&client=opera&hl=de&rview=1&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=twopage&q&f=false, accessed May 3, 2022).

[90]Neumeyer, ed., *Bläserkonzerte*, X.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

such large-scale works—that is, solo concertos with large orchestra. On the one hand, he recognized a lacuna in the clarinet repertoire, and he felt that he was the one who could, and even should, contribute here for the sake of his instrument. He expresses such a thought, for example, in the preface to the piano reduction of a concerto that Gordon Jenkins had written for him:

> As a clarinetist I have been very concerned about the scarcity during recent years of new works for the instrument and the big orchestra. I've always felt it to be a matter of great importance to the serious student (as well as the seasoned soloist!) to be exposed to the refreshing challenge of learning and performing a new piece as a means of not only perfecting his technique but expanding and developing his understanding of the relationship between his instrument and the orchestra on the symphonic idiom.[91]

On the other hand, this was the genre in which Goodman could most effectively showcase his skills as a soloist, just as he did with his big band. Even though he did not provide detailed instructions, the pieces were to a certain degree tailored to him and matched his strengths. Additionally, he had the world premiere. He could regularly introduce novelties to his audience as a performer capable of adapting his virtuosity to classical music and adapting to its standards. As a patron he would present his achievements in concerts or even on the radio and thus accessible to a broad public. Simon echoes this self-image of Goodman in a letter to Milhaud:

> […] he has made a considerable effort to present commissioned compositions. He honestly believes he is giving an impulse to contemporary composers […].[92]

That the provision of financial resources to composers is just one part of what patrons contribute to musical production is common sense in the study of musical patronage. Equally important is enabling the music's performance and distribution. A performer of Goodman's rank would open the doors not only to concert halls but also to recording and radio studios. We have seen that the assurance of performances (in an appropriate setting) was a central issue for Hindemith and Milhaud. The latter eventually accepted an even lower fee and a longer reserve period to avoid jeopardizing the project.[93] Goodman held a position of power and the composers were aware of that. The correspondence with Bartók reveals that both Bartók and Szigeti perceived Goodman, the sponsor, as the decisive authority. Bartók even asked Szigeti to whom he should first send the completed work, "since the clarinetist, as commissioner, has certain rights of ownership" and should possibly have "the jus primae noctis."[94] This wording even evokes a premodern hierarchy, just as between the aristocratic patron and their beneficiary. Eventually, Goodman would decide whether to perform the pieces. Here, the patron and businessman meet again. The former enriches his collection with big names. The second stocks up on resources, having them ready whenever required, similar to the big band arrangements in his book. In the case of *Contrasts* and the Copland Concerto, Goodman not only presented them frequently on stage but even recorded them. Today, they are part of most clarinetists' portfolios. The Milhaud and Hindemith Concertos, however, received less attention from Goodman and subsequently from other clarinetists. Although the impact of performers on musical production and repertoire

[91]Gordon Jenkins, *Clarinet Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra. Reduction for Clarinet and Piano by the Composer* ([New York]: Gordon Jenkins Music Inc. and Leeds Music Corporation, 1977).

[92]Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), November 6, 1941, carbon copy, box 3, Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA; for full translation see the Appendix.

[93]For Milhaud, however, this strategy often did not pay off in the long run, and exclusive agreements with performers are one reason why, as Maher notes, "most of the significant works of Milhaud's first years of exile remained unpublished until after the war." Maher, "Darius Milhaud in the United States," 105.

[94]"The right of the first night." Bartók to Szigeti, September 5, 1938, unpublished letter in private possession, photocopy in the Budapest Bartók Archives; orig. Hungarian; Engl. translation cit. Malcolm Gillies and Adrienne Gombocz, eds., *Bartok Letters: The Musical Mind* (unpublished typescript in the Budapest Bartók Archives); also cited in Lampert, "Benny Goodman and Bartók's *Contrasts*"; and Kerékfy, "'Contrasts?.'" Many thanks to László Vikárius (director of the Budapest Bartók Archives) for allowing me to consult the letters and the unpublished typescript of the Gillies/Gombosz edition.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

formation is still often underestimated, I argue that they should receive more serious attention, as they are the ultimate gatekeepers to the living repertoire—in Goodman's case reaching from the stage at Carnegie Hall to sport stadiums and via broadcasting stations into America's living rooms.

References

Archival Sources

Bartók, Béla. *Contrasts*, autograph manuscript. Misc.Ms.606. Irving S. Gilmore Music Library. Yale University, New Haven, CT.
Copland, Aaron. *Clarinet Concerto Sketches*. Notated Music. Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Accessed May 3, 2022. www.loc.gov/item/copland.sket0030/.
Eric Simon Correspondence, Collection PASC-M 128, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, CA.
Herbert and Trudl Zipper Archive. Box "Eric Simon." The Colburn School Special Collections, The Colburn School, Los Angeles, CA.
Hindemith Institute, Frankfurt (Foundation Hindemith, Blonay).
Leon Levy Digital Archives. New York Philharmonic. New York, NY.
Mannes School of Music: Clippings and Scrapbook Collection. The New School Archives & Special Collections. New York, NY.
MSS 47 The Paul Hindemith Collection. Irving S. Gilmore Music Library. Yale University, New Haven, CT.
MSS 53 The Benny Goodman Papers. Irving S. Gilmore Music Library. Yale University, New Haven, CT.
MSS 84 The Eric Simon Papers. Irving S. Gilmore Music Library. Yale University, New Haven, CT.
Rudolf Kolisch Papers, 1886–1978 (MS Mus 195). Houghton Library. Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Secondary Sources

Budelmann, Carrie Anne. "Symphony Concertante for Two Clarinets and Orchestra by Ingolf Dahl: A Critical Edition." D.M.A. diss., Rice University, 2008.
Collier, James Lincoln. *Benny Goodman and the Swing Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
Connor, D.[onald] Russell. *Benny Goodman: Listen to his Legacy*. Studies in Jazz 6. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1988.
Copland, Aaron and Vivian Perlis. *The Complete Copland*. Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2013.
Crow, Todd, ed. *Bartók Studies*. Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976.
DeNora, Tia. *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
DeVeaux, Scott. "The Emergence of the Jazz Concert, 1935–1945." *American Music* **7**, no. 1 (spring 1989): 6–29.
Dille, Denijs, ed. *Documenta Bartókiana*, vol. **3**. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968.
Erenberg, Lewis A. *Swingin' the Dream. Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Feisst, Sabine. *Schoenberg's New World. The American Years*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
Fenlon, Iain. *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
Firestone, Ross. *Swing, Swing, Swing. The Life & Times of Benny Goodman*. London, Sydney, and Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1994.
Foertsch, Jacqueline. *American Culture in the 1940s*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.
Gillies, Malcolm and Adrienne Gombocz, eds. *Bartok Letters: The Musical Mind*. Unpublished typescript in the Budapest Bartók Archives.
Goodman, Benny and Irving Kolodin. *The Kingdom of Swing*. New York: Stackpole Sons, 1939.
Harness, Kelley Ann. *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
Howland, John. *"Ellington Uptown": Duke Ellington, James P. Johnson and the Birth of Concert Jazz*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009.
Hurd, Maureen. "Benny Goodman—The Classical Clarinetist, Part I." *The Clarinet* **34**, no. 4 (September 2007): 32–38.
Hurd, Maureen. "Benny Goodman: Part 2—The Classical Clarinetist." *The Clarinet* **35**, no. 4 (September 2008): 46–48 and 60.
Jenkins, Gordon. *Clarinet Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra. Reduction for Clarinet and Piano by the Composer*. New York: Gordon Jenkins Music Inc. and Leeds Music Corporation, 1977.
Kerékfy, Márton. "'Contrasts?' Practical and Abstract Ideas in Bartók's Compositional Process." *Studia Musicologica* **53**, no. 1/3 (2012): 41–51.
Kube, Michael. "Paul Hindemiths Jazz-Rezeption—Stationen einer Episode," *Musiktheorie* **1**, no. 10 (1995): 63–72.
Lampert, Vera. "Benny Goodman and Bartók's *Contrasts*: An Extraordinary Collaboration." *The Musical Quarterly* **101**, no. 1 (spring 2018): 6–34.
Locke, Ralph and Cyrilla Barr, eds. *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
Lockwood, Lewis. *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Magee, Jeffrey. *The Uncrowned King of Swing: Fletcher Henderson and Big Band Jazz*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
Maher, Erin K. "Darius Milhaud in the United States, 1940–1971: Transatlantic Constructions of Musical Identity." PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016.
Neumeyer, David, ed. *Paul Hindemith. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. III/7: *Bläserkonzerte* I. Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1983.
Noss, Luther. *Paul Hindemith in the United States*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.
Oja, Carol J. *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Pass, Walter, Gerhard Scheit, and Wilhelm Svoboda. *Orpheus im Exil. Die Vertreibung der österreichischen Musik von 1933 bis 1945* (Antifaschistische Literatur und Exilliteratur—Studien und Texte 13). Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1995.
Savran, David. *Highbrow/Lowdown: Theater, Jazz, and the Making of the New Middle Class*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009.
Schenker Documents Online. "Erich Simon." Accessed May 3, 2022. https://schenkerdocumentsonline.org/profiles/person/entity-006148.html.
Schuller, Gunther. *The Swing Era. The Development of Jazz 1930–1945*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
Schwartz, Manuela and Horst Weber. *Quellen zur Geschichte emigrierter Musiker. 1933–1950, I: Kalifornien*. München: Saur, 2003.
Snavely, John. "Benny Goodman's Commissioning of New Works and their Significance for Twentieth-Century Clarinetists." D.M.A. diss., University of Arizona, 1992.
Stowe, David. *Swing Changes: Big-Band Jazz in New Deal America*. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1994.
Tackley, Catherine. *Benny Goodman's Famous 1938 Carnegie Hall Jazz Concert*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
Tallián, Tibor. *Béla Bartók's Reception in the United States: 1940–1945*. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, 2017.
Weber, William, ed. *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914. Managers, Charlatans and Idealists*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004.
Wells, Christopher J. "'Spinnin' the Webb:' Representational Spaces, Mythic Narratives, and the 1937 Webb/Goodman Battle of Music." *Journal of the Society for American Music* **14**, no. 2 (May 2020): 176–96.
Wriggle, John. "Jazzing the Classics: Race, Modernism, and the Career of Arranger Chappie Willet." *Journal of the Society for American Music* **6**, no. 2 (2012): 175–209.
Wriggle, John. *Blue Rhythm Phantasy: Big Band Jazz Arranging in the Swing Era*. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2016.

Sound Recordings

Bartók, Béla, Joseph Szigeti, and Benny Goodman. "Contrasts. Columbia WXCO 26819-A, 26820-A, 268121-A, 26822-A, May 12, 1940, 12".
Goodman, Benny and the Budapest String Quartet. "Mozart Clarinet Quintet. RCA Victor BS 022903-8, April 4, 1938, 10".
Reiner, Fritz, Benny Goodman, and Alexander Kipnis, NBC Symphony Orchestra, New York Philharmonic, *Legendary Conductors: Fritz Reiner*. AS 628, Legend LGD122, 1994, compact disc.

Appendix: Full translations by author of the quoted letters by Simon, Hindemith, and Milhaud, in chronological order

Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA, box 3:
Simon (Zurich) to Milhaud (Paris), May 3, 1938 (carbon copy; orig. German):

> Honored Maestro!
> I have in front of me the letter you wrote to the "International Concert Bureau" in Vienna on February 17. It was about your *Cantate de l'Enfant e de la Mère*. Now, many things have happened in the world since that time. The consequence for us is that Stiedry is in America and [plans to] stay there, that of course the *Pierrot lunaire* is not being performed here. I—clarinetist, of the *Pierrot* Ensemble, and a member of the staff of the International Concert Bureau—am leaving Boulogne for New York on the 10th. I will see Stiedry, of course, and hope to realize in America what has become impossible in Europe.
> I expect to be in Paris on Monday, May 9, and I would be very happy to have the opportunity to talk to you about your work. Could you be so kind as to let me know briefly how I can reach you on that day? I would be very grateful to you.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Hindemith Institute, Frankfurt:
Call number 3.319.1: Simon (New York) to Hindemith (New Haven), January 25, 1941 (photocopy; orig. German):

> Dear and honored Maestro Hindemith,
> Do you still remember me? When I contacted you about playing *Harold* with "us," the Vienna Concert Orchestra, on the occasion of the first performance of your *Mathis* (unfortunately, due to the recent change in German circumstances, nothing came of it); when we sat with the Hindemith specialist Trötzmüller in the hall of the Hotel Imperial?
> Anyway—I have been here for almost three years now, working as assistant conductor and clarinetist with Stiedry, among other things.
> One such other thing is that I am Benny Goodman's teacher and advisor on classical issues (you do know that he recently played the Mozart Clarinet Concerto with the Philharmonic). Benny is very ambitious and conscientious in this regard. He is looking for new pieces (you probably also know that Bartok wrote the trio with violin and piano for him). So he recently asked me who would and could write a clarinet concerto with orchestra for him. When I mentioned your name, he was very enthusiastic; he would like to meet you one day to discuss the matter. Would that be possible? Benny is essentially in New York right now, only he is usually on tour for more than half the week. How could a rendezvous be arranged?
> I think it would be best if you wrote me when you will be back in New York at the next opportunity. I would then tell Benny, and he could then, if he is in town, accommodate you. Would that be all right with you?
> Congratulations on your wonderful violin concerto, which I heard here recently.

Call number 3.319.2: Hindemith (New Haven) to Simon (New York), January 28, 1941 (photocopy; orig. German):

> Dear Mr. Simon, many thanks for your letter. Basically, I am willing to write a clarinet concerto. If you would like to inform Mr. Goodman about the style of my clarinet works, you will find two recently published pieces at Associate Music Publishers: A clarinet sonata with piano and a quartet (clarinet, violin, cello, and piano). Of course, one would have to discuss everything in detail at some point. That could happen around February 15, when the Boston Symphony will be playing a new cello concerto of mine in New York; I'll be there around that time. If he is in a greater hurry, I would suggest a meeting here in New Haven.

Call number 3.319.6: Hindemith (New Haven) to Simon (New York), September 24, 1941 (photocopy; orig. German):

> Dear Mr. Simon, many thanks for your message. The requested clarinet concerto can be ready on any date after the New Year, and in the instrumentation of the orchestra and the nature and duration of the piece, I want to be completely in accordance with the wishes of the commissioner. If he does not live too far from here, it would certainly be most practical if he came here once, so that everything can be discussed and settled.—Fee? For similar assignments in this country, my payments thus far have ranged from $2,000 to $4,000.—I'll be in New York tomorrow (Friday), and if I can answer any questions for you, you can find me at Associated Music Publishers all day except lunchtime.

Eric Simon Correspondence, UCLA, box 3:
Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), October 21, 1941 (carbon copy, orig. French):

> Maybe you don't know that I am Benny Goodman's teacher for classical music. Talking with him, we agreed that it would be very interesting if we could have a contemporary concerto for clarinet

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and orchestra in the repertoire. I wonder if you would be interested in composing this work, and if so, if you could do it in the next few months, because Benny Goodman is going to start his big concert tour in January as a soloist with symphony orchestras (playing Mozart's concerto, among others), and he might suggest your concerto as an alternative. In case you are interested in this proposal, please be so kind as to answer me as soon as possible.
I have also come to ask you something else: Would it be possible to adapt your *Scaramouche* for clarinet and orchestra? As far as I know, there is already an arrangement for saxophone and orchestra. It would be very interesting to be able to play this piece in addition to a great concerto.

Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), October 29, 1941 (carbon copy; orig. French):

I received your letter of 26 October and thank you very much. I mentioned it to Benny Goodman, who was very pleased with the interest you are showing him.
With regard to the "business" question he proposes the following arrangement: He would pay you $750.00 on the terms you suggested. He would also like to have the exclusive performance rights until 1 January, 1944, being able to devote only part of the season to play as a soloist with symphony orchestras. One year would not be enough to explore all the possibilities.
As for *Scaramouche*, Benny wants to get in touch with Elkan Vogel (perhaps he already has); he would very much like to make an arrangement of the piece for clarinet. Maybe I would help him a little (anonymously goes without saying). I would like to attempt a piano score of the version with clarinet (if it has not already been done with saxophone). I think that such a version (with clarinet) could be quite good. If you agree with this suggestion, would you be so kind as to notify your publisher?
About the orchestral material he will follow your suggestion whatever it is.
As for the concerto itself, it would be approximately 20 minutes long. Benny wouldn't want a big regular orchestra. Either a chamber orchestra (without clarinets), or only massive groups of strings, brass and, perhaps, percussion. The clarinet part could be very brilliant. Of course all these are only suggestions, not prescriptions.
In case you agree with the conditions, B. would be very happy to sign the contract with you.

Milhaud (Oakland) to Simon (New York), November 2, 1941 (orig. French; I adopted the English version from a translation included in the archival folder and verified it with the original):

Thanks for your letter. I am very glad that the deal with Benny Goodman seems to work out alright. I shall send you a copy of the arrangement of *Scaramouche* for saxophone and piano (orchestral score and parts are for rent at Elkan Vogel). I am sure that it will be easy to make a clarinet part similar to the saxophone part.
Concerning the concerto I accept with pleasure the suggestion to extend the exclusivity until January 1, 1944.
As far as the commission is concerned, I was a little astonished that B.G. would not accept my price. I acknowledge the great pleasure it is for me to work for him, the assurance of admirable performances and great publicity for my work. Perhaps you could suggest to him in a nice way that I would like to extend the exclusivity without compensation, but that I am a little disappointed that he would also like to reduce the sum which I asked for. However, considering the great pleasure of writing a concerto for a great artist like him, if he does not want to do it otherwise, I accept his offer of $750.
With regard to the orchestral parts, as it does not make any difference to him, I am considering a rental fee at some eventual publisher.
When exactly does he want it? I would not like to be pressed too hard. I would have to put myself to work right away and I can do so having just finished an important work.
Concerning the orchestration, I should make an orchestration practical for him. If he has to play it in a symphonic concert, wouldn't it be an inconvenience to hire a chamber orchestra? On the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

other hand, is it a work that he plans to play with his orchestra?
I thought to write either for an orchestra of two (2 flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, trombones, harps, tympani, percussion and strings), or for an orchestra of one (flute, oboe, bassoon, horn, trumpet, trombone, harp, tymp., perc. and strings). I might even like the one in pairs. I don't really see why he doesn't want the clarinets in the orchestra. They are useful for the tutti. One does not suppress the violins in a violin concerto. I would avoid writing soli in the orchestra. Please talk to him seriously and tell me his suggestions. But quickly, because I have to start working immediately.
One could make a contract on the following terms: 1. Exclusivity until January 1, 1944. 2. $500 upon signing the contract and the rest (250 if he does not accept my price, 500 if he would accept it!) when I send the score. 3. Rental of material from my publisher. I may come to New York at the end of December. I would be glad to see you.

Simon (New York) to Milhaud (Oakland), November 6, 1941 (carbon copy; orig. French):

I received your letter of November 2, and thank you very much. Benny today received the music of *Scaramouche*. He phoned me immediately and he seems to be crazy about the piece. We looked carefully at the clarinet part. I believe that it would be absolutely necessary to transpose the piece one fourth high, so that the clarinet part would read one tone lower than the saxophone part. That would be the most effective range. Since Benny likes the piece very much, I think he would want to make the effort to transpose the orchestra parts, and make the necessary changes. Benny would like to play *Scaramouche* on November 30 in Rochester. I already have his part transposed from the saxophone part. But there certainly remains the problem of preparing the orchestral parts and a new orchestral score. I would like to suggest that you mark in your score the changes you want, and that some collaborator of your publisher can redo the score according to your indications. If you don't know anyone to whom you could entrust this work, it would be a pleasure to do it myself. My handwriting is legible, although not calligraphic, and it would not be necessary to make a copy for the conductor. Benny asks if you could add some instruments to the *Samba*, letting them play alone a few bars in advance. Score and parts could be ready in two weeks, so that it would be possible to play the work on November 30. For the orchestration of the concerto, do as you wish. The main thing is that you are at your ease. Take double wind instruments, or single wind instruments, with or without clarinet; we know that everything you do will be fine.
Benny would like to have the concerto "as soon as possible." He has some engagements with symphony orchestras after the New Year (Cleveland, Pittsburgh etc.) and we would love to have the first performance in one of these concerts. I would like to suggest that you send the clarinet part, when you have finished a movement, before you have it orchestrated. Maybe you could send it with a copy of the particell, so we can start studying while you are composing. In any case I don't want you to feel rushed. If the concerto is not ready for January, it will be ready for another occasion.
Please allow me to say a few words about your fees. If Benny didn't want to pay the full price you asked for, it wasn't to bargain. He has made arrangements with other composers (although I believe you are the only composer of your rank), and he has made a considerable effort to present commissioned compositions. He honestly believes he is giving an impulse to contemporary composers—and on the other hand he doesn't earn a lot of money for his symphonic engagements. He plays them, because he truly likes serious music. Benny has a very generous character, but I wouldn't advise you to insist on making him pay the difference. I believe that by agreeing to his proposal you will acquire a true friend. It is not the difference of 250, but it is the sense on his part that you will cooperate with him. I am sure you know that there is an inferiority complex to overcome when a swing musician starts playing classical music.
I believe that there are no more obstacles to start your work. We are sure it will be wonderful.
Benny is waiting for your contract. If you want to write to him, his address is: 3 East 69th St.,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

New York City.
In case there are any technical questions (copy of the score, parts of *Scaramouche*, agreement with your publisher, etc.), please write or telegraph me.

Milhaud (Oakland) to Simon (New York), November 8, 1941 (orig. English):

transposition impossible without complete new orchestration will write new clarinet part in very similar style of the saxaphon [sic] one will send it tuesday air mail

Milhaud (Oakland) to Simon (New York), November 8, 1941 (orig. French):

I received your letter this morning. I immediately looked at the orchestral score of *Scaramouche*. It is impossible to transpose by a fourth without redoing everything. I telegraphed you right away and made a clarinet part from the saxophone part but changed many things. I'll send it to you. I hope it will be ok. There will be no need to change the orchestration or the material. You only have to contact Elkan Vogel to rent the orchestra material. I also send Elkan Vogel a copy of the new clarinet part. I hope that Benny Goodman will be pleased with this solution and that he will play this work often and maybe make a record. Tell me if he plays it on the 30th in Rochester.
The concerto contract is all right. I'll work on it from tomorrow and try to be fast. But from the 12th of December I'm traveling and it won't be practical. Anyway I will do my best. I'll send the music as soon as I'm done. Do you want to tell B. G. that I will write to him on the following basis.
Compositions of a clarinet concerto $750 (paying $500 in advance. $250 when the score is delivered). Exclusivity of performance until January 1, 1944. The orchestral material and the score must be rented from my eventual publisher.

Milhaud (Oakland) to Simon (New York), November 24, 1941 (orig. French):

I've been working for two weeks without a break and the concerto is coming along very well. I'm working on the finale.
But I am worried about your silence and that of B.G.
You didn't answer my telegram. Why?
The composition of the concerto will be finished this week and you can receive it by the end of the week.
But I would like to have this matter sorted out in advance. So ask Benny Goodman to send me my contract.
I never even knew if you received the arrangement of *Scaramouche* for clarinet. I was very happy to make this transcript for B.G. but couldn't tell if he had received it.
Telegraph me.

Milhaud to Simon, March 17, 1942 (orig. French):

Benny finally sent the last check! He told me that he has no time for the concerto and requested another year of exclusivity (until January 1, 1945). I have just written to him to remind him that he made me write this concerto at full speed because he was so keen to play it. I gave him an exclusivity of 2 years. I cannot do more. But if he plays it enough during these two years, then maybe he will be able to make a special arrangement for 1944 with my publisher (Elkan Vogel) if he guarantees a certain number of performances. But for the moment I cannot modify our contract.
Do you know when he's going to play it?

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Hindemith Institute, Frankfurt:
Call number 3.319.7: Simon (Sherman, Conn.[?]) to Kurt von Fischer (Erlenbach), February 26, 1970 (photocopy; orig. German):

> I recently read a note in the N.Y. Times regarding the upcoming Hindemith edition. In this regard, I would like to send you my correspondence with H.[indemith]. At that time, I was Benny Goodman's teacher in classical music and suggested that he have Hindemith write a concerto for him.
> The real fact is that after the invasion of Russia in the summer of 1941, Benny wanted to have nothing to do with anything that was German, despite Hindemith's complete integrity and Jewish wife. Milhaud and Copland wrote concertos for him at that time (Milhaud at my instigation). As you know, H. wrote a concerto for G. in 1947, after the waves had calmed down and the countries were destroyed.

Elisabeth Reisinger is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna and the principal investigator of the research project "Performers as Commissioners of New Music in the Twentieth Century." She studied musicology and history at the University of Vienna, where she was engaged in several research projects on court music in Germany during the late eighteenth century. In 2019, Reisinger was a postdoctoral fellow at the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome and subsequently at Harvard University's Department of Music. Since 2017, she has been secretary general of the Austrian Society for Musicology.

Cite this article: Reisinger, Elisabeth. "More Than One 'Double Life': Artistic Conceptions, Networks, and Negotiations in Benny Goodman's Commissions to Paul Hindemith and Darius Milhaud." *Journal of the Society for American Music* 17, no. 2 (May 2023): 101–125. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752196323000044.