

DARIUS MILHAUD IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940–71:
TRANSATLANTIC CONSTRUCTIONS OF MUSICAL IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

Erin K. Maher: Darius Milhaud in the United States, 1940–71:
Transatlantic Constructions of Musical Identity
(Under the direction of Annegret Fauser)

When the French Jewish composer Darius Milhaud (1892–1974) fled his homeland with his wife and son at the time of the German invasion in 1940, this displacement marked the beginning of three decades of engagement with the musical culture and institutions of the United States. After seven years of wartime exile in Oakland, California, Darius and Madeleine Milhaud divided their time between Oakland and Paris, taking on a transatlantic existence that enabled them to assume distinct roles in U.S. musical life. Both during and after World War II, the composer taught on the faculty of Mills College, participated in intersecting musical networks, and continued to compose prolifically. He also continually renegotiated his identity as a composer—and as a Frenchman in the United States—in response to professional opportunities, personal circumstances, and cultural shifts.

This dissertation presents the first in-depth study of Milhaud’s activity in the United States, interpreting the results of new archival research through frameworks of identity construction and transnational mobility. In exile, Milhaud emphasized Frenchness to create space for himself in the U.S. musical landscape while also “defending French culture” through music. After the war, he continued to present himself as a “French composer,” while Jewish identity also took on an increasingly prominent place in his professional life as new institutions and ideologies of “Jewish music” emerged. Milhaud established a reputation as an aesthetically

open-minded teacher, and when his neoclassical idiom began to fall out of favor, he attempted to exert continued authority by positioning himself as a mediator between the musical establishment and the new avant-garde, connected to U.S. and French musical communities through his yearly travels. During this time, Madeleine Milhaud carried out her own creative activity, but also oriented her public image around that of her husband, whose postwar reputation was complicated by factors including age and disability. Through an exploration of one composer's construction of identity, this dissertation asks questions about the goals and effects of musical biography while contributing to scholarly conversations on exile and migration, French and Jewish identities, and the generational shifts of postwar modernism.

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I received financial support for this project from a number of sources. I began my research as a James W. Pruett Fellow in Music at the Library of Congress in the summer of 2011. My parents generously covered the cost of dozens of train tickets in the summer of 2012 so that I could commute daily from their house outside Philadelphia to the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. An Off-Campus Dissertation Research Fellowship from the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, supplemented by a travel grant from the Carolina Center for Jewish Studies, enabled me to spend ample time at Mills College, where I not only did archival research, but also came to know the campus that Milhaud loved so much. My research in Paris and Basel was supported by the American Musicological Society's M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet Fund for Research in France, the Kenan Graduate Student Activities Fund, and the Paul Sacher Stiftung. I am grateful for the assistance of the librarians and archivists in each of the institutions where I found material for this project, particularly Michèle Noirjean and Robert Piencikowski at the Paul Sacher Stiftung, Richard Boursy and Emily Ferrigno at Yale University, and Janice Braun and Karma Pippin at Mills College. While on campus in Chapel Hill, I held a teaching assistantship in the Department of Music, and my final year of writing was funded by an American Fellowship from AAUW.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Published Sources

- CWMM Nichols, Roger. *Conversations with Madeleine Milhaud*. London: Faber and Faber, 1996.
- C-Collaer Collaer, Paul. *Correspondance avec des amis musiciens*. Edited by Robert Wangermée. Liège: Pierre Mardaga, 1996.
- C-Hoppenot Milhaud, Madeleine, Darius Milhaud, Hélène Hoppenot, and Henri Hoppenot. *Conversation: Correspondance 1918–1974, Complétée par des pages du Journal d’Hélène Hoppenot*. Edited by Marie France Mousli. Paris: Gallimard, 2005.
- C-Poulenc Poulenc, Francis. *Correspondance 1910–1963*. Edited by Myriam Chimènes. Paris: Fayard, 1994.
- MVH Milhaud, Darius. *Ma Vie heureuse*. Paris: Belfond, 1973.

Archival Sources

- Mills-DM, x.y.z Darius Milhaud Collection, Mills College (Oakland, California), Record Group x, Box y, Folder z
- PSS-DM Darius Milhaud Collection, Paul Sacher Stiftung (Basel, Switzerland)

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

As a study of migration, this dissertation quotes many letters written in English by Darius Milhaud and other non-native speakers. To avoid masking or distorting the negotiations of language involved in Milhaud's life and work in the United States, I have chosen to transcribe these documents as precisely as possible—without correcting errors or idiosyncrasies of spelling, word choice, or syntax—and I only mark errors with [*sic*] when absolutely necessary for clarity. For documents translated from French, the original text appears in the footnotes. Milhaud had a habit of omitting diacritical marks when writing quickly in French; I have silently reinstated them in my transcriptions. All translations from archival material are my own. I also use my own translations of quotations from Milhaud's autobiography, *Ma Vie heureuse*, though I quote from the published translations of several other books. Other translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

INTRODUCTION

The program notes for the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra's May 1968 performance of Darius Milhaud's *Le Carnaval d'Aix* (1926) included the following remarks on the seventy-five-year-old composer's perceived connection between Aix-en-Provence, France—his hometown and the namesake of the piece on the program—and Oakland, California, the city that had become his second home.

Since the end of World War II, Milhaud has been dividing his time between Europe and America, composing and teaching. Milhaud told this writer, on a visit to his California home, the reasons for his attachment to the American West. "Here in California one feels like in the Provence. There are similar flowers, almond trees, evergreens, and a mild climate. Sometimes when I sit in my California garden, it seems as though I were in France."¹

Milhaud's idyllic image of a city better known in 1968 for its racialized violence than for its trees and flowers reflects his seclusion on the campus of Mills College, where he lived and worked. It also represents the culmination of a process of creating coherence from a lifetime of international travel. (Three years later, when he retired to Geneva, Switzerland, he chose that location because it reminded him of Mills.) Seeing Provence in northern California meant that it was a place where he could feel at home; he had spoken in the 1930s of Aix as "the capital of an ideal Provence going from Constantinople to Rio de Janeiro," and by 1968, the San Francisco Bay Area had become an extension of that imagined landscape.²

¹ Frederick Dorian, "In the Serene Provence," program notes for the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, 17 and 19 May 1968, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Darius Milhaud clippings file.

² Darius Milhaud, "La Musique méditerranéenne" (typescript, c. 1934, Mills-DM, 4.1.1), 14: "je dis parfois qu' Aix est la capitale d'une Provence idéale qui irait de Constantinople à Rio de Janeiro."

Milhaud initially forged his identity as a composer in interwar Paris, first as a member of the modernist collective known as “Les Six,” then as someone trying to move beyond the group’s reputation for superficiality. The recurring themes that accrued to his public image during that time included an ability and willingness to produce new compositions at a rapid pace, a short-lived fascination with jazz and Brazilian popular music that retained a permanent place in his reception, the use of a polytonal musical language, and a concept of “Mediterranean” or “Latin” identity that linked his Provençal Jewish heritage to his aspirations as a mainstream French composer and to his love of international travel.³ By 1968, close to the end of his sixty-year career, these themes and others had been reconfigured and reinterpreted—both by the composer himself and by colleagues and critics—in response to the personal, professional, and cultural changes of the past three decades. Prolificness and polytonality marked him as behind the times in the judgment of many; his association with jazz was strengthened by Dave Brubeck and other jazz musicians claiming him as an influential teacher; and through his self-defined Mediterranean identity, he asserted an affinity with landscapes and cultures from Jerusalem to San Francisco.

World War II was the catalyst for much of this change. Like a number of Jewish artists and intellectuals in France—a group that included not only native-born French citizens and long-established immigrants, but also those who had fled Nazi Germany for France during the 1930s—Milhaud had the resources and connections necessary to escape the German invasion in 1940. By taking advantage of established plans for a U.S. concert tour, he secured travel documents for himself, his wife, and their ten-year-old son—unfortunately leaving behind his elderly parents—and departed France just a few days before the armistice of 22 June. Both

³ See Barbara L. Kelly, *Tradition and Style in the Works of Darius Milhaud 1912–1939* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 27–37.

Darius and Madeleine Milhaud joined the faculty of Mills College, which already had a distinguished music department and a summer French program that drew notable guest lecturers. Living in Oakland put the Milhauds several hundred miles away from the large and complex émigré community of Los Angeles, and much farther from New York, where many of their French compatriots had settled. The relative isolation of Oakland was in some ways demoralizing, but it also enabled the couple both to create space for themselves in a smaller city and to engage with wartime politics in their own way. Self-identifying as an exiled Frenchman, Darius Milhaud aimed to “defend French culture” through his position as a well-known composer, while Madeleine Milhaud did the same as a teacher of French and drama.

After the liberation of France and the end of the war, Darius and Madeleine Milhaud's decision to divide their time between Paris and Oakland—following each year at the Paris Conservatoire with another back at Mills College—enabled them to continue their U.S. activities as transatlantic cosmopolitans rather than as exiles. Darius Milhaud's identity as a “French composer”—or even, as he was sometimes designated in the American press, as “France's greatest living composer”—could now be put to work for Cold War political purposes, while post-Holocaust Jewish culture and the establishment of the state of Israel created a transnational environment in which being simultaneously a “French composer” and a “Jewish composer” no longer seemed to be an oxymoron. Although his neoclassical idiom began to fall out of favor, some among the postwar avant-garde claimed his early experimentalist works, as well as his long-ago connections to surrealism and Dadaism, as part of their artistic lineage. Disability also played an increasingly prominent role in Milhaud's everyday life and in his reception: from the mid-1940s onward, when the chronic pain and mobility impairment caused by rheumatoid arthritis required him to use a wheelchair or to walk slowly with canes, this visible physical

difference shaped the ways in which critics, friends, and the public interpreted his music as well as his status as a senior composer. The need to care for her husband changed Madeleine Milhaud's public image as well, as it led her to make "wife of the composer" her primary public identity. Adding summers at the Aspen Music Festival to their ongoing work at Mills, the couple developed reputations as pedagogues and enlarged their already-expansive network of friends and colleagues in the international world of concert music.

In addition to his participation in these intersecting networks and communities, Milhaud composed about half of his 433 numbered works—including all twelve of his symphonies for large orchestra—during and after World War II. However, this period, and especially his life in the United States, has been reduced in scholarship to little more than a coda to his activities in interwar Paris. The relative weight generally given to each period of Milhaud's career is exemplified by the "Life" section of the article on the composer in the second edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001): following more than 1,600 words on his upbringing and early professional activity, the years after 1940 are encapsulated in a single 240-word paragraph.⁴ Milhaud also plays a significant role in a number of studies of music in

⁴ Jeremy Drake, "Darius Milhaud," *Grove Music Online*. This article also summarizes Milhaud's activity in the 1930s with only two sentences, reflecting the even narrower focus that dominated in the late twentieth century. Scholars have since offered substantial work on Milhaud in the 1930s, both as an individual composer and as part of the broader world of French music at that time. See Leslie A. Sprout, "Music for a 'New Era': Composers and National Identity in France, 1936–1946" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000), 1–99; Kelly, *Tradition and Style*; Christopher Moore, "Music in France and the Popular Front (1934–1938): Politics, Aesthetics and Reception" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2007); Louis K. Epstein, "Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918–1939" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013); Barbara L. Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913–1939* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2013); and the essays by Christopher Moore, Marie-Noëlle Lavoie, Pascal Terrien, and Aurélie Descheneaux in *Darius Milhaud: Compositeur et expérimentateur*, ed. Jacinthe Harbec and Marie-Noëlle Lavoie (Paris: J. Vrin, 2014).

interwar Paris, but rarely makes more than a cameo appearance in scholarship on music after 1940, whether focused on France or on the United States.⁵

In the aggregate, the impression created by these conspicuous absences and abridgments is that Milhaud's exile from France in 1940 put an end not only to the "interesting" part of his career, but also to his relevance to music history more broadly. Accepting this notion has troubling implications, as it—however inadvertently—perpetuates the silencing of a composer exiled as a direct result of Nazi ideology. Yet the causes and the consequences of this silencing reach far beyond one composer's life and work, and counteracting it is not a simple matter of reinserting Milhaud and his compositions into established music-historical narratives. Indeed, the minimization of Milhaud's place in the history of music after 1940—and of that time period in his legacy as a composer—reflects a confluence of assumptions, priorities, and boundaries that have shaped the current state of musicological research.

This dissertation presents the first in-depth study of Milhaud's career in the United States. Through extensive research in U.S. and European archives, I trace his activity as a composer and teacher in the context of the ideologies of music, nation, religion, gender, disability, and politics that shaped the construction and reception of his identity in a variety of contexts. By repositioning Milhaud's 1940 exile as the beginning of a story, rather than as the end of one, this dissertation not only asserts a place for one composer in a particular musical and cultural landscape, but also refocuses that landscape in a manner that draws attention to the ways in which scholars have constructed and framed it.

⁵ Significant recent exceptions include Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), and Deborah Mawer, *French Music and Jazz in Conversation: From Debussy to Brubeck* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Milhaud Sources and Scholarship

The main biographical source on Darius Milhaud is still his memoirs, first published in 1949 as *Notes sans musique* (“Notes Without Music”) and expanded in 1973 as *Ma Vie heureuse* (“My Happy Life”).⁶ In 1964, he gave the manuscript of all but the last five chapters, which had not yet been written, to the Music Division of the Library of Congress, where I stumbled upon it in 2011 as an intern working in the basement.⁷ This manuscript consists of the notebooks in which he drafted the first edition of *Notes sans musique*, Madeleine Milhaud’s transcribed draft of two additional chapters that he dictated to her, and a typed version of those chapters with corrections in Darius Milhaud’s hand.⁸ In this study, I quote from the manuscript only when it provides information absent from the official text or when the time and place at which Milhaud wrote a given part of the text is significant. For example, the preface states that he began writing on the day of the liberation of Paris in 1944, and he completed the first draft shortly before returning to France in 1947. Otherwise, I quote from *Ma Vie heureuse*, using my own English translations. Even in this expanded edition, the narrative is weighted heavily toward Milhaud’s early life and the era of Les Six; the chapters added after 1949 are also noticeably more fragmented and diary-like. This imbalance in Milhaud’s own telling of his life story both reflects and perpetuates the central place of the early 1920s in his image as a composer. Two extended interviews with

⁶ There was also a 1962 edition that included several new chapters, but retained the title of *Notes sans musique*. The first English translation was published in 1953, with the translation of *Ma Vie heureuse* following in 1995. The only recent biography of Milhaud, by Micheline Ricavy and Robert Milhaud, does not include a significant amount of new information, and it largely reproduces the existing biographical narrative; *Darius Milhaud: Un compositeur français humaniste: sa traversée du XX^e siècle* (Paris: Van de Velde, 2013).

⁷ My thanks to fellow intern Christa Bentley for spotting the case on the shelf and pointing it out to me.

⁸ The two additional chapters appear in the 1962 French and German editions of *Notes sans musique* as well as in *Ma Vie heureuse*.

Madeleine Milhaud supplement *Ma Vie heureuse* and introduce her own perspective on her husband's career and on their life together.⁹

In addition to *Ma Vie heureuse*, the primary-source material for this project includes correspondence, newspaper articles, printed and recorded interviews, and other documents. I am one of the first scholars to have had access to the Darius Milhaud Collection at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, Switzerland; these materials, which include correspondence, music manuscripts, and unpublished writings, were transferred to the Sacher Stiftung following the death of Madeleine Milhaud in 2008. This collection is essential to every chapter of my dissertation; most notably, letters to Milhaud from friends in France during and immediately after the German occupation have greatly enriched my understanding of the symbolic importance the composer held for them and the practical aspects of preparing for his return. At the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, Milhaud's letters to the composer Henri Sauguet—numbering more than three hundred—document almost his entire career, with a gap between 1940 and 1944. Published correspondence collections of Francis Poulenc and Paul Collaer feature dozens of letters to, from, or about Milhaud from the period under discussion in this study, and even more from before 1940.¹⁰ Nearly three hundred of Darius and Madeleine Milhaud's letters to their close friends Henri and H  l  ne Hoppenot were published in 2005, and this extraordinarily rich resource offers a level of factual detail and emotional complexity

⁹ Roger Nichols, *Conversations with Madeleine Milhaud* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996), hereafter CWMM; Madeleine Milhaud, *Mon XX^{  me} si  cle*, edited by Mildred Clary (Paris: Bleu Nuit, 2002). For the latter interview, I use Clary's own English translation, *My Twentieth Century* (Cleveland: Darius Milhaud Society, 2008). The two interviews cover much of the same material, but Clary's is organized into a chronological narrative.

¹⁰ Paul Collaer, *Correspondance avec des amis musiciens*, ed. Robert Wangerm  e (Li  ge: Pierre Mardaga, 1996); Francis Poulenc, *Correspondance 1910–1963*, ed. Myriam Chim  nes (Paris: Fayard, 1994). In subsequent citations, I refer to these collections as C-Collaer and C-Poulenc, respectively.

missing from *Ma Vie heureuse* and other published sources.¹¹ However, the other half of the conversation is unfortunately missing, and there are a number of redactions in the text.

I have examined the entire Milhaud collection at Mills College, which includes correspondence with Mills professors and administrators, press clippings, photographs, concert programs, music manuscripts, unpublished writings, recorded and transcribed interviews with both Darius and Madeleine Milhaud, and copies of the Darius Milhaud Society Newsletter. My sources also include letters and manuscripts in collections at the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Yale University, and the University of California, Berkeley. The more than three thousand newspaper articles I have collected for this project come from three main sources: ProQuest Historical Newspapers, the commercial database NewspaperARCHIVE.com, and the extensive clippings file in the Mills College collection. Although I cite only a fraction of these articles, they have helped me to establish a chronology of Milhaud's various activities in the United States.

Studies of Milhaud's pre-exile career—which comprise nearly all of the scholarship on the composer—have informed my understanding of the person he was at the time of his arrival in the United States in 1940. Barbara L. Kelly has discussed Milhaud's negotiation of French, Jewish, and Mediterranean identities in the first decades of his professional activity, drawing on his compositions and writings between 1912 and 1939.¹² Her study, published in 2003,

¹¹ Madeleine Milhaud, Darius Milhaud, H  l  ne Hoppenot, and Henri Hoppenot, *Conversation: Correspondance 1918–1974, Compl  t  e par des pages du Journal d’H  l  ne Hoppenot*, ed. Marie France Mousli (Paris: Gallimard, 2005). In subsequent citations, I refer to this collection as C-Hoppenot. Henri Hoppenot was a French writer and diplomat; he and his wife befriended Milhaud in Rio de Janeiro in 1918—where he and Milhaud both worked for Paul Claudel, the French ambassador to Brazil—and he subsequently wrote the librettos for Milhaud's three *op  ras-minute* in 1927. Madeleine Milhaud became friends with the Hoppenots after her marriage to Darius Milhaud in 1925, and about twenty percent of the letters in this volume are written by her. During World War II, Henri Hoppenot served as the Vichy ambassador to Uruguay before defecting to the Free French in 1942 and taking up a new post in Washington, D.C.

¹² Kelly, *Tradition and Style*.

represents a significant move away from the narrow focus on the early 1920s found in most earlier scholarship on Milhaud, and toward critical engagement with issues of personal and professional identity construction. Kelly's most recent book, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France*, situates Milhaud within intergenerational networks of composers and critics during the same time period.¹³ Louis K. Epstein's analysis of Milhaud's business correspondence from the 1930s reveals the experience and strategies the composer subsequently brought to the task of continuing his work in a new country, and he also documents Milhaud's earlier U.S. concert tours.¹⁴ Jane F. Fulcher, Leslie A. Sprout, and Christopher Moore have discussed Milhaud's involvement with French culture and politics in the interwar years within broader studies of that period.¹⁵ The 2014 essay collection *Darius Milhaud: Compositeur et expérimentateur* features contributions on a variety of topics, including compositional experimentation, Provençal identity, and stage and film music, mostly focusing on the interwar period.¹⁶

Much of the scholarly engagement with Milhaud's career after 1940 appears in dissertations focusing on individual aspects of his compositional output. Ralph Swickard's 1973 survey of Milhaud's symphonies incorporates the author's first-hand observations about the composer's U.S. reception, as well as information about the genesis of each work.¹⁷ In a dissertation on Milhaud's ballets, Sandra Sedman Yang details the collaborative processes

¹³ Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France*.

¹⁴ Epstein, "Toward a Theory of Patronage," 260–331.

¹⁵ Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Sprout, "Music for a 'New Era'"; Moore, "Music in France and the Popular Front."

¹⁶ Jacinthe Harbec and Marie-Noëlle Lavoie, eds., *Darius Milhaud: Compositeur et expérimentateur* (Paris: J. Vrin, 2014).

¹⁷ Ralph Swickard, "The Symphonies of Darius Milhaud: An Historical Perspective and Critical Study of their Musical Content, Style, and Form" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1973)

behind *The Man from Midian*, *Jeux de printemps*, and *The Bells*, all composed in the 1940s.¹⁸ Jeremy Drake's study of Milhaud's operas discusses *Bolivar*, written in exile but premiered in Paris, and *David*, which received a significant performance at the Hollywood Bowl in 1956.¹⁹

In a book chapter featuring exiled composers from multiple countries, Annegret Fauser shows that Milhaud's French identity was central to his construction of a compositional career in the United States.²⁰ By drawing attention to the distinct ways in which composers from Allied or Axis countries engaged with issues of national identity in exile, Fauser demonstrates that scholarly frameworks assuming a German or Austrian subject—which are particularly common in musicology—cannot always apply comfortably to exiled individuals with other backgrounds.²¹ Kimberly A. Francis's study of Nadia Boulanger and Igor Stravinsky also addresses the issue of displacement from France and from French musical life—and, in the case of Boulanger, of remigration after the war—as does other scholarship on these two musicians.²² Other scholarship on exile and migration in the lives of twentieth-century European composers has shaped my approach to this dissertation. Sabine Feisst's book on Arnold Schoenberg in the United States parallels this project in a number of ways, with discussions of teaching, the American music business, and the negotiation of multiple identities.²³ Whereas Feisst was

¹⁸ Sandra Sedman Yang, "The Composer and Dance Collaboration in the Twentieth Century: Darius Milhaud's Ballets, 1919–1958" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1997).

¹⁹ Jeremy Drake, *The Operas of Darius Milhaud* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989). This book is a reprint of a dissertation completed in 1983.

²⁰ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 178–223. See also eadem, "Music for the Allies: Representations of Nationhood in the United States during World War II," in *Crosscurrents: American and European Music in Interaction, 1900–2000*, ed. Felix Meyer et al. (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2014), 247–58.

²¹ For example, see Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, eds., *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

²² Kimberly A. Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky: Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist Icon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 109–63; Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: The Second Exile: France and America, 1934–1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future Between the Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 253–57.

²³ Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

writing against an “existing literature . . . fraught with misinformation and misunderstandings,” however, so little has been written on Milhaud’s U.S. career that I do not have as many established myths to dispel.²⁴ The concept of “symbolic remigration” in Joy H. Calico’s work on postwar European performances of Schoenberg’s *A Survivor from Warsaw* gives me a lens through which to view the return of Milhaud’s music to French concert programs and radio broadcasts in the period between the end of the German occupation in 1944 and the composer’s own return to France in 1947.²⁵ Brigid Cohen’s study of Stefan Wolpe criticizes the limitations of an “exile” framework—particularly as it relates to nation-centered music historiography—and situates the composer within musical and artistic communities in a way that has influenced my perception of Milhaud’s U.S. activities, particularly his involvement with Mills College.²⁶

Composers and Biography

Although this study is not a biography of Darius Milhaud in any comprehensive sense, my methodological framework owes much to recent reevaluations of biography in musicology, history, and the humanities more broadly.²⁷ The shift away from “great man” paradigms of

²⁴ Ibid., xi. For a revisionist study of another composer, Kurt Weill, whose exile has been interpreted in reductive terms, see Naomi Graber, “Found in Translation: Kurt Weill on Broadway and in Hollywood, 1935–1939” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2013).

²⁵ Joy H. Calico, *Arnold Schoenberg’s A Survivor from Warsaw in Postwar Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014). My understanding of musical life in Paris during and immediately after the German occupation is informed by scholarship including Myriam Chimènes, ed., *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (Brussels: Complexe, 2001); Yannick Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009); Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon, eds., *La Musique à Paris sous l’Occupation* (Paris: Fayard, 2013); Leslie A. Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

²⁶ Brigid Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

²⁷ Jolanta T. Pekacz, “Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and its Discontents,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 23, no. 1 (2004): 39–80; eadem, “Introduction,” in *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*, ed. Jolanta T. Pekacz (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 1–16; Christopher Wiley, “Rewriting Composers’ Lives: Critical Historiography and Musical Biography” (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2008); idem, “Biography and the New Musicology,” in *(Auto)biography as a Musicological Discourse: The Ninth International Conference of The Departments of Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade, 19–22 April 2008*, ed. Tatjana Marković and Vesna Mikić (Belgrade: Fakultet

biography and toward a view of individual lives as multifaceted and socially constituted is especially vital in the case of composers of Western art music, who are—even now—too often seen through the distorting lens of traditional biography.²⁸ My approach aligns with the recommendations of Jolanta T. Pekacz, who argues that the ways in which we view the lives of individual musicians must move beyond older models of biography that aim for thematic consistency and a unified identity:

If, indeed, individuals cannot be separated from the social, cultural, and symbolic world in which they act, and no one ‘invents’ a self apart from cultural notions available in a particular cultural setting, then a biographer should not be looking for a single psychic conflict that ‘unlocks’ the subject’s life but, rather, for other factors: the evidence of a self that is performed to create an impression of coherence; an individual with multiple selves whose different manifestations reflect the passage of time and the demands and options of different settings; a variety of ways in which others seek to represent this individual.²⁹

The practice of “traditional biography” against which Pekacz argues is rooted in nineteenth-century conceptions of the artistic “genius” and of “art . . . as self-expression.”³⁰ This outdated model has been thoroughly supplanted by several decades of scholarship in the humanities on identity construction and artistic networks. For example, feminist historian Jo Burr Margadant writes on the paradigm shift of the “new biography”: “The subject of biography is no longer the coherent self but rather a self that is performed to create an impression of coherence or an individual with multiple selves whose different manifestations reflect the passage of time, the demands and options of different settings, or the varieties of ways that others seek to represent

Muzicke Umetnosti, 2010), 3–27; Jo Burr Margadant, ed., *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Volker R. Berghahn and Simone Lässig, eds., *Biography Between Structure and Agency: Central European Lives in International Historiography* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008); “AHR Roundtable: Historians and Biography,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 3 (2009): 573–661; Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

²⁸ Wiley, “Biography and the New Musicology.”

²⁹ Pekacz, “Memory, History and Meaning,” 69.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

that person.”³¹ Yet although this fundamental premise of “new biography” is now well-accepted, traditionalist thinking still holds sway in popular and scholarly understandings both of individual composers and of the generic figure of “the composer.” The image of a composer as an autonomous creator is a powerful one, and alternative interpretive lenses must be taken up actively and intentionally in order to stop reinscribing the biographical tropes of the “great composer.”

Our perceptions of composers’ lives—and of why they may or may not be worthy of study—are bound up in enduring musicological ideologies of the musical work, music history, and the nature of creativity. Composer biography inevitably raises questions about the relationship between one’s life and one’s creative output, but fitting one aspect to an already-distorted image of the other can be doubly misleading. The standard chronological “life and works” format for a biographical study assumes a certain parallel trajectory between the two, while also implying that the central reason for learning about a given composer’s life is to provide context for that composer’s music. The absence of biographical detail about Milhaud’s later life has indeed made it difficult to incorporate his post-1940 compositions into an understanding of his output as a whole. In some recent studies, the titles of works take on outsized significance, standing in for information about the circumstances of their creation.³²

Elsewhere, it seems as if his later works—that is, the entire second half of his catalog—can be

³¹ Jo Burr Margadant, “Introduction: Constructing Selves in Historical Perspective,” in *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France*, ed. Jo Burr Margadant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 7.

³² See Deborah Mawer, “Positioning Milhaud’s Late Chamber Music: Compositional ‘Full Circle’?” *The Musical Times* 149, no. 1905 (Winter 2008): 45–60; and Jens Rosteck, “Le portrait urbain dans la musique instrumentale de Milhaud,” in *Darius Milhaud: Compositeur et expérimentateur*, ed. Jacinthe Harbec and Marie-Noëlle Lavoie (Paris: J. Vrin, 2014), 89–97. A revised version of Mawer’s article also appears in French translation in *Darius Milhaud: Compositeur et expérimentateur*, 65–88, as “Retour au point de départ? Les dernières œuvres de musique de chambre de Milhaud et la notion de ‘tardivité.’”

invoked only as part of a narrative of decline.³³ Yet the problem is not merely a lack of data, but also the basic assumption that a composer's "life" and "work" are both thematically cohesive.

I argue that Milhaud's exile disrupts the perceived arc of his life in a way that has confounded conventional "life and works" interpretations, but my purpose in this study is not to craft a revised biographical lens through which all of his music could be satisfyingly read. Rather, I use this rupture as an opportunity to reject the search for life/work coherence, and instead to explore other modes of biography and other reasons for taking interest in a composer's life. With the exception of a chapter on Milhaud's engagement with the changing concepts and institutions of Jewish music, this dissertation largely does not discuss specific compositions, which may seem at first to be capitulating to the often-invoked notion that Milhaud's output is too large and unwieldy for anyone to discern which works are "important." However, letting "the music itself" fade to the background allows a composer to be understood as more than a creator of musical compositions, which in turn relieves some of the pressure to create a biographical narrative that serves to explain a body of work.

I further contend that this work of rethinking individual composers' lives and identities is a necessary part of our discipline's collective effort to broaden the scope and focus of musicology. The decentering of composers illuminates the complex networks of individuals, institutions, and cultural forces in which music is created and heard; we can no longer conceive of a given composition as the sole product of its composer's mind, seemingly divorced from real-life circumstances.³⁴ However, associating composer-centered study with a narrow and outdated

³³ For example, see Christopher Palmer, "Darius Milhaud," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 12, 306.

³⁴ Non-composer-centered studies that relate to various aspects of this dissertation include Leta E. Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco: From the 1906 Quake to the Second World War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Catherine Parsons Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles: Transforming the Popular* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (New York: Oxford

view of creative production not only implies that there is nothing new to say about individual composers as people—thereby leaving us with the images that have already been formed by criticism and scholarship—but also continues to set composers apart from all other participants in musical communities. The life of a composer is as complex and interconnected as any other life; once this is fully taken into account, composers can be re-centered in individual studies without losing sight of the bigger picture, enabling more nuanced representations of particular composers to enter into the broader narrative.³⁵

At the same time, it is also necessary to recognize and to interrogate the ways in which the unifying impulses of traditional biography have operated in the construction of a particular composer's identity.³⁶ Pekacz writes that one of the aims of traditional biography is to locate “a single psychic conflict that can ‘unlock’ the subject’s life and œuvre—a core personality that can be found if only one digs deep and long enough,” giving the examples of Bach’s religiosity and Chopin’s Polishness.³⁷ In the case of Milhaud, the “core personality” most often identified—especially in Anglophone scholarship and criticism—is the one expressed in the first line of his memoirs: “I am a Frenchman of Provence and of the Israelite religion.”³⁸ Even now, as Louis K.

University Press, 2008); and Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr, eds., *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

³⁵ For example, see Suzanne G. Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

³⁶ Scholars including Klára Móricz and David M. Schiller have addressed the ways in which the label of “Jewish composer” overwhelmed public and critical perception of Ernest Bloch’s music, and S. Andrew Granade’s recent study of Harry Partch explores the American iconoclast’s self-presentation and reception as a “hobo composer.” Klára Móricz, *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 95–197; David M. Schiller, *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 12–73; S. Andrew Granade, *Harry Partch, Hobo Composer* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2014).

³⁷ Pekacz, “Memory, History and Meaning,” 67.

³⁸ MVH, 7: “Je suis un Français de Provence et de religion israélite.” As I note in chapter 3, “et de religion israélite” is usually translated into English as “and by religion, a Jew,” but that translation erases the distinction between “juif” and “israélite,” which was significant to Milhaud’s understanding of his Jewish identity, as “israélite” was the term used by assimilated French Jews.

Epstein has stated, “most of the important scholarship on Milhaud begins by rehashing and expanding on the identity markers he offers in his autobiography.”³⁹ I do not avoid this pattern, as this dissertation does devote considerable attention to issues of French and Jewish identity. However, exploring the new meanings of these identities in Milhaud’s life and career after 1940—which necessitates an understanding of identity as “multiple and mobile . . . constantly in the making in response to outside developments, based on cultural expectations rather than on any essential characteristics”—productively complicates what has become a well-worn trope.⁴⁰

The contradiction inherent in the overuse of the “French, Jewish, Provençal” identity markers is that a sentence Milhaud wrote in San Francisco in 1944 is used primarily to explain his work and personality in France before 1940, which can give the false impression of identity as static and innate. Barbara L. Kelly’s *Tradition and Style in the Works of Darius Milhaud 1912–1939* shines a necessary light on Milhaud’s efforts to construct and manage these identities in the first decades of his career, but many writers are not so careful. In the entry on Milhaud for the 1980 *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Christopher Palmer uses the sentence to explain the supposed decline in the composer’s music after 1940, drawing a familiar connection between exile and a loss of creative power:

Certainly his best work was done by the outbreak of World War II. The distinct falling-off in quality (if not in quantity) perceptible thereafter may be attributable partly to increasing age and infirmity, professorial commitments and other extra-musical impediments; but the real cause of the trouble was surely the war, which cut Milhaud off from his homeland and from one of the two prime sources of his inspiration. For he neatly isolated both mainsprings when he declared in the opening words of his autobiography “I am a Frenchman from Provence, and by religion a Jew.”⁴¹

³⁹ Epstein, “Toward a Theory of Patronage,” 330. As examples, Epstein cites Paul Collaer, *Darius Milhaud* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982); Drake, *The Operas of Darius Milhaud*; and Kelly, *Tradition and Style*.

⁴⁰ Jolanta T. Pekacz, “The Nation’s Property: Chopin’s Biography as a Cultural Discourse,” in *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*, ed. Jolanta T. Pekacz (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 45.

⁴¹ Palmer, “Darius Milhaud,” 306. On this passage in the context of disability, see chapter 6.

Yet as Annegret Fauser has discussed, it was at a key moment in his exile—the day of the liberation of Paris—that Milhaud felt compelled to declare his identity in this way.⁴² And from his autobiography’s initial publication in 1949 to the present day, the sentence has taken on a life of its own, reproduced and invoked so many times as nearly to close off the possibility of *not* identifying this duality between nationality and religion as the “single psychic conflict” of the composer’s life.

A secondary “conflict,” often invoked but rarely discussed in any detail, is that of disability and illness. Never in good health, Milhaud was rejected for military service in World War I (which led to his two years of diplomatic duties in Brazil), and by the second half of the 1920s, still only in his mid-thirties, he had started to suffer chronic pain and periods of acute illness, eventually diagnosed as rheumatoid arthritis. Even between these episodes, his physical mobility gradually declined; in the 1930s, he sometimes walked with a cane, and by 1940, his condition—which could be exacerbated by emotional distress—affected his daily life enough that it became a factor in his family’s decision to leave France as quickly as possible after the invasion. After a protracted bout of ill health in 1944, he could no longer walk unassisted; from that point onward, he used a wheelchair most of the time, which marked him conspicuously as disabled. Biographical writing on people with disabilities is particularly susceptible to problematic “grand narratives,” such as that of an artist overcoming or transcending physical limitations through creative work.⁴³ Drawing on perspectives from disability studies, I reevaluate

⁴² Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 178.

⁴³ Joseph N. Straus, *Extraordinary Measures: Disability in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15–44; Katie Ellis and Gerard Goggin, *Disability and the Media* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

the roles of disability in Milhaud's professional activity and reception, showing how it intersected with other aspects of his identity.⁴⁴

The emphasis in recent biographical studies on the self-fashioning and social construction of identity is rooted in the efforts of feminist biographers to develop alternatives to the “great man” model that enable women's stories to be told more fully.⁴⁵ These methods are now commonly applied to male subjects as well—including those who might otherwise be depicted as “great men”—as historian and biographer Susan Ware writes:

The thrust of feminist biography several decades ago—focusing on the interplay between the personal and the political during a woman's life—is starting to lose its freshness now that such an approach is so much more commonplace for men as well as women. Just as women's lives (at least elite white women's lives) are increasingly becoming more similar to men's, the former chasm between how biographers write a woman's life and how they write a man's life has narrowed.⁴⁶

This “narrowing” between approaches to male and female biographical subjects is central to the basic methodological framework of this dissertation, which has a secondary protagonist in Madeleine Milhaud. The wives of “great composers” have long been relegated in biography and scholarship to the passive role of the “muse,” depicted as inspiring the creativity of their husbands but having no independent identity or accomplishments.⁴⁷ Moving beyond this limiting

⁴⁴ Studies of music and disability include Neil Lerner and Joseph N. Straus, eds., *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Blake Howe, “Music and the Embodiment of Disability” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2010); Straus, *Extraordinary Measures*; Alex Lubet, *Music, Disability, and Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011); Blake Howe, Stephanie Jensen-Moulton, Neil Lerner, and Joseph N. Straus, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁴⁵ See Sara Alpern, Joyce Antler, Elisabeth Israels Perry, and Ingrid Winther Scobie, eds., *The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Linda Wagner-Martin, *Telling Women's Lives: The New Biography* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Margadant, “Introduction”; Susan Ware, “Writing Women's Lives: One Historian's Perspective,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 3 (2010): 413–35; Caine, *Biography and History*, 105–11.

⁴⁶ Ware, “Writing Women's Lives,” 434.

⁴⁷ Nancy B. Reich writes on Clara Wieck Schumann: “Until recently, the literature on Clara Schumann has concentrated on presenting her as (1) a devoted wife and mother, (2) a ‘consecrated, loyal priestess,’ (3) a figure in a great romance with Robert Schumann, or (4) a party to a ‘passionate friendship’ with Brahms. In the Robert Schumann biographies she is, of course, a subordinate figure, sometimes treated with reverence, occasionally with

archetype requires not only a feminist biographical perspective on the women in these relationships—one that recognizes their agency and the complexities of their lives—but also a rejection of the tropes of the autonomous male genius.⁴⁸

Madeleine Milhaud is explicitly connected to the concept of the “muse” through Darius Milhaud’s 1944 piano suite *La Muse ménagère* (“The Household Muse”), a musical depiction of the couple’s daily life together. Such a work illustrates that gendered constructions of creativity are not merely imposed on a historical subject’s life by biographers or critics invested in the idea of the “great composer,” but rather form part of the cultural fabric in which composers have interpreted their own lives and relationships. In the case of Madeleine Milhaud, her own agency in refashioning herself as “the composer’s wife” after 1940—and, after 1974, “the composer’s widow”—further complicates any attempt to draw a line between biography and autobiography. Just as Darius Milhaud’s *Ma Vie heureuse* presents a version of his life that has fundamentally shaped his enduring image as a composer, Madeleine Milhaud’s actions and words have produced particular frames for interpreting his legacy and her own place in it. Her published and recorded interviews, which feature Darius Milhaud as the primary subject, can be read as what feminist historian Marilyn Yalom calls “female-authored life-writing containing both the story of another and the story of oneself,” allowing “the woman witness to enter into history as a writing subject.”⁴⁹ In this dissertation, Madeleine Milhaud plays multiple roles: she is both a character in

reproach.” Nancy B. Reich, “Clara Schumann,” in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 253. See also Christopher Wiley, “Musical Biography and the Myth of the Muse,” in *Critical Music Historiography: Probing Canons, Ideologies and Institutions*, ed. Vesa Kurkela and Markus Mantere (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 251–61.

⁴⁸ Studies of female partners of male artists include Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron, eds., *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), and Ruth Butler, *Hidden in the Shadow of the Master: The Model-Wives of Cézanne, Monet, and Rodin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁴⁹ Marilyn Yalom, “Biography as Autobiography: Adèle Hugo, Witness of Her Husband’s Life,” in *Revealing Lives: Autobiography, Biography, and Gender*, ed. Susan Groag Bell and Marilyn Yalom (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 62.

the narrative and a co-creator of it, both a source of information and a gatekeeper, both “the wife” and her own person. Unlike earlier generations of Milhaud scholars, I never met her or wrote to her, as I began this project in 2011, three years after her death at the age of 105. Consequently, I have a somewhat different perspective on this subject, but one that still bears the influence of her narrative voice.

Biography as Historiographical Intervention

In the discipline of history, biography has often been situated in opposition to the social and structural histories that predominated during the Cold War.⁵⁰ Some defenders of biography’s continued value have pointed to the potential for individual life stories to illustrate or encapsulate larger processes.⁵¹ While I agree with such arguments, I am more interested in biography’s ability to intervene in established narratives by throwing a spotlight on the implicit boundaries of nation, place, ideology, aesthetics, and “significance”—among many others—that determine and define the threads of our historiography.⁵² Labor historian and biographer Nick Salvatore recalls being told as a graduate student in the early 1970s that “biography is not history because the question of periodisation is a given, as biography is framed by the birth and death of the

⁵⁰ Margadant, “Introduction,” 3–6; Simone Lässig, “Introduction: Biography in Modern History—Modern History in Biography,” in *Biography Between Structure and Agency: Central European Lives in International Historiography*, ed. Volker R. Berghahn and Simone Lässig (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 1–4.

⁵¹ For example, see Robert I. Rotberg, “Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 3 (2010): 305–24.

⁵² Barbara Caine writes: “At a time when historians want to stress the need to encompass the many different historical narratives which could be produced at any one time, all of which are contingent on particular situations and locations, individual lives have come to appear more and more important because of the many ways in which they can illustrate how differences of wealth and power, of class and gender and of ethnicity and religion have affected historical experiences and understanding. Within this framework, biography can be seen as the archetypal ‘contingent narrative’ and the one best able to show the great importance of particular locations and circumstances and the multiple layers of historical change and experience.” Caine, *Biography and History*, 2.

subject.”⁵³ Yet the apparent violation of historiography that occurs when one person’s life serves as the primary framework is precisely why such studies are both valuable and necessary.

An individual life crosses in and out of countless other stories, sometimes remaining just outside or behind written history, and interrogating the reasons for a subject’s absence from existing narratives is often revealing in more ways than one. Such an approach has been particularly vital to feminist musicology, as Jane Bowers and Judith Tick write in the introduction to their pioneering 1986 volume *Women Making Music*: “The absence of women in the standard music histories is not due to their absence in the musical past. Rather, the questions so far asked by historians have tended to exclude them.”⁵⁴ Jazz scholarship in the past two decades, including Sherrie Tucker’s work on “all-girl” bands, has also engaged productively with these questions of historiography and representation.⁵⁵ Brigid Cohen’s study of Stefan Wolpe—a composer whose “formidably dense cultural connections confound traditional narratives of modernism as a series of discrete styles and schools”—compellingly demonstrates the potential of individual stories to destabilize and reconfigure established narratives of groups or artistic movements.⁵⁶

Milhaud’s transnational mobility is the most obvious and consequential way in which his life cuts through historiographical boundaries. As Cohen and others have argued, musicology’s ongoing reliance on national categories has limited the field’s ability to contend fully with—or

⁵³ Nick Salvatore, “Biography and Social History: an Intimate Relationship,” *Labour History* 84 (November 2004): 187. Also quoted in David Nasaw, “AHR Roundtable: Historians and Biography: Introduction,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 3 (2009): 573.

⁵⁴ Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, “Introduction,” in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 3.

⁵⁵ Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: “All-Girl” Bands of the 1940s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Nichole T. Rustin and Sherrie Tucker, eds., *Big Ears: Listening for Gender in Jazz Studies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

⁵⁶ Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe*, 4.

sometimes merely to recognize—the multifaceted effects of displacement on twentieth-century Western music.⁵⁷ Milhaud ostensibly drops out of the history of “French music” in 1940, yet he never becomes part of the history of “American music,” except perhaps as a teacher of American musicians and as a “foreign” musical influence on such composers as Aaron Copland. Placing him at the center of a narrative therefore not only illustrates the limits of these overarching categories, but also reveals alternative ways of conceptualizing and framing musical histories.

Musicologists have been engaging with themes of exile and migration in the lives and music of twentieth-century European composers for several decades, yet until Annegret Fauser’s *Sounds of War*, Milhaud was scarcely mentioned in this scholarship. The chief reason for this absence is that with the notable exception of Igor Stravinsky, musicological work on World War II-era exile has focused almost entirely on individuals exiled from Germany and Austria, a lasting effect of its origins in the interdisciplinary field of *Exilforschung*.⁵⁸ As a French Jew, Milhaud’s experience of exile differed in significant ways from French Catholics as well as from German Jews, groups that constituted much of his personal and professional U.S. network. While there is a small body of literature on the wartime French presence in the United States—focusing on writers and artists rather than on musicians, and centered principally in New York—these

⁵⁷ Ibid., 12–22; Florian Scheduling and Erik Levi, “Introduction,” in *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*, ed. Erik Levi and Florian Scheduling (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press), 1–2.

⁵⁸ The limitations and problematic assumptions of earlier exile scholarship have long been critiqued: for example, see Reinhold Brinkmann, “Reading a Letter,” in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 3–20; Martin Jay, “The German Migration: Is There a Figure in the Carpet,” in *Exiles and Emigrés: The Flight of European Artists from Hitler*, ed. Stephanie Barron (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1997), 326–40. However, the focus only on migration “from Nazi Germany” goes largely unquestioned. For recent scholarship on individual composers—still all German or Austrian—that overturns the common interpretive framework of creative “assimilation” and “resistance,” see Feisst, *Schoenberg’s New World*; Tim Carter, “Schoenberg, Weill, and the Federal Arts Projects in Los Angeles, Spring 1937,” in *Ereignis und Exegese—Musikalische Interpretation, Interpretation der Musik: Festschrift für Hermann Danuser zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Camilla Bork, Tobias Robert Klein, Burkhard Meischein, Andreas Meyer, and Tobias Plebuch (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011), 600–12; Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe*; Graber, “Found in Translation.”

studies largely overlook the specific concerns of French Jewish exiles.⁵⁹ Jewish individuals such as Claude Lévi-Strauss and André Maurois are part of these narratives, but this vital aspect of their exile is not given full weight, and the image that emerges is that of a group of privileged non-Jewish émigrés who would not have faced any particular danger had they remained in France.⁶⁰ This is one reason why I use the term “exile” to characterize Milhaud’s 1940–47 displacement, despite recent scholarship highlighting the limitations of the concept or questioning its appropriateness for people whose fame and connections distinguished their experiences from those who arrived with little or no support network.⁶¹

The focus on New York in the scholarship on French exiles raises another issue that has contributed to Milhaud’s historiographical marginalization, that of geographically bounded communities. In interwar Paris, he was active in the cultural life of a large and complex artistic center, alongside numerous other musicians, writers, and artists who are also viewed as historically significant; such studies as Roger Nichols’s *The Harlequin Years* illustrate the vibrancy of that environment and Milhaud’s place in it.⁶² Yet the composer’s displacement to Oakland separated him not only from Paris, but also from New York and Los Angeles, where

⁵⁹ Colin W. Nettelbeck, *Forever French: Exile in the United States* (New York: Berg, 1991); Jeffrey Mehlman, *Émigré New York: French Intellectuals in Wartime Manhattan, 1940–1944* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Emmanuelle Loyer, *Paris à New York: Intellectuels et artistes français en exil (1940–1947)* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 2005). The history of Jews in France has been addressed thoroughly by scholars; for example, see Nadia Malinovich, *French and Jewish: Culture and the Politics of Identity in Early Twentieth-Century France* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008).

⁶⁰ For example, Jeffrey Mehlman draws a contrast between the French, whom he describes as “aristocrats or notables of talent” who “arrived with no intention of staying,” and “the German intellectuals, mostly Jews, who felt they had nothing to return to.” Mehlman, *Émigré New York*, 2.

⁶¹ Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe*, 12–14; Feisst, *Schoenberg’s New World*, 46; Florian Scheduling, “The Heterotopia and Nostalgia of Hanns Eisler” (paper presented at Hanns Eisler Today, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 5 March 2016).

⁶² Roger Nichols, *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris, 1917–1929* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). See also Nancy Perloff, *Art and the Everyday: Popular Entertainment and the Circle of Erik Satie* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), and James Harding, *The Ox on the Roof: Scenes from Musical Life in Paris in the Twenties* (London: Macdonald, 1972).

greater numbers of exiled European artists settled. If Milhaud had found work in New York in 1940, he would likely figure more prominently in studies of the French exiles; likewise, had he gone to Hollywood, he might not be merely a peripheral character in the literature on the musical exile community in Los Angeles.⁶³

Milhaud's initial impression of life in Oakland was one of isolation; he was acutely aware of the vast distances that stood between him and most of the people he knew. But letting isolation become the defining image of his exile would further reinforce a view of "center" and "periphery" in which the location and size of a community determines the significance of the people in it. The relative lack of prominent composers—whether émigré or U.S.-born—in the San Francisco Bay Area enabled Milhaud to have more of an influence on the region's developing musical culture than he would have had in Los Angeles as one of the many film composers there, and Oakland and the surrounding area also took on a special role in his life. Furthermore, he was not completely disconnected from his friends and associates elsewhere in the country, even if he seldom saw them in person, and these geographically dispersed networks also shaped his experience of exile.

Most of the French exile community returned to Europe permanently after the war, as the prospect of going back to a formerly occupied country such as France was quite different from what their German counterparts faced. Consequently, the standard narrative of this group does not extend past the 1940s. Emmanuelle Loyer's *Paris à New York* devotes considerable attention to issues of remigration, and she does note that some people—such as Jacques Maritain—

⁶³ See John Russell Taylor, *Strangers in Paradise: The Hollywood Émigrés 1933–1950* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983); Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Alexander Gordon Kahn, "Double Lives: Exile Composers in Los Angeles" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009). For broader studies of Los Angeles exile culture with some focus on musicians, see David Wallace, *Exiles in Hollywood* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Limelight Editions, 2006); Ehrhard Bahr, *Weimar on the Pacific: German Exile Culture in Los Angeles and the Crisis of Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

maintained some degree of U.S. activity after the war, as Milhaud did, but the question of individual French identity in the postwar United States has gone essentially unexplored by scholars.⁶⁴ I address this issue by examining the ways in which concepts of France and Frenchness played into Milhaud's self-presentation, his perceived status as a composer, and interpretations of his music in the United States through the first decades of the Cold War.

Milhaud can be counted among the twentieth century's most prominent Jewish composers, and his self-identification as "un Français de Provence et de religion israélite" has ensured a recognized place for this aspect of his identity in his compositional legacy, but he rarely receives more than a brief mention in studies of Jewish art music.⁶⁵ I argue that his Provençal Jewish background makes him nearly invisible to historical narratives that privilege an exclusively Ashkenazi discourse of Eastern European cultural nationalism versus Central European assimilated modernism, just as his own sense of separation from that discourse influenced his strategy of emphasizing his claim to a mainstream French musical tradition in his early career. In a recent study, Israeli musicologist Assaf Shelleg aims to "decenter the Eastern European soundscape" by contextualizing its perceived authenticity, yet his description of assimilated European Jewish composers, "outsiders to their own traditions," engaging in a "process of auto-exoticism" by drawing on that soundscape—or on imagined versions of it—still

⁶⁴ Loyer, *Paris à New York*, 339–414. For studies addressing postwar Franco-American relations through the lens of travel and interpersonal contact, see Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); and Whitney Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad: France and the United States, 1890–1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 109–93.

⁶⁵ One exception is Philip V. Bohlman, *The World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine, 1936–1940: Jewish Musical Life on the Eve of World War II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), which addresses Milhaud's contact with musicians in Palestine shortly before World War II. Studies focusing specifically on Milhaud's Jewish identity include Jane F. Fulcher, "The Preparation for Vichy: Anti-Semitism in French Musical Culture between the Two World Wars," *The Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (1995): 458–75; Kelly, *Tradition and Style*; Marie-Noëlle Lavoie, "Identité, emprunts et régionalisme: Judaïcité dans les œuvres de Milhaud durant l'entre-deux-guerres," in *Musique, art et religion dans l'entre-deux-guerres*, ed. Silvain Caron and Michel Duschesneau (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 57–70; and Jennifer Walker, "Darius Milhaud, *Esther de Carpentras*, and the French Interwar Identity Crisis" (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2015).

excludes Milhaud, who located his Jewish roots not in the east, but in his native Provence, or, more broadly, in the Mediterranean.⁶⁶ As I demonstrate, Milhaud later drew upon this “Mediterranean” identity to connect to Israel, while changing concepts of Jewish identity and culture in the United States created a context in which he could present himself legibly as a “Jewish composer” without diminishing his status as a “French composer.”

Tracing the later life of a composer best known for his work in the early 1920s crosses chronological and aesthetic boundaries that may be even more entrenched in the historiography of twentieth-century music than boundaries of nation and place. Paul Griffiths writes: “It can be no surprise that 1945 represents a shift in music. The destruction, havoc, grief, and misery felt across the world—and the widespread hopes for a new social order, and therefore a new culture—demanded not just reconstruction but an alternative paradigm.”⁶⁷ Yet although the idea of a fundamental paradigm shift at the end of World War II was embraced by composers seeking a new path forward, accepting this artistic ideology at face value creates a distorted image of the postwar musical landscape by obscuring continuity and dismissing composers whose music no longer sounded “new.” Examining Milhaud’s reception and status through the 1960s reveals complexities that cannot be reduced to a narrative of increasing irrelevance. Furthermore, his strategies for navigating a changing musical culture—along with the ways in which others argued for or against his continued significance—present a striking opportunity to locate and interpret the place of the interwar avant-garde in the postwar avant-garde’s own concepts of modernist historiography, further confounding the notion of a complete rupture.

⁶⁶ Assaf Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 5.

⁶⁷ Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music and After*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1.

Milhaud and the United States before 1940

The first known U.S. performance of one of Milhaud's compositions took place in New York's Aeolian Hall on 7 December 1914, when the Flonzaley Quartet featured two movements of what was then his only string quartet in one of its subscription concerts, alongside works by Beethoven and Tchaikovsky. At that time, none of the events that would define Milhaud's early career had yet occurred; still a Conservatoire student and little known even in France, he had not even met Francis Poulenc or Erik Satie. The review of the concert in the *New York Tribune* described the twenty-two-year-old composer:

Darius Milhaud is one of the younger French composers, who swear not by the gospel of Gounod and Massenet, but who follow the banner of Claude Debussy. In the two movements of the Quartet, as revealed last night, Mr. Milhaud displayed the finesse and subtle nuances so beloved of all this school, and also more than its usual amount of vagueness and tortuous wanderings. Masculinity the composition did not have, but its esoteric meanings will no doubt be sought for by the faithful.⁶⁸

The Flonzaley Quartet was a significant agent of transatlantic musical exchange in the early twentieth century. Based in New York and consisting of musicians from Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland, the group was financed by a Swiss-American banker, giving it an unusual degree of independence and mobility, and it toured Europe frequently, which gave the members an ongoing connection to composers there.⁶⁹ Earlier in 1914, it gave the first U.S. performances of Arnold Schoenberg's String Quartet no. 1, and Igor Stravinsky offered his *Three Pieces for*

⁶⁸ "Flonzaleys Give First Concert: Quartet by Milhaud, Disciple of Debussy, Is Feature of Programme," *New York Tribune*, 8 December 1914. On 10 December, the Flonzaley Quartet reprised Milhaud's composition in Boston; three days after that, the work (now including all four movements) was performed by the Zoellner Quartet in New York.

⁶⁹ Tully Potter, "The Concert Explosion and the Age of Recording," in *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*, ed. Robin Stowell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 77–78; Walter Levin, "Immigrant Musicians and the American Chamber Music Scene, 1930–1950," in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 325–26.

String Quartet to the group that same year.⁷⁰ Milhaud met the members of the quartet on a visit to Switzerland through the photographer and pianist Céline Lagouarde.⁷¹

Milhaud first visited the United States just over four years later, in January 1919. After two years in Brazil as the secretary to the French ambassador—his friend and artistic collaborator Paul Claudel—his circuitous three-month voyage back to Paris involved stops in Washington, D.C., and New York City, where Claudel had diplomatic duties. Milhaud was fascinated by the Brazilian and Caribbean cities he saw en route, as he had been by his extended encounter with Rio de Janeiro, but found Washington “too ugly” even to photograph.⁷² During his week in New York, he saw a performance of Stravinsky’s ballet *Petrushka*, made the acquaintance of the composers Marion Bauer and Charles Griffes, arranged for the publishing company G. Schirmer to bring out an edition of his *Poèmes d’amour*, and reconnected with the members of the Flonzaley Quartet and with the pianist Artur Schnabel.⁷³

Another pianist, E. Robert Schmitz, soon became one of Milhaud’s most important advocates in the United States. The two men were already acquainted: in Paris before World War I, Schmitz and his wife (Germaine Bocandé Schmitz, also a pianist) had operated a concert

⁷⁰ Stravinsky had already written a four-hand piano version of the first movement when the quartet’s second violinist, Alfred Pochon, wrote to him in June 1914 to request a piece for the group’s upcoming tour. Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882–1934* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 238. Stravinsky’s 1920 *Concertino* was also composed for the Flonzaley Quartet.

⁷¹ MVH, 80. Milhaud does not give the date of this meeting, but it was at some point before his departure for Brazil in 1917.

⁷² Darius Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, 19 January 1919, C-Hoppenot, 20: “Je ne ferai pas de photos ici. [Washington] est trop laid...” In MVH, 76–79, Milhaud describes observing a “voodoo rite” in Bahia, Brazil; attending a victory ball in Martinique and being driven around the island by the governor; listening to soldiers from Guadeloupe sing on board the ship; and recognizing the “continual contrast between American influences and the vestiges of Spanish colonization” (“contraste continuel entre l’influence américaine et les vestiges de la colonisation espagnole”) in the architecture and music of Puerto Rico, where he bought the güiro that features prominently in *Le Bœuf sur le toit*. He does not mention Washington at all.

⁷³ MVH, 81; Darius Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, 7 February 1919, C-Hoppenot, 23. *Poèmes d’amour*, two settings of texts by the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, may have been seen as particularly appropriate for the U.S. market because Milhaud had already included both French and English versions of the text.

organization that specialized in contemporary music, and he premiered Milhaud's *Première suite symphonique* in May 1914. After three years of military service, which resulted in several injuries, Schmitz relocated to the United States in November 1918 with the aim of promoting French music and culture, backed by the French government.⁷⁴ He settled first in Chicago, where the society columnist of the *Chicago Tribune* wrote in February 1919: "Music we once thought was written in German. We no longer hold this opinion. Debussy taught us otherwise. Mr. Schmitz would introduce us to the works of Ravel, Darius Milhaud, Auric, and others."⁷⁵

In 1920—the same year in which the Groupe des Six was formed—Schmitz founded the Franco-American Musical Society in New York. With his manager, Lucy D. Bogue, he and his wife arranged Milhaud's first U.S. concert tour in January 1923, scheduling concerts and lectures in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.⁷⁶ The composer conducted New York's City Symphony Orchestra and the Philadelphia Orchestra; took part in a smaller concert of his works at the Boston Flute Players Club; attended the U.S. premiere of Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*; and delivered lectures at Harvard University, Princeton University, Vassar College, the French Institute in New York, and an Episcopal church ("The representative of the Carpentras ghetto had a good laugh," Milhaud wrote to Paul Collaer).⁷⁷ After his appearance at Harvard, the *New York Times* reported: "Mr. Darius Milhaud, being a fluent English speaker, lectured . . . on

⁷⁴ Ronald Victor Wiecki, "A Chronicle of Pro Musica in the United States (1920–1944): With a Biographical Sketch of its Founder, E. Robert Schmitz" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1992), 40–41, 117.

⁷⁵ Mme. X., "Comment by Mme. X.: News of Chicago Society," *Chicago Tribune*, 2 February 1919.

⁷⁶ For another overview of both of Milhaud's U.S. tours in the 1920s, see Epstein, "Toward a Theory of Patronage," 276–85.

⁷⁷ Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, 13 January 1923, C-Collaer, 120: "Le représentant du ghetto de Carpentras avait bien le fou rire." St. Mark's Church-in-the-Bowery, a socially progressive Episcopal church in New York City, had a history of supporting the arts. During a Sunday worship service in honor of Joan of Arc on 7 January, Milhaud spoke on "What France is Doing to Express Herself in Music," with musical examples played by Robert Schmitz. The service also included a "history of the French tricolor" by the church's rector, an address by the French Consul General, and a rendition of "La Marseillaise" by the Metropolitan Opera Company mezzo-soprano Raymonde Delaunois. "Joan of Arc Honored," *New York Times*, 8 January 1923. In MVH, 113, Milhaud misidentifies the church as "l'église Jeanne-d'Arc."

‘Modern Musical Tendencies in Paris and in Vienna.’ By way of illustration he played several piano pieces.”⁷⁸ “Fluent English speaker” was something of an overstatement at this point, but he was at least capable of reading from a prepared text, likely with pronunciation marks written above some words.⁷⁹ While in New York, Milhaud stayed in an apartment provided at no cost by Columbia University’s Maison Française, which put him in close proximity to Harlem, facilitating the encounter with African American jazz that inspired *La Création du monde*.⁸⁰

By the time of this tour, Milhaud’s reputation as a composer had become inextricably linked with “radical” polytonality and the Groupe des Six.⁸¹ A *New York Times* article announcing the tour called him “one of the most ‘daring’ composers of France today,” while the *New York Tribune* reprinted the *Times* article several weeks later with the addition of a paragraph describing Les Six as “futurists” and “the most conspicuous group of so-called musical radicals.”⁸² In a statement printed in the *New York Times* soon after his arrival, however, Milhaud attempted to downplay his purported radicalism by situating himself within a continuous—and anti-Germanic—musical tradition:

Unlike most of the so-called “futuristic” composers, he has gone back to the classics for inspiration. “Modern music is not a revolution,” he has said in defense of his theories. “After Beethoven, music, particularly the symphony, lost its form, becoming longer and

⁷⁸ “Music: Notes from Other Centres,” *New York Times*, 4 February 1923. This lecture was published as Darius Milhaud, “The Evolution of Modern Music in Paris and in Vienna,” *The North American Review* 217, no. 809 (April 1923): 544–54.

⁷⁹ I have not seen any manuscripts or typescripts from Milhaud’s U.S. lectures in the 1920s, but he wrote pronunciation reminders in several lectures given in the 1940s. As Kimberly A. Francis has shown, Nadia Boulanger used a similar strategy in the texts for her English-language lectures, though she used musical notation to indicate the stress patterns of words, whereas Milhaud used only diacritical marks. Kimberly A. Francis, “‘Everything had to Change’: Nadia Boulanger’s Translation of Modernism in the Rice Lecture Series, 1925,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 7, no. 4 (2013): 366–67. Francis notes that some French musicians visiting the United States during this time lectured only in their native language, including Maurice Ravel and Arthur Honegger.

⁸⁰ Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, 13 January 1923, C-Collaer, 120.

⁸¹ For an early assessment of Les Six by a U.S. critic, see Paul Rosenfeld, “The Group of Six,” in *Musical Chronicle 1917–1923* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1923), 146–66.

⁸² “Darius Milhaud to Make Debut,” *New York Times*, 8 October 1922; “Darius Milhaud to Appear With New City Symphony,” *New York Tribune*, 29 October 1922.

longer until it seemed to be endless. In my music I am trying to renew interest in the forms of the eighteenth century, especially those used by Mozart. My music is in a direct line of succession from Bizet and Chabrier. It is Latin in spirit and has little in common with Teutonic music. But it is a direct enlargement of old ideas, not a thing that is absolutely new and revolutionary.”⁸³

Through this statement and the “Modern Music in Paris and in Vienna” lecture, Milhaud used this tour as an opportunity to articulate a concept of national musical traditions that enabled him to position himself as part of a neoclassical French mainstream.⁸⁴

The audience at the premiere of *La Création du monde* in October 1923 included Aaron Copland, just shy of his twenty-third birthday, who had been in France for two years to study with Nadia Boulanger.⁸⁵ Virgil Thomson, another Boulanger student, had already returned to the United States, but he moved back to Paris in 1925 and stayed until the beginning of the German invasion in the summer of 1940.⁸⁶ These two American composers, who came to know Milhaud through their own transatlantic travels, later became important parts of his professional support network during and after exile. Thomson, in particular, advocated for Milhaud and his music through his position as chief music critic for the *New York Herald Tribune* from 1940 to 1954.

The proliferation of modern-music societies in New York during the 1920s presented opportunities for Milhaud’s music to be heard there, as well as for the composer to strengthen his connections to the city’s musicians. Table 0.1, adapted from Carol J. Oja’s survey of concert programs, lists the performances of Milhaud’s music by four such societies between 1923 and 1931. The Pro Musica Society, which presented more of Milhaud’s compositions during this time than any other New York concert society, was the Franco-American Musical Society under

⁸³ “Music: Local Programs of the Week,” *New York Times*, 14 January 1923.

⁸⁴ Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 27–32.

⁸⁵ See Annegret Fauser, “Aaron Copland, Nadia Boulanger, and the Making of an ‘American’ Composer,” *The Musical Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (2006): 524–54.

⁸⁶ Thomson traveled to New York via Lisbon, about two months after the Milhaud family took the same route (see chapter 1).

a new name and with a broader purpose. Rather than continuing to focus only on French music and concentrating his efforts on New York City, Schmitz aimed to create a network of local chapters across the United States, providing an infrastructure through which visiting artists—now from other European countries in addition to France—could undertake more extensive U.S. concert tours. Milhaud was one of Pro Musica’s guests for its second season of tours in 1926–27; other visiting composers in the first several years included Sergei Prokofiev, Béla Bartók, Maurice Ravel, Alexandre Tansman, and Arthur Honegger.⁸⁷

Society	Date	Composition	Notes
International Composers’ Guild	2/4/1923	<i>Saudades do Brasil</i> (excerpts)	U.S. premiere; performed by E. Robert Schmitz; Milhaud in attendance
	2/3/1924	Sonata for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, and Piano	U.S. premiere
League of Composers	11/25/1923	“Chant de Forgeron” from <i>Poèmes juifs</i>	
	1/12/1928	String Quartet no. 6	Performed by the Pro Arte Quartet
	12/10/1930	Chamber Symphony no. 3, “Sérénade”	
Pro Musica	2/22/1924	<i>Catalogue de fleurs</i>	Performed by Greta Torpadie and E. Robert Schmitz
	3/1/1926	Chamber Symphony no. 6; <i>Chants populaires hébraïques</i> (excerpts)	Chamber symphony conducted by Schmitz; <i>Chants populaires hébraïques</i> sung by Marya Freund
	12/30/1926	unknown string quartet, likely no. 6 or no. 7	Performed by the Pro Arte Quartet
	1/29/1927	<i>Les Malheurs d’Orphée</i>	Conducted by Milhaud
Copland-Sessions Concerts	3/15/1931	<i>La p’tite Lilie</i> ; <i>Actualités</i>	Film music; conducted by Aaron Copland

Table 0.1: Performances of Milhaud’s music by New York modern-music societies, 1923–31⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Wiecki, “Chronicle of Pro Musica.”

⁸⁸ Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 389. Oja’s list is chronological rather than organized by society, and I have standardized the titles of several pieces.

This was one of the first trips Milhaud took in the company of his wife, whom he had married in 1925. Madeleine Milhaud, a cousin on Darius's father's side, was ten years his junior and had never visited the United States before. The couple traveled by rail from New York to California and back again in December 1926 and January 1927, making stops for Pro Musica events in St. Paul, Los Angeles, Portland, Minneapolis, Chicago, and Denver.⁸⁹ Darius Milhaud's letter to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot of 12 January, halfway through the trip, says little about these concerts and lectures, but breathlessly recounts his touristic impressions of the regions he saw along the way:

First New York, the cold, the Negro neighborhoods, the new skyscrapers; then Boston, twenty degrees below zero; St. Paul . . . from there, crossing toward the South, Missouri, the flooding of the Mississippi; Birmingham, Alabama, the Negro churches . . . then the Gulf of Mexico, Louisiana, good weather finally in New Orleans, with its admirable Creole restaurants, then crossing Texas, New Mexico, Arizona. It is always just like in the movies. At the Grand Canyon, extraordinary jumble of mountains in every color, we saw Hopi Indians dance; then Los Angeles, where everyone lives fifty kilometers from one another. We spent all our time at the movie studios. We were invited to tea by Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks. . . . I was photographed with Marion Davies. Then Santa Barbara, the Pacific coast, the adorable climate, and finally San Francisco, where we bought superb Chinese records. We are leaving for Portland, where we will find cold and snow again, alas; we go back through Minneapolis, Denver, Chicago, then re-New York and Montreal. We will be in France on 20 February.⁹⁰

Milhaud's presence on these programs was comparable to that of Béla Bartók (10), Paul Hindemith (13), Arthur Honegger (13), Gian Francisco Malipiero (8), Maurice Ravel (13), Arnold Schoenberg (9), and Alexandre Tansman (8); he was significantly outdone only by Igor Stravinsky, with eighteen programs.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 255. Milhaud visited Chicago twice on this tour, before and after his Pro Musica event in Denver on 21 January. His first appearance in Chicago was sponsored by Pro Musica; then, on the way from Denver back to New York, he gave a lecture at the Arts Club of Chicago.

⁹⁰ Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, 12 January 1927, C-Hoppenot, 104: "D'abord New York, le froid, les quartiers nègres, les nouveaux gratte-ciel [*sic*], puis Boston 20 degrés sous zéro, St Paul . . . de là traversée vers le Sud, le Missouri, les inondations du Mississippi, Birmingham, l'Alabama, les églises nègres . . . puis le golfe du Mexique, la Louisiane, le beau temps enfin à New Orleans, avec ses admirables restaurants créoles, puis traversée du Texas, de New Mexico, de l'Arizona. C'est tout le temps comme au cinéma. Au G^d Canyon extraordinaire capharnaüm de montagnes de toutes les couleurs, nous avons vu danser des Indiens Hopi, puis Los Angeles où tout le monde habite à 50 kilomètres les uns des autres. Nous avons passé notre vie dans les studios de cinéma. Avons été invités à goûter chez Mary Pickford et Douglas Fairbanks. . . . Ai été photographié avec Marion Davis [*sic*]. Puis Santa Barbara, la côte du Pacifique, le climat adorable et enfin San Francisco où nous avons achetée des disques chinois superbes. Nous partons pour Portland où nous retrouverons le froid et la neige, hélas, nous rentrons par Minneapolis, Denver, Chicago puis re-New York et Montréal. Nous serons en France le 20 février." For Milhaud's later account of the trip, see MVH, 158–62.

In San Francisco, where he wrote this letter, he had no concert engagements or lectures scheduled, but they stopped there on the way from Los Angeles to Portland in order to see the city where Madeleine Milhaud's maternal grandfather had once lived.⁹¹ Two decades later, the composer wrote of this visit in *Notes sans musique*: "I did not foresee, taking in the distinctive atmosphere of this city, that we would live so close to it for a number of years."⁹²

Milhaud's U.S. concert tours of the 1920s resemble Carol J. Oja's description of how European modernist composers were received on such occasions:

Treated as a celebrity event, the arrival of each European modernist made the news. There was usually a photograph in *Musical America* showing the composer stepping off the ship, and interviews followed in the New York papers. Most composers immediately had a major orchestral performance. There were private auditions as well—often at the home of a wealthy woman patron—and there were appearances with the composer societies. This was followed by some travel, perhaps just to Boston or Philadelphia or, more likely, across the continent, often under the auspices of the Pro Musica Society.⁹³

As she discusses, these visits were one element of the transatlantic modern-music culture facilitated by such organizations as Pro Musica and the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). The international flow of musicians and of new compositions was a backdrop against which American and European composers developed their self-presentations of national identity, as Annegret Fauser has illustrated through the example of Copland's studies with Nadia Boulanger.⁹⁴ Milhaud's engagement with jazz—and the Parisian fascination with U.S. popular culture more broadly—formed part of this transnational discourse, as did the lectures he gave on his U.S. tours, which disseminated his version of the French musical tradition and asserted his place in it.

⁹¹ CWMM, 37.

⁹² MVH, 162: "Je ne prévoyais pas, en goûtant l'atmosphère si particulière de cette ville, que nous habiterions si près d'elle pendant plusieurs années."

⁹³ Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 291.

⁹⁴ Fauser, "Aaron Copland."

Oja further notes that for some of these European composers—including Milhaud, Stravinsky, Tansman, and Bartók—these tours were to serve as “a prelude to immigrating,” giving them connections in the United States that became vital support networks in the 1930s and 1940s.⁹⁵ Milhaud’s ties to the League of Composers were especially important in this regard, as was his association with the American patron Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, who was instrumental in bringing him to Mills College. European-born musicians whose interwar careers were partially or primarily U.S.-based—including E. Robert Schmitz, Serge Koussevitzky, and Pierre Monteux—also facilitated his adjustment to the United States in the early 1940s. Moreover, Milhaud was preceded in exile by many Jewish musicians and intellectuals from Central Europe, some of whom had first fled to Paris as a preliminary stage of their displacement. When he landed in New York for a fourth time in July 1940, now with his wife and son, it was under circumstances far removed from his earlier concert tours, but through the past two decades of participation in the transatlantic world of modern music, he had the connections necessary to resume his career in a new country.

Chapter Overview

This dissertation begins with two chapters exploring the personal, professional, and political concerns that shaped Darius Milhaud’s experience of exile, presenting a roughly chronological account from the months leading up to the Milhaud family’s departure from France in the summer of 1940 to their return seven years later. The liberation of Paris in August 1944 marks the dividing line between the two halves of this narrative, as that was the moment when the possibility of returning to France started to become more than a distant hope. In both chapters, I

⁹⁵ Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 291.

highlight the ways in which Milhaud's French nationality and his residence in the San Francisco Bay Area made his exile distinct from that of his Central European counterparts.

Chapter 1 opens with the Milhaud family in Aix-en-Provence, where they spent the year between the onset of war and the invasion of France, then follows their path into exile. Once they settled in Oakland, they had to contend not only with their separation from France—made more acute by the obstructed systems of international communication and by their awareness of the danger faced by their family and friends who remained—but also with their distance from the larger émigré communities in New York and Los Angeles. I situate Milhaud within a geographically diffuse network of people displaced from France; this network included Igor Stravinsky, who enlisted Milhaud's help to send money to his children in France and Switzerland. The relative isolation of Oakland was demoralizing on one level, but it also enabled Milhaud to form his identity and political outlook as a Frenchman in exile on his own terms, separate from the debates of the broader French émigré community. His effort to mount a nonpartisan “defense of French culture” rested, however, on a misunderstanding of the complexities of musical life in occupied Paris.

Milhaud's pathway to his decision to embark on a transatlantic existence after the war, rather than settling permanently in either the United States or France, is the focus of chapter 2. I first give an overview of the professional networks through which he rebuilt his compositional career in exile, demonstrating that by 1944, he was sufficiently well-established that abandoning this environment for the uncertainty of postwar Paris would have posed a significant risk. As he learned in the months following the end of the German occupation, the personal and professional losses he faced were extensive, and the messy reality of life under occupation implicated even some of his closest friends. Moreover, the difficult material conditions of postwar Paris could not

accommodate the decline in his health and mobility during exile. Yet there were equally powerful factors calling him back, including the conviction among his supporters in Paris that his presence was necessary in order to restore order to the chaotic music scene, in which Milhaud's contemporaries vied for dominance against the younger generation of composers. Drawing on Joy H. Calico's concept of "symbolic remigration," I discuss the return of Milhaud's music to French concert programs and radio broadcasts in the three years before the composer's own arrival.⁹⁶ When Darius, Madeleine, and Daniel Milhaud did return to France in September 1947, they were confronted with the many challenges of reintegrating into a society that had changed dramatically, but they also set off a pattern of transatlantic travel that would endure for the next twenty-four years.

Where chapters 1 and 2 center on Milhaud's identity as a French composer, chapter 3 chronicles the changing role of his Jewish identity in his professional life, which developed alongside the vast transformations of Jewish culture in the United States, in France, and around the world across the decades of the twentieth century. The discourse on Jewish music in the 1920s and 1930s was dominated by Ashkenazi cultural nationalists, for whom the Judeo-Provençal composer was both too assimilated and too French to figure into their ideology, and an antisemitic strain of French music criticism further dissuaded Milhaud from emphasizing this aspect of his heritage. In the United States, the Swiss immigrant Ernest Bloch was seen by many as the archetypal Jewish composer, based on a notion of innate Jewish musical characteristics that Milhaud rejected. After World War II, however, the rebuilding of global Jewish life out of the ravages of the Holocaust put Milhaud in a position to benefit professionally from making Jewishness a key facet of his identity as a composer. His 1947 *Sacred Service* emerged from his

⁹⁶ Calico, *Arnold Schoenberg's A Survivor from Warsaw in Postwar Europe*.

connection to the San Francisco cantor Reuben R. Rinder, and critics considered this liturgical work a significant contribution to the synagogue-music repertoire, even if they had little idea of what that repertoire might encompass. His overtly Zionist opera *David* (1953) was performed in Jerusalem, Los Angeles, and several European cities within a few years of its composition, giving the composer greater visibility and status within an international Jewish culture that increasingly looked toward Israel. In the 1960s, his religious identity served a symbolic purpose for both Jewish and interfaith events.

Departing from the chronological organization of each of the first three chapters, the second half of this dissertation presents multifaceted images of three different topics. Chapter 4 explores Milhaud's thirty-one-year association with Mills College. This sustained relationship between a composer and a small California women's college, which commenced under desperate circumstances, became Milhaud's primary anchor to the United States after the war. Contrary to the stereotype of the elitist European composer unable to adjust to teaching in the United States, Milhaud developed a reputation as aesthetically broad-minded and appreciative of American music education. I argue that his outlook stemmed from his own engagement with jazz and popular music in his early career, which contrasted with the formative experiences of his serialist counterparts. In this chapter, I also discuss the gender dynamics of the music department—in which all of the undergraduates were women, but men were overrepresented among the graduate students—and contextualize this climate within contemporary debates about women's education, focusing on the anti-feminist views of the Mills College president. I conclude with Milhaud's relationship to the experimental-music community that developed at Mills in the 1960s. In this environment, his own avant-garde past became an increasingly important part of his status in the department and of his claim to authority.

Madeleine Milhaud is an important presence throughout my dissertation—both as a part of the narrative and as someone who shaped the archival record—and it is in chapter 5 that she receives the primary focus. After giving an overview of her life prior to 1940, I discuss her experience of exile, which was distinct from that of her husband, even as they endured it together. Preoccupied by housework, lacking intellectual community, and intensely homesick, she was both isolated and exhausted. She was nonetheless determined to present a positive face to those around her in Oakland, deciding that this would be her way of raising awareness of the plight of her homeland. I then address Madeleine Milhaud’s reconstituted professional activity in the United States; unwilling to make the personal sacrifices that a return to the stage would have necessitated, she pieced together a career as a teacher, director, and *récitante* in the same locations where her husband worked. In the postwar years, however, her primary public identity became that of “the composer’s wife,” as she actively constructed a persona through which she could perform a supporting role in Darius Milhaud’s public life. Becoming “the composer’s wife” gave her a way to reframe her responsibilities as his caretaker and thereby limit the effect that negative assumptions about disability could have on his reputation. After her husband’s death, she maintained connections in the United States through which she continued to promote his legacy.

Finally, chapter 6 takes up the issue of identity after exile, exploring Milhaud’s self-presentation and reception in the United States between 1948 and his death in 1974. I situate his new image and function as a transatlantic French composer—rather than as a composer in exile—within the sociopolitical environment of the early Cold War. Milhaud both enacted and symbolized Franco-American cultural exchange through his travels, and his established interest in “defending French culture” aligned well with pro-Western cultural diplomacy efforts. During

this period, comments on his physical disability pervaded his reception, especially in reviews of concerts he conducted. I call attention to the tropes of inspiration and overcoming in these reviews, and I also discuss the intersections between disability and other aspects of his identity, focusing primarily on his image as an exceptionally prolific composer. I then offer a broader examination of Milhaud's U.S. reception in the last two decades of his life, demonstrating that while New York critics took issue with his prolificness and generally considered his music tedious and uninspired, their counterparts in the San Francisco Bay Area developed a much more positive discourse surrounding the composer and his music, reflecting his long-standing status as a member of that community. I conclude with an epilogue summarizing Milhaud's posthumous reputation in the United States and suggesting directions for future research.

CHAPTER ONE: A FRENCH COMPOSER IN EXILE (1940–44)

In the late 1930s, Darius Milhaud enjoyed considerable success as a composer in Paris. Having surpassed his earlier reputation as an *enfant terrible*, he had entered the French musical establishment alongside his contemporaries, and his work during this time encompassed a range of compositional activity, including concert pieces (such as the internationally popular *Scaramouche*, published in 1937); scores for the theatre, radio, and film; and music for state-sponsored events.¹ While he had begun to experience severe arthritic attacks, his medical condition did not yet restrict his mobility to the extent that it would in the following decades. Less than a decade after starting a professional acting career, Madeleine Milhaud performed regularly with several respected theatre companies, read poetry on the radio, and held the position of Professor of Dramatic Art at the Schola Cantorum.² Their son, Daniel, born in 1930, was already taking an interest in drawing and painting.

The German invasion of France in June 1940 disrupted all of this activity. As a well-known Jewish family, the Milhauds knew that they could not safely remain in France under Nazi control. Through connections in the United States and diplomatic officials willing to violate protocol to help them, they were able to leave France just as the terms of surrender to Germany were being negotiated. Avoiding many of the obstacles faced by those who tried to leave in the

¹ On Milhaud in the context of late-1930s Paris, particularly the relationship between his career and the Popular Front government, see Leslie A. Sprout, “Music for a ‘New Era’: Composers and National Identity in France, 1936–1946” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000), 1–99; Christopher Moore, “Music in France and the Popular Front (1934–1938): Politics, Aesthetics and Reception” (PhD diss., McGill University, 2007).

² See chapter 5.

following months, they reached New York just a month after their departure, then drove across the country to Oakland, California, where the composer had been invited to join the music faculty of Mills College.³ This teaching position provided essential stability for the family, but it also separated them from the large émigré communities in New York and Los Angeles: while Milhaud did visit both cities every year, his responsibilities at Mills generally kept him in Oakland.

Musicologists including Brigid Cohen and Sabine Feisst have recently questioned the appropriateness of the term “exile” for experiences of migration that are often more complex than that often-essentializing label allows us to understand.⁴ While I recognize these critiques, I use “exile” without reservation to characterize the period between Milhaud’s departure from France in 1940 and his initial return in 1947. Using this term enables me to make a meaningful distinction between these years, in which he was cut off from his homeland, and his later pattern of voluntary alternation between France and the United States. Additionally, Milhaud consistently referred to himself as exiled during the years covered in this chapter (1940–44), when France was under German occupation. In chapter 2, I will discuss how the end of the occupation and the reopening of communications with France altered his sense of being in exile.

This period of Milhaud’s life cannot be reduced to an exile narrative, of course, and in subsequent chapters, I will address the teaching and musical activities through which he formed lasting connections in the United States. Here, I am concerned primarily with exile as an array of logistical concerns (beginning with the departure from France), as an affiliation with intersecting communities of fellow displaced Europeans across the United States, as a new relationship to

³ See chapter 4.

⁴ Brigid Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 12–22; Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg’s New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 46.

one's national identity, and as a complex and often contradictory state of mind. I begin by presenting an account of the Milhaud family's last months in France, their decision to leave at the time of the invasion, and the two-month journey to California, adding new details and context to the narrative in Milhaud's autobiography. Once the family settled in Oakland, the distress of their separation from France was compounded by their distance from major émigré communities. Using unpublished letters and other primary sources, I explore the ways in which written communication connected Milhaud to his parents in Aix-en-Provence, to friends elsewhere in Vichy France, and to former residents of Paris who had dispersed across the Americas. I then consider the effects of Milhaud's geographic isolation on his relationships to the New York and Los Angeles émigré communities, including his perspective on the divisions between Gaullists and Vichy supporters that preoccupied other French exiles. Rather than engaging with this debate, which would have forced him to take a public partisan stance, he aimed to "defend French culture" through his role as a composer. Indeed, over the course of his first four years in the United States, Milhaud's French identity was integral to every aspect of his experience of exile.

Aix-en-Provence, 1939–40

My account of the Milhaud family's exile begins in Aix-en-Provence, the city with which the composer identified the most closely throughout his life. His family had two homes there: Le Bras d'Or, in the center of town, was also the site of his father's almond-exporting business, and in the summer, they lived at L'Enclos, in the countryside. Though he moved to Paris in 1909 to begin studying at the Conservatoire, Milhaud continued to spend his summers in Aix with his parents, Sophie and Gabriel Milhaud, through the 1930s. He would also go there when he needed

to focus on composing away from the distractions of Paris; nearly all of his pre-1940 operas were written partially or entirely at L'Enclos.⁵ Madeleine Milhaud always accompanied him after their marriage, though she found Provence rather boring in comparison to Paris, where she was born and raised.⁶ In the summer of 1939, the family went to Aix as usual, but this routine trip turned into a year-long stay, due to Milhaud's health issues and the outbreak of war. In June 1940, it ended with the decision to leave France for the United States.

At the beginning of the summer of 1939, Milhaud was invited by Frederick Stock, the conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, to compose a symphony for the orchestra's upcoming fiftieth-anniversary season and to conduct its premiere.⁷ This would be the first of Milhaud's twelve symphonies for full orchestra. At some point after the commission was made, the U.S.-based concert manager Albert Morini met with Milhaud in Aix to discuss plans for a full tour surrounding the Chicago concert. Morini's efforts to publicize what would have been Milhaud's first U.S. concert tour in over a decade suggest that he and Milhaud both fully believed that it would take place. In December, Morini wrote to Serge Koussevitzky to notify him of the tour and to suggest an appearance with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Calling Milhaud "the great French composer and conductor" and "one of the foremost musicians of our

⁵ Madeleine Milhaud, *Catalogue des œuvres de Darius Milhaud* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982), 506–10.

⁶ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, trans. Mildred Clary (Cleveland: Darius Milhaud Society, 2008), 39. Michel Milhaud, Madeleine's father and Darius's uncle, moved from Aix-en-Provence to Paris in the late nineteenth century to attend law school, and Madeleine (born in 1902) spent her childhood there, apart from an extended stay in Aix during World War I. See chapter 5.

⁷ The other composers commissioned included Alfredo Casella, Zoltán Kodály, and William Walton, with a separate competition held to choose a work by an American composer. Stock traveled to Europe to meet with these composers, but according to Milhaud, the two of them did not discuss the commission in person. This may have been because Milhaud was not in Paris at the time, having gone with his family to Sion, Switzerland, for a short vacation before continuing on to Aix-en-Provence. Rather, Milhaud received a call from Henry Voegeli, the orchestra's manager, the day before leaving Switzerland. MVH, 213.

epoch,” the letter is cast in the impersonal language of publicity—as if Koussevitzky did not know Milhaud—and was likely sent to other conductors as well.⁸

The 15 January 1940 issue of *Musical Courier* included a long article titled “Milhaud Returning to America Next Season,” which began by describing the change in his reputation as a composer since his last U.S. tour:

A new Milhaud will return to the United States next autumn for his fourth visit to the country. No longer an “*enfant terrible*” of music, in the sense that he was two decades ago when his productions startled or amused, but a representative of the more substantial French traditions, M. Milhaud, who last was heard in this country in 1926–7, will appear as pianist and guest conductor with a number of leading symphony orchestras.

Since Milhaud returned to Paris after two years’ service at the French Legation in Rio de Janeiro more than twenty years ago, he has become France’s “No. 1 composer.” In that time he has created works of such value and solidity . . . that he has taken his place beside the “older men of France,” Debussy and Ravel.⁹

While this tour was being planned, Ballet Theatre, a new company based in New York City, prepared to stage a production choreographed by Agnes de Mille to Milhaud’s score for *La Création du monde* (1923).¹⁰ Titled *Black Ritual*, the ballet replaced the African creation myth of the original scenario with a depiction of a ritual sacrifice “set vaguely somewhere in the West Indies” and featured a cast of sixteen African American women.¹¹ This was the first time *La Création du monde* had been staged in the United States, but the music had been introduced to U.S. listeners in the 1930s.¹² *Black Ritual* was performed only three times in January and

⁸ Albert Morini to Serge Koussevitzky, 18 December 1939, Library of Congress, Music Division, Serge Koussevitzky Archive, ML31.K66, Box 43, Folder 19.

⁹ Friede F. Rothe, “Milhaud Returning to America Next Season,” *Musical Courier*, 15 January 1940, 12.

¹⁰ Erin K. Maher, “Ballet, Race, and Agnes de Mille’s *Black Ritual*,” *The Musical Quarterly* 97, no. 3 (2014): 390–428.

¹¹ *Black Ritual* program, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Lavinia Williams Clipping File, *MGZR.

¹² In 1931 and 1932, Robert Schmitz performed Milhaud’s arrangement for piano quintet in California, and Bernard Herrmann conducted the premiere of the original chamber-orchestra version in New York in December 1933. I. M. J. [Isabel Morse Jones], “Chamber Music Programs to End Wednesday,” *Los Angeles Times*, 26 July 1931; I. M. J., “Milhaud Work Origin Told by French Pianist,” *Los Angeles Times*, 1 May 1932; H. H., “Orchestra Debut is Vital Concert,” *New York Times*, 4 December 1933. Earlier in 1933, a recording conducted by Milhaud, featuring

February 1940, after which the company disbanded its Negro Unit for financial reasons. Letters from Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill reveal that Ballet Theatre may have obtained the orchestra parts for *La Création du monde* without going through Editions Max Eschig (the score's publisher) or paying the rental fees.¹³

By this point, however, Milhaud had decided to postpone the planned concert tour indefinitely, not only because of the war, but also because of his health. In August and September 1939, he experienced a severe attack of rheumatoid arthritis that left him unable to get out of bed for several weeks. During this time, the worsening international situation—including the non-aggression pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in August and the invasion of Poland in September—also precipitated a depressive episode and, with it, an inability to compose. He wrote to Henri Sauguet in November: “I am in a mental daze, without reaction. I can only think about all of these young people who defend us and die every day.”¹⁴

In his autobiography, Milhaud credited the Chicago Symphony Orchestra's commission, which he began writing in November, with bringing him out of this low mental state, at least enough to resume productivity: “I felt incapable of getting to work, yet I had to deliver a work for the Chicago orchestra's anniversary. The idea that it would be the only French composition on the program shook me from inactivity, and I started my First Symphony. . . . Once my

the French saxophonist Marcel Mule, was released by Columbia Records. Between 1938 and 1941, the critic Irving Deakin played the recording four times on his New York radio program *Music and Ballet*, interspersing sections of the music with descriptions of the scenario. Radio scripts, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, Irving Deakin Papers, (S) *MGZMD 18, Box 4.

¹³ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 22 February 1940 and 4 March 1940, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 47.

¹⁴ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, [November 1939], Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (132): “Je suis moralement abruti, sans réaction. Je ne puis que penser à toute cette jeunesse qui nous défend et qui meurt tous les jours.”

symphony was finished, renewed impetus was given; I continued to compose.”¹⁵ The other pieces he wrote during this time included *Cantate de la guerre*, on a text by Paul Claudel—a companion to the *Cantate de la paix* of 1937—and a “Fanfare” for the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra. Milhaud’s connection to that orchestra was its music director, the French-born Vladimir Golschmann. A key advocate for Milhaud’s music during the composer’s early career, Golschmann had conducted the first performances of the ballets *Le Bœuf sur le toit* (1920) and *La Création du monde* (1923) in Paris; after taking up the St. Louis post in 1931, he returned to France periodically for conducting engagements there until the outbreak of war.

Though Milhaud was able to return to composing, his physical health remained a serious concern, with several more periods of immobility, each followed by a slow recovery. Madeleine Milhaud wrote to Kurt Weill in mid-April 1940: “There is a possibility that he will go to America next year, but I do not want to consider it unless *I also* have work: a class in French literature or poetry, diction, etc... at a college. I imagine Da bedridden for weeks in America, missing concerts and not earning a cent, and it seems quite unwise to me.”¹⁶ Her frequent letters to Weill—her former lover—during this period not only provide updates on her husband’s health, but also offer a window on her own activities in Aix and her perspective on the situation.¹⁷ Unable to continue her acting and teaching career so far from Paris, she occupied herself with knitting for French soldiers and producing short plays with the local children to

¹⁵ MVH, 214–15: “Je me sentais incapable de me mettre au travail; il me fallait pourtant livrer une œuvre pour l’anniversaire de l’orchestre de Chicago. L’idée qu’elle serait la seule composition française inscrite au programme secoua mon inaction et je commençai ma *Première Symphonie*. . . . Une fois ma symphonie terminée, l’impulsion était donnée; je continuai à composer.”

¹⁶ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 15 April 1940, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48: “Il est assez question qu’il aille en Amérique l’année prochaine mais je ne voudrais l’envisager que si j’ai *moi aussi* du travail: un cours de littérature ou poésie française Diction etc... dans un collège. J’imagine Da couché pendant des semaines en Amérique, manquant des concerts et ne gagnant pas un sou, cela me paraît bien imprudent.”

¹⁷ Madeleine Milhaud’s affair with Weill occurred during his two years in Paris (1933–35), when he was temporarily divorced from Lotte Lenya.

perform in hospitals. In late autumn, Jacques Denoël, one of her acting students from the Schola Cantorum, arrived in Aix, and she continued her lessons with him, which she described as a welcome alternative to her other, less intellectually-stimulating activities: “He forces me out of my daily exhaustion (for before he arrived, I was knitting almost fifteen hours a day), and he makes me think about my profession again, which is perhaps a good thing.” In the same letter, she contrasted her professional situation with her husband’s, remarking on the gendered expectations they faced: “A Creator”—underlining “un,” the French masculine article—“must continue to create—always, always, but a little actress like me can easily stop performing—that will not harm anyone!”¹⁸

During their previous stay in Aix in the summer of 1938, Darius and Madeleine had collaborated on a one-act opera, *Médée*, the result of a commission by the French government.¹⁹ They could not attend the Flemish-language world premiere in Antwerp on 7 October 1939, as Milhaud was still recovering from his recent illness and they did not want to take the risk of leaving the country.²⁰ However, they did listen to it on the radio, in a broadcast periodically interrupted with news updates. *Médée* was performed alongside Richard Strauss’s *Daphne*; Milhaud wondered if the juxtaposition of his opera with one by a German composer was “a means of maintaining the illusion of an arbitrary neutrality” in Belgium.²¹

¹⁸ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 29 November 1939, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48: “il m’oblige à sortir de mon abrutissement quotidien (car avant son arrivée, je tricotais près de 15 heures par jour) et il m’oblige à repenser à mon métier, ce qui est peut-être une bonne chose – Un Créateur doit continuer à créer – toujours, toujours, mais une petite actrice comme moi peut bien s’arrêter de jouer – cela ne fera de mal à personne!” See also chapter 5.

¹⁹ On French government commissioning of composers in the late 1930s, see Sprout, “Music for a ‘New Era,’” 1–99. *Médée* is discussed on pp. 36–53.

²⁰ Darius Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, [September 1939], C-Hoppenot, 160.

²¹ MVH, 216: “Était-ce un moyen de garder l’illusion d’une neutralité bien aléatoire?”

The director of the Paris Opéra, Jacques Rouché, wanted to wait until after the end of hostilities to stage *Médée* there, but Milhaud insisted that it should be done as soon as possible.²² Originally scheduled for February or March 1940, the production was delayed several times and eventually opened on 8 May. Milhaud, who had suffered a relapse in March, remained in Aix until the last minute, arriving in Paris only for the final rehearsals in the week of the premiere. Concerned that his limited mobility would prevent him from contributing to the rehearsals, he wrote to Rouché in advance to make sure that accommodations could be made.²³ To Hélène Hoppenot and Henri Sauguet, he joked that he had asked Rouché to be “hoisted up to the rehearsals on Lohengrin’s swan, carried by four stagehands (in the absence of the sedan chair from *Manon*).”²⁴ With the German forces approaching Paris, the Milhauds returned to Aix the day after the first performance, having been advised by Hélène Hoppenot to leave the capital immediately.²⁵

At the end of a lecture on his theatre music that Milhaud would give on multiple occasions in the United States, he described how the three performances of *Médée* coincided with the first weeks of the Battle of France:

Despite the dull sound of the anti-aircraft guns that one heard throughout the spectacle, I did not then remotely imagine that this was to be the last work staged by the Opéra before military disaster overtook my unhappy country in 1940. . . . Had it not been for the many military uniforms, it might have seemed a pre-war performance, so great were the crowds, so brilliant, so elegant the audience. On May tenth, Belgium and Holland were

²² Darius Milhaud to Jacques Rouché, [1940], Bibliothèque-Musée de l’Opéra, Lettres autographes, Darius Milhaud (32).

²³ Darius Milhaud to Jacques Rouché, [April 1940], Bibliothèque-Musée de l’Opéra, Lettres autographes, Darius Milhaud (81).

²⁴ Darius Milhaud to Hélène Hoppenot, 3 April 1940, C-Hoppenot, 177: “j’ai demandé à Rouché de me faire hisser aux répétitions sur le cygne de Lohengrin, porté par 4 machinistes (à défaut de la chaise à porteurs de *Manon*).” Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, [1940], Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (135): “J’ai écrit à Rouché pour savoir s’il peut me faire hisser sur un monte-charge, ou porter par deux des 80 machinistes assis sur le cygne de Lohengrin, jusqu’au plateau.”

²⁵ MVH, 217.

invaded. Then the Battle of France began. *Médée* was performed again on the fifteenth and then on the twenty-fifth. This last performance, before an almost empty house, was broadcast by the state radio and I heard it at my home in the country in Aix-en-Provence. So it was that I had the good fortune to see my latest theater work produced—and with what perfection—during the high-tide of war. How moving it is for me to think that the last performance of the Opéra de Paris was granted to me—like a magnificent gift from my country before the curtain rose on the drama which destroyed it.²⁶

The Milhauds resumed their life in Aix, cautiously following the news on the radio but not yet taking steps to leave the country. Madeleine Milhaud's letter to Weill of 13 June, the day before the Germans entered Paris, shows no overt indication that she had begun to consider leaving; instead, she harshly criticizes Paul Hindemith, who had relocated from Switzerland to the United States in February of that year, for not respecting the difference between his position and hers.

We got a very strange letter from America, the first sign of Paul H.....h since the war. A letter written by Nicolas Nabokoff, the Maritains, and Paul. It seemed like a letter written after a good meal, after a fun time, and as for Paul, he simply told us that he hoped to see us again soon, that we should meet up with them in America to drink Coca-Cola instead of Swiss wine. An insufferable pre-war tone. This letter, which arrived five minutes before the Italian declaration of war, disgusted me terribly. I know perfectly well that we cannot think like the residents of another continent anymore, but it is up to those living in America to put themselves on our level. Especially when it comes to ex-Europeans, and in particular, old friends belonging to an enemy nation.²⁷

²⁶ Darius Milhaud, "My Music Written for the Theater" (typescript, Mills-DM, 4.1.6), 61–62. The typescript is in English and was most likely professionally translated from a French manuscript, which does not survive. ("Le spectacle" would be more accurately translated as "the performance.") After the liberation, Milhaud crossed out "the drama which destroyed it" and replaced it with "the terrible period of the German occupation," also adding a few sentences on his next opera, *Bolivar*, which had been composed but not yet produced. See Jeremy Drake, *The Operas of Darius Milhaud* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 279. A nearly identical version of this passage appears in Darius Milhaud, "Paris Opera Just Before the Occupation," *Modern Music* 18, no. 1 (November–December 1940): 46. The passage also appears in French in Darius Milhaud, "L'Opéra de Paris 1939–1942," *Pour la Victoire*, 7 February 1942, 6.

²⁷ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 13 June 1940, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48: "Nous avons reçu une bien curieuse lettre d'Amérique, la première manifestation de Paul H.....h depuis la guerre. Une lettre écrite par Nicolas Nabokoff, les Maritain et Paul. On sentait une lettre écrite après un bon repas, après une rigolade, et quant à Paul, il nous disait simplement qu'il espérait nous revoir bientôt, que nous devrions les retrouver en Amérique pour boire du Coca Cola au lieu de vin Suisse. Un ton d'avant-guerre insupportable. Cette lettre arrivée 5 minutes avant la déclaration de guerre italienne m'a dégoutée terriblement. Je sais bien que nous ne pouvons plus penser comme les habitants d'un autre continent mais c'est aux habitants de l'Amérique à se mettre à notre niveau. Surtout quand il s'agit d'anciens européens et plus particulièrement d'anciens amis appartenant à une nation ennemie." Italy declared war on France

As it became clear that France would soon be occupied territory, however, the prospect of staying seemed worse—and certainly more dangerous—than the alternative. After the war, with the benefit of hindsight, Darius would write in *Notes sans musique*: “I had spent too much time with German, Austrian, Czech, and Italian refugees not to envision what an occupation would mean. I was keenly aware that capitulation would implant fascism, and with it, monstrous persecution.”²⁸ Still, he hesitated, and in the end, it was Madeleine who convinced him that they needed to leave France. She later explained: “I realized that if our personal situation became dangerous, Milhaud would be in trouble because he could not walk, much less run, to hide himself.”²⁹

As they both knew, Milhaud’s name was well known in Germany, which put him in even greater danger. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, when Parisian theatres had not yet begun to show interest in his theatrical works, he had found performances for them in several cities in Germany—facilitated by his connections with the Viennese publishing firm Universal Edition—the most significant of which was the 1930 world premiere of his opera *Christophe Colomb* in Berlin.³⁰ Ten years after that premiere, the first edition of the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* was published by the Nazi musicologist Herbert Gerigk. A typical entry in this encyclopedia of Jewish (or purportedly Jewish) musicians gives only the individual’s name, dates, birthplace, and profession, but the most prominent among them were singled out for derogatory commentary.

on 10 June. The letter to which Madeleine Milhaud refers does not survive. On Hindemith’s 1940 emigration, see Luther Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 59–62.

²⁸ MVH, 217: “J’avais trop fréquenté de réfugiés allemands, autrichiens, tchèques, italiens, pour ne pas imaginer ce que serait une occupation. Je savais clairement que la capitulation implanterait le fascisme et son cortège de monstrueuses persécutions.”

²⁹ CWMM, 57. See also chapter 5.

³⁰ Louis K. Epstein, “Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918–1939” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013), 318–25; Jens Rosteck, *Darius Milhauds Claudel-Opern Christophe Colomb und L’Orestie d’Eschyle* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1995), 244–76.

Among the few living French musicians listed in the book, Milhaud is the only one whose name is accompanied by such an essay.³¹ Most of the description concerns *Christophe Colomb*, condemning it for having been performed in Berlin “while German composers had to go without performances of their works” and for costing “the outrageous sum of 130,000 marks.”³² It also notes that Milhaud was a member and honorary president of the World Center for Jewish Music in Palestine.³³ In addition, eight of his operas and ballets are listed in the book’s index of compositions.³⁴ Between Milhaud’s poor health and his status as France’s most famous Jewish composer, remaining in the country under occupation would have been acutely dangerous.

From Aix to Oakland

The path from Marseille through Spain to Lisbon, and then to the United States or another overseas location, was one taken by thousands of refugees at this time, many of whom encountered obstacles and lengthy delays at multiple stages of the process.³⁵ The Milhaud family did not escape these complications entirely, but their experience was relatively straightforward, especially compared to those who left France later in 1940 or in 1941. In total, their journey from Aix-en-Provence to New York City would take just under a month, whereas many people were

³¹ Yannick Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 33.

³² Theophil Stengel and Herbert Gerigk, eds., *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnfeld, 1940), 195–96: “während deutsche Komponisten auf die Aufführung ihrer Werke verzichten mußten”; “die horrende Summe von 130 000 Mark.” See Willem de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 210–11.

³³ On this organization, see Philip V. Bohlman, *The World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine, 1936–1940: Jewish Musical Life on the Eve of World War II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

³⁴ Stengel and Gerigk, eds., *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, 303–380. The eight compositions are *L’Abandon d’Ariane* (1927), *Christophe Colomb* (1928), *La Création du monde* (1923), *L’Enlèvement d’Europe* (1927), *L’Homme et son désir* (1918), *Les Malheurs d’Orphée* (1925), *Maximilien* (1930), and *Le Train bleu* (1924).

³⁵ See Ronald Weber, *The Lisbon Route: Entry and Escape in Nazi Europe* (Lanham, MD: Ivan R. Dee, 2011). Weber describes the route from France to Portugal as “a long, costly, often frightening three-stage journey further burdened by a gauntlet of bureaucrats and a maddening array of differing national demands for proper papers” (6).

delayed for a much longer time waiting for travel documents in Marseille or passage on a ship out of Lisbon.

For authorization to travel through Spain, all other documentation needed to be in place: a French exit visa, a Portuguese transit visa, an entry visa for the final destination, and proof of paid passage out of Europe.³⁶ At a travel agency in Marseille, the Milhauds reserved seats on the Pan American Clipper leaving Lisbon on 18 July. These flying boats could cross the Atlantic in twenty-four hours, but tickets were expensive, and each one could accommodate only around thirty passengers.³⁷ Darius later wrote in *Notes sans musique* that his correspondence with Morini about the Chicago commission and the tour plans allowed him, Madeleine, and Daniel to get entry visas for the United States without complications.³⁸ In Madeleine's account, however, the process involved an element of rule-bending on the part of the consul. She told Mildred Clary: "The U.S. consul was particularly kind, for normally he would have had to phone Washington to obtain the authorization for our visas. However, given the circumstances, he decided to help us himself. He gave us the visas on a Sunday morning when the offices were closed."³⁹ The official who helped them in this way may have been Hiram Bingham IV, the U.S. Vice Consul in Marseille, who also provided expedited travel documents for Marc Chagall, Hannah Arendt, Lion Feuchtwanger, Max Ernst, and more than two thousand others.⁴⁰

³⁶ Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust and the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 131. Spain stopped issuing transit visas for this purpose in October 1940, following Francisco Franco's meeting with Hitler. Weber, *The Lisbon Route*, 7.

³⁷ Weber, *The Lisbon Route*, 17.

³⁸ MVH, 218.

³⁹ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 84–85. She gives a similar account in CWMM, 57–58. The ship manifest for the *Excambion*, the ship they took from Lisbon after the Clipper reservations were invalidated (see below), lists the Milhauds' U.S. visas as having been issued on 17 June, a Monday, but if they went to the consulate the day before, when the office was technically closed, it makes sense for the official date of issue to be 17 June.

⁴⁰ Peter Eisner, "Saving the Jews of Nazi France," *Smithsonian Magazine*, March 2009, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/saving-the-jews-of-nazi-france-52554953/?all> (accessed 24 September 2014).

Acquiring a Portuguese transit visa also depended on the benevolence of the consul. On 10 May, Portugal had banned its consulates from issuing visas to refugees without official permission from Lisbon—permission that would generally be denied, especially to Jews—adding further restrictions to the law of November 1939 that required government permission for “various groups, among them stateless figures and Jews who had been expelled from their countries of origin.”⁴¹ However, the Portuguese consul in Marseille immediately issued transit visas to the Milhauds without notifying his government, an action also taken on a larger scale by the consul in Bordeaux, Aristides de Sousa Mendes, who provided travel documents for thousands of refugees in the days after the fall of France.⁴²

The arrangements were made quickly, and on the evening of 18 June, “in the middle of an extremely violent storm,” Madeleine Milhaud began to drive her husband and son toward Spain.⁴³ This was the last time Darius Milhaud saw his parents; his father died in April 1942, followed by his mother in January 1944, both of natural causes. On the way to the border, the car was stopped at a number of checkpoints, but their passports and tickets allowed them to continue. After spending the night in Narbonne, they crossed the Spanish border in Cerbère, leaving the car in a garage and continuing on by train.⁴⁴ Because the trains were not running on a regular schedule, it took them three days to reach Madrid, where Milhaud wrote to Jane Bathori: “The die is cast. We left.”⁴⁵ Two days later, they arrived in Lisbon, where they learned that because the terms of the armistice had devalued the franc considerably, their tickets for the

⁴¹ Weber, *The Lisbon Route*, 8.

⁴² MVH, 218. On Aristides de Sousa Mendes, see Weber, *The Lisbon Route*, 8–11.

⁴³ MVH, 218: “Nous partîmes sous un orage d’une violence extrême.”

⁴⁴ Two months later, the philosopher Walter Benjamin killed himself in Portbou, just across the French-Spanish border from Cerbère, having been informed that he would not be permitted to continue across Spain.

⁴⁵ Darius Milhaud to Jane Bathori, 21 June 1940, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 10 (249): “Le sort en est jeté. Nous sommes partis.” See MVH, 218–19.

Clipper were invalid. Following the directive of the French Minister of Finance, they had taken only 12,000 francs out of the country; most of this amount was then spent on train tickets in Spain, leaving them without enough money to pay the additional cost for the Clipper or to arrange for alternative transportation.⁴⁶ However, as Milhaud described in *Notes sans musique*, their living expenses in Lisbon were covered:

As we waited for things to happen, we moved into a small hotel. I wrote to my manager, to Kurt Weill, to Mrs. Reis, to Pierre Monteux, to Mrs. Coolidge. I announced our arrival to them, and these dear friends worked to organize my future in America... Antonio Ferro, the Minister of Propaganda, let us know that the Portuguese government would take care of our expenses in Lisbon. Ernesto Halffter, Falla's beloved student, and his Portuguese wife surrounded and assisted us. I directed a concert over the radio, which Freitas Branco organized. I performed *Cantate de l'enfant et de la mère* with Madeleine there. I also gave a lecture at the Conservatory on "Poetry and Music." A number of friends attended.⁴⁷

After less than two weeks, Milhaud obtained the money to book passage on a ship through an arrangement with Marie-Anne von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, who was also waiting in Lisbon for a way out of Europe. She wanted to send money to her gardener in Toulon, but the bank would not allow it, so she gave the money to Milhaud, who arranged for his father to send the equivalent amount to her gardener.⁴⁸ The S.S. *Excambion*, one of the four passenger ships of the American Export Lines, departed on 6 July. Hélène Hoppenot, who had been in Madrid with her husband as he waited to be assigned an ambassadorial post under the new Vichy government,

⁴⁶ MVH, 219; CWMM, 58. Measuringworth.com (accessed 25 October 2015) lists exchange rates of 39.8 francs to the dollar in 1939 and 48 francs to the dollar in 1940, making 12,000 francs the approximate equivalent of 250–300 U.S. dollars (in 1940).

⁴⁷ MVH, 219: "En attendant les événements, nous nous installons dans un petit hôtel. J'écris à mon manager, à Kurt Weill, à Mrs. Reis, à Pierre Monteux, à Mrs. Coolidge. Je leur annonçai notre arrivée et ces chers amis essayèrent d'organiser mon avenir américain... Antonio Ferro, ministre de la Propagande, nous fit savoir que le gouvernement portugais se chargeait de nos dépenses à Lisbonne. Ernesto Halffter, l'élève chéri de Falla, et sa femme portugaise nous entourèrent et nous aidèrent. Je dirigeai un concert à la Radio que Freitas Branco organisa. J'y donnai la *Cantate de la mère et de l'enfant* avec Madeleine. Je fis aussi une conférence au Conservatoire sur 'La Poésie et la Musique.' Plusieurs amis y assistèrent." The lecture on music and poetry was a version of the lecture-recital Darius and Madeleine Milhaud would give several times in their first years in the United States. Luis de Freitas Branco was a Portuguese composer who had recently retired from the Lisbon Conservatory due to conflicts with the government.

⁴⁸ MVH, 219–20. See also CWMM, 58.

went to Lisbon to see them off. She wrote in her diary: “Departure of the Milhauds. I am heartbroken. When will we see each other again? When? Under what circumstances?”⁴⁹

The other French passengers on the *Excambion* included the writers Jules Romains and Julien Green (who, though born and raised in Paris, was a U.S. citizen) and the film directors Jean Lévy-Strauss and Julien Duvivier. Upon arriving in the United States, Romains and his wife first stayed in New York, then moved to Mexico City in 1941; Green and his sister Anne, also a writer, moved in with a cousin in Baltimore, where he taught at Goucher College; and Lévy-Strauss and Duvivier went to Hollywood. On the ship, Milhaud worked on his String Quartet no. 10. Commissioned by the influential patron Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, to whom he had written while in Lisbon to seek assistance (see chapter 4), the quartet bore the designation “Opus Americanum, no. 1.”

While in transit, Milhaud also received a telegram offering him a one-year position as Visiting Professor of Music at Mills College, which he accepted despite his concerns about whether the salary—\$2,500 for the year, which included a \$500 contribution from Coolidge—would be enough to support him and his family, given that he was now cut off from the money in his French bank accounts. Jules Romains had taught in the 1936 Summer Session at Mills and received an honorary doctorate from the college.⁵⁰ According to Lise Jules-Romains, she and her husband—having some familiarity with Mills and being “much more up to date than [Milhaud] about what the dollar represented”—were able to assure him that the salary would be “more than

⁴⁹ Hélène Hoppenot, diary entry of 6 July 1940, C-Hoppenot, 184: “Départ des Milhaud. Je me sens triste à mourir. Quand nous reverrons-nous? Quand? Dans quelles conditions?”

⁵⁰ Peter Selz, “The Impact from Abroad: Foreign Guests and Visitors,” in *On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900–1950*, ed. Paul J. Karlstrom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 110; Rosalind A. Keep, *Fourscore and Ten Years: a History of Mills College* (San Francisco: Taylor and Taylor, 1946), 192.

adequate.”⁵¹ However, Milhaud’s telegram of 9 July to Luther Marchant, the chair of the Mills music department, indicates that he was not convinced: “Accept on principal salary seems impossible probably error transmission.”⁵²

Though Milhaud received this job offer directly from the college, after he had found a way out of France, the arrangement parallels the Rockefeller Foundation’s efforts to give European academics opportunities to escape to the United States.⁵³ The Foundation began this process with the Special Research Aid Fund for Deposed Scholars in 1933, focusing primarily on displaced Germans. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, the president of Mills College, brought several people to her faculty through this program.⁵⁴ By the time France fell under occupation in 1940, many of these German scholars were well established in the American academy, and there was a perception that U.S. universities could not accommodate another wave of displaced academics.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, through a new program, the Emergency Program for European Scholars, the Rockefeller Foundation was able to bring fifty-two additional scholars to the United States.⁵⁶ The stipends provided by this program were limited to two years, intended as temporary

⁵¹ Lise Jules-Romains, *Les Vies inimitables: Souvenirs* (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), 263: “beaucoup plus au courant que lui de ce que représentait le dollar, et nous lui avons affirmé que c’était plus que convenable.”

⁵² Darius Milhaud to Luther B. Marchant, telegram, 9 July 1940, Mills-DM, 3.1.5. By comparison, Arnold Schoenberg’s starting salary at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1936 was \$4,800. Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler’s Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 120.

⁵³ Emmanuelle Loyer, *Paris à New York: Intellectuels et artistes français en exil (1940–1947)* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 2005), 39–63; “Refugee Scholar Program,” *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, <http://rockefeller100.org/exhibits/show/peace-and-conflict/refugee-scholar-program> (accessed 28 August 2014).

⁵⁴ George Hedley, *Aurelia Henry Reinhardt: Portrait of a Whole Woman* (Oakland: Mills College, 1961), 115–16.

⁵⁵ Loyer, *Paris à New York*, 61–62.

⁵⁶ “Refugee Scholar Program.” Eighty-nine offers were made, but thirty-one of them were never fulfilled because the intended recipients either chose to remain in Europe or were not able to get out, and another six were accepted by people who attempted to leave Europe, but failed.

assistance to give the recipients time to find long-term arrangements. A married couple with children would receive \$2,500 per year, the same amount as Milhaud's initial salary at Mills.⁵⁷

The *Excambion* arrived in New York on 15 July. When the Milhauds disembarked, Kurt Weill and his wife Lotte Lenya were waiting for them at the dock. They had lunch with Claire Reis, the president of the League of Composers, who had “gathered the most eminent journalists” to honor Milhaud's arrival.⁵⁸ (One newspaper reported the following day that Milhaud “said he was not a war refugee” and pointed instead to the concert plans that had been in place since before the outbreak of war.)⁵⁹ Weill then drove the family to Old Lyme, Connecticut, where Thaddeus Ames, the League's treasurer, had invited them to stay as they recovered from the voyage. From there, Milhaud wrote to Marchant to restate his acceptance of the Mills College position—as well as his concerns about the salary—and spoke with Deems Taylor by telephone to discuss plans for a radio performance in early August.⁶⁰

At the end of Milhaud's 1926–27 concert tour, he had left some of his profits in a U.S. bank account for use on future visits. In 1940, he wrote to the bank to request that the money be returned to him, following the instructions of the French Minister of Finance, but then wrote

⁵⁷ Loyer, *Paris à New York*, 52.

⁵⁸ MVH, 221: “elle avait réuni en mon honneur les plus éminents journalistes.” Reis's account of the Milhauds' arrival is found in Claire R. Reis, *Composers, Conductors, and Critics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 182–84. She characterizes Milhaud as gracious and amazed by the way he was welcomed to the country. Intriguingly, she says that the package of mail he received at her house included job offers from two other colleges (183). I have found no other evidence of such letters.

⁵⁹ Unidentified newspaper clipping, 16 July 1940, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, Darius Milhaud clippings file: “M. Milhaud, a Jew, said that he was not a war refugee, but that the war did hasten his journey to the United States. He had planned to come here next September, but a month ago he went to the American Consul in Marseilles and suggested that he had better leave immediately, while he could. The consul agreed.”

⁶⁰ Darius Milhaud to Luther B. Marchant, 16 July 1940, Mills-DM, 3.1.5; Darius Milhaud to Claire Reis, 18 July 1940, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, League of Composers/ISCM Records, JPB 11-5, Box 6, Folder 66. Reis and Taylor had made the arrangements for the radio performance in advance of Milhaud's arrival; see Reis, *Composers, Conductors, and Critics*, 183. On Taylor's radio work during World War II, see Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 69–73, 180–81.

again to cancel that request before leaving France. When Weill took Milhaud to the bank in New York, he found that neither letter had been received and the money was still in the account. While he was not allowed to withdraw all of the money at once due to the international situation, he took out enough to buy a used 1937 Ford, which cost only slightly more than three cross-country train tickets.⁶¹ The family set out from New York on 13 August, with Madeleine driving.⁶² They stopped for several days near Chicago, staying with Ruth Page, the choreographer with whom Milhaud would collaborate on a ballet in 1945–46. While there, they attended a performance by the African American dancer and choreographer Katherine Dunham.⁶³ The Milhauds arrived in Oakland in late August, after about two weeks of cross-country travel, without a permanent place to call home. After their first year in Oakland, Mills College would build a house for the family in the campus's Faculty Village, but in 1940, they were on their own, despite Milhaud's attempts to get the college to provide housing. They first stayed with their friends Robert and Germaine Schmitz, who had moved from Los Angeles to Oakland when their daughter Monique became a student at Mills, and then rented four different houses over the course of the school year, unable to make any adequate long-term arrangement.⁶⁴

Because the Milhauds had entered the United States on a six-month visitor's visa, they were required to leave the country before that time elapsed and re-enter under the immigration quota system.⁶⁵ In early December, the family drove to Tijuana, Mexico, accompanied by a lawyer and Luther Marchant, who explained to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge that because

⁶¹ MVH, 223; CWMM, 59; Darius Milhaud to Hélène Hoppenot, 23 July 1940, C-Hoppenot, 186.

⁶² Darius Milhaud to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, telegram, 13 August 1940, Library of Congress, Music Division, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, ML29, Box 69, Folder 35; CWMM, 59.

⁶³ June Provines, "Milhaud in Chicago," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 22 August 1940.

⁶⁴ MVH, 224; CWMM, 59.

⁶⁵ Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, 18 December 1940, C-Hoppenot, 194.

Milhaud was “desperately afraid that he will be detained in Mexico, he begs me to go with him.”⁶⁶ Marchant had assisted Milhaud with the complex paperwork; Milhaud’s letter to Aaron Copland thanking him for his “so kind message to the American authorities” indicates another source of support.⁶⁷ The Milhauds never took U.S. citizenship—though they would retain their residency status until 1968—but on the form completed upon crossing back into California, Darius’s purpose in re-entering the United States is stated as “To reside permanently—and to become a citizen.”⁶⁸ Though clearly intended to give him the strongest chance of being allowed back into the country, the statement also reflects the reality that at that moment, Milhaud did not know if he would ever be able to return to France.

Separation from France

As the Milhauds worked to construct a new life in Oakland, the German occupation of France weighed heavily on them, as did the trauma—and the guilt—of their own sudden separation from it. Shortly after returning from Mexico in December 1940, Darius wrote to Henri and H  l  ne Hoppenot:

We are at the limit of despair, and your kind thoughts are a true comfort. Our heart remains in France; we live there in our minds, and the idea that we could be considered non-French seems like a cruel joke. We have to wait... but I am not expecting anything good, as long as everything is dictated by Hitler and his slaves. Alas! such a great country! such a beautiful country, where everything was so wonderful, from the geography of our countrysides to the smallest quarters of Paris or the little streets of our

⁶⁶ Luther Marchant to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, 30 November 1940, Library of Congress, Music Division, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, ML29, Box 67, Folder 15.

⁶⁷ Darius Milhaud to Aaron Copland, [November 1940], Library of Congress, Music Division, Aaron Copland Collection, ML31.C7, Box 259, Folder 19: “Merci, cher Copland, de votre mot si gentil pour les autorit  s am  ricains.”

⁶⁸ Border crossing document for Darius Milhaud, San Ysidro, California, 10 December 1940, ancestry.com (accessed 22 February 2014). Marion Bauer’s 1942 profile of Milhaud states that he had “taken out his first citizenship papers,” but this may simply refer to the immigration quota process rather than indicating that he took further steps toward U.S. citizenship after that. Marion Bauer, “Darius Milhaud,” *The Musical Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (April 1942): 159.

villages. Alas! so much horror, so much destruction. And our intellectual life, the one we love, that of our poets, what will remain of it? People in colored shirts who will raise their arms and march in goose-step? Is that it?⁶⁹

In the same letter, he wrote, “California has a lovely climate, a beautiful light, but sometimes it looks like Provence, and that pains me.”⁷⁰ In the 1950s and 1960s, this resemblance would transform into a positive aspect, as Oakland became an extension of Milhaud’s concept of a Provence that stretched from Istanbul to Rio, allowing him to feel at home on multiple continents.⁷¹ His identification of the San Francisco Bay Area (as well as other locations around the world) with his native Provence demonstrates what the writer André Aciman describes as “what all exiles do on impulse, which is to look for their homeland abroad, to bridge the things here to things there.”⁷² On the other side of the country, French exiles in New York made a similar maneuver, constructing New York as a European city—or even a specifically Parisian one.⁷³ And after moving to Los Angeles in 1934, Arnold Schoenberg described the landscape around his new Hollywood home to Anton Webern as “Switzerland, the Riviera, the Vienna Woods, the desert, the Salzkammergut, Spain, Italy—everything in one place.”⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, 18 December 1940, C-Hoppenot, 192–93: “Nous sommes à la limite du désespoir et votre pensée si amicale est un vrai réconfort. Notre cœur reste en France, nous y vivons par la pensée et l’idée que l’on puisse nous considérer comme non français me paraît une sinistre plaisanterie. Il faut attendre... mais je n’attends rien de bon, tant que tout cela sera dicté par Hitler et ses esclaves. Hélas! un si grand pays! un si beau pays où tout était si merveilleux depuis l’ordonnance de nos campagnes jusqu’aux plus petits quartiers de Paris ou les ruelles de nos villages. Hélas! tant d’horreur, de destruction. Et notre vie spirituelle, celle que nous aimons, celle de nos poètes, qu’en restera-il? Des gens en chemise colorée qui lèveront le bras et qui feront le pas de l’oie? C’est tout?”

⁷⁰ Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, 18 December 1940, C-Hoppenot, 193: “La Californie a un beau climat, une belle lumière mais parfois cela ressemble à la Provence et cela me fait mal.”

⁷¹ Darius Milhaud, “La Musique méditerranéenne” (typescript, c. 1934, Mills-DM, 4.1.1), 14: “une Provence idéale qui irait de Constantinople à Rio de Janeiro.”

⁷² André Aciman, “Shadow Cities,” in *Letters of Transit: Reflections on Exile, Identity, Language, and Loss*, ed. André Aciman (New York: The New Press, 1999), 20–21.

⁷³ Loyer, *Paris à New York*, 72, 88–90. Describing the habit of assigning Parisian nicknames to locations in New York, Loyer (72) gives the example of “Le Bœuf sur le toit d’Uptown,” a reference to the bar named after Milhaud’s 1920 composition.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 103.

In addition to this process of mentally mapping Europe onto America, correspondence became another way for Milhaud to connect to France in his imagination. Though there were barriers to overseas written communication, the letters that did reach Oakland from Europe allowed him to empathize with the suffering of his friends and family, preventing him from becoming too comfortable in his Californian refuge. Through letters and telegrams, Milhaud was even able to provide material aid to relatives of his friends Igor Stravinsky and Vladimir Golschmann. Finally, by exchanging correspondence with fellow displaced Europeans in North and South America, Milhaud could take part in a dispersed community of those who shared the experience of being separated from their homeland.

Following the German invasion of France, direct communication with people in the occupied zone quickly became impossible.⁷⁵ Many of Milhaud's fellow composers—including Francis Poulenc, Arthur Honegger, Georges Auric, and Henri Sauguet—returned to Paris within months of the invasion, if they had left at all, and with rare exceptions, he would not hear from them again until after the liberation in 1944. Until the total occupation in November 1942, exchanging letters and telegrams with those in Vichy France was possible, but slow, and everything passed through U.S. censors. For the first two years of his exile, therefore, Milhaud was able to stay in sporadic contact with his family in Aix-en-Provence, as well as with friends who had relocated from Paris to the south of France or who already lived in an unoccupied area.

Milhaud's longtime friend Armand Lunel, who resided in Monaco, received at least six letters from Milhaud between August 1940 and January 1942.⁷⁶ Two of these letters express a sentiment that appears regularly in Darius and Madeleine Milhaud's correspondence and

⁷⁵ For a map showing the division of France after the 1940 armistice, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Vichy_France_Map.jpg (accessed 26 October 2014).

⁷⁶ Excerpts of these letters appear in Armand Lunel, *Mon ami Darius Milhaud*, ed. Georges Jessula (Paris: Edisud, 1992), 96–98.

writings at this time, including the letter to the Hoppenots quoted above—the idea that while their physical existence was in California, their minds were in France. In January 1941, Milhaud wrote to Lunel and his wife: “It is as if we are absent here and constantly close to all of you. Despite so much hardship and dispersal, we nonetheless have hope. My parents are well, thank God, but my father is so old; I worry that they do not have enough coal. All of that is so difficult. May Armand write to me very soon; I would like to know whether the same decrees have been instituted in Monaco as in France.”⁷⁷ In the next letter a month later, he told them: “Write often; the letters from France are the most beautiful moments for us. In our thoughts, we are living this horrible ordeal with you, and living through your hope.”⁷⁸

While Milhaud could not communicate directly with compatriots in the occupied zone, his friends there could transmit news through his mother. Extended letters were impossible, as written personal communication between the occupied and unoccupied zones was limited to small postcards that only permitted brief messages and were examined by censors.⁷⁹ At first, the card only allowed correspondents to fill in names of family members and select options such as

⁷⁷ Darius Milhaud to Armand and Suzanne Lunel, 12 January 1941, quoted in Lunel, *Mon ami Darius Milhaud*, 96: “Nous sommes comme absents ici et constamment près de vous tous. On a néanmoins de l’espoir malgré tant d’épreuves, de dispersions. Mes parents sont bien, Dieu merci; mais mon père est si vieux, j’ai peur qu’ils ne manquent de charbon. Tout cela est si dur. Qu’Armand m’écrive bien vite, je voudrais tant savoir si à Monaco ces mêmes décrets qu’en France sont institués.” The Vichy statutes on Jews did apply to Monaco, and while Prince Louis II intervened to allow Lunel to keep his position at the Lycée de Monaco until 1941, the writer was subsequently forced to resign. David Jessula, introduction to *Les Amandes d’Aix*, by Armand Lunel (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2014), 8.

⁷⁸ Darius Milhaud to Armand Lunel, 5 February 1941, quoted in Lunel, *Mon ami Darius Milhaud*, 96: “Ecris souvent, les courriers de France sont les plus beaux moments pour nous. Notre pensée vit avec vous cette horrible épreuve et vit de votre espoir.”

⁷⁹ The heavy censorship also meant that when Milhaud’s friends in Europe discussed his situation in letters to each other, they found it necessary to keep to vague or even coded statements, as when Poulenc wrote to Collaer about Milhaud’s mother and said, “I hope with all my heart that her son will leave his sanatorium soon” (“j’espère de tout cœur que son enfant sortira bientôt de son sanatorium...”), using “sanatorium” to stand in for “exile.” Francis Poulenc to Paul Collaer, 20 August 1943, C-Poulenc, 541.

“is doing well” or “was killed,” but this was replaced by a less restrictive form in 1941.⁸⁰ Sophie Milhaud collected cards sent to her by her son’s friends on the other side of the demarcation line and forwarded them to California with her own mail. In September 1941, upon receiving such a card from Henri Sauguet, she responded: “It is so interesting that I sent it to my children this morning in my own letter,” and added: “For nine days, I have not had any letters from my darlings, and to me, that seems long, long. I keep hoping to have one the next day and every day, this is how it is. I hope even more for tomorrow, which is my *grand chéri*’s birthday.”⁸¹ Over the next year, she would continue to receive occasional letters and telegrams from Darius and Madeleine, but the slow pace of communication was distressing to her.⁸²

The forwarded mail from Sauguet does not survive, but a number of Milhaud’s other friends also found opportunities to write to him. As Poulenc prepared to return to Paris for the first time since the invasion, he sent Milhaud a letter explaining his reasons for going back to the occupied zone and proposing that they direct future correspondence through Milhaud’s mother. Perhaps trying to assure his friend that he did not blame him for leaving, Poulenc compared Milhaud’s situation favorably to his own, writing: “How happy I am to know that you are in San Francisco! Every day, I approve more.” At the end of the letter, he wrote that his home in Noizay had been “very pillaged,” which was an exaggeration.⁸³ In another letter of July 1941, Poulenc

⁸⁰ For examples of the two types of *cartes familiales*, see <http://www.atramenta.net/lire/oeuvre39281-chapitre272172.html> (accessed 22 March 2014).

⁸¹ Sophie Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 3 September 1941, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 324 (7): “Elle est si intéressante que je l’ai expédiée ce matin à mes enfants dans ma propre lettre. . . . Voici 9 jours que je n’ai pas de lettres de mes chéris et cela me semble long, long. J’espère en avoir un demain et chaque jour, il en est ainsi. J’espère d’autant plus demain, que c’est la fête de mon grand chéri.”

⁸² Sophie Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 16 November 1941, 30 January 1942, 14 April 1942, and 1 July 1942, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique, N.L.a. 324 (9–12).

⁸³ Francis Poulenc to Darius Milhaud, 9 September 1940, C-Poulenc, 504–505: “Combien je suis heureux de te savoir à San Francisco! Chaque jour je t’approuve davantage. . . . Noizay est maintenant libre mais a été très pillé.” In a letter to Marie-Blanche de Polignac on 18 July, Poulenc had written that the only real damage to his home in

provided updates on the activities and well-being of some of their friends, abbreviating names and obscuring details to get past the censors.⁸⁴ Around 1942, Georges Auric took advantage of a visit to Morocco to write to the Milhauds, saying little about his own life in France, but assuring them of “how and how much I think about you,” expressing his hope for their eventual reunion, and declaring: “I was able to learn that your journey is complete—and that Darius is working. He must, because one day, the French will all know that one of their greatest musicians was born in Aix-en-Provence!”⁸⁵ Marcel Mihalovici, a Romanian-born Jewish composer and the husband of the pianist Monique Haas, spent the war in Cannes. In a 1941 letter, he told Milhaud that Haas, whose performing career afforded her greater mobility than her spouse, had participated in a secret private performance of Milhaud’s music with a few friends (including Jean Wiéner and Andrée Vaurabourg, Arthur Honegger’s wife) in Paris.⁸⁶ She also included his piano compositions in her recitals in Switzerland, where his music was not banned.⁸⁷

Some of the musicians who abandoned Paris for the Free Zone did so as a first step toward leaving the country, which became increasingly difficult in the months after the Milhaud family’s departure. Germaine Tailleferre had already relocated from Paris to Grasse—a town close to Cannes—in 1937 for the sake of her husband’s health, but the occupation cut her off completely from what had once been the center of her professional life. Her husband was already in the United States by the time of the German invasion, and it took Tailleferre and her daughter

Noizay was to the contents of his wine cellar (C-Poulenc, 499). The contradiction between the two letters is noted by Myriam Chimènes, editor of the volume, on p. 505.

⁸⁴ Francis Poulenc to Darius Milhaud, 28 July 1941, C-Poulenc, 511–12.

⁸⁵ Georges Auric to Darius and Madeleine Milhaud, [c. 1942], PSS-DM: “Ce que je veux, c’est que vous sachiez combien et comment je pense à vous. . . . J’ai pu savoir que votre voyage s’est bien achevé—et que Darius travaille. Il le faut, puisque un jour les Français sauront tous qu’un de leurs plus grands musiciens est né à Aix-en-Provence!”

⁸⁶ Marcel Mihalovici to Darius Milhaud, 6 October 1941, PSS-DM.

⁸⁷ Marcel Mihalovici to Darius Milhaud, 17 December 1941, PSS-DM. On Mihalovici and Haas, see Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 43–44. On other clandestine performances of Milhaud’s music in wartime France, see chapter 2.

until 1942 to be able to join him there.⁸⁸ When she reached New York in the fall of that year—after traveling from Marseille to Lisbon, as the Milhauds had done two years earlier—she wrote a report for *Modern Music* titled “From the South of France,” in which she described both the state of musical life in Vichy France and the material deprivations suffered by those living there.⁸⁹

Another musician who faced departure delays in the south of France was the Czech composer Bohuslav Martinů, who had been living in France since 1923 and, along with Mihalovici, formed part of the “Ecole de Paris,” an informal group of foreign-born composers established in the late 1920s.⁹⁰ Martinů and his wife left Paris at the time of the invasion in June 1940, and after a difficult and protracted trek south, they reached Aix-en-Provence, where they stayed for seven months as they waited to acquire the necessary travel documents. There, they encountered Milhaud’s parents and other relatives who had gathered in Aix. When they finally arrived in New York in the spring of 1941, Martinů wrote to Milhaud:

After the first moments of surprises and fatigue, I am taking advantage of a calmer day to write to you and pass on the best regards of your mother, of Monsieur Milhaud, and of all your family in Aix. They think about you constantly, and we went to visit them often; we talked about you. They have news from you often, but not enough for your mother, who would like to have you close to her. They were very welcoming to us.⁹¹

Sophie and Gabriel Milhaud’s support for their son’s friends went beyond the companionship they provided for Martinů. Most of the extant correspondence between Milhaud

⁸⁸ Laura Mitgang, “Germaine Tailleferre: Before, During, and After *Les Six*,” in *The Musical Woman: An International Perspective 2 (1984–1985)*, ed. Judith Lang Zaimont (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987), 199–202; Robert Shapiro, “Germaine Tailleferre,” in *Les Six: The French Composers and Their Mentors Jean Cocteau and Erik Satie*, ed. Robert Shapiro (London: Peter Owen, 2011), 265.

⁸⁹ Germaine Tailleferre, “From the South of France,” *Modern Music* 10, no. 1 (November–December 1942): 13–16.

⁹⁰ On Martinů in the United States, see Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 196–202.

⁹¹ Bohuslav Martinů to Darius Milhaud, 26 April 1941, PSS-DM: “Après les premiers moments de surprises et de fatigues je profite d’un jour plus calme de vous écrire et de vous transmettre les souvenirs de votre maman, de M. Milhaud et de toute la famille d’Aix. Ils pensent à vous à chaque moment et nous sommes allé [*sic*] souvent leur rendre visite, on a parlé de vous. Ils ont vos nouvelles souvent mais pas assez pour votre maman, qui voudrait vous avoir près d’elle. Ils nous ont très bien accueilli.”

and Igor Stravinsky during the war concerns what Annegret Fauser has described as “a complicated scheme of barely legal money transfer,” which was their solution to the problem of not being able to transmit money directly from the United States to France.⁹² When Stravinsky moved to Los Angeles in 1939, his three surviving children, all adults, remained in Europe, and he felt a responsibility to support them financially. His daughter Milène lived in the Sancellemoz sanatorium in eastern France, where her mother and sister had died just before the war, and the fees for her room needed to be paid regularly. His son Théodore, a painter, had trouble finding consistent work, and in 1941, he was confined to a Vichy internment camp for several months. The two composers devised a system: Milhaud would ask his mother to send money from his bank account in Aix to Stravinsky’s children in 30,000-franc installments, and Stravinsky would repay Milhaud in U.S. dollars using an approximated exchange rate of 100 francs to the dollar. This plan was mutually beneficial, as without direct access to his own money in France—and not receiving royalties for his music published there—Milhaud had not yet regained full financial stability.⁹³ The letters mention that his mother also regularly sent money to relatives of the conductor Vladimir Golschmann, indicating that Stravinsky was not the only person with whom Milhaud had such an arrangement.

The procedure was established at some point before December 1941, when Stravinsky asked Milhaud “to do the same favor for me that you did before . . . to have the same thing sent

⁹² Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 188. This is also discussed in Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: The Second Exile: France and America, 1934–1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 130–31, and Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 92.

⁹³ After the war, Milhaud was able to recoup nearly 150,000 francs from the Société des auteurs, compositeurs et éditeurs de musique (SACEM) that had been sequestered by the Germans. Yannick Simon, *La SACEM et les droits des auteurs et compositeurs juifs sous l’occupation* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2000), 77–80, 225–31.

to Théodore as the last time.”⁹⁴ Milhaud’s response shows that the instructions to his mother could not be stated openly, and instead were phrased—in English, as mandated by the American censors—as vague requests to transmit “news.” He explained to Stravinsky: “Upon receiving your letter, I cabled to Aix: ‘Give Strawinsky news of his father as you did recently. All Well.’ You can be sure that the same amount will be sent.”⁹⁵ Milène received the next payment several months later, telling Stravinsky that she had spoken to Milhaud’s father about it shortly before his death in April 1942.⁹⁶ In May, knowing that Théodore needed money, but unsure whether he was still in Switzerland or had gone back to France, Stravinsky asked for it to be sent to Milène, and for her to be instructed to give Théodore the money when he arrived in France.⁹⁷ Milhaud reported that he sent a telegram reading: “Send same news Strawinsky to Mylène Sana Sancellemoz asking to transmit them Théodore.” By this time, Milhaud had learned of his father’s death, but he assured Stravinsky that while the situation with the estate was likely to be complicated, he expected to be able to continue making the transfers.⁹⁸

When Stravinsky requested another payment in late September, he warned Milhaud that because his recent communication with Théodore, who was planning to obtain permanent Swiss residency, had led to questioning by the U.S. censors, Milhaud would have to be even more circumspect in asking his mother to send the money:

⁹⁴ Igor Stravinsky to Darius Milhaud, 7 December 1941, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection: “Je profite de l’occasion pour vous demander de me rendre de nouveau le même service que vous m’aviez déjà rendu . . . de faire parvenir à Théodore la même chose que la dernière fois.”

⁹⁵ Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, [December 1941], Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection: “Dès réception de votre lettre j’ai cablé à Aix: ‘Give Strawinsky news of his father as you did recently. All Well.’ Vous pouvez être sûr que la même somme sera envoyée.”

⁹⁶ Igor Stravinsky to Darius Milhaud, 2 May 1942, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection.

⁹⁷ Igor Stravinsky to Darius Milhaud, 21 May 1942, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection.

⁹⁸ Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, [May 1942], Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection. As in the December 1941 letter, the text of the telegram is in English.

I immediately reassured Théodore in a telegram. The next day—a telephone call from the censor, asking me to explain the telegram to them, explanations which evidently reassured them. Despite this “reassurance,” I think that a new telegram concerning the same person (Théodore), even sent by a different person (you) and from a different place (Oakland) risks [attracting] the attention of the same Californian censor, and once again there would be explanations to [make], suspicions to dissipate... what do I know? That is why it might be best not to mention Théodore or Milène this time, and to say along with your own affairs, “...just seen Stravinsky helth [*sic*] as usual transmit children.” Would that work?⁹⁹

The total invasion of France in November 1942 cut off direct communication with what had been the unoccupied zone, but Milhaud’s mother found ways to write to him via friends in Morocco and Switzerland, and in August 1943, he received a letter dated three months earlier in which she assured him that she had been able to continue making regular payments (stated cryptically as “tes amitiés”) to Stravinsky’s children.¹⁰⁰ He passed this information to Stravinsky, and in another letter several days later, he added: “I will try to find out more details, but it is difficult to write, given all of the censorship, and it is especially important that the Americans cannot suspect that the letters (which I send to a friend in Tangier) are destined for France.”¹⁰¹ In the absence of an official exchange rate during the occupation, Stravinsky continued to send Milhaud a check for \$300 for each payment of 30,000 francs, though Milhaud noted that the

⁹⁹ Igor Stravinsky to Darius Milhaud, 27 September 1942, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection: “J’ai immédiatement rassuré Théodore par un câble. Le lendemain [*sic*] – un téléphone de la censure me demandant de leur expliquer ce câble, explications qui les ont visiblement rassurées. Malgré cette ‘rassurance’ je pense qu’un nouveau câble concernant la même personne [*sic*] (Théodore) quoiqu’expédié par une personne différente (vous) et d’un endroit différent (Oakland) risquerait d’[attirer] l’attention de la même censure californienne, donc denouveau [*sic*] des explications a [—] des suspicions a dissiper.... que sais-je! C’est pourquoi il serait peut-être préférable de ne pas mentionner ni Théodore ni Milène cette fois-ci et lui dire parmi [*sic*] vos affaires à vous ‘...just seen Stravinsky helth [*sic*] as usual transmit children’ Cela va-t-il comme cela?” The missing words are illegible on the microfilm.

¹⁰⁰ Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, 25 August 1943, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection.

¹⁰¹ Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, 30 August 1943, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection: “Je vais tâcher de savoir plus de détails, mais c’est difficile à rédiger étant donné toutes les censures et il faut surtout que les Américains ne puissent pas se douter que ces lettres (que j’envoie à une amie à Tanger) sont destinées à la France.”

Americans had set an exchange rate of 76 francs to the dollar in Algeria, which would have put the reimbursements at nearly \$400.¹⁰²

Another letter from Sophie Milhaud in October confirmed that she had continued to send money to Milène Stravinsky; by the time it reached Darius in January, his mother had died, though he did not yet know.¹⁰³ In an additional letter received posthumously, Sophie Milhaud assured her son that she was still making the same regular payments to the Stravinskys and the Golschmanns, but told him that she had been advised to start cutting the amount in half.¹⁰⁴ In the absence of further information, and assuming that the payments would have ceased with Sophie Milhaud's death, Milhaud and Stravinsky estimated the amount of money sent after the total invasion so that Stravinsky could complete the reimbursements.¹⁰⁵

This arrangement between the two exiled composers points not only to Milhaud's financial insecurity at this time, Stravinsky's concern for his children, and the strategic efforts required to support family living under the occupation, but also to broader facets of the wartime exile from Europe to the United States. First, Stravinsky's role in the scheme highlights the need to consider multiple migrations in the lives of many émigrés, as well as the particular role of France in many such lives.¹⁰⁶ As a cosmopolitan center since the nineteenth century, Paris was home to many foreign-born musicians in the 1930s, a number of whom subsequently moved to the United States. Some, such as Stravinsky and Martinů, lived in France for many years before the occupation, having chosen to move there primarily for professional reasons. Stravinsky took

¹⁰² Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, 25 August 1943, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection.

¹⁰³ Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, 21 January 1944, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection.

¹⁰⁴ Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, 5 March 1944, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection. The letter from Sophie Milhaud, which does not survive but is quoted in the letter to Stravinsky, was dated 23 November 1943.

¹⁰⁵ Igor Stravinsky to Darius Milhaud, 10 March 1944, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection.

¹⁰⁶ On multiple migrations, see Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe*.

French citizenship in 1934, and Martinů married a French woman; both composers would later become U.S. citizens. For others, including Arnold Schoenberg and Kurt Weill, leaving their native countries for France was a brief first stage of exile rather than a voluntary migration.¹⁰⁷

The fact that Milhaud's and Stravinsky's arrangement is documented in preserved letters is itself significant—beyond its obvious usefulness for scholars—as it calls attention to written correspondence as a mode of communication among individuals who had once lived in the same city, but were now spread across the United States.¹⁰⁸ During the war, Milhaud and Stravinsky saw each other several times a year—usually in Los Angeles, and only once in Oakland—but they communicated primarily through letters. The geographic dispersal of those who had previously been in Paris meant that written communication served a vital role in maintaining their personal and professional ties, as well as in creating the sense of a nationwide community of those whose hearts and minds, as Milhaud wrote, remained in France. As I will discuss in the next section, the concentration of European musicians, artists, and writers in New York and Los Angeles produced distinct communities, and Milhaud's contact with these groups during his occasional trips to each city highlighted the effects of his usual separation from them. But when he was in Oakland, writing to and receiving letters from individual friends—including some he

¹⁰⁷ See Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933–1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). On German musicians in Paris, see Anna Langenbruch, *Topographien musikalischen Handelns im Pariser Exil: eine Histoire croisée des Exils deutschsprachiger Musikerinnen und Musiker in Paris 1933–1939* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2014). On writers, see Martin Mauthner, *German Writers in French Exile, 1933–1940* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007). Schoenberg and Weill both left Germany for Paris within months of Hitler's appointment as chancellor. Schoenberg's stay was very brief, as he and his wife departed for the United States in October 1933. Weill lived in Paris until early 1935, when he left for London; a few months later, having found little professional success there, he went to New York. Stephen Hinton, "Hindemith and Weill: Cases of 'Inner' and 'Other' Direction," in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 266–67. On Weill in France, see Andreas Eichhorn, ed., *Kurt Weill und Frankreich* (Münster: Waxmann, 2014).

¹⁰⁸ For scholarship on letter-writing and the postal system, see David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), and Bruce S. Elliott, David A. Gerber, and Suzanne M. Sinke, eds., *Letters Across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

never saw in person during the war—the differences between their new lives seemed less important than their mutual separation from France.

Milhaud's network of displaced Parisians extended outside the United States to Mexico and South America. Jules Romains and his wife moved to Mexico City after a year in New York; when Milhaud planned a family trip there in 1946, he wrote to Lise Jules-Romains to inquire about the possibility of giving lectures at the local branch of the Alliance Française.¹⁰⁹ The singer Jane Bathori and her companion Andrée Tainsy were in Buenos Aires, Argentina; Bathori had made annual trips there between 1926 and 1933 to teach and perform, giving her a foundation on which to build a life in exile.¹¹⁰ Henri and Hélène Hoppenot first lived in Montevideo, Uruguay—where Henri served as the ambassador of the Vichy government—then moved to Washington, D.C., when he resigned and defected to the Free French in 1942. Jules Supervielle, who wrote the play that became Milhaud's opera *Bolivar*, also spent the war years in Montevideo, where he had lived as a child.¹¹¹ His presence in the Americas rather than in Europe allowed him to contribute to the opera by sending the Milhauds new text for several scenes.¹¹²

While mail between North and South America was less restricted than between the United States and Europe, which allowed Milhaud to bring these geographically distant friends into his network, it was not entirely reliable. In 1942, the actor and director Louis Jouvet, who spent the years of the occupation touring Latin America with his theatre company, staged Paul

¹⁰⁹ Darius Milhaud to Lise Jules-Romains, 4 March 1946, PSS-DM. In this letter, Milhaud also asked about wheelchair accessibility.

¹¹⁰ Linda Laurent, introduction to Jane Bathori, *On the Interpretation of the Méloides of Claude Debussy*, trans. Linda Laurent (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), 15.

¹¹¹ Born in Montevideo in 1884, Supervielle continued to travel there occasionally as an adult, but his professional life before 1939 was based in Paris.

¹¹² Jules Supervielle to Darius Milhaud, 29 November 1942, PSS-DM. See chapter 5 and CWMM, 93–94. On *Bolivar* in the context of Milhaud's exile, see Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 193–95.

Claudiel's 1932 play *L'Annonce faite à Marie* in Rio de Janeiro.¹¹³ Milhaud had written the incidental music for the original production, but the only copies of this score were in France. Jouvet invited Milhaud to compose new music, which he did, but it failed to reach Rio in time for the performance. (As Milhaud wrote to Jane Bathori in 1944, "Manuscript music is always a problem for the mail censors, who think it is a mysterious means of correspondence. It truly is correspondence, of the heart and soul!")¹¹⁴ Jouvet instead used music already composed by Renzo Massarani, a Jewish composer who had left his native Italy for Brazil.

These correspondence networks were important, but they could not fully substitute for the in-person connections the Milhauds had enjoyed with these individuals before the war, nor could letters and cryptic telegrams begin to compensate for the family's agonizing separation from those who remained in France. Isolation, both from France and from communities of Europeans in the United States, was one of the defining aspects of their exile. However, the family responded to this isolation in varying ways, and its effects reached beyond personal loneliness and homesickness. In effect, Darius and Madeleine Milhaud's physical distance from New York and Los Angeles shaped their relationships with the émigré communities there and the composer's approach to the political aspects of being a Frenchman in exile.

¹¹³ Jouvet's departure for Latin America has been variously characterized as political exile (a response to German artistic censorship and the demand to remove Jewish actors from the company) and as a Vichy-sponsored propaganda tour.

¹¹⁴ 25 June 1944, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 10 (257): "La musique manuscrite est toujours un problème pour les censeurs postaux, qui croient que c'est un moyen mystérieux de correspondance. Il est vrai que c'est la correspondance du cœur et de l'âme!" See also Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, November 1944, C-Collaer, 381. On the Office of War Information's suspicion that music could be used to transmit encoded messages, see Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 78. See also Carolyn Abbate, "Cipher and Performance in Sternberg's *Dishonored*," in *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity*, ed. Karol Berger and Anthony Newcomb (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 355–90. Musical cipher is also a plot point in the 1938 Alfred Hitchcock film *The Lady Vanishes*.

Isolation and Community

Themes of isolation, both personal and professional, appear frequently in scholarship on World War II–era exile and migration to the United States. In studies of composers—as well as artists and writers—considering isolation often means examining the effects of their separation from the cultural environments in which they had operated intellectually and professionally and their subsequent encounters with American culture and its institutions, expectations, and limitations. Composers who wrote twelve-tone music or other idioms that did not align with the U.S. musical landscape typically faced the most difficult adjustment in this regard. As I discuss in chapter 2, this type of creative isolation was not a significant aspect of exile for Darius Milhaud, whose compositional style was sufficiently compatible with American tastes and who came to the United States already furnished with enough professional connections to continue having his music published and performed in a new country. It was a greater issue for Madeleine Milhaud, as I show in chapter 5, because the language barrier and her household responsibilities kept her from continuing her career on the stage, though she did find some creative fulfillment as a director of amateur plays.

In scholarship, emphasizing artistic and cultural isolation can play into the binary of “assimilation” and “resistance” that once dominated exile studies in musicology.¹¹⁵ Within such a framework, the idea of isolation can be deployed on both sides. If resistance is valued, isolation becomes a heroic state, a consequence of the refusal to compromise one’s principles by integrating into a society perceived to be culturally inferior. If assimilation is valued, on the other hand, the absence or overcoming of isolation is a sign of success. Recently, a number of scholars have challenged the assimilation/resistance dichotomy, its attendant perspectives on isolation,

¹¹⁵ For a recent critique of the assimilation/resistance framework, see Naomi Graber, “Found in Translation: Kurt Weill on Broadway and in Hollywood, 1935–1939” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2013), 376–84.

and the views of particular composers that developed through this discourse. For example, a central aim of Sabine Feisst's book on Arnold Schoenberg in the United States is to "challenge the notion of Schoenberg as an isolated figure unwilling to adapt to American life."¹¹⁶ Yet forced displacement is often accompanied by various types of isolation. Acknowledging the effects of this condition on an artist does not preclude recognition of communities and networks, as Brigid Cohen demonstrates in her study of Stefan Wolpe.¹¹⁷ The case of Darius and Madeleine Milhaud is further complicated by their geographic distance from the major émigré communities and musical centers of New York and Los Angeles, which contributed to a sense of personal isolation in exile beyond what was caused by their separation from France.¹¹⁸

Throughout the war years, both of the Milhauds expressed ambivalence about their isolation—sometimes deeply troubled by it, strangely grateful for it at other times, and occasionally denying it, instead recognizing the ways in which they were not entirely alone. Their later recollections, filtered through positive memories of the postwar years, tend to downplay the experience of isolation in favor of acknowledging community, while the strongest expressions of the anguish of solitude are found in wartime letters to close French friends such as Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, with whom they were able to remain in contact. But even during the war, they saw at least one positive aspect in their geographic isolation: it allowed them to limit their exposure to the political tensions found in the larger émigré communities.¹¹⁹ For Darius Milhaud, who was determined to be seen as apolitical—for the sake of his own self-

¹¹⁶ Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*, xii.

¹¹⁷ Cohen, *Stefan Wolpe*, especially 61–64.

¹¹⁸ See Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 179, 185.

¹¹⁹ See Colin W. Nettelbeck, *Forever French: Exile in the United States* (New York: Berg, 1991), 33.

preservation—and who had friends with both real and perceived ties to the Vichy government, the conflicts among other French exiles were best avoided.¹²⁰

In August and September 1943, after the Hoppenots had relocated from Montevideo to Washington, D.C., following Henri's resignation from his ambassadorial post the year before, Hélène crossed the country to visit the Milhauds for several weeks, and her diary entries from this period show that she perceived her friends' isolation as severe and demoralizing.¹²¹ This impression likely reflects her discussions with them—as in their letters, they would have felt free to express the depths of their sorrow and frustration—as well as the sharp contrast between the bucolic Mills campus and her memories of socializing with them in the lively environment of Paris before the war. Early in her visit, she wrote: “Two days spent at Mills are enough to become aware of the Milhauds' complete isolation: no true friends, nothing but acquaintances, professors, students, and the ‘strays,’ which they call ‘leeches.’”¹²² While she was there, Darius wrote to Henri: “You can imagine our joy at having Hélène here. In our nearly total solitude, it is a great pleasure to be able to see such a dear friend.”¹²³

The Mills College campus, situated in a quiet corner of East Oakland, may have seemed like “a prairie at the ends of the Earth” (as Milhaud described it to Nadia Boulanger in 1944),

¹²⁰ On political conflict within the French exile community, see Nettelbeck, *Forever French* and Loyer, *Paris à New York*, 167–202.

¹²¹ After serving as the Vichy ambassador to Uruguay since August 1940, Henri Hoppenot resigned his position in October 1942 to join the Free French cause. In March 1943, he was named a delegate to the United States for the French Committee of National Liberation. Marie-Noëlle Little, ed., *The Poet and the Diplomat: The Correspondence of Dag Hammarskjöld and Alexis Leger* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), 16. Hoppenot also served as a delegate to the French Antilles in the summer of 1943, inspiring Milhaud's *La Libération des Antilles* (1944). MVH, 231–32.

¹²² Hélène Hoppenot, diary entry of 12 August 1943, C-Hoppenot, 242: “Deux jours vécus à Mills sont suffisants pour se rendre compte de l'isolement complet des Milhaud: aucun véritable ami, rien que des connaissances, professeurs, élèves et les ‘épaves’ qu'ils appellent les ‘sangues.’” See Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 185.

¹²³ Darius Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, August 1943, C-Hoppenot, 243: “Vous devez imaginer notre joie d'avoir Hélène ici. Dans notre solitude à peu près totale, c'est un grand bonheur de pouvoir voir une amie si chère.” As I show in chapter 4, Mills College did provide the Milhauds with a certain sense of community, even if the level of social activity paled in comparison to Paris.

especially in comparison to Paris, but the recently-constructed Bay Bridge connected Oakland to San Francisco, a city with a population of more than six hundred thousand.¹²⁴ While the Bay Area lacked a large population of European musicians and artists, the Milhauds were able to make and renew connections with some compatriots in the region. The fall of 1940 saw the arrival in San Francisco of Georges Valabrègue—a nephew of Darius and Madeleine’s paternal grandmother—his Russian-born wife, Vera, and their three children between the ages of two and eleven.¹²⁵ In Pierre Monteux, then in his sixth year as music director of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, Milhaud had a French colleague with years of experience conducting U.S. orchestras on both coasts. Events such as the Mills College Summer Sessions (see chapter 4) and the United Nations Conference on International Organization, held in San Francisco in 1945, brought temporary influxes of French intellectuals to the area, which were particularly important for Madeleine Milhaud. In Roger Nichols’s interview with her in the 1990s, she mentioned the nearby presence of Monteux and the Valabrègue family and said, “So you can see how privileged we were and that, although so far from France, we were not isolated.”¹²⁶ Even during the war, she recognized that others were even more isolated: in 1941, when the Hoppenots were

¹²⁴ Darius Milhaud to Nadia Boulanger, September 1944, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 87 (54): “Nous sommes toujours ici, perdus sur une prairie, au bout du monde.” The San Francisco–Oakland Bay Bridge opened in 1936. The 1940 census recorded a population of 634,536 for San Francisco and 302,163 for Oakland. Approximately 20% of the San Francisco population was “foreign born white”; 18.5% of that group was from Italy, 11.5% from Germany, and much smaller numbers from all other countries; the demographics of Oakland were similar. <http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/> (accessed 2 September 2014).

¹²⁵ See MVH, 228. The Valabrègue family’s path to San Francisco took them around the world: they sailed from Sydney, Australia on 24 August, and the ship’s manifest shows that their U.S. visas were issued a month earlier in Cape Town, South Africa. It also says that the Valabrègues intended to continue on to Canada as their final destination, but instead, they settled in Berkeley. Ancestry.com, accessed 4 March 2014.

¹²⁶ CWMM, 60.

still in Uruguay, Madeleine wrote to H  l  ne: “I am ashamed to be surrounded and to feel that you are alone.”¹²⁷

Darius and Madeleine Milhaud had a number of friends among the New York–based French exile community, as well as those from other countries, but their contact with them was limited to their winter trips to the East Coast. Pierre and Henri Claudel, two sons of Milhaud’s close friend and artistic collaborator Paul Claudel, both held diplomatic posts in New York. The artist Fernand L  ger, who designed the sets and costumes for Milhaud’s ballet *La Cr  ation du monde* and would also work on his opera *Bolivar*, encountered the composer both in New York and in Oakland, as he participated in the Mills College Summer Session in 1941. Andr   Maurois, another Summer Session guest, also lived in New York; Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya had a house in the countryside, about an hour’s drive from Manhattan. Milhaud saw Germaine Tailleferre only once in the United States, as she was based primarily in Philadelphia; having stopped composing, she was disengaged from public musical activity.¹²⁸ The Italian Jewish composer Vittorio Rieti, his wife Elsie, and their son Fabio—five years older than Daniel Milhaud and also an artist—were close friends of the Milhaud family who had made frequent visits to Paris in the 1920s and 1930s.

The annual trips to New York provoked mixed feelings for the Milhauds: the populous city was a welcome change from the seclusion of Mills, and they enjoyed the opportunity to see their friends there, but New York’s exile culture could be unsettling and even alienating. After returning from his East Coast trip of December 1941, which he took alone, Darius wrote to

¹²⁷ Madeleine Milhaud to H  l  ne Hoppenot, 1941, C-Hoppenot, 205: “J’ai honte d’  tre entour  e et de vous sentir seuls.” Similarly, Darius Milhaud told H  l  ne Hoppenot in a letter of 14 June 1941 that in Argentina, Jane Bathori was “very isolated, and the place is very sad and off in the distance.” (“Elle est tr  s isol  e et c’est un endroit tr  s triste et perdu au loin.”) C-Hoppenot, 203.

¹²⁸ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 186–87.

Hélène Hoppenot, describing the city as “a false Europe” full of refugees and stating: “New York is quite an extraordinary place at the moment, and we are delighted to live far away from that city.”¹²⁹ But the following winter, he brought Madeleine and Daniel to New York, though the additional travel costs were significant, because they needed the escape from Oakland. As he explained to Bathori after the trip: “Madeleine was in our prairie surrounded by eucalyptus for two years without moving. For her morale, she needed some contact with our numerous friends in N.Y. Her courage and activity are always incredible, but she is *tortured* by homesickness.”¹³⁰

At “about the distance from Paris to Marseille” (as Milhaud put it in a 1945 letter to Poulenc), Los Angeles was close enough to visit more than once a year, but not without a good reason, and such circumstances came about only rarely.¹³¹ Upon first arriving in California in 1940, Milhaud expected to find occasional work writing film music, but he would score only one Hollywood film, *The Private Affairs of Bel Ami* (1947).¹³² When Darius and Madeleine Milhaud did visit Los Angeles, they encountered many European friends, including Igor Stravinsky and Arnold Schoenberg—who, as Madeleine Milhaud noted, were not friends with each other.

¹²⁹ Darius Milhaud to Hélène Hoppenot, 13 January 1942, C-Hoppenot, 210: “New York est un endroit bien extraordinaire en ce moment et nous sommes enchantés de vivre loin de cette ville. C’est une fausse Europe, on n’y voit que des réfugiés, des amis sûrs, des gens troubles, un vrai capharnaüm.” This description of the New York émigrés is similar to Kurt Weill’s comments on their Los Angeles counterparts, whom he criticized for their cultural insularity; see Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 179.

¹³⁰ Darius Milhaud to Jane Bathori, 18 February 1943, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 10 (250): “Madeleine est sur notre prairie entourée d’eucalyptus depuis 2 ans sans en bouger. Elle avait moralement besoin d’un contact avec nos amis si nombreux à N.Y. Elle est toujours inouïe de courage et d’activité, mais le ‘mal du pays’ la torture.”

¹³¹ Darius Milhaud to Francis Poulenc, 17 February 1945, C-Poulenc, 582: “Hollywood et San Francisco sont à peu près à la distance Paris-Marseille.”

¹³² A memo summarizing Milhaud’s first meeting with Luther Marchant at Mills College in August 1940 (see chapter 4) states that Milhaud would “go to Los Angeles for supervision of music for a film which will be made within the next year,” but this did not occur. Mills-DM, 3.1.5. For *The Private Affairs of Bel Ami*, an adaptation of Guy de Maupassant’s novel *Bel Ami*, Milhaud insisted on being permitted to orchestrate his own score and conduct the recording, contrary to the usual Hollywood procedure. See MVH, 230.

Schoenberg “lived not far from the Stravinskys and we were always astonished that they had no contact at all. They were like African kings, each waiting for the other, but nobody came...”¹³³

On the Milhauds’ visits to Los Angeles, they often stayed at the home of the composer Alexandre Tansman. Born in Poland to a Jewish family, Tansman moved to Paris in 1919, where he became part of the “Ecole de Paris.” He married a French pianist, Colette Cras, in 1937, and took French citizenship the following year. When Paris was invaded, he escaped to Nice with his wife and their two young daughters. Similarly to Milhaud, Tansman already had a number of influential friends in the United States, including Charlie Chaplin (whom he had befriended on his Pro Musica U.S. concert tour in 1927), Serge Koussevitzky, and Jascha Heifetz. In the fall of 1940, these friends began working to help the Tansmans come to the United States, but it took nearly a year; the family finally arrived in New York in September 1941.¹³⁴ Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, who had known Tansman for more than a decade, commissioned his Piano Sonata no. 4, as she had done for Milhaud’s String Quartet no. 10 at the time of his own exile the previous year.¹³⁵ Like Milhaud, Tansman received a Coolidge Medal for the work.¹³⁶ After the premiere of the sonata at Coolidge’s birthday concert in Washington, D.C., in late October, Tansman and his family moved to Los Angeles, where they remained until their return to France in 1946. He

¹³³ CWMM, 27. See Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 179.

¹³⁴ Biographical information from Gérald Hugon, “Alexandre Tansman” (1998, rev. 2012), <http://www.alexandre-tansman.com/app/download/5783731239/Tansman+Bio+rev.pdf> (accessed 3 September 2014).

¹³⁵ Tansman wrote to Coolidge to inquire about the possibility of a commission on 5 September 1941, after reaching New York. “As you certainly realise, I lost everything I had in Paris and I have to start here a new existence. I am full of courage and hope, as nothing could be worse as the time we lived recently. May I tell you, dear Mrs. Coolidge, what a great encouragement it would be for my start, as well morally as materially, to have a work commissioned by you. In this moment, it could open to me many possibilities to build up our new existence, and I have no doubt, you will consider favorably my suggestion.” Library of Congress, Music Division, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, ML29, Box 97, Folder 7. In this letter and others written in English, he spelled his first name “Alexander,” the spelling also used for his film credits. Hugon states that Tansman received \$5,000 for the sonata, but it was presumably \$500, Coolidge’s standard honorarium for new compositions (and the same amount paid to Milhaud for the string quartet).

¹³⁶ For a complete list of Coolidge Medalists (1932–48), see Cyrilla Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge: American Patron of Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1998), 351–52.

found his work in Hollywood as a composer and music director—for which he often did not receive credit—frustrating and artistically unsatisfying, but it gave him the financial stability to continue writing “serious” concert music. Disdaining the lack of culture he perceived in the film industry, he preferred the company of other émigrés and hosted regular gatherings of Europeans in the house provided to him by Paramount.¹³⁷

When the Tansmans first reached New York, Milhaud wrote to him; this letter is missing from the photocopies of his letters to Tansman at the Paul Sacher Stiftung, but Tansman’s reply indicates that Milhaud offered to help him make contact with Hollywood music directors.¹³⁸ This letter from Tansman also includes his reaction to arriving in the United States after a year’s uncertainty in Nice, drawing a pointed contrast between what he had endured and the Milhaud family’s relative good fortune:

It is impossible to tell you how happy we are to be here—this moral and material change seems like a dream come true for us. Everyone is so kind, so considerate toward us, and we had become completely unaccustomed to that. I hope to find my place in the sun again, little by little, and the start is fairly encouraging. . . . You do not know how lucky you are to have left with your wife and son in time. If it were only the deprivations to deal with, that would be nothing much, but the rest was much more difficult—hard to describe if you have not lived through it. I am happy for you, to know that you are in a place that suits your health and allows you to work in total tranquility—it is an invaluable thing.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Crawford, *Windfall of Musicians*, 165; Alexandre Tansman, *Regards en arrière: Itinéraire d’un musicien cosmopolite au XX^e siècle*, ed. Cédric Segond-Genovesi (Château-Gontier: Aedam Musicae, 2013), 304.

¹³⁸ In a subsequent letter, Milhaud mentioned that he had discussed Tansman’s upcoming arrival in Los Angeles with the Paramount agent Abe Meyer and the composer Victor Young. Darius Milhaud to Alexandre Tansman, [fall 1940], PSS-DM.

¹³⁹ Alexandre Tansman to Darius Milhaud, 18 September 1941, PSS-DM: “Impossible de vous dire, combien nous sommes heureux d’être ici – ce changement moral et matériel nous paraît être un vrai rêve. Tout le monde est si gentil, si prévenant pour nous, et nous en avons complètement perdu l’habitude. J’espère retrouver peu à peu ma place au soleil et les débuts sont assez encourageants. . . . Vous ne connaissez pas votre bonheur d’être parti à temps avec votre femme et enfant. S’il n’y avait que les privations à supporter, cela serait peu de chose, mais le reste a été bien plus pénible – difficile d’en rendre compte sans l’avoir vécu. Je suis heureux pour vous, de vous savoir en un endroit qui convient à votre santé et vous permet de travailler en toute tranquillité – c’est une chose inappréciable.” On the conditions in the south of France at this time, see Tailleferre, “From the South of France.”

While Milhaud and Tansman had known each other for two decades, they were not truly friends until exile brought them together. Each composer credited the challenges they had endured with making the other one a more likeable person. In Tansman's memoirs, published posthumously, he wrote: "I had never been on very good terms with Darius Milhaud, who had not always seemed like a very good friend to me (or to his other peers). But when I arrived in New York, he sent me a very affectionate message, and his welcoming invitation [to visit him at Mills] made me think that with age, exile, etc., he had become different and less egocentric. So I accepted his invitation with true pleasure."¹⁴⁰ In Milhaud's eyes, Tansman was the one who had changed; he told Bathori in 1943 that "the months of suffering in France humanized him a great deal."¹⁴¹ More than three decades later, Tansman honored this friendship forged in exile with his *Élégie à la mémoire de Darius Milhaud* (1975), a work for orchestra that includes quotations from *La Création du monde*.

The Politics of Exile

As in New York, Milhaud appreciated the chance to see friends such as Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Tansman on his visits to Los Angeles, but felt uncomfortable around the political discussion that he was usually able to avoid in Oakland. As a French Jew, he was caught between those like Schoenberg, who had no direct connection to France and gave little thought to the specific situation of that country, and the non-Jewish French émigrés for whom debating whether to support Pétain or de Gaulle could sometimes seem little more than an intellectual exercise. In

¹⁴⁰ Tansman, *Regards en arrière*, 307–08: "Je n'avais jamais été en très bons termes avec Darius Milhaud, qui ne s'était pas toujours montré très bon camarade pour moi (ni pour ses autres confrères). Mais dès mon arrivée à New York, il m'envoya une dépêche très affectueuse, et son invitation si chaleureuse me fit penser qu'avec l'âge, l'exil, etc. il était devenu différent et moins égocentrique. J'acceptai donc avec une vraie joie son invitation."

¹⁴¹ Darius Milhaud to Jane Bathori, 18 February 1943, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 10 (250): "Il a beaucoup changé, les mois de souffrance en France l'ont humanisé énormément."

addition, his French friends and associates ranged from devoted followers of de Gaulle to representatives of the Vichy government (such as Henri Hoppenot before his 1942 defection to the Free French), and he resented not only the division of the exile community, but also what he perceived as baseless accusations against people he knew and liked. For example, the writer André Maurois was frequently criticized for his connections to Pétain and the pro-Vichy statements he made at the beginning of his time in the United States, but Milhaud considered him reasonable and felt that the image of Maurois against which people argued bore little resemblance to his friend's actual beliefs.¹⁴²

When Milhaud heard that the Paris Opéra would restage the 1924 ballet *Salade*, replacing his now-banned score with music by Roger Désormière, he told Hélène Hoppenot about the situation and sarcastically added: "But do not tell this to anyone, people will say I am a Nazi!!"¹⁴³ In the same letter, he complained about his interactions with other French émigrés during a recent visit to Hollywood: "The unfortunate thing is that the suffering that should unite all of the French divides them instead, and the chatter is unbearable. They stir up 'cases.' Maurois, for example, is he for this? for that? does he think what he says? does he say what he thinks? does he think what he doesn't say, etc. etc. It is horrible."¹⁴⁴ Madeleine Milhaud expressed a similar sentiment in her own letter: "Now we are back to our Mills, quieter and more

¹⁴² Maurois's Vichy sympathies were made public in André Maurois, "The Case for France," *Life*, 6 January 1941, 63–68. See Nettelbeck, *Forever French*, 8.

¹⁴³ Darius Milhaud to Hélène Hoppenot, October 1941, C-Hoppenot, 208: "mais ne dis cela à personne, on dirait que je suis nazi!!"

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*: "Ce qui est malheureux c'est que la souffrance qui devrait unir tous les Français les divise, et ce sont d'insupportables parlottes. On y agite des 'cas.' Maurois par exemple [est-il] pour ceci? pour cela? pense-t-il ce qu'il dit? dit-il ce qu'il pense? pense-t-il ce qu'il ne dit pas etc. etc. C'est odieux."

peaceful, without ‘Français’ arguing and debating like in Los [Angeles]... and rather happy to be far away from that useless chattering.”¹⁴⁵

Milhaud had reasons for avoiding politics beyond his discomfort with this “chatter”—and his determination to preserve his personal relationships with Gaullists and Vichy supporters alike—as a law passed one month into the Vichy regime “allowed the government to revoke the citizenship of French nationals who left France between 20 May and 30 June 1940 without proper authorization.”¹⁴⁶ He was anxious to avoid being targeted by this legislation, especially after his friend Alexis Leger was stripped of his citizenship in October 1940.¹⁴⁷ In a letter to Hélène Hoppenot of 14 June 1941—“one year since Paris fell”—Milhaud described his efforts to assure the Vichy government that he had left France for acceptable reasons and that he was not involved in political dissidence. The letter reveals the involvement of Claude Bréart de Boisanger, the French Consul General in San Francisco and a close friend of Henri Hoppenot.

I know that Henri very kindly wrote to Boisanger on my behalf. Boisanger asked me for information for a letter to the Department to explain my departure. I had contracts dating from July 1939 for Chicago, Boston, and the radio in New York, which I showed him. I had already done that on arriving in N.Y. last August, but the N.Y. consulate seems to have misplaced all of that... so Boisanger will write again. Hopefully this will not result in anything unpleasant. It is true that special cases do not count for much. Nonetheless, I am determined for everything to be in order and for them to know in Vichy that since my

¹⁴⁵ Madeleine Milhaud to Hélène Hoppenot, 1941, C-Hoppenot, 205: “Nous voilà de retour dans notre Mills plus tranquille et calme, sans ‘Français’ raisonnant, discutant comme à Los... et assez satisfaits d’être loin de ces bavardages inutiles.”

¹⁴⁶ Patrick Weil, “The Return of Jews in the Nationality or Territory of France,” in *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to their Countries of Origin after WWII*, ed. David Bankier (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), 64–65.

¹⁴⁷ Alexis Leger was a poet (under the name Saint-John Perse) and diplomat who spent the war years in Washington, D.C., working at the Library of Congress in a position found for him by Archibald MacLeish. Leger’s overt opposition to the Nazis and Vichy had led to his firing from the French diplomatic service, his decision to go into exile, and the loss of his citizenship, but he also distrusted de Gaulle; like Milhaud, he preferred to keep his distance from the politics of the French exile community. (Loyer, *Paris à New York*, 167–68, 192–95.) His French citizenship was restored after the war, but he stayed in the United States until 1957, when he began to divide his time between Washington and Provence in a manner similar to Milhaud.

arrival here, I have always refused to join any dissident groups. Not a week goes by without being asked, but I want to stay completely out of politics.¹⁴⁸

Milhaud's desire to be seen as apolitical was not limited to issues concerning Europe or the war. Before accepting an invitation to speak at the 1943 Writers' Congress, Milhaud asked Tansman to find out whether or not the conference would take place on the campus of the University of California, Los Angeles. If not, he wrote, "that would prove that it is a communist thing, and in that case, I will not go."¹⁴⁹ The Hollywood Writers Mobilization, which co-sponsored the event with the university, was rumored to be an offshoot of the communist League of American Writers, and the anti-communist California state senator Jack Tenney attempted to have the Writers' Congress canceled, then held hearings to investigate it.¹⁵⁰ But the Writers' Congress was not directly associated with the Communist Party, and it was held on the UCLA campus, so Milhaud agreed to participate. On the last morning of the conference, he spoke about "Music in French Film" in a seminar on music and the war that also included contributions from the composers Gail Kubik, Hanns Eisler, and William Grant Still.¹⁵¹ However—whether for political reasons or not—Milhaud distanced himself from the event as a whole, telling Tansman

¹⁴⁸ Darius Milhaud to H  l  ne Hoppenot, 14 June 1941, C-Hoppenot, 201: "Je sais qu'Henri a   crit    Boisanger tr  s gentiment    mon sujet. Boisanger m'a demand   des   l  ments pour une lettre au D  partement pour expliquer mon d  part. J'avais des [contrats] datant de juillet 1939 pour Chicago, Boston, la radio de New York que je lui ai montr  s. Je l'avais d'ailleurs d  j   fait en arrivant    N.Y. en ao  t dernier mais le consulat de N.Y. para  t avoir   gar   tout cela... alors Boisanger va r   crire. Esp  rons que cela ne suscitera pas des choses d  sagr  ables. Il est vrai que les cas particuliers comptent bien peu. N  anmoins je tiens    ce que tout soit en r  gle et qu'on sache    Vichy que depuis mon arriv  e ici j'ai toujours refus   de faire partie de groupements dissidents et il n'est pas de semaines o   je ne sois sollicit  , mais je veux rester en dehors de toute politique."

¹⁴⁹ Darius Milhaud to Alexandre Tansman, [1943], PSS-DM: "Cela prouverait que c'est un truc communiste et alors je ne viendrai pas." Milhaud continued to be wary of anything that could lead to his being suspected to be a communist (which he was not); H  l  ne Hoppenot recorded in a diary entry of 27 February 1948 (C-Hoppenot, 329) that Milhaud, now in Paris, had refused to sign a petition against the deportation of Hanns Eisler, fearing that it would jeopardize his own ability to reenter the United States (see chapter 6).

¹⁵⁰ Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund, *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930–1960* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 158. On the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, see *ibid.*, 186–90.

¹⁵¹ Darius Milhaud, "Music in French Film," in *Writers' Congress: The Proceedings of the Conference Held in October 1943 under the sponsorship of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the University of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944), 272–76.

that apart from the two-hour seminar, which he dismissed as “the paying reason for my trip,” he would “flee the site of the congress” to spend time with friends, especially the Stravinskys.¹⁵²

Milhaud’s avoidance of visible political activity did not mean that he was entirely disengaged, however. In a long letter to Henri Hoppenot of 22 May 1942, he explained that while he supported de Gaulle, he felt that joining dissident groups was not an effective way to work toward the victory of the Free French; rather, one should simply follow the United States. This presents a somewhat different perspective from his earlier concerns for his own safety, which predated the entry of the United States into the war. The attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 was, for Milhaud, a cause for celebration, since it brought the United States into the conflict—in the first draft of *Notes sans musique*, he even made the cynical suggestion that a statue of Emperor Hirohito should be erected at the United Nations.¹⁵³

The prior letter from Hoppenot does not survive; in it, he likely asked Milhaud for advice on whether to remain in his ambassadorial post in Uruguay. Pierre Laval, a proponent of escalated collaboration with Germany, had recently returned to the Vichy government as Prime Minister, and as a result, a large number of diplomats—including Hoppenot—resigned in the following months.¹⁵⁴ Milhaud’s response gives little direct advice to his friend, but does provide a window into how he saw his own obligations as a French artist in exile:

I understand, and I feel very deeply how torturous the current situation must be for you. You ask me for my opinion—me, a poor derelict, clinging to the hope in America that we

¹⁵² Darius Milhaud to Alexandre Tansman, [September 1943], PSS-DM: “Mais sauf le 3 de 10 à midi où je suis obligé d’être là (motif payé de mon voyage ou plutôt motif de mon voyage payé) je fuirai les lieux du congrès et espère voir mes amis, et surtout les chers Igor.”

¹⁵³ Darius Milhaud, *Notes sans musique* manuscript, 345, Library of Congress, Music Division, ML95.M459 (case): “L’attaque des avions du Mikado précipita les événements. Que le Mikado en soit remercié et c’est sa statue que l’on devrait ériger au devant du palais des Nations Unis!” The published version (MVH, 230) omits “et c’est sa statue...” See Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 181–82.

¹⁵⁴ Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944*, 1972 (Reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 340. Hélène Hoppenot recorded her husband’s uncertainty in diary entries of 16 and 21 April 1942 (C-Hoppenot, 213).

all have. My dear friend, what can I tell you? The situation for a Frenchman *living here* is very simple. *Follow America* until the deliverance of France. . . . This has nothing to do with the divergences among the French, which we are always trying to smooth over. All the same, we have occasionally reached a sort of unity. With war relief, for example. Everything is centralized and divided into three parts—prisoners, children . . . Free French. There have been concerts with the consul and the representative of de Gaulle present!

I have never wanted to join a dissident organization, because I reckon that there is only one way to serve de Gaulle—militarily, by going to fight—but if it's just by organizing banquets in San Francisco, *zut!* But one can serve well *at the American level* without getting roped into dissidence. Besides, the Franco-American situation is so complex. Vichy is represented diplomatically. De Gaulle is never recognized, but they deal with Admiral Robert in the West Indies, not with Vichy. The Gaullists are denounced in Saint Pierre and Miquelon, and recognized in the Pacific and in Africa.

The average Frenchman gets lost in this. This is why I prefer to stay outside any “clique,” given that the state of my health does not allow me to consider an active (military!) life. But I was glad to register for the “old man’s draft,” and Madeleine is doing a great deal of work for the American Red Cross. She is an Instructor of First Aid, and she does three courses a week.

But there is a lot to do to maintain French culture; the study of French in colleges and universities has sharply dropped. They learn Spanish. In this respect, Madeleine is doing a lot of work. Relying on a little class on “fluency in French,” she was able to put on a play by Molière (*Le Mariage forcé*) with her classes, which she is doing again in San Francisco these days. She has given a number of lectures and poetry readings (always without pay, naturally).¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Darius Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, 22 May 1942, 214–15: “Je comprends et je sens très vivement tout ce que la situation actuelle a de torturant pour vous. Vous me demandez mon avis, à moi, pauvre épave, accrochée à l’espoir que nous avons tous en Amérique. Mon cher ami, que vous dire? La situation pour un Français *vivant ici* est très simple. *Suivre l’Amérique* jusqu’à la délivrance de la France. . . . Ceci n’a rien à voir avec les divergences des Français, que nous essayons toujours d’atténuer. On est tout de même arrivé à réaliser parfois une espèce d’unité. Par exemple pour les œuvres de guerre. Tout est centralisé et divisé en trois—prisonniers, enfants . . . Free French. On a vu des concerts avec le consulat et le représentant de de Gaulle présents! Je n’ai jamais voulu être inscrit dans une organisation dissidente, car j’estime qu’il n’y a qu’un moyen de servir de Gaulle, c’est militairement et d’aller se battre, mais si c’est pour faire des banquets à San Francisco *zut!* Mais on peut très bien servir *sur le plan américain* sans être “embringué” dans la dissidence. D’ailleurs la situation Franco-Américaine est si complexe. C’est Vichy qui est représenté diplomatiquement. On n’a jamais reconnu de Gaulle, mais on traite avec l’A{miral} Robert aux Antilles et pas avec Vichy. On a désavoué les Gaullistes à St-Pierre-et-Miquelon et on les a reconnus dans le Pacifique et en Afrique. Le Français moyen s’y perd. C’est pourquoi je préfère rester en dehors de toute “clique” étant donné que mon état de santé ne me permet pas d’envisager une vie active (militaire!) Mais j’ai été heureux de m’inscrire au “draft” des vieillards! et Madeleine fait un gros travail pour la Croix-Rouge Américaine. Elle est Instructor de First Aid, et fait trois séries de cours par semaine. Mais il y a beaucoup à faire pour maintenir la culture française, l’étude du français a beaucoup baissé dans les Universités et Colleges. On apprend l’espagnol. A cet égard Madeleine fait un gros travail, s’appuyant sur une petite classe de “fluency in French” elle a pu avec ses classes monter un Molière (*Le Mariage Forcé*) qu’elle redonne à San Francisco ces jours-ci, elle donne de nombreuses conférences et séances de poésies (et toujours sans rémunération bien entendu).” See Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 190. The Fourth Registration, or “old man’s draft,” registered men between the ages of 45 and 64 in April 1942 for potential non-combat national service. Milhaud’s registration card lists his place of birth as “Marseilles (Allied).” Ancestry.com, accessed 3 March 2014.

Unable to fight and unwilling to engage in political dissidence—which, to him, included Gaullist organizations—Milhaud focused his attention on the defense of French culture. The Mills College Maison Française (see chapters 4 and 5) provided an opportunity for the composer and his wife to teach students about French music and literature. Beyond the college campus, Milhaud used his position as a composer to reach a broader audience. As Annegret Fauser has shown, composers exiled from Allied nations had access to modes of musical nationalism not open to those who had left Axis countries.¹⁵⁶ During the war, Milhaud used these strategies both to build up his own reputation as a French composer in the United States and to contribute in his own way to the fight for France.

This approach is already evident in the first piece Milhaud conducted after arriving in New York in the summer of 1940, *Cortège funèbre*. Though he had written the music in 1939 for a film about the Spanish Civil War, the information provided to newspapers across the United States in advance of the New York radio broadcast made no mention of the composition's origin as a film score, instead presenting it only as a reaction to recent events. For example, the *Mason City Globe-Gazette* in Iowa reported: “*Cortège Funèbre*, as indicated on the manuscript from which it will be performed, was begun at Aix-en-Provence, the composer's birthplace, May 10, 1940, and completed the following day. May 10 was the date on which Hitler's invasion of the Low Countries began.”¹⁵⁷ At that time, the film, an adaptation of André Malraux's 1937 novel *L'Espoir*, remained unreleased due to pressures by the Franco regime; reassigning the score to a

¹⁵⁶ Annegret Fauser, “Music for the Allies: Representations of Nationhood in the United States during World War II,” in *Crosscurrents: American and European Music in Interaction, 1900–2000*, ed. Felix Meyer et al. (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2014), 247–58.

¹⁵⁷ “Concert Guest Fled France,” *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, 3 August 1940. Similar reports are found in other newspapers, including the *Harrisburg Telegraph* (“Famed French Composer on Barlow Concert,” 3 August 1940). Milhaud did create the stand-alone version of the piece on 10 May 1940, rewriting a section in the middle that had previously underscored dialogue. For an analysis of the music as it is heard in the film *Espoir*, see Audrée Descheneaux, “Milhaud et le film *Espoir* (1939–1945): Raccords et dissonances,” in *Darius Milhaud: Compositeur et expérimentateur*, ed. Jacinthe Harbec and Marie-Noëlle Lavoie (Paris: J. Vrin, 2014), 241–69.

less controversial political cause enabled it to be heard. In 1942, Milhaud attempted to repurpose another composition, this time for the American war effort. In January 1940, he had been commissioned by the French government to write a short march to accompany radio announcements about purchasing war bonds; two years later, he sent a manuscript copy to Archibald MacLeish, the poet who then served as both Librarian of Congress and assistant director of the Office of War Information, to offer the music to the U.S. government.¹⁵⁸

Milhaud's contribution to the 1942 collection of fanfares commissioned by the conductor Eugene Goossens—of which the most famous is Aaron Copland's *Fanfare for the Common Man*—was titled *Fanfare de la Liberté*. Milhaud's choice of a French-language title, the only one not in English, reflects his position as the only wartime émigré among the eighteen composers who participated.¹⁵⁹ "Liberté" recalls the French motto "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité"—which was replaced by "Travail, Famille, Patrie" ("work, family, fatherland") under Pétain—while also allowing for a more universal interpretation. In *Suite française*, a wind-band composition written several months after the liberation of France, Milhaud used folk melodies from five French provinces, aiming to educate young Americans about "those parts of France where their fathers and brothers fought to defeat the German invaders, who in less than seventy years have brought war, destruction, cruelty, torture, and murder, three times, to the peaceful and democratic people of France."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Darius Milhaud to Archibald MacLeish (photocopy), 10 April 1942, PSS-DM. I have found no evidence that the U.S. government ever used the music.

¹⁵⁹ Two of the other fanfares were dedicated to France: Virgil Thomson contributed a "Fanfare for France," and Walter Piston a "Fanfare for the Fighting French." There were also fanfares for Russia (Deems Taylor), Poland (Harl McDonald), and "the Forces of our Latin-American Allies" (Henry Cowell). Several of the other composers (Bernard Wagenaar, Anis Fuleihan, Felix Borowski, and Goossens himself) were born outside the United States, but had immigrated much earlier.

¹⁶⁰ Darius Milhaud, *Suite française* program notes. Quoted in Fauser, "Music for the Allies," 247.

For Milhaud, defending French culture also meant celebrating continued cultural production in occupied France, a position that was not as politically neutral as he perhaps believed. On the basis of limited—and biased—information from the friends who managed to write to him from France, he understood the persistence of professional musical activity in Paris as a powerful sign of French endurance in the face of oppression rather than the thorny web of accommodation, collaboration, and resistance that scholars such as Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon have since shown it to be.¹⁶¹ In an article printed in the New York-based French newspaper *Pour la Victoire* in February 1942, Milhaud began an overview of opera in Paris between 1939 and 1942 with a description of the activity of the Opéra and Opéra-Comique in the year before the German invasion, concluding with the premiere of his own opera *Médée* in May 1940. He then explained that the two Parisian opera houses had re-opened under the occupation and that they planned to stage works by two of his closest friends: Francis Poulenc’s ballet *Les Animaux modèles* and Henri Sauguet’s opera *La Gageure imprévue*. Of the Poulenc composition, he wrote: “This important work by one of our most sensitive French musicians will be staged at the Paris Opéra and will bring the suffering Parisians the consolation of his tender and lively melodies.”¹⁶²

Milhaud concluded his article: “All the same, it is reassuring to think that despite the despair and distress, despite the cold and hunger, despite the daily tragedies of the occupation, despite the appalling difficulties of material life, the lyric theatres of Paris continue to fulfill their role and envisage the creation of new works to keep French music alive and to assure its

¹⁶¹ Myriam Chimènes, ed., *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (Brussels: Complexe, 2001); Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*; Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon, eds., *La Musique à Paris sous l’Occupation* (Paris: Fayard, 2013).

¹⁶² Darius Milhaud, “L’Opéra de Paris 1939–1942”: “Cet important ouvrage d’un de nos plus sensibles musiciens français sera créé à l’Opéra de Paris et apportera aux Parisiens qui souffrent la consolation de ses mélodies tendres et vives.” On this ballet in the context of the German occupation, see Leslie A. Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 1–37.

continuity.”¹⁶³ At the beginning of the occupation, the Opéra and Opéra-Comique, like a number of theatres in Paris, were placed under Vichy control, albeit with German oversight and censorship. The re-opening of Parisian opera houses and the presentation of new works by French composers became part of the Vichy government’s strategy for opposing the threat of German cultural dominance in France.¹⁶⁴ Milhaud was unaware that German policy in the occupied zone involved permitting and facilitating such activity to create the illusion of normalcy and thereby encourage collaboration. Using the end of Milhaud’s essay to illustrate *Pour la Victoire*’s openness to articles that contradicted Gaullist ideology, historian Colin Nettelbeck notes: “It is not at all likely that de Gaulle would have been comforted by the thought of a flourishing theatrical life in Paris.”¹⁶⁵ For Milhaud, however, the knowledge that his friends were able to continue having new works performed was a source of hope and comfort, and publicizing this activity in the United States was a way for the exiled composer to defend his homeland from afar.

The liberation of Paris in August 1944, and of the rest of France in the ensuing months, cast Milhaud into a new stage of his exile. Four years after arriving in Oakland, returning home was no longer a distant dream, but a concrete possibility. The path ahead was far from straightforward, however. With increasingly impaired health and mobility, he could not rush back to a city in severe economic and material crisis, and the friends who wrote to him after communication with France resumed brought news of tragedy, collaboration, and instability, even as they urged him to return quickly. At the same time, he felt indebted to Mills College for

¹⁶³ Darius Milhaud, “L’Opéra de Paris 1939–1942”: “Il est tout de même réconfortant de penser que malgré le désespoir et la détresse, malgré le froid et la faim, malgré les drames quotidiens de l’occupation, malgré les difficultés effroyables de la vie matérielle, les théâtres lyriques de Paris continuent à mener à bien leur tâche et envisagent la création d’œuvres nouvelles pour maintenir vivante la musique française et en assurer la continuité.”

¹⁶⁴ See Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 5–19.

¹⁶⁵ Nettelbeck, *Forever French*, 83.

providing him with security and a home in exile, and after four years of working to build up his compositional career in the United States, he had formed professional ties that could not be easily broken. As I explore in the next chapter, Milhaud's postwar transatlantic career was a product of the period of uncertainty between 1944 and 1947, in which the personal, musical, and political concerns of the war years continued to shape his decisions as he forged a path out of exile.

CHAPTER TWO: FORGING A NEW PATH (1944–47)

25 August 1944, the final day of the Battle for Paris, saw Darius Milhaud in Stanford Hospital in San Francisco, where he was undergoing an experimental three-week penicillin treatment—a “vacation at ‘Penicillin-Beach,’” as he termed it in a letter to Claire Reis.¹ On that day, he began writing his autobiography, *Notes sans musique*.² He wrote in the preface:

It is August 25, 1944. Paris has just been liberated, foreshadowing the final victory after these four dramatic years, where, in exile, our despair conflicted with the hospitable comfort we found in the United States. After a seven-month illness, I am forced to rest in a San Francisco hospital. I have time to look back upon the half-century I have lived. But this is not a private diary. I will not speak about the painful tragedy that turned my life upside down before finding a happiness of exquisite mellowness in every moment.³

After returning from the hospital, Milhaud wrote to Reis: “We are so full of a mixture of happiness and anxiety with the news of my France. Liberation is also at the price of so many

¹ Darius Milhaud to Claire Reis, [September 1944], New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, League of Composers/ISCM Records, JPB 11-5, Box 6, Folder 66. A military study published later in 1944 indicated that penicillin was likely not an effective treatment for rheumatoid arthritis, though Milhaud did experience temporary relief. Edward W. Boland, Nathan E. Headley, and Philip S. Hench, “The Effect of Penicillin on Rheumatoid Arthritis,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 126, no. 13 (25 November 1944): 820–23.

² It is possible that Milhaud actually began writing on a different day and claimed 25 August for its symbolic resonance; however, I have found no evidence to support such a conclusion. In the manuscript, the preface (signed “D.M., Stanford Hospital, San Francisco, 25 Août 1944) is drafted on the first two pages of the notebook, and the number of deletions and insertions in the text suggests that it was indeed the first draft. On 27 August, the day before leaving the hospital, Milhaud wrote to the Hoppenots: “Don’t laugh: I have started writing my memoirs!” (“Ne riez pas: j’ai commencé à écrire mes mémoires!”) Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, [27 August] 1944, C-Hoppenot, 278. Therefore, if he did not begin writing on 25 August, it could not have been more than one or two days later.

³ Darius Milhaud, *Notes sans musique* manuscript, 2, Library of Congress, Music Division, ML95.M459 (case): “C’est le 25 Août 1944. Paris vient d’être libéré, laissant prévoir la victoire finale après ces quatre années dramatiques, où en exil, notre désespoir s’accordait mal avec le confort hospitalier trouvé aux Etats Unis. Je suis en repos forcé, après une maladie de sept mois, dans un hôpital de San Francisco. J’ai le temps de regarder le demi-siècle que j’ai vécu. Mais ce n’est pas un journal intime. Je ne parlerai point du drame douloureux qui a bouleversé ma vie avant de trouver un bonheur d’une douceur exquise de tous les instants.” The published version of the preface (MVH, 7) is slightly different and does not include the last two sentences of this excerpt, which are crossed out in the manuscript.

destructions—and very soon we will hear about so many bad news from relatives and friends that happened during those 4 years of nightmare during the occupations of the Nazis-Germans-Boches-Pigs and Co.”⁴ Indeed, as he would soon learn, more than twenty members of his and his wife’s extended family were killed in the concentration camps.⁵ Among them were Eric Allatini (a cousin on Darius’s mother’s side) and his wife, H  l  ne Kann, who both spent the first two years of the occupation engaged in Resistance activity in Paris. In October 1942, the Gestapo found them in the process of making false identity papers for a group of refugees; after first being sent to separate prisons, they were reunited at the Drancy internment camp north of Paris, where they were held before being sent to Auschwitz.⁶ Jean Milhaud, the seventeen-year-old son of Madeleine’s older brother Etienne, was arrested in Domfront on the way to his baccalaureate exam and deported from Drancy to Auschwitz in October 1943.⁷ Etienne, his wife, and their younger son were later arrested as well, but they narrowly escaped deportation and spent the next year in hiding.⁸ Darius Milhaud’s professional networks were also fractured: Raymond Deiss, one of his primary publishers, was executed in a German prison for using his printing equipment to publish a Resistance newsletter. The Milhauds also learned of other family members who had survived, as Darius recounted to Alexandre Tansman:

Yesterday, we received some news through an American soldier in Aix. He wrote to his brother here that he went to the synagogue for Yom Kippur and that he was invited afterwards to have dinner with a family where everyone spoke English: my mother-in-

⁴ Darius Milhaud to Claire Reis, [September 1944], New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, League of Composers/ISCM Records, JPB 11-5, Box 6, Folder 66.

⁵ MVH, 234.

⁶ Robert de Mackiels, “  ric et H  l  ne Allatini,” in *Anthologie des   crivains morts    la guerre 1939–1945* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1960), 7–10.

⁷ Serge Klarsfeld, *French Children of the Holocaust: A Memorial*, ed. and trans. Howard M. Epstein (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 1030. Darius and Madeleine knew by April 1944 that Jean Milhaud had been deported; see Darius Milhaud to H  l  ne Hoppenot, April 1944, C-Hoppenot, 266.

⁸ Darius Milhaud to Henri and H  l  ne Hoppenot, 4 January 1945, C-Hoppenot, 285.

law, my aunt, my cousins. So we know that they were able to leave their hiding place in the mountains and return to Aix.⁹

Even after Paris and other regions of France were liberated, the ongoing war made the transmission of news across the Atlantic difficult. The censors were strict, and letters could still take months to reach their destinations, if they arrived at all. For Milhaud and others on the West Coast, the distance from New York and Washington posed an additional barrier. When possible, Milhaud and his friends in Europe sent letters, musical scores, and other material through diplomat friends such as Pierre and Henri Claudel, bypassing the censors and increasing the likelihood that everything would eventually arrive. Through these channels, Milhaud wrote long letters to Francis Poulenc, Paul Collaer, and others, summarizing his activities of the past four years. Collaer, having resumed his radio work in Brussels as soon as that city was liberated in September 1944, invited Milhaud, Hindemith, Stravinsky, and Bartók to record spoken messages that would be aired on Belgian radio during a concert of their works. Hindemith chose not to participate, perhaps feeling that a message from a German would be unwelcome, but the other three composers did. In this way, European listeners had an opportunity to hear Milhaud's voice three years before his actual return.¹⁰ As requested by Collaer, the three composers provided summaries of their compositional activity during the war, with Milhaud's the longest by far. In

⁹ Darius Milhaud to Alexandre Tansman, [1944], PSS-DM: "Nous avons eu hier des nouvelles par un soldat américain qui est à Aix. Il a écrit à son frère ici qu'il était allé à la synagogue pour Kippour et qu'il avait été invité après à dîner chez une famille où tout le monde parlait anglais: ma belle mère, ma tante, mes cousins. Nous savons donc qu'ils ont pu quitter leur cachette dans les montagnes et retourner à Aix." Yom Kippur was on 26–27 September in 1944. Aix-en-Provence was liberated in late August as part of Operation Dragoon.

¹⁰ C-Collaer, 49. What Alexander Stalarow terms "the transatlantic travel of sound" also operated in the other direction through Pierre Schaeffer's 1945 tour of the United States, in which audiences and individuals across the country heard recorded music, poetry, and radio broadcasts from liberated Paris. Alexander Stalarow, "Franco-American Exchange in Pierre Schaeffer's Radio Art and *Musique concrète*" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for American Music, Boston, MA, 10 March 2016). On this tour, Schaeffer spent time at Mills College with the Milhauds in May 1945 and played them music by Francis Poulenc, Olivier Messiaen, Serge Nigg, and Roland-Manuel; an interview with Paul Claudel; François Mauriac reading an article he had written for *Le Figaro*; poems by Charles Péguy recorded in a church; and other records. Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, [May 1945], PSS-DM.

addition, Bartók offered praise for the resilience of the Belgian people, while Stravinsky expressed astonishment that Collaer reached out to him in this way when it was those in exile who hungered for news from Europe.¹¹ In a personal note to Collaer attached to the description of his work in the United States, Milhaud wrote: “Since the liberation of France, I no longer have the feeling of exile. It is something else. It is no longer this incessant mental anguish, but an immense hope, life returning to one’s very being.”¹²

While the liberation and the end of the war transformed his sense of being in exile, Milhaud knew that he would have to wait before returning to France. After being severely ill for most of 1944—which forced him to skip his yearly visit to New York—he did not know if he would ever regain the ability to walk. In post-occupation Paris, food and fuel were scarce, and as he would have been physically unable to use the overcrowded Métro, the family would need both a car and sufficient fuel. Writing to Tansman, who was planning his own return to Paris, Milhaud described the situation and said: “All of that is impossible for me. And that upsets me, because I was offered the composition class at the Conservatoire and had to refuse. And that is the one thing in the world I would most have loved to do.”¹³ Claude Delvincourt, the director of the Conservatoire, had written to Milhaud in 1945 to ask him to succeed Henri Büsser as professor of composition.¹⁴ Büsser, who had to step down as director of the Opéra-Comique when he was mistakenly listed in the first edition of the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, had written an article

¹¹ Béla Bartók to Paul Collaer, 24 October 1944, and Igor Stravinsky to Paul Collaer, 14 November 1944, C-Collaer, 373–76.

¹² Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, November 1944, C-Collaer, 378: “Depuis que la France est délivrée je n’ai plus le sentiment de l’exil. C’est autre chose. Ce n’est plus cette souffrance morale de toutes les minutes, c’est un vaste espoir, la vie qui revient dans l’essence même de l’être.”

¹³ Darius Milhaud to Alexandre Tansman, [1945], PSS-DM: “Tout cela est impossible pour moi. Et cela me navre car on m’a proposé la classe de composition au Conservatoire et j’ai dû refuser. Et c’est la chose au monde que j’aurais aimé faire.”

¹⁴ See MVH, 243; Peter Hill and Nigel Simeone, *Messiaen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 159–60. The letter from Delvincourt to Milhaud does not survive.

in October 1940 for *La Gerbe*, an aggressively collaborationist newspaper, in which he referred to Les Six as the “Cinq jeunes”; Yannick Simon writes that he did so “certainly with the ambition of crossing off Darius Milhaud’s name from the French musical landscape.”¹⁵

Further complicating the Milhauds’ plans to return was the knowledge that their homes in both Paris and Aix-en-Provence had been looted by the Nazis. Herbert Gerigk, co-author of the *Lexikon* and head of the Sonderstab Musik—the music division of the Nazi task force in charge of confiscating cultural property in occupied regions—targeted their Paris apartment in the first months of the occupation.¹⁶ Gerigk and his associates first entered the apartment at 10 Boulevard de Clichy in the fall of 1940, and on 2 November, he produced the following report:

The Jew Darius Milhaud is regarded today as the most notable contemporary French composer, and he is also claimed by world Jewry as a representative of Jewish cultural activity. At the beginning of 1940, the Paris Grand Opera even gave the world premiere of a new work by Milhaud in a festive atmosphere.

The search of his apartment and the seizure of materials important to us were essential for ideological and professional reasons. Milhaud has fled; the building manager could not confirm residence, so his possessions were deemed unclaimed Jewish property. We found a very carefully arranged collection of exotic records from all over the world. This collection was taken away for the Hohe Schule. Furthermore, a large number of Milhaud’s manuscripts were seized, and Jewish literature, Jewish and atonal music, and numerous collections of folk songs from around the world were taken from his private library. Correspondence was almost nonexistent.

The apartment was in a very neglected state, and we found out from the building manager that Milhaud had resided mainly at a country estate in the unoccupied zone, where the correspondence with German individuals that we consider so important can probably be found.¹⁷

¹⁵ Yannick Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 35–36: “dans un article intitulé ‘L’avenir de la jeune musique’ et publié dans le quotidien collaborationniste *La Gerbe*, Henri Busser rebaptise le groupe des Six ‘groupement des Cinq jeunes’ certainement avec l’ambition de rayer le nom de Darius Milhaud du paysage musical français.” From other letters, it seems that Milhaud disliked Büsser for being too conservative musically, but it is unclear whether he was aware of the older composer’s collaborationist writings.

¹⁶ See Willem de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

¹⁷ Herbert Gerigk, 2 November 1940, <http://www.ebay.fr/itm/Dokument-SONDESTAB-MUSIK-Plunderung-von-judisches-Besitztum-Darius-Milhaud-1940-/111233331841?pt=Militaria&hash=item19e605f281> (accessed 9 December 2013): “Der Jude Darius Milhaud gilt heute als der namhafteste zeitgenössische französische Komponist, und er wird gleichzeitig vom Weltjudentum als ein Repräsentant jüdischen Kulturschaffens in Anspruch genommen. Die Pariser grosse Oper brachte noch Anfang 1940 die Uraufführung eines neuen Werkes von Milhaud in festlichem Rahmen heraus. Die Durchsuchung seiner Wohnung und die Sicherstellung des für uns wichtigen Materials war aus

The Milhauds were notified of the raid by Henri Sauguet, who informed them that Gerigk had been accompanied to the apartment by Jacques Benoist-Méchin, a high-ranking Vichy official who—before his turn to fascism in the 1930s—had once been friends with Milhaud as part of the circle of young composers around Erik Satie. Sauguet also reported that the Nazis had left a copy of the score of Richard Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde* on the piano.¹⁸

In October 1944, the conductor Roger Désormière wrote Milhaud a letter—spread across two densely-filled postcards stamped “Examined by U.S. Censorship”—detailing what had happened to the apartment. In addition to the Nazi break-in of 1940, there were two burglaries in 1942 and 1943; then, in early 1944, “the Germans requisitioned the apartment, then completely emptied it.”¹⁹ Before that, however, Désormière organized a group of Milhaud’s friends to take away and store as much as they could without attracting attention or causing trouble for the building’s manager. Honegger and Sauguet held Milhaud’s papers and music, while Désormière—who also paid the rent for the apartment throughout the occupation—stored the piano.²⁰ Additionally, a number of Milhaud’s manuscripts were already with his brother-in-law in Domfront, where he had sent them before leaving France.

weltanschaulichen und fachlichen Gründen unbedingt erforderlich. Milhaud ist geflüchtet; ein Aufenthalt konnte vom Hausverwalter nicht angegeben werden, und sein Besitz war demnach als herrenloses jüdisches Gut anzusehen. Wir fanden eine besonders sorgfältig angelegte Sammlung exotischer Schallplatten als allen Teilen der Erde vor. Diese Sammlung wurde für die Hohe Schule abtransportiert. Ferner wurden zahlreiche Manuskripte Milhauds beschlagnahmt und aus seiner Privatbibliothek das jüdische Schrifttum, jüdische und atonale Musik, sowie zahlreiche Volksliedersammlungen aus aller Welt entnommen. Korrespondenz war fast gar nicht vorhanden. Die Wohnung befand sich in einem sehr verkommenen Zustand, und vom Hausmeister erfuhren wir, dass Milhaud sich in der Hauptsache auf einem Landsitz im unbesetzten Gebiet aufgehalten hat, wo wahrscheinlich auch die für uns besonders wichtigen Briefwechsel mit deutschen Persönlichkeiten zu finden sein werden.” The typed document bears Gerigk’s signature.

¹⁸ The letter from Sauguet does not survive, but Hélène Hoppenot described it in a diary entry of 16 August 1943, C-Hoppenot, 244. Other sources identify the object left on the piano as the score of *Parsifal*—Armand Lunel, *Mon ami Darius Milhaud*, ed. Georges Jessula (Paris: Edisud, 1992), 96—or a portrait of Wagner (CWMM, 71).

¹⁹ Roger Désormière to Darius Milhaud, 23 October 1944, PSS-DM: “Au début de 44, les allemands ont réquisitionné l’ap. puis ils l’ont entièrement vidé.”

²⁰ MVH, 240.

Désormière and his friends took these actions during the occupation with the conviction that Darius and Madeleine Milhaud would someday return to a liberated Paris, and indeed, the couple never seriously considered remaining in the United States permanently if going back would become an option. The decision to return—which rested on the hope that there was something worthwhile to return to—aligned the Milhauds with larger trends in postwar remigration. Whereas many German Jewish exiles saw Germany as permanently compromised and did not view remigration as a viable prospect, most of their French counterparts had sustained a belief in a true France that would re-emerge after the shadow of occupation had lifted.²¹ The Milhauds, who spent the war years working to promote and celebrate French culture in the United States, certainly shared this belief, and the letters Darius Milhaud received from his friends in France after the liberation repeatedly called on him to aid in rebuilding the musical life of his homeland.

Milhaud knew, however, that remigration carried personal and professional risks, and he had also developed important connections in the United States. The Mills College campus was significantly more wheelchair-accessible than Paris, and the college had served as an indispensable support network in a time of crisis. There was no guarantee that he would be fully welcome in his former artistic circles; his wartime faith in the heroism of French musicians clashed with the reality that a number of his friends and associates had made compromises with the occupying powers. His efforts to reestablish himself as a composer in the United States had been fruitful, and by 1947, his connections in the American music business likely seemed more secure than the uncertain situation that awaited him in France.²² Milhaud's solution was neither

²¹ Emmanuelle Loyer, *Paris à New York: Intellectuels et artistes français en exil (1940–1947)* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 2005), 339–45.

²² Professional security was a concern for returning French exiles in other fields as well; see Loyer, *Paris à New York*, 348–49.

continued exile nor a definitive remigration, but rather a path of his own devising that enabled him to maintain an active professional life in both countries.

To establish an additional layer of context for Milhaud's decision, I begin this chapter with an overview of his professional activity in the United States, tracing the development of his relationship to the American music business across the seven years of his exile. The rest of the chapter focuses on the period between the liberation of Paris in the summer of 1944 and the Milhaud family's initial return to France three years later. During this time, Milhaud once again had to contend with political divisions, this time among those who had remained in France during the occupation. Taking the commonly held view that those who had not lived through the occupation were not qualified to accuse others of collaboration, he approached the issue with caution, especially in the case of his friend Arthur Honegger. He also began the process of preparing to return to France, while also planning to continue his work in the United States. In advance of his arrival, his music—which had been banned under the occupation—returned to French concert programs and radio broadcasts through the efforts of his friends. I conclude the chapter with the Milhaud family's return to France in 1947, situating their experience within the broader pattern of returning displaced Jews. Facing a transformed musical landscape, serious personal losses, and his own health challenges, Milhaud began to build the transatlantic career that would sustain him through the next two decades.

American Connections

When he left France in June 1940, Milhaud was forty-seven years old and had a catalog of just over two hundred works; an experienced composer, he was also skilled at the business aspects of making music, as Louis Epstein has shown.²³ Yet exile presented a new series of professional challenges, as Milhaud recalled in *Notes sans musique*: “It was only on board the ship, after the shock of tearing away, that I realized I was starting a new phase of my existence. I would find few of my orchestral scores in the United States. ... I would have to get back to work in order to satisfy any requests of concert societies.”²⁴ While he carried the manuscripts of a few recent works, most were stored with his brother-in-law in Normandy. Until the end of the German occupation, not only would he be unable to access these manuscripts, but it would also be impossible to communicate with, or get materials from, his French publishers.

Almost immediately after arriving in New York, Milhaud began to develop new contacts that would lead to commissions and performances. However, not every opportunity went as planned. His first commission came through a meeting with Alexander Smallens, who had recently conducted the orchestra for Ballet Theatre’s *Black Ritual*, Agnes de Mille’s adaptation of Milhaud’s *La Création du monde*.²⁵ Smallens expressed interest in getting Milhaud to write an original score for the company, and after further meetings with Ballet Theatre’s management, Milhaud left New York with a commission to write the music for a ballet on the life of Moses, titled *The Man From Midian*. He completed the score on schedule, but the company’s financial

²³ Louis K. Epstein, “Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918–1939” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013), 260–331.

²⁴ MVH, 220: “C’est seulement à bord, après le choc éprouvé par l’arrachement, que je réalisai que je commençais une nouvelle phase de mon existence. J’allais trouver peu de matériels d’orchestre aux Etats-Unis. ... Il fallait donc que je me remette au travail afin d’alimenter les demandes éventuelles de sociétés de concerts.”

²⁵ Erin K. Maher, “Ballet, Race, and Agnes de Mille’s *Black Ritual*,” *The Musical Quarterly* 97, no. 3 (2014): 390–428.

and organizational problems eventually derailed the project completely. The ballet was originally scheduled for performance that fall, but it was delayed, as was every attempt to stage it in 1941. When the choreographer, Eugene Loring, left to start his own company at the end of that year, he took the scenario with him, but when he produced it with Dance Players in 1942, he used a new score by Stefan Wolpe. Milhaud was never notified of this, and only learned about it when he read a review of Loring's performance. He wrote to Virgil Thomson: "No one said anything to me, asked me anything. Strange customs. Is this common? I understand that there must have been a spat between Ballet Theatre and Dance Players, but can they use a title that has been announced for a year and a half with music by poor Milhaud?"²⁶ To make matters worse, Ballet Theatre lost the manuscript copy of the score that Milhaud had sent them, returning it with an apologetic note five years later.²⁷ When his original agreement with the ballet company broke down, the composer, who had always been in the habit of creating concert works from his scores for the stage or for film, revised the score for concert performance and gave it the title *Opus Americanum, no. 2*, as it was the second composition he completed in the United States. Under that title, the work had its premiere in December 1943 with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra conducted by Pierre Monteux, one of Milhaud's few prominent musical contacts in the Bay Area at that time. This performance was originally planned for a concert earlier in 1943, but it was postponed due to complaints about the amount of modern music on the orchestra's programs.²⁸

²⁶ Darius Milhaud to Virgil Thomson, 1 May 1942, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Virgil Thomson Papers, MSS 29, Box 67, Folder 10: "Personne ne m'a rien dit, rien demandé. Drôle de mœurs. Est-ce que c'est courant? Je comprends qu'il y a dû y avoir du grabuge entre Ballet Theatre et Dance Players, mais peut-on disposer d'un titre qui a été annoncé pendant un an et demi avec musique du pauvre Milhaud?"

²⁷ Faye Clark to Darius Milhaud, 30 July 1946, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, American Ballet Theatre Records, (S) *MGZMD 49, Folder 978.

²⁸ John Canarina, *Pierre Monteux* (Pompton Plains, NJ: Amadeus Press, 2003), 146–47.

Because Milhaud did not know many Bay Area musicians before moving to Oakland and perceived the region's musical activity as limited, working with conductors and making orchestral concert appearances in the early exile years usually meant traveling outside California. He became much more involved with the musical life of the San Francisco Bay Area as it developed over the next thirty years, but at first, his concerts at home were mainly smaller affairs, while he secured performances for his orchestral music through his existing connections to orchestras in New York, Boston, and Chicago.²⁹ He traveled to Chicago in October 1940 to conduct the premiere of his First Symphony, and the city's position on the train route from Oakland to New York allowed him to continue making concert appearances there in the years to come. Serge Koussevitzky, the director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, commissioned and premiered Milhaud's Second and Sixth Symphonies (1942 and 1946), and the orchestra also performed several of his other works, although the composer made more requests for performances than could be accommodated. Notably, a December 1940 concert included Milhaud's *Cortège funèbre*, *Fantaisie pastorale* (with the Iowa-born pianist Stell Andersen, who had given the premiere in Paris in February 1939), and *Suite provençale*, all conducted by Milhaud. This performance occurred during the first of his annual winter visits to the East Coast, a practice he gave up during the post-exile years.³⁰ This first trip east in December 1940 also included private receptions in Boston and New York hosted by the influential patron Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, a lecture-recital on music and poetry by Darius and Madeleine Milhaud at the Alliance Française in New York, and a League of Composers chamber-music concert in the auditorium of the Museum of Modern Art. While his appearance with the Boston Symphony

²⁹ In the 1950s and 1960s, Milhaud's professional ties to New York weakened significantly, whereas his relationship to the musical life of the San Francisco Bay Area only grew. See chapter 6.

³⁰ On the social aspect of these visits, see chapter 1.

Orchestra increased his visibility as a composer and conductor with the broader concert-going public, these other events took place within the more circumscribed networks of those who created and supported modern music.

In the concert realm, Milhaud had the support of multiple interconnected networks of conductors, performers, patrons, and managers. He had worked with many of these people before, and he was already somewhat familiar with the procedures and expectations from his earlier concert tours. Dealing with American publishers, however, was new territory for him, made both more complicated and more necessary by not having access to most of his older scores or the ability to communicate with his publishers in France. Milhaud had always worked with multiple publishers in Europe, choosing where to send a given work based on market considerations and each company's individual profile, which set him apart from his contemporaries who primarily or exclusively used a single publisher.³¹ Arnold Schoenberg, for instance, was one of a number of European modernists who had a sustained relationship with the Viennese publisher Universal Edition before exile, but his works after 1934 were divided among eight different companies.³² Béla Bartók negotiated an exclusive contract with the British publisher Boosey & Hawkes after Universal Edition was taken over by the Nazis in 1938, but he was an exception. Milhaud's pre-war experience may have made it easier for him to enter into new business relationships with U.S. publishers and to engage with several companies simultaneously, but he still faced challenges; while conducting business in English for the first time, he had to learn what American publishers expected in their dealings with composers.

³¹ Epstein, "Toward a Theory of Patronage," 260–331.

³² Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 184–200. Universal Edition published a significant amount of Milhaud's pre-war music as well, primarily stage works.

In a few instances, Milhaud was able to publish existing works that had not yet been printed in France, if he had brought the manuscript with him or otherwise had access to the material. Another exception was made possible by Raymond Deiss, who had been one of Milhaud's main Parisian publishers. Shortly before his arrest in October 1941, Deiss wrote to Milhaud's mother, who was still living in Aix-en-Provence, telling her that Milhaud had his permission to do whatever he wanted with the works his company had published.³³ Milhaud took this opportunity to capitalize further on a piece that was already available and well known in the United States, his two-piano suite *Scaramouche*. He had the piece reprinted in the U.S., and also brought out two new arrangements: a version for saxophone and orchestra, which had been performed on the radio in Paris but never published, and a clarinet transcription made at the request of Benny Goodman.³⁴

Whether a result of exclusive agreements with performers or of a lack of interest among publishers, most of the significant works of Milhaud's first years of exile remained unpublished until after the war, when some came out in the United States and others in France. But during this time, he began to work with U.S. publishers by writing small-scale pieces specifically for publication, responding to the particular needs of the American sheet-music market. For example, several publishers invited him to contribute to their ongoing series of music by modern composers. For Carl Fischer's "Masters of Our Day Educational Series," which included contributions from a number of modern composers, mostly from the Americas, he wrote a pair of

³³ Raymond Deiss to Sophie Milhaud, 3 September 1941, PSS-DM. See MVH, 222.

³⁴ Goodman also commissioned Milhaud to write a clarinet concerto, but despite saying in an interview that he liked the piece, he never performed it. Having his name attached to the piece may have helped it get published, however—unlike most of Milhaud's larger works from this period, the clarinet concerto appeared in piano reduction within a year of its composition, with "dedicated to Benny Goodman" in a prominent place on the cover.

short piano pieces for children, one using only the white keys and one only the black keys.³⁵

Then, at the invitation of William Strickland, he wrote a piece for the H. W. Gray Company's "Contemporary Organ Series," joining such composers as Aaron Copland, Arnold Schoenberg, Roger Sessions, and Walter Piston.³⁶

Following the commercial success of Igor Stravinsky's *Tango* in 1941, Leonard Feist of the Mercury Music Corporation approached Milhaud to write something similar, a short work with popular appeal that could be brought out in multiple arrangements to target different parts of the music market. Milhaud was initially skeptical of the request, writing back: "I have never in my life submit a work to an editor who asks me a definite piece. If you keep the right to refuse my piece after I have written it, I prefer not to try! If I write this work it is at your request and I must be sure that you will publish it."³⁷ Despite these reservations, he accepted the commission and agreed to write a set of four short pieces—titled *Four Sketches*—in versions for piano, orchestra, and potentially other arrangements. Milhaud worked quickly, as he usually did, and sent each one to Leonard Feist as he completed it, both to show that he was making progress and to get the publisher's approval before moving on. After sending the third piece and promising the fourth "very soon," he wrote to Feist: "You see that I execute my contract in a rather short time. I hope our relations on this field will continue."³⁸

Once Milhaud had established a professional relationship with Mercury, he began to ask them to consider some of his other works, but these requests were unsuccessful more often than not, and the company only published a few more of his compositions. However, Milhaud's

³⁵ The editors of this series were Lazare Saminsky and Isadore Freed, two composers highly active in Jewish music (see chapter 3).

³⁶ On Schoenberg's contribution, which encountered significant difficulties in the six-year publication process, see Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*, 191–92.

³⁷ Darius Milhaud to Leonard Feist, [1941], ML95.ML459, Music Division, Library of Congress.

³⁸ Darius Milhaud to Leonard Feist, 7 October 1941, ML95.ML459, Music Division, Library of Congress.

efforts in his first two years in the United States had given him the connections and the confidence to move on to more ambitious projects, the largest of which was an opera on the life of Simón Bolívar, which Milhaud hoped the Metropolitan Opera would perform. He enlisted the support of many of the individuals and groups he had come to know in the United States, even using his well-connected contacts to bring the project to the attention of prominent political figures such as Fiorello LaGuardia and Nelson Rockefeller. But even with the combined efforts of these patrons and musical networks, Milhaud could not overcome the difficulties of producing a new opera in wartime, and in the end, *Bolivar* had its premiere not in New York, but in Paris, seven years after its completion.³⁹

In the end, the failure to secure a U.S. premiere for *Bolivar* was one of only a few major professional disappointments in the period of Milhaud's exile, which otherwise saw him adapt successfully to a new musical environment. Even in the case of *Bolivar*, he did get some of his music published and heard; continuing his longstanding practice of extracting short, marketable pieces from his theatrical works, he arranged a suite of dances from the opera, titled *La Libertadora*, in versions for both one and two pianos. This arrangement not only gave Milhaud a way to make use of his score while it languished in bureaucratic limbo, but also reinforced his image as a composer with a particular connection to Latin America; after the premiere in New York by pianist Maxim Schapiro on 9 November 1945, Virgil Thomson deemed it "more convincingly Brazilian in language" than a composition by Heitor Villa-Lobos on the same program.⁴⁰ At this time, six months after the German surrender that ended World War II in Europe, Milhaud was engaged in several new projects, including two marches for the Goldman

³⁹ Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 193–95.

⁴⁰ Virgil Thomson, "Perfect Host," *New York Herald Tribune*, 10 November 1945, in Virgil Thomson, *Music Chronicles 1940–1954*, ed. Tim Page (New York: Library of America, 2014), 353.

Band to commemorate the end of the war, plans for a recording session with the New York Philharmonic, and a ballet score (*The Bells*) for the choreographer Ruth Page (which, unlike *The Man From Midian*, was performed multiple times). Even as he moved toward returning to France and began to receive commissions from French institutions once again, he continued to direct a substantial amount of his musical activity toward the United States.

Politics After the Liberation

In early January 1945, Francis Poulenc sent Milhaud a long letter from London, where he was giving concerts with the singer Pierre Bernac. The primary purpose of the letter was to provide Milhaud with a list of Poulenc's recent compositions and those of their mutual friends, but—in a passage that would be redacted from the first published volume of his correspondence in 1967—he also commented defensively on the wartime behavior of various French musicians.⁴¹ He praised Claude Delvincourt's Resistance activities and assured Milhaud that most musicians had not been collaborators, but in the list of exceptions that followed, he attempted to downplay the seriousness of each person's transgressions. "Only Arthur [Honegger] was a bit weak," Poulenc wrote, "but just a little, and if he had quite naturally presented himself as a Swiss musician for a long time, the issue would be very simple." Of Marcel Delannoy, a member of the Groupe Collaboration, he wrote: "Poor Delannoy was an ass, as usual, but his heavy family obligations excuse him in my eyes."⁴² Myriam Chimènes's 1994 edition of Poulenc's correspondence reinstates most of this paragraph, but still omits his complaint that the pianist Marcelle Meyer

⁴¹ The edited letter appears in Francis Poulenc, *Correspondance 1915–1963*, ed. Hélène de Wendel (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1967), 155–57. This passage is also omitted in Francis Poulenc, "*Echo and Source*": *Selected Correspondence 1915–1963*, trans. and ed. Sidney Buckland (London: Gollancz, 1991), 146–48.

⁴² Francis Poulenc to Darius Milhaud, 3 January 1945, C-Poulenc, 577: "Seul Arthur a été un peu faible, mais très peu et si, depuis longtemps, il s'était tout naturellement posé en musicien suisse, la question serait très simple. Le pauvre Delannoy a été cul, comme toujours, mais ses lourdes charges de famille l'excusent à mes yeux." On Marcel Delannoy and the Groupe Collaboration, see Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 183.

was being ostracized, her Italian husband “having made a fortune from the Jewish sequestration and being in the Italian Gestapo! That’s all! It’s sad, because she was playing better than ever.”⁴³

After receiving the letter in mid-February, Milhaud had typed copies made and sent them to a number of his fellow exiles. On Tansman’s copy, he added a handwritten note commenting on Poulenc’s leniency: “Dear Sacha, I think that this will interest you. What strikes me is the immense *indulgence*.”⁴⁴ Tansman later recalled his—and others’—displeasure with Poulenc’s forgiving attitude toward those whose actions had been questionable:

Milhaud received a long letter from Poulenc, giving him all of the details about each of the musicians in Paris. Not being particularly intelligent, Poulenc had furnished all of these examples of cowardice with comments giving excuses or indulgence: this one had collaborated out of stupidity, the other to earn money, another out of opportunism, etc., etc. But he seemed to find it completely natural that some had profited from their cowardice while others risked their lives with the Resistance for their country. Milhaud made a number of copies of this letter and passed it on to all of his French friends in the United States. Everyone was nauseated by it, except for a few reactionaries or antisemites who, among others, found it perfectly agreeable to profit from the property seized from the Jews and to do lucrative business with the Germans.⁴⁵

At a time when personal news from Paris came slowly, any information was worth passing on, and Poulenc’s letter also provided a summary of his recent compositional activity and that of his peers. But by forwarding Poulenc’s excuses along with these innocuous details, Milhaud gave

⁴³ “. . . son ignoble mari ayant fait une fortune sur les séquestres juifs et étant de la Gestapo italienne! rien que cela! C’est triste, car elle jouait mieux que jamais.” This line was redacted from C-Poulenc, but appears in the original handwritten letter (PSS-DM) and in the typed copy sent to Alexandre Tansman. A facsimile of Tansman’s copy appears in Alexandre Tansman, *Une Voie lyrique dans un siècle bouleversé*, ed. Mireille Tansman-Zanuttini (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2005), n.p. (after p. 384).

⁴⁴ Ibid.: “Cher Sacha, Je pense que cela vous intéressera. Ce qui me touche c’est l’immense *indulgence*.” I have not seen any of the other copies of this letter, so I do not know whether Milhaud sent personal notes to any of the other recipients.

⁴⁵ Alexandre Tansman, *Regards en arrière: Itinéraire d’un musicien cosmopolite au XX^e siècle*, ed. Cédric Segond-Genovesi (Château-Gontier: Aedam Musicae, 2013), 347–48: “Milhaud reçut une longue lettre de Poulenc, lui donnant tous les détails sur chacun des musiciens à Paris. N’étant pas d’une intelligence suprême, Poulenc avait muni toutes ces lâchetés de commentaires d’excuses ou de complaisance: celui-là avait collaboré par bêtise, l’autre pour gagner de l’argent, un autre, rapin, par opportunisme, etc., etc. Mais il avait l’air de trouver tout naturel que les uns aient profité de leur lâcheté tandis que d’autres risquaient leur vie au maquis pour leur pays. Milhaud fit plusieurs copies de cette lettre et la communiqua à tous les amis français aux États-Unis. Tout le monde en fut écœuré, sauf quelques réactionnaires ou antisémites qui, entre autres, trouvaient bien agréable de s’enrichir des biens saisis chez les israélites et de faire des affaires en or avec les Allemands.”

his exiled compatriots an opportunity to begin to gauge the political complexities that those who intended to return would soon encounter.

By the time Milhaud received Poulenc's letter, the issue of collaboration—and of who had the right to define, identify, and punish it—was already a topic of active discussion among Europeans in U.S. exile, including musicians. In November 1944, a symposium titled “On Artists and Collaboration” appeared in *Modern Music*. According to the magazine's editor, Minna Lederman, the symposium “won more celebrity for *Modern Music* than any other in its history.” Arnold Schoenberg, Ernst Krenek, Vittorio Rieti, Bohuslav Martinů, and Milhaud each contributed a short essay addressing the question of what should be done with musicians and other artists who had collaborated with the Nazis. Lederman later explained that the composers were chosen because, “being refugees themselves,” they would presumably “prove less simplistic in their judgments than most of us who were removed from the scene of danger by birth and distance.”⁴⁶

All five composers agreed that they—and other Europeans in the United States—were not in a position to determine who had crossed the line into true collaboration. As Milhaud put it:

Being so far away we can have nothing to say about all that. The people who have suffered and fought in the Underground and who have been cold and hungry, who have helped the persecuted and risked their lives at any time are the only ones who can act and have the right to do so. Let them mete out justice. They will certainly know who is a real collaborator, I mean a Nazi-minded person, and will make a sharp distinction between him and those who have had to bear pressure and continue to work to be able to live. And what can we know here? So often I have heard: “This one went to Germany, he is a Nazi.” Do you know if he has not been there for the Underground?⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Minna Lederman, *The Life and Death of a Small Magazine (Modern Music, 1924–1946)* (Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music, Conservatory of Music, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, 1983), 159.

⁴⁷ Darius Milhaud, “Music and Politics,” *Modern Music* 22, no. 1 (November–December 1944): 5. All five essays were likely written in the composers' native languages and professionally translated into English.

Rieti, for his part, wrote: “We here lack the means to discriminate between opportunism, good faith, weakness, betrayal, dignity, in every individual case. Moreover, were we in full possession of the facts, we would still be in ignorance of what would have been our own attitude in the same case.”⁴⁸ Krenek and Martinů did not state this belief outright, but it is implied through their attempts to outline the ethical dilemmas facing artists without definitively condemning particular actions.⁴⁹ Schoenberg, drawing a distinction between forced and voluntary collaboration, wrote that “only those should be authorized to blame the forced collaborator who have themselves proved fearless before the menace of the concentration camp and of torture.”⁵⁰ In the case of those who had officially been charged with collaboration, Milhaud, echoing the title of Martinů’s essay (“Artists are Citizens”), wrote: “I don’t see why artists should not be treated as ordinary citizens. Jacques Benoist-Méchin is a composer who has written a few works in which you may find a certain gift. He was a minister in the Laval cabinet. Now he is arrested, accused as a traitor, a German spy. I hope he will be shot.”⁵¹ In this, he disagreed with Schoenberg, who concluded by writing: “considering the low mental and moral standard of artists in general, I would say: Treat them like immature children. Call them fools and let them escape.”⁵²

Left unstated in Milhaud’s *Modern Music* essay, but certainly a significant factor in his thinking on these issues, is the fact that Arthur Honegger, one of Milhaud’s closest friends and colleagues before the war, was among the composers accused of collaboration. To a certain

⁴⁸ Vittorio Rieti, “No Judgment by Proxy,” *Modern Music* 22, no. 1 (November–December 1944): 9.

⁴⁹ Ernst Krenek, “The Appeal to Conscience,” *Modern Music* 22, no. 1 (November–December 1944): 6–9; Bohuslav Martinů, “Artists are Citizens,” *Modern Music* 22, no. 1 (November–December 1944): 10–11.

⁵⁰ Arnold Schoenberg, “A Dangerous Game,” *Modern Music* 22, no. 1 (November–December 1944): 3–4.

⁵¹ Darius Milhaud, “Music and Politics,” 5. As discussed above, Benoist-Méchin was a former friend of Milhaud’s who had participated in the Nazi raid of 10 Boulevard de Clichy. He was sentenced to death following his trial in 1947, but the sentence was commuted, and he spent just seven years in prison, after which he resumed his career as a journalist and historian.

⁵² Schoenberg, “A Dangerous Game,” 5.

extent, Honegger's wartime activities were unexceptional in context: like most of the composers who remained in Paris during the occupation, he continued writing music and working as a critic. But some of his actions taken to further his career went beyond mere accommodation, and in the eyes of many, his Swiss citizenship could, at most, serve as only a partial justification.⁵³

In November 1941, Honegger was part of the French delegation to a week-long Mozart festival in Vienna, which was organized by the German Ministry of Propaganda. Attendees were subjected to speeches—including one from Joseph Goebbels—extolling Mozart as “the symbol of the new Europe in general, and of Franco-German collaboration in particular.”⁵⁴ Leslie Sprout notes that while most of the French delegates “did not neglect the political messages of the event in their published music reviews . . . readers of Honegger's accounts would have been hard put to locate the festival in its politically charged time and place.”⁵⁵ Unlike some of the other delegates, he avoided openly aligning himself with the festival's propagandistic message, but his separation of music and politics—a strategy he would also use to defend his wartime choices—played into a view of German music as universal, which was another aspect of Nazi cultural propaganda.⁵⁶ These reviews appeared in *Comœdia*, an arts journal that had been revived as a Nazi-sponsored publication. In its new incarnation, it aimed to promote collaboration through cultural rather than overtly political means.

⁵³ See Leslie A. Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 40–45; Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 264–70.

⁵⁴ Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 107: “le symbole de la nouvelle Europe en général et de la collaboration franco-allemande en particulier.”

⁵⁵ Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 42–43.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 43. Honegger's written statement in his own defense is quoted in full in Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 265–66.

Marcel Mihalovici notified Milhaud of Honegger's trip to Vienna in a letter of December 1941.⁵⁷ Milhaud likely got additional information from an August 1942 article in *The Nation* by Minna Lederman, who wrote:

Composer Florent Schmitt, his seventy-two years giving him the prestige of a dean, and two Swiss musicians whose careers are closely associated with France—Arthur Honegger, composer of the Group of Six, and Robert Bernard, editor of the new, German-authorized, Parisian review *L'Information Musicale*—led a body of respectable publishers and academy chiefs to a Mozart festival in Vienna, where they were welcomed as guests of Richard Strauss at a grand reception in honor, again, of Franco-German cultural relations.⁵⁸

Lederman's account is incomplete; the French delegation numbered more than twenty, including at least seven composers, of whom only Honegger and Bernard were Swiss citizens.⁵⁹ In the summer of 1943, the newsletter for the Mills College Maison Française included a report by Milhaud on current musical activity in France, which appears to draw primarily on information received in letters from friends in the formerly unoccupied zone. Focusing on celebrating the continued vitality of French musical life, he raised the issue of collaboration only in the last paragraph, with a description of the Mozart festival that aligns with Lederman's report. While he omitted Honegger's name, he implicitly referred to him as a collaborator, albeit not a French one:

Among the collaborationists, there were three musicians who went to Vienna, via Berlin, for the Mozart festival, where they were welcomed by Richard Strauss. But fortunately, among these three Parisian musicians, only one is French: Florent Schmitt, who had

⁵⁷ Marcel Mihalovici to Darius Milhaud, 17 December 1941, PSS-DM.

⁵⁸ Minna Lederman, "France's Turncoat Artists," *The Nation* 155, no. 9 (29 August 1942), 169–70. See Nigel Simeone, "Making Music in Occupied Paris," *The Musical Times* 147, no. 1894 (Spring 2006): 25–26.

⁵⁹ Yannick Simon notes that because sources vary, a precise count of delegates cannot be determined. The composers he lists are Alfred Bachelet, Robert Bernard, Marcel Delannoy, Arthur Honegger, Marcel Labey, Gustave Samazeuilh, and Florent Schmitt. Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 110. Lederman likely based her article on Arno Huth's report on music in France and Switzerland in the March–April 1942 issue of *Modern Music*. Huth gave a more extensive list of participants including Bachelet, Samazeuilh, and Delannoy (and notes that "Richard Strauss gave a reception under the sign of Franco-German collaboration"), but it seems that Milhaud did not use this source for his own article, as he, like Lederman, referred to only three musicians. Arno Huth, "Collaboration in France—Swiss News," *Modern Music* 19, no. 3 (March–April 1942): 181–85.

already singled himself out at the Salle Pleyel by crying ‘Vive Hitler’ in 1933, after the great success obtained by a work of Kurt Weill, who had just left Germany for good. The other two are Swiss!⁶⁰

However, earlier in the report, Milhaud did mention Honegger by name, describing the week-long festival held in Paris in honor of his fiftieth birthday, at which *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher* and his new *Symphonie pour cordes* were performed. To some in France, this festival was viewed as a sign that Honegger had gained too much favor with the German authorities, but in Milhaud’s account, it is simply an indication of the endurance of French music and musicians, as he had interpreted the performances of new works by Poulenc and Sauguet in his 1942 *Pour la Victoire* article. Given the later implied reference to Honegger as a collaborator, this positive description of his birthday festival should perhaps be read as an exercise in caution—regardless of Milhaud’s personal feelings at this time, he would not have wanted to make overt accusations against someone with whom he was known to be closely associated, especially not on the basis of limited information. This passage and the article as a whole also reflect Milhaud’s lack of awareness about the nature of cultural activity under the occupation (see chapter 1). At the beginning of the report, he wrote: “In occupied countries, the activity is always divided in two: the artistic events organized by the occupying forces, to which the patriots do not go, and those depending on the artistic elements of the invaded country, to which the population goes en masse.”⁶¹ Milhaud based this generalization on his simplistic understanding of musical life in

⁶⁰ Darius Milhaud, “L’Activité musicale en France,” *Les Cahiers des Amis de la Maison Française de Mills College* no. 1–2 (Summer 1943): 7. Mills-DM, 4.1.9: “Parmi les collaborationistes, il y a eu trois musiciens qui sont allés à Vienne, via Berlin, pour les fêtes de Mozart, ou ils ont été reçus par Richard Strauss. Mais heureusement sur ces trois musiciens Parisiens, on ne compte qu’un seul Français: c’est Florent Schmitt, qui s’était déjà singularisé Salle Pleyel, en criant ‘Vive Hitler’ en 1933, après le gros succès obtenu par une œuvre de Kurt Weill qui venait de quitter pour toujours l’Allemagne. Les deux autres sont des Suisses!”

⁶¹ *Ibid.*: “Dans les pays occupés, l’activité est toujours divisée en deux: les manifestations artistiques organisées par les forces d’occupation auxquelles les patriotes ne vont pas, et celles dépendant des éléments artistiques du pays envahi auxquelles la population se rend en masse.”

occupied Belgium during World War I, unaware that the situation in occupied Paris was much more complex.⁶²

In private correspondence, Milhaud took an ambivalent position on the case of Honegger: while acknowledging his friend's transgressions, he expressed concern for him and classified him as a *résistant*, albeit one who had made some poor decisions. For example, in 1945, Milhaud wrote to Tansman, relaying information from Sauguet and Désormière: "Arthur, who was part of the Resistance, did some stupid things (trip to Vienna, collaboration with *Comœdia*). There was a Resistance court session at Déso's house, and they kicked him out. He is deeply affected by this."⁶³ Milhaud's secondhand account is essentially accurate. For a period of time, Honegger was a member of the Front National des Musiciens, a Resistance organization founded in 1941 by Roger Désormière, Louis Durey, and Elsa Barraine. But in 1943, he was expelled from the group as a result of such offenses as the Vienna trip, attendance at a reception for a leading cultural propaganda official at the German embassy in Paris, and "positive reviews of contemporary German music by Hans Pfitzner, Werner Egk, and Richard Strauss," all of which called his allegiance into question.⁶⁴

By the time the two composers could once again exchange letters, Milhaud had evidently decided that Honegger's actions could be overlooked for the sake of their friendship. Responding to a letter from Milhaud (now lost) in May 1946, Honegger wrote: "As I told you, I wrote to you several times. . . . Since I never received a response, I feared—because this is, unfortunately, all

⁶² See Catherine A. Hughes, "Branding Brussels Musically: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism in the Interwar Years" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2015), 29–30.

⁶³ Darius Milhaud to Alexandre Tansman, [1945], PSS-DM: "Arthur qui faisait partie de la résistance a fait des bêtises (voyage à Vienne, collaboration à Comœdia), il y a eu séance de tribunal de la Résistance chez Deso et on l'a exclu. Il est très affecté." The letters to which Milhaud refers do not survive, but it is likely that he would have received a more sympathetic account from Sauguet than from Désormière, given the latter's part in the decision to expel Honegger from the Front National des Musiciens.

⁶⁴ Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 40–41.

too common these days—that someone had written nasty things about me to you, but I see from the tone of your letter that this is not the case, which pleases me not only for the two of us, but for the others as well.”⁶⁵ After this, the issue is completely absent from their extant correspondence.

Milhaud’s willingness to resume his friendship with Honegger is unsurprising in light of his understanding of his own position as an exiled Frenchman, his general distaste for political rumors and conflict, Honegger’s reacceptance among musicians in France, and Milhaud’s plans to rejoin the French musical community himself. While he openly condemned outright collaboration, as in the case of his former friend Jacques Benoist-Méchin, Milhaud believed that as an exile, it was not his place to pass judgment on the basis of secondhand information when the circumstances were more ambiguous, and he had been assured by Poulenc and others that Honegger’s wartime actions were not “serious.”⁶⁶ Unlike Schmitt and Delannoy, Honegger was not called before a purification committee after the liberation, likely because he was not a French citizen, and he therefore faced no official punishment.⁶⁷ After an unofficial six-month boycott of his music in France, he was gradually reaccepted, and by May 1946, when he wrote to Milhaud, he had returned to regular work as a composer and critic, though he remained resentful about his treatment.⁶⁸ Denouncing Honegger would have put Milhaud at odds with this process of rehabilitation, which aligned with the broader effort to smooth over the complexities of French

⁶⁵ Arthur Honegger to Darius Milhaud, 10 May 1946, PSS-DM: “Comme je te l’avais dit je t’ai écrit à plusieurs reprises. . . . N’ayant jamais eu de réponse j’ai craint, car, hélas cela est fort courant aujourd’hui, que l’on t’ait écrit sur moi des choses déplaisantes, mais je vois au ton de ta lettre qu’il n’en est rien et cela me fait plaisir non seulement pour nous deux mais encore pour les autres.” See Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 73.

⁶⁶ Poulenc wrote to Milhaud on 27 March 1945: “No one is playing Arthur anymore at the moment, even though his attitude was hardly serious, in my opinion. At the Radio, the opposition was a little too fierce, which I deplore. All of this is too complicated to explain.” (“On ne joue plus d’Arthur en ce moment, bien que son attitude ne soit pas du tout grave à mon avis. Il y a eu à la Radio une opposition un peu trop farouche que je déplore. Tout cela est trop compliqué à te dire.”) C-Poulenc, 585. See Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 45.

⁶⁷ Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 70–72.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

wartime actions in the years after the liberation. Milhaud may even have sympathized with Honegger's experience of professional exclusion, though it had occurred for reasons quite different from his own circumstances. As he prepared to return to France and resume his career there, he could not risk introducing additional discord to an already-delicate situation, nor could he afford to reduce the number of personal and professional allies he would find upon his arrival.

Symbolic Remigration

Milhaud did have allies in France, and in the three years between the liberation of Paris in 1944 and his return in 1947, these composers, conductors, and critics prepared for his arrival by reintroducing his music to concert programs and radio broadcasts after the wartime ban.⁶⁹ With the gradual reopening of communications between the United States and France, Milhaud was able to participate in this process remotely by sending copies of his new scores. The renewed presence of Milhaud's music in the continued absence of its composer is an example of what Joy H. Calico terms "symbolic remigration" in her book on Arnold Schoenberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw*.⁷⁰ Schoenberg died in 1951 without ever returning to Europe, but, as Calico asserts, "the 're-presence' of his music . . . can be regarded as a kind of remigration."⁷¹ Drawing on cultural mobility theory, Calico demonstrates that the physical remigration of individuals must not be the sole focus of remigration studies, as the "noncorporeal return" of a composer by way of his or her music can carry great significance in itself.⁷² Unlike Schoenberg, of course, Milhaud did return to his homeland—though not definitively, as I will discuss in the rest of this dissertation—

⁶⁹ On the banning of Milhaud's music in occupied France and the more ambiguous situation in the Vichy zone, see Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 33–34.

⁷⁰ Joy H. Calico, *Arnold Schoenberg's A Survivor from Warsaw in Postwar Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 13. Calico credits the term "re-presence" to Philip V. Bohlman.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 14–15.

and the younger composer had more than two decades of professional activity ahead of him. But in the uncertain period just after the liberation of France, the symbolic remigration of his music served two purposes: it prepared the way for him to resume his compositional career in France upon his own arrival, and it played a role in the fight for musical dominance between Milhaud's contemporaries and the younger generation of composers.⁷³

Yannick Simon describes Milhaud as a composer who, through his—and his music's—enforced absence from France, became a symbolic figure both for the occupying forces and for the musicians of the French Resistance.⁷⁴ Milhaud's entry in the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* and the multiple raids of his apartment are evidence of his notoriety among the Nazis as a prominent Jewish composer, and his importance to the Resistance musicians is clear from the efforts to keep his music in covert circulation in defiance of the official ban. The October 1942 issue of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, the clandestine publication of the Front National des Musiciens, noted in a list of musical resistance activities: “A private concert took place somewhere in occupied France, dedicated to the works of Darius Milhaud. A performance was also given in Provence.”⁷⁵ His works were also occasionally played as unannounced encores or under different names; for example, in a concert at the Ecole Normale de Musique in June 1943, his *Scaramouche* was listed by a fairly transparent anagram: “Mous-Arechac” by “Hamid-al-Usurid.”⁷⁶ 1943 also saw the publication of Paul Landormy's *La Musique française depuis*

⁷³ On this generational conflict, see Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 151–84.

⁷⁴ Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 34.

⁷⁵ *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* 4 (October 1942): 4. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8769917/f4.image.langEN> (accessed 27 April 2014): “Un concert privé a eu lieu quelque part en France occupée, consacré aux œuvres de Darius MILHAUD. Une séance a été également donnée en Provence.” See Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 34.

⁷⁶ Simon, *Composer sous Vichy*, 34; “Musicians' Anti-Nazi Activities,” *New York Times*, 24 December 1944. The *New York Times* article also reports that a secretly-made recording of Milhaud's *Catalogue de fleurs* (1920) “was put on the air while fighting was still going on in the streets outside” during the Battle for Paris, after the radio station was reclaimed by the musicians of the Resistance.

Debussy, the final volume of his history of French music. When Milhaud heard later that year that Landormy had written a substantial chapter on him and his music, he wrote to H  l  ne Hoppenot that his inclusion in the book “indicates a certain courage on the part of its author.”⁷⁷

As soon as Milhaud’s friends and supporters in France were once again able to write to him after the liberation of Paris, they began asking about his plans to return, telling him that his presence was not merely welcome, but necessary for the rebuilding of French musical culture. In his letter explaining the situation with Milhaud’s Paris apartment, Roger D  sormi  re wrote: “Can you return soon? I advise you to do so as soon as you can; we need you.”⁷⁸ Similarly, Marcel Mihalovici wrote in February 1945: “We are impatiently waiting for you. We play your music here and are rediscovering it with the emotion you can imagine. . . . What have you written? When do you intend to come back? We need you.”⁷⁹

In the United States, Virgil Thomson used his position as a prominent critic to promote the notion that the French musical world was collectively waiting for Milhaud’s return. In the fall of 1945, Thomson traveled to Europe at the invitation of the French and Belgian governments with the goal of observing “the postwar state of music abroad” and describing it for U.S. readers. One of his reports for the *New York Herald Tribune*, bearing the headline “The Vacant Chair,” framed a description of current French compositional activity with the issue of Milhaud’s absence:

⁷⁷ Darius Milhaud to H  l  ne Hoppenot, September 1943, C-Hoppenot, 248: “Il a paru *cette ann  e* en France un livre de Landormy sur la musique dans lequel un chapitre m’est consacr  , ce qui d  note un certain courage de la part de son auteur.”

⁷⁸ Roger D  sormi  re to Darius Milhaud, 20 October 1944, PSS-DM: “Peux-tu rentrer bient  t? Je te conseille de le faire d  s que tu pourras, nous avons besoin de toi.”

⁷⁹ Marcel Mihalovici to Darius Milhaud, 17 February 1945, PSS-DM: “Nous vous attendons impatientment. On vous joue ici et on retrouve votre musique avec l’  motion que vous devinez. . . . Qu’avez-vous   crit? Quand avez-vous l’intention de revenir? Nous avons besoin de vous.”

Viewing the French musical scene in closeup one is impressed with the cardinal importance to it of him who is absent; of the central position in the picture that is being reserved for the return of Darius Milhaud. Just as Ravel before him and Debussy before that was in the eyes of all beholders clearly the first composer of his country, Milhaud's primacy is no less obvious than theirs in a landscape that is no less copiously adorned by figures of considerable brilliance.

After characterizing these other "figures of considerable brilliance" as either "academic" (Jacques Ibert, Jean Rivier), "impressive" (Arthur Honegger, Manuel Rosenthal, Olivier Messiaen), or "poetic" (Francis Poulenc, Georges Auric, Henri Sauguet), Thomson positioned Milhaud as "the great man who dominates all the categories" and concluded:

And that is why in spite of all the brilliant figures now occupying the musical scene in France, there is a vacancy in the center of the stage. Neither Honegger nor Rosenthal nor Messiaen, for all their spectacular qualities, can fill it. Nor can Sauguet for all his delicacy and tenderness, be quite sufficient for the place. And so everybody is working busily and beautifully at writing music for the repertory adorning, to change the metaphor, France's musical house—already and by far the richest of our century—in view of what all musical France hopes will not be too long delayed, the return of its master—Darius Milhaud.⁸⁰

At the time of Thomson's report, Milhaud's return was still two years away. The symbolic remigration of his music had already taken place, however. As Mihalovici's letter indicates, Milhaud's music reclaimed a place on French concert programs and radio broadcasts as soon as it was possible to do so. On 28 September 1944, a month after the liberation of Paris, Manuel Rosenthal, who had just become the principal music director of the Orchestre National de France after his wartime suspension from that organization, conducted a concert of music by French, British, U.S., and Russian composers to celebrate the Allied victory.⁸¹ Milhaud's *Suite*

⁸⁰ Virgil Thomson, "The Vacant Chair," *New York Herald Tribune*, 30 September 1945, in Thomson, *Music Chronicles*, 498–500. When the article was reprinted in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the headline was "A Vacant Seat on France's Musical Stage Awaits a Master."

⁸¹ Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 38. Of the concert program, Sprout notes (39): "Conspicuously absent from the French portion of the program was music by composers who had remained in France during the occupation." The other French composers represented in the concert were Claude Debussy and Albéric Magnard, who had both died during World War I.

provençale was the only work on the program by a living French composer, and this concert, which was broadcast across the country, marked his music's official re-entry into the repertoire. Another significant performance was the premiere of his oratorio *La Sagesse*, written in 1935 with a libretto by Paul Claudel. Manuel Rosenthal conducted it on the radio on 7 November 1945; Henry Barraud, the newly-appointed director of Radio France, sent Milhaud the records made from the broadcast.⁸² When Paul Collaer conducted the work for Belgian radio in March of the following year, Claudel, who had disapproved of the French performance, told him that his rendition "bears no relation to Rosenthal's vile mess."⁸³ Problems with Rosenthal's direction were also noted in letters to Milhaud by Barraud and Honegger, but Mihalovici had only praise.⁸⁴

Suite provençale and *La Sagesse* were both pre-war compositions with scores already accessible in France, but with Milhaud's help, Parisian listeners were also introduced to a number of the pieces he had written in exile. In March 1945, he sent Poulenc "a big pile of music"—nine published scores and thirteen copies of manuscripts—via the diplomatic bag of Henri Claudel.⁸⁵ The package was misplaced somewhere in Paris, but when Poulenc finally received it in June, he delivered the scores to the Deiss publishing house, which would soon be taken over by the larger publisher Salabert. Describing his plans to organize a chamber music concert featuring some of the newly-arrived compositions, Poulenc wrote to Collaer:

"Unfortunately, we do not have a Paul Collaer in Paris, and the interests of our poor dear Da are

⁸² Henry Barraud to Darius Milhaud, 6 February 1946, PSS-DM.

⁸³ Paul Claudel to Paul Collaer, 23 March 1946, C-Collaer, 391: "Il n'y a aucun rapport de votre exécution à l'infâme gâchis de Rosenthal."

⁸⁴ Henry Barraud to Darius Milhaud, 6 February 1946; Arthur Honegger to Darius Milhaud, 10 May 1946; Marcel Mihalovici to Darius Milhaud, 14 November 1945, PSS-DM.

⁸⁵ Darius Milhaud to Francis Poulenc, 21 March 1945, Myriam Chimènes and Catherine Massip, eds., *Portrait(s) de Darius Milhaud* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1998), 36: "un gros tas de musique."

rather feebly defended.”⁸⁶ Collaer had long been an advocate for the music of Milhaud and other French composers in Brussels, and he resumed this role as soon as he returned to Belgian radio.⁸⁷ Paris had Poulenc, Roland-Manuel, Désormière, and others promoting Milhaud’s music and organizing performances, but no single figure with influence comparable to Collaer’s in Brussels.

The chamber concert on 14 December—which included the *Poèmes juifs* (1916) alongside several new works—and the premiere of *La Sagesse* were part of a “Milhaud Festival” on the radio that Poulenc had helped to coordinate.⁸⁸ After the performances, he told Milhaud: “Your two concerts (*Sagesse*) and chamber music recital deeply touched a number of young people who seem not to have been familiar with your music until then. One of them spoke to me the other morning with a spontaneity that delighted me.”⁸⁹ The satisfaction of reintroducing Milhaud’s music to the French public, and particularly to a younger generation, was also described in a letter from the composer and critic Roland-Manuel:

What you cannot know or even imagine is the emotion and the joy that we felt, *each and every one of us*, upon discovering your music again in the days after the liberation—the very music we thought we knew best. As a good wine is stripped down in the darkness and silence of the cellar... a trite and worn-out image, but one which expresses what we have felt. Add to that the pleasure I personally had in introducing *Suite provençale*, *Le Carnaval d’Aix*, *La Création du monde*, *Le Pauvre Matelot*, etc.... to young people who could not have known them. After Manuel Rosenthal’s first concert, a young pianist who works with me on the Radio broadcasts and who only knew you by reputation, deformed like all of our youth by four years of Wagner festivals, told me about the refreshing impression your music had given her and her desire to study it and hear more. . . . When

⁸⁶ Francis Poulenc to Paul Collaer, 25 June 1945, C-Collaer, 384: “Hélas, nous n’avons pas de Paul Collaer à Paris et les intérêts du pauvre cher Da sont assez mollement défendus.”

⁸⁷ See Hughes, “Branding Brussels Musically,” 78–128.

⁸⁸ Editorial note in C-Poulenc, 616.

⁸⁹ Francis Poulenc to Darius Milhaud, 28 December 1945, C-Poulenc, 615. “Tes deux concerts (*Sagesse*) et récital de musique de chambre ont vivement touché certains jeunes gens auxquels il me semble que ta musique jusqu’alors n’était pas familière. L’un d’eux m’en a parlé l’autre matin avec une spontanéité qui m’a ravi.”

you are back here among us, you will discover a new generation of admirers and performers.⁹⁰

Roland-Manuel then confessed to Milhaud, “You will not be pleased by everything in today’s musical Paris.”⁹¹ This comment, along with his and Poulenc’s effort to expose young musicians to Milhaud’s music, hints at the ongoing aesthetic battle in which they were both involved. As Leslie Sprout has shown, the period after the liberation of Paris saw a power struggle between the composers of Milhaud’s generation, who hoped to regain their pre-war status, and those who had come of age during the occupation—with Olivier Messiaen as their figurehead—who wanted French music to move beyond neoclassicism.⁹² One prominent manifestation of this conflict was the disruptive protesting by the twenty-year-old Pierre Boulez and others at concerts of Igor Stravinsky’s music, which led to a drawn-out debate in the musical press. Milhaud’s friends felt that his presence among them—and, failing that, the presence of his music—would be important ammunition for their side, not least because they could use his exile to imply that he deserved a place in the postwar music scene. But the anti-neoclassicist reaction against Stravinsky’s music affected Milhaud’s reception as well: at a chamber concert in February 1945 featuring the French premieres of Stravinsky’s *Danses concertantes* and two

⁹⁰ Roland-Manuel to Darius Milhaud, 15 August 1945, PSS-DM: “Ce que tu ne peux savoir ni te représenter c’est l’émotion et la joie que nous avons éprouvées, *tous tant que nous sommes* en retrouvant ta musique au lendemain de la libération – celle même que nous pensions le mieux connaître. Comme un bon vin se dépouille dans l’ombre et le silence de la cave... image banale et rebattue mais qui exprime bien ce que nous avons ressenti. Ajoute à cela le plaisir que j’ai eu personnellement à faire entendre aux jeunes qui ne pouvaient les connaître la *Suite Provençale*, le *Carnaval d’Aix*, la *Création du Monde*, le *Pauvre Matelot* etc.... une jeune pianiste qui travaille avec moi aux émissions de la Radio et qui ne te connaissait que par ta renommée, déformée comme tous nos jeunes par quatre ans de festivals Wagner, me disait après le premier concert de Manuel Rosenthal l’impression de rafraîchissement que lui avait donné ta musique et son désir de l’étudier et de l’entendre davantage. . . . Quand tu seras de retour parmi nous, tu te découvriras une nouvelle génération d’admirateurs et d’interprètes.”

⁹¹ Ibid.: “Tout ne te plaira pas dans le Paris musical d’aujourd’hui.”

⁹² Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, 151–84.

movements from Milhaud's *Four Sketches* of 1941, both works drew protests from Boulez and his friends.⁹³

The protesters were students of Olivier Messiaen, who was seen as a threat to the older generation both through his own music and through his mentoring of young composers, and was often assumed to be behind his students' protests. Here, too, Poulenc put his hope in Milhaud. In 1945, discussing the plan for Milhaud to assume a position at the Conservatoire upon his return, Poulenc wrote: "You would be so good there, and so useful. With your prestige, you would strongly counterbalance the influence of Messiaen, a remarkable musician, but a theorist as obtuse in his own way as d'Indy."⁹⁴

At that time, though, Milhaud still did not know when he would be able to go back to France. A tentative plan to return in the spring of 1946 was postponed, as the Milhauds knew from friends in Paris that it would still be impossible to have a car. In the meantime, the composer stayed up to date on the state of music in Paris through Poulenc and his other friends, and he shared this information with his fellow musicians exiled from France. Alexandre Tansman was planning his own return, and—as a fairly conservative neoclassical composer—he shared Milhaud's concerns about being left out of the postwar French music landscape. Beyond the issue of musical style, he also felt that he was forgotten by those who had been advocating for Milhaud. In March 1945, after hearing about a concert in Paris featuring works by Milhaud, Stravinsky, and Hindemith, Tansman wrote to Milhaud: "I'll be honest with you, I had hoped to resume contact with Parisian musical life before a German, even if it is Hindemith, and it hurts that no one over there had the idea to think of me. . . . I genuinely thought that they would

⁹³ Ibid., 152–53.

⁹⁴ Francis Poulenc to Darius Milhaud, 10 November 1945, C-Poulenc, 616: "Tu serais si bien là-bas et tu serais si utile. Par ton prestige tu contrebalerai fort heureusement l'influence de Messiaen, musicien remarquable, mais théoricien aussi obtus dans son genre que d'Indy."

concern themselves first with people who were part of Parisian musical life for so many years, and that they would not immediately rush to German music.” At the same time, he looked forward to leaving Hollywood behind for good: “I’m swimming in complete s... with my film music, and I’m waiting impatiently to be done with it.”⁹⁵

Tansman and his family returned to France in 1946; his subsequent letters to Milhaud address both his family’s material difficulties in resuming their Parisian life and his reactions to the changes in the musical scene. In February 1947, he wrote to Milhaud: “As for the musical activity here, it seems to me still in a certain state of confusion. The ‘youth’ have just discovered the existence of Schoenberg, almost 40 years late. . . . All of this methodical music without content seems more academic than a Prix de Rome cantata.” After criticizing the recent music of Messiaen (“much less ‘novel’ to me than what everyone said about it”) and Honegger’s *Symphonie liturgique* (which he compared to a Hollywood film score), Tansman concluded:

Anyway, I may be mistaken, but I feel much more of an affinity with the music composed in the USA by Europeans like Stravinsky, you, or Bartók than with the somewhat confused activity of the current school in Paris. Nevertheless, I still think that it is a temporary situation, due to the long isolation, and that it will get back on its normal path in the end. I think that your visit will really contribute to this clarifying of spirits that feels so necessary to me.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Alexandre Tansman to Darius Milhaud, 8 March 1945, PSS-DM: “Je ne vous cache pas que j’aurais espéré de reprendre le contact avec la vie musicale à Paris avant un allemand, même si c’est Hindemith, et cela me fait de la peine que personne là-bas n’eût l’idée de penser à moi. . . . J’ai réellement pensé qu’on s’occupera, avant, de gens faisant partie de la vie musicale parisienne pendant tant d’années, et qu’on ne se précipitera pas aussitôt sur la musique allemande. . . . Je nage en pleine m... avec ma musique de film, et j’attends avec impatience d’en avoir fini.”

⁹⁶ Alexandre Tansman to Darius Milhaud, 24 February 1947, PSS-DM: “Quant au mouvement musical ici, il me paraît encore dans un état de certaine confusion. Les ‘jeunes’ viennent de découvrir, avec près de 40 ans de retard, l’existence de Schoenberg. . . . Toute cette musique à procédé et sans contenu paraît plus académique qu’une cantate du Prix de Rome. . . . La musique de Messiaen m’a paru beaucoup moins ‘neuve’ de ce qu’on en disait. . . . Enfin, peut-être je me trompe, mais je me sens bien plus d’affinités avec la musique composée en USA, par des européens comme Stravinsky, vous ou Bartók, qu’avec le mouvement un peu confus de l’actuelle école de Paris. Néanmoins, je pense toujours que c’est une situation provisoire, due au long isolement, et que le mouvement finira par reprendre sa ligne normale. Je pense que votre visite contribuera beaucoup à cet éclaircissement des esprits qui me paraît très nécessaire.”

By expressing a preference for the music of émigré composers and by attributing the “confused” state of music in Paris—including the rise of Messiaen and the belated embrace of serialism—to its isolation during the German occupation, Tansman reversed the rhetoric of exile as an isolating condition. In his view, Paris needed to reconnect with exiled composers—especially Milhaud—and absorb the restorative influence of their transnational perspective. Only then could the city’s cultural quarantine be lifted and the German occupation truly end.

Returning to France

Reports such as Tansman’s gave Milhaud a reason to be concerned about how he and his music would be received, even as they assured him that his presence would be beneficial. A few weeks before his own departure for France in the summer of 1947, Milhaud wrote to Henri Sauguet: “I’m a little alarmed by my contact with music in Paris. Are the Messiaenistes and the Dodecaphoschoenbergistes going to put rat poison in my food or only throw stink bombs at me?”⁹⁷ Still, he knew that even if the future belonged to the younger generation, France’s official institutions would welcome him home, something not all returning exiles could expect. While still in California, Madeleine Milhaud was made a *Chevalière* of the Légion d’Honneur in recognition of her wartime organizational work and support of French culture in the United States, and Darius was promoted from *Chevalier* to *Officier*.⁹⁸ The offer to join the composition faculty of the Paris Conservatoire was held for him through the delay in his return. His Third Symphony was commissioned by Radio France to celebrate the end of the war, and his Fourth

⁹⁷ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 27 July 1947, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (154): “Je suis un peu effaré de mon contact avec la musique à Paris. Les Messiaenistes et les Dodécaphoschoenbergistes [*sic*] vont-ils me mettre de la mort aux rats dans ma nourriture ou seulement me jeter des boules puantes?”

⁹⁸ Lois Thomas, “Darius and Madeleine Milhaud Share Highest French Honors,” *San Francisco News*, 10 February 1947. See chapter 5.

was written at the request of the French government to commemorate the centenary of the 1848 revolution. By the time of Milhaud's departure for France, he was also in serious discussion with Georges Hirsch, the new director of the Paris Opéra, about the possibility of staging *Bolivar* in the 1947–1948 season. Milhaud had finished this work in 1943, but the difficulties of producing a new opera in wartime had kept it from being performed in the United States.⁹⁹

Another important event was the publication in 1947 of Paul Collaer's book on Milhaud and his music, which he had started writing before the war.¹⁰⁰ Milhaud received a copy of the book less than a month before leaving California, and his subsequent letter to Collaer shows the significance the book held for him at this pivotal moment in his life:

Your book just arrived. It brought me immense joy and moved me deeply. I DEVoured it. You have made it with an extraordinary objectivity. You have a deep and acute knowledge of my work. And you have understood the source of everything I love.

It came like a harbinger of my past that brought a lump to my throat. At the very moment when, breaking a long exile, a quiet sanctuary suitable for my old age, I am going to reestablish contact with my country, a contact which moves me terribly. I know that this France is different from the one I left, that the people are different because they have suffered so much, but I do not think that this will have created a gulf between us and them.¹⁰¹

This letter highlights Milhaud's consciousness of the non-musical implications of his separation from France, which he would soon have to confront upon his return. He was acutely aware of what he had escaped by spending the war years in California, both the general experience of enduring the occupation in France and the extreme danger he would have faced as a disabled

⁹⁹ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 193–95.

¹⁰⁰ Paul Collaer, *Darius Milhaud* (Antwerp: Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1947). A revised and expanded edition was published in Geneva in 1982, followed by Jane Hohfeld Galante's English translation in 1988.

¹⁰¹ Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, 26 July 1947, C-Collaer, 405: "Ton livre vient d'arriver. Il me procure une immense joie et il me touche profondément. Je l'ai DÉVORÉ. Tu as fait cela avec une extraordinaire objectivité. Tu as une connaissance profonde, aiguë, de mon œuvre. Et tu as compris la source de tout ce que j'aime. Il arrive comme un avant-coureur de mon passé qui me remonte ainsi à la gorge. Au moment même où rompant un long exil, une retraite au calme convenant à ma vieillesse, je vais reprendre contact avec mon pays, contact qui m'émeut terriblement. Je sais que la France est différente de celle que j'ai quittée, que les gens sont différents parce qu'ils ont tant souffert, mais je ne pense pas que cela ait creusé un fossé entre eux et nous."

Jewish person known to the Nazi authorities. In an earlier letter to Collaer of March 1946, Milhaud's insistence that exile had been emotionally difficult reveals anxiety about how his absence might be perceived by those who had experienced the occupation directly:

Do not think that living at ease in a Californian bungalow leaves the soul comforted. Years of exile, with no sign from Europe because of the occupation, are hard. One cannot sleep, one obsessively thinks of one's country, one's relatives, one's friends, one suddenly turns on the radio in the middle of the night. Since the Liberation, the feeling of exile is no longer the same. One has made contact with Mother Europe once again. But one has a physical shock to the heart every time one goes to the market and sees the abundance of everything, every time one sits down at the table, every day.¹⁰²

Passing up the opportunity to return home to France was never considered as an option—even after learning of the many devastating changes wrought by the occupation—but as early as September 1943, the Milhauds had decided that the end of the war would not mean the end of their time in the United States. Hélène Hoppenot wrote in her diary during her visit to Oakland: “Upon the liberation of France, he will return to Paris, but will come back for another year to teach at Mills. ‘I do not want to seem to ditch them as soon as I no longer need them...’”¹⁰³ In December 1945, during Milhaud's visit to New York, the *New York Times* reported that “he probably would not return to Paris before next summer and that he would like to divide his year, after that, into two parts, half to be spent in France and half at Oakland.”¹⁰⁴

However, Milhaud largely avoided discussing any long-term plans as the time of his departure grew closer. To those in France, he focused on the homecoming; he told them that he

¹⁰² Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, 6 March 1946, C-Collaer, 390: “Ne crois pas que le fait de vivre dans un bungalow californien et dans le confort, laisse l'âme confortable. Les années d'exil, quand par l'occupation on ne pouvait avoir aucun signe d'Europe, sont dures. On ne dort plus, on pense au pays, aux parents, aux amis avec obsession, on tourne la nuit tout à coup la radio. Depuis la Libération, le sentiment de l'exil n'est plus le même. On a repris contact avec la Maman Europe. Mais on a un choc au cœur, physiquement, chaque fois qu'on va au marché et qu'on voit l'abondance de tout, chaque fois qu'on se met à table, tous les jours.”

¹⁰³ Hélène Hoppenot, 8 September 1943, C-Hoppenot, 245: “Dès la libération de la France, il rentrera à Paris mais reviendra pour une année encore enseigner à Mills ‘je ne veux pas avoir l'air de les plaquer dès que je n'ai plus besoin d'eux..’”

¹⁰⁴ “In the World of Music,” *New York Times*, 9 December 1945.

would have to go back to the United States in the summer of 1948 to teach at Tanglewood, but left his future plans unstated. Meanwhile, multiple articles in the *Oakland Tribune* referred to the Milhaud family's upcoming "visit" to France, emphasizing that they would be back in California in a year. The final such article, on 3 August 1947, characterized the voyage as a "European trip," a "visit to France," and "a year's sojourn in Europe." The accompanying photograph depicts a gendered division of labor: Madeleine Milhaud packs a box of tea—"In France now," she explained, "there is no tea, no sugar, no rice"—while her husband and son watch ("As the distinguished composer explained, 'It is Madame who packs. Daniel and I sit and look on'"). The article, by music critic Clifford Gessler, described Milhaud's plans for upcoming compositions and performances, which included "concerts in Amsterdam, Brussels, Rome, Turin and other cities."¹⁰⁵

Shortly before the family's departure, Milhaud completed the manuscript of *Notes sans musique*. In the final paragraphs, he looked ahead with guarded optimism, acknowledging both the losses he would have to confront and the friends who had taken action to protect some of his possessions.

The return to France is now approaching. Thanks to my loyal friends, I will rediscover some objects from my Parisian past. Roger Désormière paid my rent during the entire occupation. He was able to save my piano and some paintings from the looting of the apartment. Honegger took some papers and music home with him. Poulenc was able to save my works published by Deiss, once his arrest was known. From my brother-in-law's house in Domfront, Paul Bertrand managed to recover a trunk full of manuscripts, perhaps thirty years of work, and put them safely at *Le Ménestrel*. In Aix, Le Bras D'Or was occupied by the Italians, the Germans, the French Forces of the Interior, the Americans, and the Musique de l'Air. L'Enclos was transformed into a hospital for the Germans. There is not much furniture left in these family homes, but I am glad that the walls are still standing. These houses are still privileged not to have been bombed.

As soon as the Summer Session ends, around the fifteenth of August, we will board the *Trondanger*, a ship that takes only twelve passengers, which departs from San Francisco and goes to Le Havre by way of the Panama Canal. I will leave seven

¹⁰⁵ Clifford Gessler, "Packing for European Trip Occupies Milhaud Family," *Oakland Tribune*, 3 August 1947.

American years behind me, for which I will be infinitely grateful to this great country—where, furthermore, I will come back so as not to abandon completely the work started here—and I can already imagine our emotion when the shores of our rediscovered homeland appear on the horizon.¹⁰⁶

Darius, Madeleine, and Daniel boarded the ship in Alameda, close to Oakland; it then stopped in Los Angeles for two days, giving them a final chance to see Germain Prévost, Vladimir and Lisa Sokoloff, and Igor and Vera Stravinsky.¹⁰⁷ As the ship continued on through the Panama Canal and across the Atlantic Ocean, Milhaud worked on his Fourth Symphony, mirroring the composition of his String Quartet no. 10 on the ship from Lisbon to New York seven years earlier, at the beginning of his exile. In Rotterdam, the ship's first European destination, the Milhauds were met by Paul and Elsa Collaer, who took them to their home in Brussels to stay for several days. While there, Milhaud conducted his 1919 orchestral suite *Protée* for the Belgian radio. The same ship took them from Antwerp to Le Havre; there, they were met by a group of friends including Jane Bathori and Andrée Tainsy, who had returned from their own exile in Buenos Aires. The following day saw the arrival of Etienne Milhaud—Madeleine's older brother—from Domfront, in the southern part of Normandy, with his wife and

¹⁰⁶ *Notes sans musique* manuscript, 352: "Le retour en France approche à présent. Grâce à mes amis fidèles je retrouverai certaines choses de mon passé Parisien. Roger Désormière a payé mon loyer durant toute l'occupation. Il a pu sauver du pillage de l'appt. mon piano et qqes tableaux. Honegger a pris chez lui des papiers, de la musique. Poulenc a pu sauver mes œuvres chez Deiss, dès son arrestation connue. Paul Bertrand a réussi à reprendre à Domfront chez mon b. frère une malle contenant des manuscrits, soit 30 ans de travail et à la mettre en sureté au Ménestrel. A Aix, l'immeuble du Bras d'Or a été occupé par les Italiens les Allds. les FFI les Américains, la Musique de l'Armée de l'Air. L'Enclos a été transformé en hôpital par les allemands. Il ne reste pas gd. chose du mobilier de ces maisons de famille mais je suis heureux que les murs soient debout. De n'avoir pas été bombardés ces maisons sont encore privilégiés. Dès la session d'été finie vers le 15 Aout nous nous embarquerons sur le Trondanger, un bateau qui ne prend que 12 passagers, qui part de S.F. et va au Havre par le Canal de Panama. Je laisserai derrière moi sept années américaines pour lesquelles je conserverai une infinie reconnaissance à ce grand pays, où je reviendrai du reste pour ne pas laisser complètement l'œuvre amorcée ici, et j'imagine déjà notre émotion lorsqu'apparaîtront à l'horizon les côtes de la Patrie retrouvée." See MVH, 240.

¹⁰⁷ Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, 25 August 1947, C-Collaer, 406. In a footnote, Robert Wangermée incorrectly identifies "les Sokoloff" as a reference to the dancer Lydia Sokolova. The Hollywood character actor Vladimir Sokoloff and his wife Lisa were close friends with the Stravinskys, and Lisa also ran a small art gallery with Vera Stravinsky. See Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: The Second Exile: France and America, 1934–1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 166, 185.

their one surviving son. On the way to Paris, they saw “signs of war everywhere, Le Havre destroyed, entire neighborhoods of Rouen devastated...”¹⁰⁸

The ability to move back to one’s prior residence immediately upon arriving in Paris was a privilege afforded to few of the thousands of Jews who returned to the city after surviving the concentration camps, going into exile, or hiding elsewhere in France. Most found that their homes were occupied by other people and their possessions either seized in Nazi raids, stolen by neighbors, or appropriated by the new residents.¹⁰⁹ There were legal procedures by which they could attempt to recover property, but these petitions were usually unsuccessful, in part because the provisional government concerned itself primarily with accommodating former prisoners of war and forced laborers, who greatly outnumbered the Jewish returnees.¹¹⁰ With the repeal of Vichy’s antisemitic legislation in 1944, French law once again made no distinctions based on race or religion, and while this return to republican universalism ended overt state-enforced discrimination, it did not allow “the specificity of Jewish loss” to be taken into account.¹¹¹ By 1947, many of those who had tried to recover their homes and belongings through the legal system had become discouraged.¹¹² Alexandre Tansman was among them: he filed a lawsuit to regain possession of his old apartment, but abandoned it when he learned that the process would

¹⁰⁸ MVH, 242: “Partout nous trouvions des traces de la guerre, Le Havre détruit, des quartiers entiers de Rouen dévastés...”

¹⁰⁹ Leora Auslander, “Coming Home? Jews in Postwar Paris,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 2 (2005): 243–45. See also Patrick Weil, “The Return of Jews in the Nationality or Territory of France,” in *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to their Countries of Origin after WWII*, ed. David Bankier (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), 58–71, and Renée Poznanski, “French Apprehensions, Jewish Expectations: From a Social Imaginary to a Political Practice,” in Bankier, *The Jews Are Coming Back*, 25–57.

¹¹⁰ Poznanski, “French Apprehensions,” 26.

¹¹¹ Auslander, “Coming Home,” 245; Poznanski, “French Apprehensions,” 45. For an example of an agency that was in some ways an exception, see Lisa Moses Leff, “Post-Holocaust Book Restitutions: How One State Agency Helped Revive Republican Franco-Judaism,” in *Post-Holocaust France and the Jews, 1945–1955*, ed. Seán Hand and Steven T. Katz (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 71–84.

¹¹² Auslander, “Coming Home,” 249.

likely take years. Instead, the composer, his wife, and their two daughters spent more than two years living in a room of his mother-in-law's already-crowded house before they could find a new place of their own.¹¹³

The Milhaud family was more fortunate in this respect: Roger Désormière's decision to pay the rent for the apartment at 10 Boulevard de Clichy had saved it from being occupied by the Germans or taken over by a new tenant, so they were able to move in immediately. However, it was entirely empty due to the raids by the *Sonderstab Musik*.¹¹⁴ Knowing this in advance, the Milhauds had shipped a set of folding tables and chairs from California to begin to replace the missing furniture.¹¹⁵ The objects preserved by their friends were returned, but nothing confiscated in the Nazi raids would be seen again, and the building's concierge, who had taken some furniture—ostensibly for safekeeping—had disappeared.¹¹⁶ Madeleine Milhaud recalled:

When we returned, we knew that she was guilty, but we had no intention of suing her because we had been lucky enough to come out of the war alive. We had not had to suffer from fear or malnutrition, so we were not going to become the righter of wrongs. But after a few friends and even former servants came to visit, we realized that we had to take action of some kind—but how?¹¹⁷

Accompanied by Henri Sauguet, she located an armchair and a chest of drawers—with the contents intact—in the shop where the concierge's daughter had worked. She also found the concierge's new address and went to Fontainebleau to inquire about the other missing items.

When the woman denied having taken anything, Madeleine Milhaud filed a police report; upon

¹¹³ Tansman, *Regards en arrière*, 361.

¹¹⁴ On the objects confiscated from the Milhauds' apartment, see Vries, *Sonderstab Musik*, 210–17. In 1992, Willem de Vries found four of Milhaud's manuscripts in a museum in Nuremberg and was able to return them to Madeleine Milhaud; these are the only items that have been recovered.

¹¹⁵ Darius Milhaud to Jane Bathori, [1947], *Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique*, N.L.a. 10 (260).

¹¹⁶ In Désormière's letter of 23 October 1944 (PSS-DM), he mentioned that the concierge had taken some things from the apartment, but he gave no indication that she might have intended to steal them.

¹¹⁷ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, trans. Mildred Clary (Cleveland: Darius Milhaud Society, 2008), 100.

returning to Fontainebleau several months later with Sauguet and two police officers, she found everything but the furniture.¹¹⁸

It was not only in Paris that the Milhauds encountered personal and material losses. As Darius's parents had both died in his absence, he needed to visit his hometown to resolve some questions about their estate. Leaving Daniel in Paris, Darius and Madeleine went to Aix-en-Provence in October, intending to stay for only a short time, as Darius was scheduled to conduct his Third Symphony in Paris at the end of the month. While still in the United States, he had expressed apprehension about this visit, writing to Collaer in late July: "But Aix? What will I find? Two graves, my parents' house pillaged, a business situation I do not understand at all. Fortunately, the town was not damaged by the war—the eternal countryside."¹¹⁹ The shock of seeing the violation of his childhood home—and of being there without his parents—precipitated his worst period of illness since 1944.¹²⁰ Forced to remain in Aix for several months, he missed both the premiere of his Third Symphony (which Roger Désormière conducted in his absence) and the entire fall term at the Conservatoire.

By 10 January 1948, though still unwell and unable to walk, he had recovered enough to make the trip back to Paris with Madeleine. After a week there, he wrote to Héléne Hoppenot: "It is infuriating, absurd, to have been in Aix for three months without seeing the town or my beloved Provençal countryside again, and to be in Paris with only a view of the Montmartre fair. At least it is something, of course, but after seven years of exile, I hoped for more. I think I ought

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 101.

¹¹⁹ Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, 26 July 1947, C-Collaer, 405: "Mais Aix? Que vais-je retrouver? Deux tombes, la maison de mes parents pillée, des histoires d'affaires auxquelles je ne comprends rien. Heureusement, la ville n'a pas souffert de la guerre—la campagne éternelle."

¹²⁰ This type of reaction is noted by Auslander, who quotes a document from a returnee whose friend "found herself in her parents' apartment and fell into a deep depression from which she never really recovered." Quoted in Auslander, "Coming Home," 254.

to have my legs psychoanalyzed!”¹²¹ The decline in Milhaud’s physical mobility during exile now left him unable, on most days, to ascend or descend the stairs to the apartment. But after the family’s long separation from their home and the effort undertaken by their friends to preserve it for them, the idea of leaving 10 Boulevard de Clichy for a more accessible Parisian residence was unthinkable. Milhaud continued to be almost entirely confined to his apartment through the spring, though he was able to fulfill his Conservatoire teaching responsibilities by holding his classes at home, as he had done at Mills since 1944. H  l  ne Hoppenot began to worry that his return to the United States that summer might be permanent, writing in her diary in March 1948: “I will have to see him again before his departure, which is sooner than I thought. Who knows if he will come back? . . . It almost seems as if the terrible exodus of 1940 will start over again.”¹²²

This disheartening homecoming put an anticlimactic end to Milhaud’s seven-year exile. Surrounded by reminders of the war’s destruction, finding the city unaccommodating of his disability, and uncertain of his position in the new musical hierarchy, he could not easily reintegrate, despite the efforts of his friends. Yet he did not respond by returning to California permanently, as H  l  ne Hoppenot had worried he would. While he and his wife had made the decision several years earlier to divide their time between Paris and Oakland, that plan now seemed especially prudent, as it would allow Milhaud to participate in building Paris’s musical future without the risk of making the city the sole focus of his postwar life and career. His ongoing connections to France would also help him to maintain his status as a significant

¹²¹ Darius Milhaud to H  l  ne Hoppenot, 18 January 1948, C-Hoppenot, 329: “Mais c’est rageant, absurde, d’avoir   t   3 mois    Aix sans avoir revu ni la ville ni ma ch  re campagne proven  ale et d’  tre    Paris avec seulement la vue de la foire de Montmartre.   videmment c’est d  j     a, mais apr  s 7 ans d’exil, j’esp  rais mieux. Je pense que je devrais faire psychanalyser mes jambes!” In the same letter, he told her that to get to Paris, he first traveled by ambulance to Marseille, where he was lifted through the window of the train car.

¹²² H  l  ne Hoppenot, diary entry of 4 March 1948, C-Hoppenot, 330–31: “Il faut que je le revoie avant le d  part plus proche que je ne le pensais. Qui sait s’il reviendra? . . . Il me semble presque que le terrible exode de 1940 va recommencer.”

musical figure in the United States. And in both countries, he had numerous friends, communities, and support networks; after his efforts to develop these relationships in the United States and to preserve them in France, neither environment could simply be abandoned. In the following chapters, I will show how the bonds forged during exile became the foundation for the American side of Milhaud's postwar career as a transatlantic composer.

CHAPTER THREE: THE EVOLUTION OF A JEWISH COMPOSER

The first edition of *Notes sans musique* was published in 1949, two years after Darius Milhaud's return to France, with an English translation following in 1953. On both sides of the Atlantic, the opening line of the book quickly took hold in the press and in program notes as a neat encapsulation of the composer's identity: "Je suis un Français de Provence et de religion israélite."¹ This sentence is typically translated into English as "I am a Frenchman from Provence, and, by religion, a Jew," but Milhaud's use of *israélite* rather than *juif* is significant.² With this word choice, he asserted his connection to a specifically French branch of Jewish history, a connection explored further in the subsequent pages of his memoirs. The two terms were used more or less interchangeably in France through most of the nineteenth century—though *israélite* was generally considered the less derogatory term—but in the twentieth, a sharper distinction developed.³ The migration of Eastern European Jews to France beginning in the late nineteenth century threatened to disrupt the carefully crafted self-presentation of native French Jews. These newcomers spoke Yiddish, identified as ethnically Jewish, were mostly poor, and showed little interest in assimilation; by contrast, the French Jewish establishment had worked for generations to develop a Jewish identity compatible with French republican universalism. By giving Jewishness the status of a religion rather than a cultural or ethnic

¹ MVH, 9.

² Darius Milhaud, *My Happy Life*, trans. Donald Evans, George Hall, and Christopher Palmer (London: Marion Boyars, 1995), 23.

³ Phyllis Cohen Albert, "Israelite and Jew: How Did Nineteenth-Century French Jews Understand Assimilation?" in *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 88–109.

affinity, French Jews could profess that their allegiance lay with France while still maintaining a sense of Jewish distinctiveness. As in other countries across Europe, antisemitism in France was on the rise at this time, which put further pressure on native French Jews to demonstrate respectability and loyalty to France; consequently, they began to draw a semantic distinction between the immigrant *juifs* and the acculturated *israélites*.⁴ Raised in a prosperous family with centuries-deep roots in the south of France, Milhaud was certainly an *israélite*; he took pride in his French nationality and in the particularity of his Judeo-Provençal heritage.

The term “Français de religion israélite” was a fairly common formulation among those with backgrounds and convictions similar to Milhaud’s own.⁵ However, while this framing of national and religious identities was the product of a community across generations, in the first decades of the twentieth century, Milhaud was essentially alone in trying to express it as a composer. In a cultural environment governed by concepts of racial essence and national style in music— notions Milhaud fully embraced, except in the case of musical Jewishness—the identities of “French composer” and “Jewish composer” were seen as mutually exclusive, and only the former gave one access to the musical mainstream. Milhaud composed around a dozen works on Jewish subjects between 1916 and 1940, some of them drawing specifically on his Provençal heritage. But as Barbara Kelly has shown, he worked hard in his early career to

⁴ Paula E. Hyman, *The Jews of Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 115–35; Albert, “Israelite and Jew,” 92–95. There is no clear consensus among scholars or publishers about whether to use “anti-Semitism” or “antisemitism”; the former is more common, especially in U.S. English, but those who prefer the latter argue that the hyphenated version implies that “Semitism” is itself a meaningful term. See Richard S. Levy, “Forget Webster,” *German Studies Review* 29, no. 1 (2006): 145–46.

⁵ Examples are quoted in Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933–1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 430; Nicolas Mariot and Claire Zalc, *Face à la persécution: 991 Juifs dans la guerre* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2010), 55. For a discussion of the term’s use among French Jews after World War II, see Dominique Schnapper, Chantal Bordes-Benayoun, and Freddy Raphaël, *Jewish Citizenship in France: The Temptation of Being among One’s Own*, trans. Catherine Temerson (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2010), 60–62.

position himself as a legitimate part of a French musical tradition, not wanting to be relegated to the marginalized status of “Jewish composer.”⁶

His resistance to this label did not signal a rejection of his Jewish identity, nor was it a simple case of professional opportunism. Where antisemites disputed Milhaud’s claim to Frenchness, Jewish cultural nationalists considered him too Westernized: his music and his *israélite* identity had little place in a movement that not only opposed assimilation, but also located Jewish “authenticity” in Eastern Europe. Milhaud had no Ashkenazi heritage; his mother was from an Italian Sephardic family, and through his father, he descended from the medieval Jewish community of the Comtat Venaissin, which had been part of the papal enclave surrounding Avignon. Thus the ethnic essentialism at the heart of both negative and positive conceptions of “Jewish music” in the first decades of the twentieth century implied an identity very different from Milhaud’s own.⁷ To respond to this, Milhaud did not reject the concept of inherited musical tradition, but rather attempted to turn it to his own advantage.⁸ When he spoke of any “racial essence” in his music, he meant not just French, but Provençal, Mediterranean, and Latin—“southern” rather than “eastern.” He viewed his Jewish heritage as an integral part of this identity, but this was far removed from popular conceptions of Jews as “Oriental” and from Eastern European Ashkenazi perspectives on Jewish authenticity.

Under Nazi ideology, of course, Jewishness was Milhaud’s *only* essential characteristic. Furthermore, leaving France removed him from the cultural context in which he had formed his identity. In exile, the composer had to come to terms with this loss of control over his self-

⁶ Barbara L. Kelly, *Tradition and Style in the Music of Darius Milhaud 1912–1939* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 27–44.

⁷ See Klára Móricz, *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁸ Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 27–32.

presentation while also finding ways to move forward in a new country. He continued to emphasize his particular Provençal background; the first chapter of *Notes sans musique*, titled “Origines,” establishes Milhaud as the product of a Jewish community that had been in Provence since “six hundred years before Jesus Christ” (a date not substantiated by archaeological evidence).⁹ He could trace his own family history to the fifteenth century, but by claiming a much earlier date for the beginning of the Jewish presence in southeastern France, he went beyond the assertion that his own French nationality was legitimated by genealogy: if Jewish traders were part of the ancient community of Marseille and “a great number of Gauls converted” to Judaism, then Jewishness was inextricably woven into the fabric of French history.¹⁰ Four years after leaving France to escape persecution and genocide, Milhaud found it all the more vital to declare not merely that he was both French and Jewish, or even that the two aspects of his identity were not in conflict, but that his Jewishness made him more French, not less.¹¹

By the time Milhaud made his enduring declaration of self-identification, therefore, the occupation of France and his experience of exile had already reshaped what it meant for him to claim the label of “Français de Provence et de religion israélite.” It changed further in the following decades; his Provençal background no longer automatically excluded him from the prevailing notions of Jewish authenticity, and taking on the role of “Jewish composer” came to offer more advantages than disadvantages. In this chapter, I trace the increasing centrality of

⁹ MVH, 9: “Six cents ans avant Jésus-Christ.” Milhaud’s original title for the chapter was “Un peu de généalogie,” which is crossed out and replaced with “Origines” in the manuscript. The earliest archaeological evidence of a Jewish community in this region, a lamp found near Avignon, dates from the first centuries of the Common Era, and the earliest written record of such a community is from the sixth century C.E. Noël Coulet, “Provence, French,” in *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Norman Roth (New York: Routledge, 2003), 533.

¹⁰ MVH, 9: “un grand nombre de Gaulois s’y convertirent.”

¹¹ Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 178.

Jewishness to Milhaud's identity as a composer across the span of his involvement with music in the United States, situating a selection of his Jewish-themed works within the complex interplay of personal circumstances, cultural shifts, and market forces that shaped both his sense of identity and his compositional output.

I first consider Milhaud's uneasy place in U.S. discourses of Jewish music up to 1945 and the ways in which he responded to that intellectual environment. During World War II, he continued to reject the label of "Jewish composer," as he had done in France, both because his music did not fit the prevailing stereotypes in the United States and because racially essentialized conceptions of Jewishness now had demonstrably dangerous implications. This tension is evident in a 1945 lecture titled "The Problem of Jewish Music," in which the composer strongly rejected the notion of innate Jewish musical characteristics. By this time, however, he had already begun to write music for U.S. Jewish contexts, facilitated by his developing connections with fellow émigrés and with other Jewish musicians across the country. His *Sacred Service* (1947), composed for a synagogue in San Francisco, raised his profile in the United States as a composer of Jewish music, though some critics still had difficulty hearing it as "Jewish."

Beyond the opportunities presented by Milhaud's professional networks and his increasing recognition as a Jewish composer—the very label he had long resisted—the reconfiguration of global Jewish culture in the wake of the Holocaust opened up space for him to engage publicly with this aspect of his identity in a new way. Milhaud's long-held conception of himself and his music as "Mediterranean" now enabled him to assert an affinity with the newly independent state of Israel, and the prestige of his French nationality became an asset to those aiming to raise the cultural status of Judaism in the United States. The Biblical opera *David*, composed for a 1954 festival in Jerusalem and staged at the Hollywood Bowl two years later,

shows the extent to which Jewish identity became part of Milhaud's transatlantic career in the decade after World War II. His rate of composition slowed somewhat after 1960, but religious music became an even more prominent aspect of his output, with significant works written for performance in France, Israel, and the United States. Now well-established as a Jewish composer, he was occasionally called upon to represent Judaism on the interfaith musical stage, as he did with the 1963 choral symphony *Pacem in terris*, a setting of excerpts from a papal encyclical. His last major work was the cantata *Ani Maamin* (1972), with a Holocaust-related text by the writer and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel. At the beginning of Milhaud's career, he was careful to avoid being classified as a "Jewish composer"; by the end of it, that same label granted a measure of sustained international prestige to a composer whose reputation otherwise centered on works composed decades earlier.

"The Problem of Jewish Music"

In the January 1929 issue of *Modern Music*, Aaron Copland published an article titled "The Lyricism of Milhaud," his challenge to the apathy and misunderstanding he felt had shaped the French composer's reception in the United States over the past decade. Rejecting the view of Milhaud's music as trivial—a characterization he admitted "Milhaud did nothing to correct"—Copland put forth the image of a sensitive musician with a gift for lyricism and a distinct musical personality.¹² In Copland's assessment, part of this personality stemmed from Milhaud's Jewish ancestry:

With a quietly moving diatonic melody and a few thick-sounding harmonies he creates a kind of charmed atmosphere entirely without impressionistic connotation. When it is darkly colored it becomes the expression of profound nostalgia—a nostalgia which has nothing of pessimism in it and almost no yearning, but a deep sense of the tragedy of all

¹² Aaron Copland, "The Lyricism of Milhaud," *Modern Music* 6, no. 2 (January–February 1929): 14.

life. Since this nostalgia is shared by none of his French confrères, I take it to be a sign of Milhaud's Jewish blood. That he is not so racial a composer as Bloch or Mahler seems natural if we remember that his ancestors settled in Provence in the fifteenth century so that his Jewishness has been long tempered by the French point of view. Nevertheless, his subjectivism, his violence and his strong sense of logic (as displayed in his use of polytonality) are indications that the Jewish spirit is still alive in him.¹³

Copland, the son of Russian Jewish immigrants to New York, had spent several years in Paris in the early 1920s, during which time he became personally acquainted with Milhaud—and with the experience of being Jewish in France. But at this time, Milhaud had written only a few compositions with titles or subject matter that pointed to his Jewish background, and they were virtually unknown in the United States.¹⁴ On his tours of the United States in 1923 and 1926–27, he lectured on the subject of modern French music, trying out the rhetoric about race in music by which he sought to define himself as a French composer.¹⁵ But he was known to be Jewish nonetheless, and this brought a spectrum of stereotypes and expectations to bear on how his music and his position as a composer were understood. For Copland, whose musical personality was also sometimes described in stereotype-drenched language, identifying Jewish traits in Milhaud's compositional voice—with connotations of seriousness, emotional depth, and resonance with the past—was a strategy for elevating Milhaud's reputation above that of an irreverent rogue.¹⁶ Conversely, the charge of frivolity against which Copland argued could be seen to have antisemitic subtext.¹⁷

¹³ Ibid., 16.

¹⁴ Milhaud's *Psalm 121* was written for the Harvard Glee Club in 1921 and remained in the group's repertory, but his choice of text did not necessarily signify Jewishness; in fact, like all of his settings of Paul Claudel's Psalm translations, it took its title from the numbering system found in Catholic Bibles. (In Jewish and Protestant versions, this text is Psalm 122.)

¹⁵ See Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 27–32.

¹⁶ A particularly hyperbolic example of this stereotyping is found in a 1932 description of Copland's music by Virgil Thomson: "He is a prophet calling out her sins to Israel. he is filled with the fear of God. His music is an evocation of the fury of God. . . . The gentler movements of his music are more like an oriental contemplation of infinity than like any tender depiction of the gentler aspects of Jehovah. . . . His melodic material is of a markedly Hebrew cast. Its tendency to return on itself is penitential. It is predominantly minor. Its chromaticism is ornamental and

Most U.S. critics at this time lacked the knowledge of Milhaud's music and biography that Copland possessed—giving them little with which to contextualize or interpret the French composer's Jewishness—but even Copland's more informed perspective relied on essentialist presuppositions. His qualifying statement that Milhaud was “not so racial a composer as Bloch or Mahler” is especially revealing.¹⁸ As in Europe, racialized conceptions of difference saturated musical discourse in the United States.¹⁹ Notions of Jewish racial difference were based on an Ashkenazi archetype; the elements Milhaud's music would have needed to exhibit in order to be heard as a full expression of his “race” had little or nothing to do with his actual ancestry. Moreover, Copland's identification of Ernest Bloch as particularly “racial” points to the overwhelming influence the Swiss-born composer had—somewhat inadvertently—on shaping expectations about musical Jewishness in the United States. Lacking an easily discernible national identity in his music, Bloch had chosen in his early career to position himself as a Jewish composer. His frequently-quoted claims that the Jewish qualities of his music emerged from his innermost self were embraced by U.S. critics from the moment of his migration to the United States in 1916, and this rhetoric soon overwhelmed any other potential lens through which to interpret his compositions, thereby shaping the expectations for other Jewish composers.²⁰

expressive rather than modulatory. When he sings, it is as wailing before the Wall.” Richard Kostelanetz, ed., *Virgil Thomson: A Reader: Selected Writings 1924–1984* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 168. Beth E. Levy juxtaposes this description with Copland's own application of “similar stereotyping” to Milhaud in *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Shaping of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 300.

¹⁷ See Rachel Mundy, “The ‘League of Jewish Composers’ and American Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* 96, no. 1 (2013): 50–99, esp. 58–64.

¹⁸ On Copland's role in Mahler's U.S. reception, see Matthew Steven Mugmon, “The American Mahler: Musical Modernism and Transatlantic Networks, 1920–1960” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013), 72–149.

¹⁹ Mundy, “The ‘League of Jewish Composers’ and American Music.”

²⁰ David M. Schiller, *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 23–30. As Schiller discusses, the *New York Times* critic Olin Downes was particularly influential in propagating this image of Bloch.

Although more of Milhaud's music had become known to U.S. critics by the time of his exile, the discourse surrounding his Jewish identity in mainstream music criticism had developed little. "The Lyricism of Milhaud" was incorporated into Copland's book *Our New Music* in 1941, bringing it to a broader readership, and other writers subsequently took up his identification of Milhaud's "subjectivism, his violence and his strong sense of logic" as Jewish musical qualities.²¹ The journalist Daniel Schorr framed his review of Copland's book for the *Jewish Exponent* around the question of why so many modern composers were Jewish; of Milhaud, he wrote: "If 'subjectivism,' 'violence,' and 'logic' are outstanding characteristics of modern music and can be identified with 'the Jewish spirit,' then we may have a partial answer."²² When Marion Bauer profiled Milhaud for *The Musical Quarterly* in 1942, she noted that his Provençal Jewish heritage had "given rise to occasional discussions as to whether certain traits shown by Milhaud may be due to his Jewish inheritance, or whether they reflect five centuries of French environment," but the only writer she quoted on the subject is Copland, and after that paragraph, the only reference to Milhaud's Jewish identity is a brief excerpt from the *Poèmes juifs*.²³

Two other books on modern music published within a year of Copland's, both containing contributions from multiple authors, also give the impression that while U.S. critics in the early 1940s possessed a more thorough understanding of Milhaud and his music than they had a decade earlier, attempts to assess the place of Jewishness in his creative identity remained limited and tentative. With Bloch still consistently identified as the most Jewish of modern composers, there was no language with which to articulate how a composer as dissimilar as Milhaud—who was so clearly French—might also be Jewish. In *Great Modern Composers*

²¹ Aaron Copland, *Our New Music: Leading Composers in Europe and America* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1941), 83–84.

²² Daniel L. Schorr, "Words and Music: Jews and Modern Music," *Jewish Exponent*, 31 October 1941.

²³ Marion Bauer, "Darius Milhaud," *The Musical Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (April 1942): 140–42.

(1941), edited by Oscar Thompson, Gilbert Chase noted that “Critics have found in certain of [Milhaud’s] works a strong trace of the composer’s Jewish extraction,” but did not specify or elaborate; by contrast, Bauer’s chapter on Bloch in this volume centered on the well-established image of the composer as “Hebrew prophet.”²⁴ *The Book of Modern Composers* appeared the following year, edited by the popular and prolific writer David Ewen, a Jewish immigrant from Austria.²⁵ Ewen’s essay on Bloch trod familiar ground, with references to “almost Chassidic mysticism,” “Oriental flavor,” and “Semitic intervals,” whereas the Catholic Ernst Krenek depicted Milhaud as a Mediterranean composer—a focus Milhaud surely approved—and wrote that “the width of Milhaud’s horizon is vast enough to enable him to set Jewish hymns as well as to interpret profoundly Catholic thought . . . one may presume that he experiences both as equally thorough expressions of Mediterranean humanity.”²⁶ In both of these books, the Jewishness of composers such as Copland, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and Schoenberg is treated similarly to Milhaud’s—mentioned briefly, if at all, and never taken as the composers’ primary musical identity or source of inspiration.

These issues had varying implications for writers concerned with the subject of “Jewish music,” as seen in several books published by the Bloch Publishing Company—a New York–based company that specialized in books on Jewish subjects—in the 1920s and 1930s.²⁷ The earliest of these books, Gdal Saleski’s *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race* (1927), is a broad survey of several hundred composers, conductors, and performers who “have in their veins

²⁴ Gilbert Chase, “Darius Milhaud,” in *Great Modern Composers*, ed. Oscar Thompson (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1941), 193; Marion Bauer, “Ernest Bloch,” in *ibid.*, 15.

²⁵ Ewen, who immigrated to the United States as a child, spoke from an American subject position in his writings on music. In *Music Comes to America* (1942), he discussed the new wave of European musical migration in ambivalent terms, labeling it “The Great Invasion.” Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 183.

²⁶ David Ewen, “Bloch,” in *The Book of Modern Composers*, ed. David Ewen (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), 255; Ernst Krenek, “Milhaud,” in *ibid.*, 193.

²⁷ There is no connection between the Bloch Publishing Company and the composer Ernest Bloch.

that fire to which the Jewish prophets gave utterance in the time of Jerusalem's glory."²⁸ The brief profile of Milhaud, which is similar to most of the others in the book, does not address the presence or absence of Jewish traits in his music, focusing instead on Les Six, modernism, and his visits to the United States.²⁹ Saleski's objective was to catalog Jewish classical musicians comprehensively, and thereby to demonstrate the central position of the "Jewish race" in Western music. The authors of the other books, however, were concerned with establishing a history that could be drawn upon to create a distinctly Jewish compositional language. For these writers, Milhaud and most of his Jewish contemporaries were far too detached from Jewish culture—that is, Eastern European Ashkenazi culture—to take part in developing such a tradition.

David Ewen's *Hebrew Music: A Study and an Interpretation*, published in 1931, exhibited a different perspective from his discussions of the European concert music tradition. Most of the short book presents a history of synagogue and folk music aimed at non-specialist Jewish readers, but in the last section, Ewen turns his attention to the subject of modern composers.³⁰ In his estimation, only Bloch (to whom the book was dedicated) and selected Russian Jewish composers were able to express a true Jewish spirit in their music. Of Milhaud, he wrote:

²⁸ Gdal Saleski, *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race: Biographical Sketches of Outstanding Figures of Jewish Origin in the Musical World* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1927), vii. Saleski stated in the preface that he defined Jewishness as a race rather than a religious or national identity, meaning that he included those who had Jewish ancestry but did not identify as Jewish, such as the conductor Walter Damrosch. The book also included a number of musicians who were—unbeknownst to the author—not Jewish by any definition, such as Maurice Ravel, Georges Bizet, and Camille Saint-Saëns. In 1949, a revised edition was published under the title *Famous Musicians of Jewish Origin*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 49–50. Saleski mentions here that he was a cellist in the City Symphony Orchestra at the time of Milhaud's first U.S. concert tour in 1923, when that orchestra performed Milhaud's *Sérénade* and *Ballade*. According to his own biographical sketch at the end of the book (451–55), written by Maurice M. Altermann, Saleski was born in Kiev in 1888, joined an orchestra in Norway during World War I, then immigrated to New York in 1921.

³⁰ A note at the beginning of the book states that some of the chapters first appeared in Jewish publications such as the *Jewish Daily Forward* and *B'nai B'rith Magazine*.

Milhaud's numerous attempts at Hebrew music have all achieved the same result. Such works as *Israel est Vivant* or *Six Popular Hebrew Melodies* or *Hymne de Sion* are, obviously, the work of a foreigner. None of the religious ecstasy or the sad brooding of the Jew is here captured. There is in these works a rich flow of complacent melody, skillfully developed, but the melody is distinctly French in form, reminiscent of the idiom of the French six.³¹

For Ewen, the French Milhaud could approach Jewish music only as a “foreigner,” inherently unable to achieve authenticity. He placed Milhaud alongside Copland, Maurice Ravel [*sic*], and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco in the category of composers who “are Jews merely by accident of birth,” whose “interest in matters Jewish is more intellectual than emotional,” and who “do not feel or understand the religion or the distinct culture it has produced.”³² In the context of French music, Ewen could express a certain appreciation for Milhaud's output—as he did in other books and articles—but he did not consider the composer or his music to be truly Jewish, as Milhaud was the product of a Jewish culture Ewen did not recognize.

Lazare Saminsky's *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible* (1934) circulated more widely, owing to the author's prominence in the Jewish cultural nationalist movement before and after his immigration to the United States in 1920.³³ Saminsky, a founder of the League of Composers who came to feel neglected by modernist circles, drew a distinction “between the Eastern, populist wing of the modern Jewish composers (Achron, Bloch, Gniéssin, Krein, Milner and myself), and the Western radical group including such men as Schoenberg, Milhaud, Gruenberg,

³¹ David Ewen, *Hebrew Music: A Study and an Interpretation* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1931), 57.

³² *Ibid.*, 57–58. See Assaf Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 55. Shortly after the publication of Ewen's book, he learned that Ravel was not actually Jewish; in his interview with Ravel for the *Jewish Exponent* in December 1932, Ewen explained that he was interested in learning why a Christian composer “should have wished to compose Hebrew melodies.” In this interview, Ravel included Milhaud (alongside Schoenberg and Bloch) in his list of “a few of the many Jews who are helping to fashion today the music of tomorrow.” David Ewen, “Maurice Ravel on Hebrew Music and Jewish Composers: Exclusive Interview with France's Noted Artist,” *Jewish Exponent*, 16 December 1932.

³³ On Saminsky's early activities in Russia, see Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 13–91.

Rathaus, Copland, Paul Pisk, Ernest [*sic*] Toch.”³⁴ Rather than characterizing the latter group as only nominally Jewish, as Ewen did, Saminsky associated them—especially Schoenberg—with antisemitic stereotypes of neuroticism and anxiety, contrasting them with the healthy Hebraic mentality of the “Eastern populists.”³⁵ Condemning the modernist pursuit of artistic individuality as “that calamitous mission-idea that has made the Jewish creator blind to his own submerged racial art,” Saminsky described this type of composer as “Eager to take up a fantastic and fatal obligation to humanity, that of an international musical salesman, eager to be a citizen of the cosmopolitan art-realm. . . . Eager to plant anarchical individualism coupled with an all-cure tonal synthesis like Schoenberg and Hauer, or to uphold the facile precepts of the ‘Latin genius’ like Milhaud.”³⁶ The rhetorical strategy of juxtaposing “pure” ancient Hebrews with “corrupt” modern Jews was common to both antisemites and Jewish cultural nationalists, but Saminsky was particularly bold in his use of this binary construction to attack other Jewish composers.³⁷

The most influential book on Jewish music at this time—Abraham Zvi Idelsohn’s *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (1929)—was issued not by the Bloch Publishing Company, but by the mainstream publisher Henry Holt.³⁸ Idelsohn, a Latvian-born professor at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati who had immigrated to the United States in 1922 after seventeen years in Palestine, was not part of the New York modernist scene that preoccupied and frustrated

³⁴ Lazare Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1934), 52–53.

³⁵ In a 1923 article, Saminsky described Schoenberg as “a typical representative of the western, that is continental European Jewry, hysterical neurotic, assimilating and accentuating ideas and feelings adapted from its neighbors.” Lazare Saminsky, “Neurotic Composers and Hebrews in Music of Today,” *Musical America* 37, no. 20 (10 March 1923): 9. Quoted in Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg’s New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 36, and, curiously, in Saleski, *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race*, 83. Saminsky also wrote of Copland, “His neurotic drive and stringent intellectualism are typically Jewish, but of the worse sort.” Lazare Saminsky, *Music of Our Day: Essentials and Prophecies* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1939), 154. Quoted in Mundy, “The ‘League of Jewish Composers’ and American Music,” 70.

³⁶ Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible*, 95.

³⁷ Mundy, “The ‘League of Jewish Composers’ and American Music,” 70–71.

³⁸ Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (New York: Henry Holt, 1929).

Saminsky. Both writers were driven by a similar ideology of Jewish cultural nationalism, but whereas Saminsky's book was primarily a polemic, Idelsohn's was the product of decades of ethnographic research.³⁹ Rich with detail and notated musical examples, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* traced synagogue music and Jewish folk song from antiquity to the early twentieth century. Judah M. Cohen writes that with this book, "Idelsohn attempted to give Jews in America a clear sonic heritage and epistemology" and "gave the concept of Jewish music a usable past for both musical practice and future research."⁴⁰

In the penultimate chapter, "The Jew in General Music," Idelsohn—like Saleski—noted with approval that Jewish composers and musicians had a significant presence in Western art music, but he drew a distinction between this activity and "Jewish music."⁴¹ For Idelsohn, Jewish music could only be created by those who were immersed in a Jewish cultural environment and had a strong command of traditional Hebrew melody.⁴² This definition excluded even Bloch, whose music Idelsohn dismissed as possessing only "a touch of Orientalism" rather than a true Jewish quality.⁴³ Milhaud is not mentioned by name, but he is implicitly included in Idelsohn's judgments. Though Idelsohn maintained that there was an essential relationship between race and music, he saw environment as an equally important

³⁹ On *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* and this book's place in Idelsohn's career, see Judah M. Cohen, "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music: Abraham Z. Idelsohn in the United States," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 100, no. 3 (2010): 417–53. On the work of Idelsohn and Saminsky before their migration to the United States, see James Loeffler, "Richard Wagner's 'Jewish Music': Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture," *Jewish Social Studies* 15, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 2–36.

⁴⁰ Cohen notes that these goals represented "an important shift in [Idelsohn's] thinking during this time: from inspiring communities in Jerusalem to invest in Hebrew melodies for nation-building purposes to training a class of American specialists in Jewish music traditions systematically so as to renew the liberal Jewish spirit in the synagogue and concert hall." Cohen, "Rewriting the Grand Narrative," 419. The term "usable past" originates with Van Wyck Brooks, "On Creating a Usable Past," *The Dial* 64, no. 7 (11 April 1918): 337–41.

⁴¹ Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 471–77.

⁴² By this point in Idelsohn's career, he no longer located the potential for such cultural environments solely in Eastern Europe or in Palestine, but rather aimed to cultivate them among Reform Jewish communities in the United States. See Cohen, "Rewriting the Grand Narrative."

⁴³ Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 474.

factor, writing: “Verily, history teaches us that *race* alone does not make for originality in music. It serves merely as fertile soil which, when sown with seeds of the spiritual culture of that race, bears distinctive fruits. The Jew in general music has written not as a Jew, but has produced out of and contributed to the culture in which he happened to be reared.”⁴⁴

Of the books discussed above, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* is the only one I am certain that Milhaud read. In “The Problem of Jewish Music,” an unpublished English-language manuscript written in 1945, Milhaud drew on Idelsohn’s book both as a source of information and as support for his anti-essentialist view of the relationship between his Jewish identity and his music.⁴⁵ The influence of Idelsohn goes unacknowledged in the text, which was likely written to be delivered as a lecture at Mills College. However, the condensed history of Jewish music that comprises the majority of Milhaud’s essay is clearly derived from *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, often to the point of plagiarism.⁴⁶ Even the discussion of the music of the Provençal Jewish community is mostly a close paraphrase of Idelsohn, though Milhaud included some additional information to connect the history to his own family.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid., 476–77.

⁴⁵ In the original manuscript (PSS-DM), it appears that he originally gave it the title “Jewish Music,” then added “The Problem of” later. My quotations from this essay are taken from this manuscript, without correcting Milhaud’s spelling or grammar. In 1996, Georges Jessula published the text in the *Revue des Études juives* (Darius Milhaud, “The Problem of Jewish Music,” *Revue des Études juives* 1, no. 2 [1996]: 233–44); this version appears to be a transcription of the manuscript in PSS-DM, but with light copyediting (though most of Milhaud’s errors and idiosyncracies remain) and some other minor differences. The typed copy in the Darius Milhaud Collection at Mills College is the least accurate source, as it introduces many errors not present in the manuscript, which the typist evidently had trouble reading. A note from Madeleine Milhaud attached to the Mills copy dates it to 1945, which is also indicated by the reference to the *Genesis Suite* at the end of the essay and the inclusion of the *Kaddish* in the list of his Jewish compositions.

⁴⁶ For example, compare Idelsohn: “Hence, Synagogue and Church adopted the tendency toward striking simplicity in text and music. Of the elaborate Temple music the Synagogue retained only the chants in Palestinian folk-modes, which remain to the present day, for Bible and prayers” (*Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 96) and Milhaud: “Later, Synagogue and Church ~~adopted~~ decided to have music but with a striking simplicity, only the chants in Palestinian modes remained and remains to the present day” (“The Problem of Jewish Music,” 5).

⁴⁷ Idelsohn: “They did not mingle with German Jews; they even strongly opposed extending full rights to the German Jews in Paris in 1792–1810. Their traditional tunes differ to a great extent from those of all other Jewish communities. They contain elements of original Jewish modes intermingled with French chants of the Middle Ages”

On the subject of modern Jewish composers, Idelsohn's perspective and goals were very different from Milhaud's, but his argument about environment and culture nevertheless resonated with the composer. In Milhaud's reading, Idelsohn's assertion that composers such as Mendelssohn, Halévy, and Offenbach "drew their material from the wells of the music of their adopted peoples" validated his connection to the French musical tradition as well as his broader "Latin" identity.⁴⁸ Milhaud wrote:

I have studied very deeply the liturgy of the Provençal Jews and used it in some works of Jewish or religious character. But all the characteristics of my music are French and mediterranean, or even more accurately Latin. South America, where I lived 2 years in Brazil, had a strong influence too on my work, but it is a Latin influence, because my Southern French soul feels at ease in any Latin atmosphere.⁴⁹

Milhaud had made similar assertions about his own music long before his exile, but here, bolstered by Idelsohn's specific definition of "Jewish music," he also applied this reasoning to his Jewish contemporaries, aligning their musical identities solely with their national origins.

I think that most of the Jewish composers have lost their Jewish characteristics, except of course the case of the works written on Jewish subject.

Paul Dukas was a Jew. I see only Gallic tradition in his works.

Schonberg is a Jew. I see only Austrian tradition and the atonality that he uses, as the terminal point of the Wagnerian chromaticism.

Aaron Copland is a Jew. I see only the heart of America, the mood of the country soil, the sadness of the shadow of cow boy songs, the clarity of American horizons.⁵⁰

Ernest Bloch has written numerous works of Jewish inspiration but in his opera *Macbeth*, which is perhaps his master piece, and in his quartets, you feel a human heart belonging to the world.⁵¹

(*Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 340–41); Milhaud: "They did not mingle with Spanish refugees of 1492, nor with German Jews. They even strongly opposed them. The musical liturgy differs from all others. The original Jewish modes were intermingled with French chants of the Middle Ages" ("The Problem of Jewish Music," 14).

⁴⁸ Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 474.

⁴⁹ Milhaud, "The Problem of Jewish Music," 15.

⁵⁰ See Levy, *Frontier Figures*.

⁵¹ The idea of "universality" was an increasingly prominent component of Bloch's self-representation by this time, as he attempted to counteract the ways in which being viewed as a "Jewish composer" limited his career and led to misreadings of his music.

Vittorio Rieti is a Jew. How could you know it, listening to his works so much in the Italian tradition of Scarlatti and even Rossini.

Alexander Tansman is a Jew. But his music is in the French tradition with Polish feeling (like his mazurkas) but with more of Chopin's characteristics than the moods of the Polish Rabbis.⁵²

Going a step further than Idelsohn, he further separated personal identity from musical composition by giving examples of non-Jewish composers who had composed what might otherwise be called "Jewish music":

Honegger is a Protestant, of Swiss origin, but in his oratorios *King David* and *Judith* you can find a sort of oriental flavor which no doubt would be attributed to Jewishness...if he was a Jew.

Strawinsky is a Russian orthodox. He wrote his *Symphony de Psaumes*, for choir and orchestra in which you feel a strong sentiment expressing the Old Testament. Recently he agreed to collaborate in making a collection of records on Genesis, with Shilkret, Tansman, Toch, Castelnuovo Tedesco, Schonberg and myself. All Jews except Strawinsky. His contribution, *The Tower of Babel* is a cantata, and the best piece of the album.⁵³

While Milhaud took a pointedly anti-essentialist view of musical Jewishness in this essay (essentializing national origin in order to do so), he did not attempt to deny that this aspect of his heritage had influenced certain compositions. After listing fifteen works in his own catalog—which reached op. 250 by this point—that he considered to have "Jewish inspiration," he wrote: "In works of a religious character, if I use actual Jewish tunes, I know a Jewish feeling, is added to the music of a Franco-Latin heart, French citizen of Jewish faith."⁵⁴ He concluded by looking ahead to the development of a distinct musical culture among the Jewish population of Palestine. While many Zionists viewed *Eretz Yisrael* as the place where authentic Jewish culture could be

⁵² Milhaud, "The Problem of Jewish Music," 15–16. Milhaud's assessment of Tansman's musical identity reiterates tropes that were common features of the Polish-born composer's reception in France, including the comparison to Frédéric Chopin. In particular, it recalls a 1929 *Revue musicale* essay by Raymond Petit: "Tansman seems more Polish than Jewish. The rhythm of the mazurka is much more natural to him than Jewish chant." Quoted in Barbara Ann Milewski, "The Mazurka and National Imaginings" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2002), 176–77.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 16. Milhaud refers here to the *Genesis Suite*, a collaborative project organized by Nathaniel Shilkret in 1945.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

recovered and rebuilt, Milhaud positioned the work of its composers as a developing national tradition like any other.

But in the Palestine of to day music is produced with the same intensity that the oranges and grape fruit plantations grow and transform the country. Until now the folk elements come more from the askenazim, due to the great number of germans or eastern europeans who emigrated. I heard the music of the Habimah Theater of Russian influence and that of the Johel theater.⁵⁵ This latter company is purely Palestinian, an indication for the artistic future of this country. Although the prononciation is Sephardic the tunes are more of the Askenazim. But Palestinian music will affirm itself. It will be quite different from the music of the European or American Jewish composers expressing their Jewish faith. It will probably be more Palestinian than Jewish, as my music is more French and Aaron Copland's more American.⁵⁶

Of the fifteen works on Milhaud's list of his own Jewish-themed compositions, all but three predate his exile, though the omission of his contribution to the *Genesis Suite*, the collaborative work mentioned in his discussion of Stravinsky, seems to be an oversight. The exceptions, listed together on one line, are "a Borechou, a Schema, a Kaddisch." These short pieces, composed in 1944 and 1945, were his first compositions for an American synagogue. This engagement with liturgical music would soon lead to one of his best-known Jewish compositions, the *Sacred Service*.

Music for the Synagogue

The reflections on Jewish music discussed in the previous section took place primarily within the Reform movement; Saminsky was the music director of the oldest Reform synagogue in New York City, Temple Emanu-El, and Idelsohn was affiliated with Hebrew Union College. Many of their fellow Eastern European immigrants formed Orthodox congregations, but Saminsky's and Idelsohn's networks, social status, and interest in new synagogue composition led them to

⁵⁵ Milhaud may have seen the Habima Theatre during his 1926 trip to the Soviet Union, where the company was then located.

⁵⁶ Milhaud, "The Problem of Jewish Music," 17.

Reform Judaism when they reached the United States. The two men—especially Saminsky, from his powerful position as the music director of a large New York synagogue—were involved with the efforts within the U.S. Reform movement to build up a repertory of synagogue music comparable in breadth and quality to that of American Protestants. They worked toward this goal alongside such composers as Isadore Freed, Abraham W. Binder, Herbert Fromm, and Hugo Chaim Adler. In this context, discerning the “essence” of Jewish music was seen as a vital task in order to establish a solid and legitimate foundation for new composition.

Interest in new synagogue music was not limited to Reform Judaism, however. Conservative synagogues at this time exhibited a wide range of liturgical and musical practice, depending on the background and interests of the congregants and leadership. Many were former Orthodox congregations undertaking a moderate process of reform, often driven by the U.S.-born children of Eastern European immigrants, but others had closer ties to the Reform movement.⁵⁷ For example, New York’s Park Avenue Synagogue changed its affiliation from Reform to Conservative in 1933 under the leadership of its new rabbi, Milton Steinberg. This shift changed some aspects of the temple’s services—for instance, men were now required to cover their heads during worship—but the music continued in more of a Reform vein, including the organ and a mixed-gender choir.⁵⁸

Park Avenue’s cantor, David J. Putterman, who arrived from a different New York congregation at the same time as Steinberg, made a sustained effort to reach out to “famous composers who otherwise would never have been interested in writing for the synagogue.”⁵⁹ The

⁵⁷ Marc Lee Raphael, *The Synagogue in America: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 47–53, 66–71, 76–78.

⁵⁸ Pamela Susan Nadell, “Steinberg, Milton,” *Conservative Judaism in America: A Biographical Dictionary and Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988), 244–46.

⁵⁹ David Putterman quoted in Sam Pessaroff, “Commissioning Contemporary Composers to Write for the Synagogue: The Historical Contribution of Hazzan David Putterman,” *Journal of Synagogue Music* 7, no. 4

first of Putterman's annual services featuring newly-composed liturgical music took place in March 1943. It presented settings of portions of the liturgy by Alexander Gretchaninov, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Paul Dessau, Hugo Chaim Adler, and Max Helfman.⁶⁰ The cantor solicited these contributions by sending prayer books to composers and inviting them to choose the texts that most interested them.⁶¹ Later in 1943, Putterman asked Milhaud to set his choice of texts for the following year's contemporary service, to which the composer responded: "Thank you for your letter. I will choose the Barechu and the Shema. Do you want it in hebrew, in english or both? If you send me the hebrew with the accents I should like it also with the sephardim prononciation."⁶² At this time, most U.S. synagogues used the Ashkenazi pronunciation of Hebrew, in accordance with the demographics of the American Jewish community, while Milhaud—whose knowledge of Hebrew was limited to a handful of prayers—was accustomed to the Sephardic pronunciation used at the synagogue in Aix-en-Provence.⁶³

The texts Milhaud selected both occur early in the Sabbath service. Following the preliminary prayers, which can vary from one service to the next, "Borechu" (the Ashkenazi spelling used by Park Avenue) is the call to worship. Milhaud's setting preserves the call-and-

(October 1977), 7. Steinberg came to Park Avenue from a Conservative synagogue in Indiana, but Putterman had previously served as the cantor of New York's Temple Israel, a Reform congregation.

⁶⁰ Pessaroff, "Commissioning Contemporary Composers," 7–8. All of these composers were recent émigrés except Helfman, who moved from Poland to the United States as a child in 1909. Gretchaninov was Russian Orthodox; other non-Jewish composers would receive commissions from Putterman in subsequent years, including Roy Harris, Douglas Moore, and William Grant Still.

⁶¹ Pessaroff, "Commissioning Contemporary Composers," 7. On Putterman's correspondence with Arnold Schoenberg, which never resulted in a completed commission, see *ibid.*, 11–12, and Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*, 103.

⁶² Darius Milhaud to David Putterman, [November 1943], Jewish Theological Seminary, David J. Putterman Collection, <https://www.jtsa.edu/prebuilt/archives/music/putterman.shtml> (accessed 26 November 2014). The spelling "Barechu" in the letter reflects Sephardic pronunciation; his setting of the text was published as "Borechu."

⁶³ The earliest Jewish congregations in the Americas followed the Sephardic rite, but by the nineteenth century, as a result of increased German Jewish immigration, Ashkenazi synagogues outnumbered Sephardic ones.

response structure of the prayer by alternating between the cantor and the four-part choir.⁶⁴ “Shema Yisroel,” the declaration of faith, is the most important prayer in the liturgy, later featured at the end of Arnold Schoenberg’s *A Survivor from Warsaw*. Milhaud’s version includes only the first two lines of the long prayer; after an introduction using imitative counterpoint, it follows a similar call-and-response pattern, with the second line sung in unison on only two pitches.⁶⁵ As published in *Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers*, a 1951 collection edited by Putterman, Milhaud’s *Borechu* and *Shema Yisroel* can be sung in either Hebrew or English.⁶⁶

In January 1945, Milhaud also wrote a “Mourner’s Kaddish” for Putterman’s synagogue.⁶⁷ The text appears only in the original Aramaic and is sung entirely by the cantor, with the choir responding “Amen” after each phrase.⁶⁸ The published score bears the dedication “To the memory of my Parents.”⁶⁹ Because Milhaud was far away from his parents at the time of their deaths in 1942 and 1944—and did not receive the news until weeks later—he was unable to mourn in full accordance with Jewish custom.⁷⁰ The Mourner’s Kaddish is traditionally recited on each anniversary of a family member’s death, and January 1945 marked one year since the

⁶⁴ Darius Milhaud, “Borechu (Bless ye the Lord),” in *Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers*, ed. David J. Putterman (New York: G. Schirmer, 1951), 164–69.

⁶⁵ Darius Milhaud, “Shema Yisroel (O hear, Israel),” in *Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers*, 194–97. The version by Paul Dessau that precedes it in the collection also includes only the first two lines.

⁶⁶ Of the thirty-eight pieces in the collection, twenty-one have the text only in Hebrew (or Aramaic, in the case of the Kaddish), seven have only English texts, eight provide an English translation under the Hebrew text, and two include sections in both languages.

⁶⁷ The other setting of this text in *Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers*, by Ernst Levy, is titled “Reader’s Kaddish.”

⁶⁸ On the language and various forms of the Kaddish, see Andreas Lehnardt, “‘Therefore they ordained to say it in Aramaic’: Some Remarks on Language and Style of the Kaddish,” in *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Proceedings of the 6th EAJIS Congress, Toledo, July 1998*, ed. Judit Targarona Borrás and Angel Sáenz-Badillos (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1999), 303–10.

⁶⁹ Darius Milhaud, “Mourner’s Kaddish,” in *Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers*, 340.

⁷⁰ Robert Shapiro, “Darius Milhaud,” in *Les Six: The French Composers and Their Mentors Jean Cocteau and Erik Satie*, ed. Robert Shapiro (London: Peter Owen, 2011), 206.

death of his mother. As Annegret Fauser has suggested, his choice of text may also have been a reaction to learning that he had lost members of his extended family to the concentration camps.⁷¹ January 1945 was an appropriate time to mourn these relatives as well; less than a week before writing the piece on 9 January, the composer had received a letter from Madeleine's brother confirming that Jean Milhaud had been deported to a concentration camp.⁷²

Like many of the composers who wrote music for the Park Avenue Synagogue in the 1940s, Milhaud did not attend synagogue services regularly, nor was he especially observant in other ways. According to Madeleine Milhaud, her husband prayed daily and always fasted on Yom Kippur, "but he was not excessively religious," meaning that apart from private devotion, he did not take part in Jewish ritual practice.⁷³ Alexandre Tansman recalled one of Milhaud's visits to Los Angeles during the war: "As Milhaud was very religious, we made special food for Passover, and we had just bought unleavened bread when, that same evening, Milhaud showed up with an enormous cake, which he claimed to be 'traditional' according to his own beliefs, but which we ate knowing well, each one of us, that it was nothing of the sort!"⁷⁴

Madeleine Milhaud did not consider herself religious at all; her father, Michel Milhaud, had moved from Aix to Paris to study law in the 1890s, at the time of the Dreyfus Affair, and living through this period of heightened antisemitism made him wary of openly identifying as

⁷¹ Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 193.

⁷² Darius Milhaud, "Mourner's Kaddish," 344; Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, 4 January 1945, C-Hoppenot, 285. Darius and Madeleine had known of their nephew's deportation since the previous April, but did not hear directly from the boy's father until January 1945.

⁷³ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, trans. Mildred Clary (Cleveland: Darius Milhaud Society, 2008), 108; Madeleine Milhaud, "A Souvenir of Milhaud, His Friends, His Work," oral history conducted by Marguerite E. Schumann (1986), 13.6.

⁷⁴ Alexandre Tansman, *Regards en arrière: Itinéraire d'un musicien cosmopolite au XX^e siècle*, ed. Cédric Segond-Genovesi (Château-Gontier: Aedam Musicae, 2013), 332: "Milhaud étant très religieux, on fit de la cuisine spéciale pour la Pâque juive, et on acheta du pain azyme quand, le soir même, Milhaud s'amena avec un énorme gâteau, qu'il prétendit être 'rituel' pour sa propre conviction, mais que l'on mangea en sachant bien, chacun, qu'il n'en était rien!"

Jewish.⁷⁵ Madeleine and her older brother, Etienne, were raised secular; while she did receive some religious instruction as a teenager, she later claimed to have done this to annoy her family rather than out of any genuine conviction.⁷⁶ Of her relationship with Darius, she recalled: “I did not point out that he worked on Saturdays, which he should not have done. All the same, he was very broad-minded, and he accepted that I was not religious.”⁷⁷

Although the Milhauds were not members of any congregation in California, they had connections to at least two Reform synagogues in the area. Daniel Milhaud’s bar mitzvah was held at Oakland’s Temple Sinai in February 1943, and in December of that year, Madeleine Milhaud performed at the temple’s Hanukkah party.⁷⁸ Their closer and more significant relationship was with Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco. Founded in 1851 at the height of the Gold Rush, it was one of the two oldest synagogues in the city, and it had developed into a center of the Bay Area’s Jewish establishment.⁷⁹ The temple on Lake Street—built in the 1920s to replace a structure destroyed in the 1906 earthquake—cost more than a million dollars to construct, most of which was provided by wealthy members of the congregation.⁸⁰ In the 1940s, the issue of Zionism caused significant conflict within the congregation, with some—including

⁷⁵ Madeleine Milhaud, “Madeleine Milhaud raconte” (2004), disc 1, *Darius Milhaud et sa musique: de la Provence au monde*, DVD, directed by Cécile Clairval-Milhaud (Paris: Steinval, 2011), 17:28. See Hyman, *The Jews of Modern France*, 91–114.

⁷⁶ Madeleine Milhaud, “Madeleine Milhaud raconte,” 18:00: “Pour emmerder ma famille, j’ai commencé à pratiquer. En fait, je n’étais pas religieuse du tout.”

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 19:00: “Je n’avais pas fait remarquer qu’il travaillait le samedi, ce qu’il n’aurait pas dû faire. Il avait tout de même un esprit très large, et il supportait que je ne sois pas religieuse.”

⁷⁸ Darius Milhaud to Jane Bathori, 18 February 1943, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 10 (250). “Temple Plans Chanukah Party,” *Oakland Tribune*, 13 December 1943: “Mme. Darius Milhaud, lecturer and dramatic reader, formerly on the French stage, will give a dramatic reading.”

⁷⁹ Before 1851, the nascent Jewish community of San Francisco was divided between adherents of the German and Polish rites. Therefore, two congregations were established simultaneously: Emanu-El for the Central European immigrants, and Sherith Israel for the Eastern Europeans. Fred Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform: Congregation Emanu-El and the Jews of San Francisco, 1849–1999* (Berkeley: Judah L. Magnes Museum, 2000), 8–10.

⁸⁰ Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform*, 140–49. Rosenbaum notes that this amount was “more than fifteen times the average cost for an American synagogue constructed in this period” (141).

the rabbi—fearing that the establishment of a Jewish state would increase antisemitism in the United States by cementing the status of Jews as a minority ethnic group and leading to suspicions of divided loyalty.⁸¹ In 1948, following several years of discord, the anti-Zionist Rabbi Irving Reichert was replaced by Alvin Fine, a supporter of the new state of Israel.⁸²

The Milhaud family's link to the temple was Reuben R. Rinder, the cantor of Temple Emanu-El for over fifty years (1913–66). An immigrant from a town near Lviv in what is now western Ukraine, who trained as a cantor in New York, Rinder was hired to bridge the gap between the temple's acculturated Central European establishment and the rapidly growing Eastern European segment of the membership.⁸³ Throughout his long tenure, he wielded considerable influence in the life of the congregation, both within and outside the domain of music. Starting in 1922, he arranged annual performances of oratorios and other choral works by such composers as Handel and Mendelssohn, for which the Emanu-El choir would join forces with singers from nearby universities and instrumentalists from the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra.⁸⁴ In addition to this activity, Rinder sought out composers to write new synagogue music, as Putterman did on the other side of the country. He was instrumental in bringing Ernest Bloch from Cleveland to San Francisco in 1925, and after some persuasion—and the promise of a considerable fee—Rinder convinced the composer to write a complete service for Temple Emanu-El.⁸⁵ Bloch's *Sacred Service* (also titled *Avodath Hakodesh*) was heard in Turin and New

⁸¹ Ibid., 193–201.

⁸² Ibid., 216–18.

⁸³ Ibid., 120–21; Alan Silverstein, *Alternatives to Assimilation: The Response of Reform Judaism to American Culture* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 1994), 159.

⁸⁴ Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform*, 160–61.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 165–66. Bloch received \$13,000 for the work, of which only \$3,000 came from Bay Area donors; the rest was a gift from Gerald Warburg, a New York-based cellist and philanthropist. See Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 170–71, and Leta E. Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco: From the 1906 Quake to the Second World War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 127–28.

York before its eventual performance at Temple Emanu-El in 1938 (featuring an orchestra from the Federal Music Project).⁸⁶

The arrival of another prominent Jewish composer to the Bay Area caught Rinder's attention, and he and his wife brought the Milhauds into their social circle over the following years. At Reuben and Rose Rinder's Passover seder in April 1947, Milhaud was commissioned to write a Sacred Service for Temple Emanu-El.⁸⁷ The composer was present, as was Clara Hellman Heller, a member of the synagogue who belonged to two prominent Bay Area Jewish families.⁸⁸ According to Rose Rinder, when the cantor raised the possibility of such a project, Heller immediately volunteered to provide the financial support.⁸⁹ Milhaud received \$5,000 for the composition—more than his annual salary at Mills—with another \$4,000 pledged toward the first performance.⁹⁰ He completed the score in early July, but there was no time to arrange the premiere before his return to France the following month.⁹¹ In December, he wrote to Rinder from his sickbed in Aix-en-Provence: “I will never forget that it was thanks to your intervention that I have been able to write one of the great works of my life.”⁹²

⁸⁶ Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform*, 167; Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 128. On the mixed critical reception of Bloch's composition in Turin and New York, see Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 171–75.

⁸⁷ In 1947, Passover was celebrated on 5–11 April.

⁸⁸ Her father was Isaias W. Hellman, an influential banker, and her husband, Emanuel S. Heller, had contributed \$20,000 toward the construction of Congregation Emanu-El's new temple in 1924. Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform*, 143.

⁸⁹ Rose Rinder, “Music Prayer, and Religious Leadership: Temple Emanu-El, 1913–1969,” oral history conducted by Malca Chall (Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1971), 71. See also Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform*, 169. In 1953, Clara Hellman Heller also provided the money that enabled Mills College to keep Milhaud on the faculty when he received a tempting job offer from the University of California, Berkeley (see chapter 4).

⁹⁰ Gregory Carmine Silverman, “The Influence of the Reformed Jewish Movement and Religious Belief on Text-Setting in Darius Milhaud's *Service Sacré* (1947)” (DMA diss., University of Arizona, 2013), 31. Milhaud's Mills College salary for the 1946–47 academic year was \$4,450. Darius Milhaud to Lynn White, 8 August 1946, Mills-DM, 3.1.12.

⁹¹ The first and last pages of the manuscript are dated 5 June and 9 July 1947, respectively.

⁹² Darius Milhaud to Reuben Rinder, 25 December 1947, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Reuben R. Rinder Papers, BANC MSS 2010/692, Folder 41.

In its structure and content, the *Sacred Service* reflects both typical U.S. Reform practice and the specific circumstances of Temple Emanu-El, while also bearing the influence of Milhaud's own religious background and compositional style.⁹³ The text is set in short discrete movements; according to Ludwig Altman, the organist of Temple Emanu-El, this structure made it relatively easy—if not entirely uncomplicated—to use sections of Milhaud's music in an ordinary synagogue service, whereas Bloch's oratorio-like composition was difficult to excerpt or interrupt.⁹⁴ Milhaud's division of the cantor's role between a baritone soloist and a speaker stemmed from a practical concern: by this time, the sixty-year-old Rinder had developed a condition that permanently limited his singing voice, so the incorporation of spoken recitation with instrumental accompaniment would allow him to participate in the performance.⁹⁵ The choir and soloist sing in Hebrew, while the spoken text is in English, corresponding to the use of the vernacular in a Reform service. Though Milhaud preferred the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew, he wrote the manuscript using the Ashkenazi transliteration from the 1940 edition of the *Union Prayer Book*. His Provençal heritage is woven into the music, however; Oreen Zeitlin has identified specific melodic correspondences with a late nineteenth-century volume of chants from the liturgy of the Comtat Venaissin.⁹⁶

The *Sacred Service* was premiered under Milhaud's direction at Temple Emanu-El on 18 May 1949—a Wednesday evening, which placed the occasion in the context of performance

⁹³ On the relationship between the Reform liturgy and Milhaud's *Sacred Service*, see Silverman, "The Influence of the Reformed Jewish Movement."

⁹⁴ Ludwig Altman, "A Well-Tempered Musician's Unfinished Journey Through Life," oral history conducted by Eleanor K. Glaser and Caroline Crawford (Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1971), 160–61; Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform*, 170.

⁹⁵ Altman, "A Well-Tempered Musician's Unfinished Journey Through Life," 62, 155–56.

⁹⁶ Oreen Innez Zeitlin, "Darius Milhaud's *Service sacré* (MSM thesis, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1992); Neil W. Levin, Liner Notes, *Darius Milhaud: Service Sacré*, Gerard Schwarz (conductor), Naxos 8.559409, 2003, compact disc. For other musical analyses of the *Sacred Service*, see Robert Harold Matthews, "Darius Milhaud's *Sacred Service*: A Historical, Textual, and Theoretical Analysis" (DMA diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2011), and Silverman, "The Influence of the Reformed Jewish Movement."

rather than ritual. Continuing Rinder's long-standing relationship with Bay Area secular musicians, the orchestra consisted of members of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, and the choir came from the University of California, Berkeley. Rinder gave the spoken recitation, and the baritone soloist was Edgar Jones, who later joined the Mills College music faculty and took part in many local performances of Milhaud's music. In the program, the Hebrew titles of each section of the piece are accompanied by the *Union Prayer Book's* English translations of the texts, making the work accessible to an audience unfamiliar with the Hebrew liturgy. The profile of the composer on the last page includes Copland's familiar assessment of the Jewish qualities of Milhaud's music, a list of Milhaud's religious works, and the assurance that his polytonal technique "has never been an enemy of the tonal system, for even when one tonality is juxtaposed upon another, the predominating tonality endures and survives."⁹⁷

Bay Area music critics responded positively to the work, recognizing its significance both for the region's cultural life and for synagogue music more broadly.⁹⁸ Without a significant tradition of synagogue music by major composers to serve as a point of comparison, however, they situated it primarily in the context of large-scale Christian works likely to be familiar to their readers. For example, Alexander Fried wrote in the *San Francisco Examiner*:

Most composers, when they turn to religious forms, use much the same dramatic and emotional attitude as in their serious secular works. For example, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony is hardly less religious than his *Missa Solemnis*. Verdi's great *Requiem*, for all its profound religious message, is as dramatic and virile as his *Aida* music. Milhaud has taken a different track, and has run a bit of risk in doing so. His *Sacred Service* music is deepfelt and original. Its moods generally turn inward. It seems consistently determined not to be rhetorical. Instead of providing a dramatized portrait of ritual, it is the ritual itself.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ *Sacred Service* program, 18 May 1949, Mills-DM, 2.3.2.

⁹⁸ On the Bay Area reception of Milhaud's music more broadly, see chapter 6.

⁹⁹ Alexander Fried, "Milhaud Leads 'Sacred Service,'" *San Francisco Examiner*, 20 May 1949.

Alfred Frankenstein commended the work's potential for "universal artistic significance" in the manner of Bach's Lutheran church music or Catholic Mass settings by "countless composers," noting the absence of "the Orientalisms on which a lesser composer might have fallen back."¹⁰⁰ Virgil Thomson, who traveled to California for the performance, made a similar assessment:

No melodies of traditional origin are employed (save for one briefly), and no evocation of Near East orientalism is allowed to sentimentalize or to localize a musical conception of universal applicability. The style, though personal to Milhaud, is easily comprehensible anywhere. The service is occasionally bitonal in harmony, often a flowing counterpoint of two or three parts freely juxtaposed, now and then noisily evocative of jostling crowds and alleluias. But for all its occasional brilliance, the service is marked throughout by a tone of intimacy wholly appropriate to the Jewish temple and deeply touching. Its grandeur and its plainness impressed this listener as being somehow related in spirit to those of Purcell and his Elizabethan forebears in their settings of Anglican worship forms.¹⁰¹

Thomson's perception of the composition was still colored by his preconceived notions about "Jewish music" ("Near East orientalism," "jostling crowds and alleluias"), but his frame of reference was broader than it might have been fifteen or twenty years earlier.¹⁰²

Three months after the premiere of the *Sacred Service*, it was performed again at Temple Emanu-El in the version designed for the Friday evening service, which replaces several of the movements with settings of other prayers.¹⁰³ This performance on 17 August 1949—also a Wednesday—coincided with a meeting of the Music Teachers' National Association. The same choir and soloist took part, but they were accompanied by the organ instead of a full orchestra. Alexander Fried's review sharpened a critique implicit in his earlier juxtaposition of Milhaud's

¹⁰⁰ Alfred Frankenstein, "New Work by Milhaud Performed at Emanu-El," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 May 1949.

¹⁰¹ Virgil Thomson, "A String Octet and a Temple Service," *New York Herald Tribune*, 18 September 1949, in Virgil Thomson, *Music Chronicles 1940–1954*, ed. Tim Page (New York: Library of America, 2014), 698.

¹⁰² On the historical association of Jewishness with "noise," see Ruth HaCohen, *The Music Libel Against the Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

¹⁰³ See Matthews, "Darius Milhaud's *Sacred Service*," 36–38, and Silverman, "The Influence of the Reformed Jewish Movement," 44–45.

work with compositions such as Verdi's *Requiem*: "Only a few passages of the *Friday Service* have any touch of liveliness or exultation or dramatic force. This fact makes the work hardly suitable for concert repertoire even though a patient listener will find in it many remarkable, sensitive beauties."¹⁰⁴ For R. H. Hagan, on the other hand, the lack of dramatic intensity was less of an obstacle to appreciating the performance:

If anything, the *Friday Service* contains more contemplative moments and fewer dynamic ones. Proportionally, it was also interspersed with more passages for the recitant, Cantor Reuben Rinder. These circumstances, combined with the use of the organ instead of a full orchestra, emphasized the reverent rather than the dramatic elements in the work, and achieved, fittingly enough, the atmosphere of a service and not a performance—a result quite consonant with Milhaud's intentions.¹⁰⁵

After the publication of the score in 1950, the *Sacred Service* was heard at Reform synagogues in St. Louis, New York, and San Antonio. A review by Lazare Saminsky, which followed the performance at New York's Central Synagogue in January 1951, shows a somewhat greater degree of nuance compared to his pre-war polemics about secularized Jewish composers, though his low opinion of Milhaud's "cosmopolitanism" persists:

Milhaud, a composer of high musical intelligence and a man deeply attached to the religion of Old Israel, has chosen to employ the characteristic Jewish devotional color, which with native French soberness, he merges with the "neo-classic" simplicity of style he has helped to shape. There is a proper kind of modality in the resulting work. Melodically and harmonically, however, this music is so much over-simplified that its style, its emotion, its delivery verge almost on neutrality. To be frank, it is in a way de-Judaized. Of course, we do find in Milhaud's choral work pages of high religious fervor and of racial color, but on the whole, Milhaud has written in a medium opposed to that of Ernest Bloch's *Sacred Service*. . . . While the Milhaud setting bears a certain cosmopolitan air added to his own peculiar elegance of expression, it is the Bloch work that contains both the power of universality and the propriety imperative in religious music of *grande envergure* [large scale]."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Alexander Fried, "Music Teachers Hear Debut Of Milhaud Religious Music," *San Francisco Examiner*, 19 August 1949.

¹⁰⁵ R. H. Hagan, "The Music Teachers' Convention," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 August 1949.

¹⁰⁶ Lazare Saminsky, review of Darius Milhaud, *Service sacré, pour le samedi matin*, *Notes* 8, no. 3 (1951): 562–63.

Although the music of Bloch was still the standard by which Saminsky judged other Jewish compositions—leading him to deem Milhaud’s score not just insufficiently complex or grand, but “de-Judaized”—he no longer felt the need to deny that Milhaud, as a person, had any genuine connection to “the religion of Old Israel.” This shift in Saminsky’s rhetoric points to the broader changes in U.S. Jewish life following the Holocaust and the establishment of Israel as an independent state. In this transformed cultural context, Milhaud’s Jewish identity would become an even more prominent aspect of his musical activity and public image in the United States and elsewhere.

Israel and California

The published score of Milhaud’s *Sacred Service* (Salabert, 1950) includes the following editorial note in French and English:

The score of the *Sacred Service* of Darius Milhaud contains two versions of the liturgical text:

1. Sephardic (in Roman type).
2. Askenazi (in italics type).

This is deemed necessary because of the two different manners of pronouncing Hebrew. The one has been in use for centuries in the Mediterranean countries: Southern France, Italy, north Africa and the Near East; the other in the countries of Central and Northern Europe as well as England and the United States.

Actually the Askenazi pronunciation is somewhat less used now owing to the dispersal of many congregations in Central and Northern Europe.

Other contributing factors in favor of the Sephardic pronunciation are:

Its adoption as the official language of the new State of Israel.

A recent Assembly of Rabbis in the United States decided to adopt the Sephardic pronunciation in all its Sacred Services.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Editorial note in Darius Milhaud, *Service sacré pour le samedi matin (Sabbath morning Service) avec prières additionnelles pour le vendredi soir* (Paris: Salabert, 1950), n.p. The French version of the text describes the fate of the Central and Northern European congregations less euphemistically: “Currently, the communities of Central and Northern Europe being for the most part decimated, when they have not completely disappeared, the ‘Askenazi’ pronunciation has lost much ground.” (“A l’heure actuelle, les communautés de l’Europe Centrale et Septentrionale ayant été en majeure partie décimées; quand elles n’ont pas complètement disparu, la prononciation ‘Askenazi’ a perdu beaucoup de terrain.”)

This note reflects not only the composer's personal preference for the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew, but also the radical demographic transformation of world Jewry in the 1940s. Before World War II, Europe was home to about sixty percent of the Jewish population, already a significant decrease from eighty percent at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁸ The Nazi genocide left only about 3.5 million Jews in Europe—concentrated primarily in the Soviet Union—where there had been more than nine million in the early 1930s, and many survivors left Europe after the war. By 1950, two-thirds of the Jewish population lived outside Europe, with just over half in the Americas.¹⁰⁹ As a result, the United States and the newly independent State of Israel emerged as the new centers of the world's Jewish population, a status the two nations continue to hold today.¹¹⁰ The gradual adoption of Sephardic pronunciation by U.S. synagogues signaled a turn toward Israel—and away from Eastern Europe—as the primary site of Jewish authenticity.¹¹¹

It was in this rapidly changing environment that Jewishness truly became a central aspect of Milhaud's public identity as a composer. The racialized conceptions of "Jewish music" that had dominated the discourse of the interwar period faded from prominence, as this type of racial essentialism was no longer tenable in the post-Holocaust world. In the United States, midcentury conceptions both of individual ethnic and religious identity and of society-wide "Judeo-Christian" religious pluralism—famously articulated in sociologist Will Herberg's 1955 book *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*—created an environment in which being French by nationality and

¹⁰⁸ Deborah Dash Moore and S. Ilan Troen, "Introduction," in *Divergent Jewish Cultures: Israel and America*, ed. Deborah Dash Moore and S. Ilan Troen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 2.

¹⁰⁹ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Jewish Population of Europe in 1945," Holocaust Encyclopedia, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005687> (accessed 12 March 2015).

¹¹⁰ See Moore and Troen, eds., *Divergent Jewish Cultures*.

¹¹¹ In Hebrew pronunciation, the "Ashkenazi"/"Sephardic" binary is an oversimplification, but one that was in common usage at this time. See Shelomo Morag, "Pronunciations of Hebrew," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 16, 547–62, esp. 551–54.

Jewish by religion could be seen as just one “hyphenated identity” among many.¹¹² Milhaud’s Provençal Jewishness—a non-Ashkenazi European Jewish identity—therefore posed less of a conceptual problem than it had before, and “Jewish composer” was not the unappealing label he had considered it to be when he wrote “The Problem of Jewish Music” in 1945. Furthermore, the publication of *Notes sans musique* in 1949—followed by the English translation in 1953—provided critics and listeners with an easily-quotable statement putting the composer’s Jewish identity on the same level as his French identity.

Milhaud’s postwar transatlantic career connected him both to the old and to the new centers of Jewish life, and in the first half of the 1950s, he wrote a number of Jewish-themed compositions for performance in the United States, Europe, and Israel. Nearly all were commissions, indicating that he had come to be thought of as a composer of, among other things, Jewish music. For U.S. choirs, he wrote several settings of Biblical texts. *Cantata from Proverbs* (1951) was commissioned and premiered by the United Temple Chorus, a Long Island-based Jewish women’s community choir directed by Isadore Freed. Milhaud then wrote *Miracles of Faith* (1951), a cantata telling the story of Daniel, for the centenary of Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

In France, Milhaud composed incidental music for plays by the Jewish writers André Spire (*Samaël*) and S. Ansky (*The Dybbuk*), which both aired on French radio in December 1953, as well as for a 1954 production of André Gide’s *Saiil* in Toulon.¹¹³ The Holocaust

¹¹² Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955).

¹¹³ Madeleine Milhaud, *Catalogue des œuvres de Darius Milhaud* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982), 542–43. The catalog mistakenly lists the date of *Le Dabbouk* as 1963. André Spire (1868–1966), who spent the war years in New York City, was acquainted with Milhaud and occasionally corresponded with him (letters in PSS-DM). “S. Ansky” was the pseudonym of the Russian Jewish author Shloyme Zanvl Rappoport (1863–1920). Both plays were written in the early twentieth century. Gide’s *Saiil* was written in 1896, but its homoerotic aspects kept it from being performed until 1922. See Katherine Brown Downey, *Perverse Midrash: Oscar Wilde, André Gide, and Censorship of Biblical*

memorial cantata *Le Château du feu* (1954) was a commission from the Réseau du Souvenir (Network of Remembrance), an association of former Resistance members who had survived deportation and aimed to raise awareness of the Holocaust.¹¹⁴ The harrowing text is by the poet Jean Cassou, the chair of the arts committee of the Réseau.¹¹⁵ The composer dedicated the work to the memory of his nephew Jean Milhaud and his cousins Eric and Hélène Allatini, all killed in Auschwitz.¹¹⁶

At the time of Israel's independence in 1948, Milhaud already had connections to the musical activity of the region, albeit from a distance. In 1937, he was one of a number of composers invited by the German Jewish musicologist Hans Nathan to write arrangements of Palestinian folk songs.¹¹⁷ The following year, he became one of the honorary presidents—Ernest Bloch being the other—of the World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine, a position that would soon increase his notoriety among Nazi officials.¹¹⁸ In a letter of December 1937 accepting the “invitation to serve on the executive committee,” he wrote: “Everything that touches Jewish culture finds a profound echo in my heart, because, as a French Jew from Comtat-Venaissin and a descendant of the Jews who settled in Provence prior to the Christian era, I remain extremely

Drama (New York: Continuum, 2004), 115–44. Arthur Honegger, fresh from his success with *Le Roi David*, composed the incidental music for the first production.

¹¹⁴ See Patrick Amsellem, “Remembering the Past, Constructing the Future: The Memorial to the Deportation in Paris and Experimental Commemoration After the Second World War” (PhD diss., New York University, 2007).

¹¹⁵ Milhaud had previously set some of Cassou's Resistance poetry (*Sonnets composés au secret*, 1946).

¹¹⁶ Darius Milhaud, *Le Château du feu* (Paris: Editions Max Eschig, 1957), 1.

¹¹⁷ Hans Nathan and Philip V. Bohlman, eds., *Israeli Folk Music: Songs of the Early Pioneers* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1994). Milhaud disliked the first song he was given, “Gam Hayom,” writing to Nathan after completing the work: “If you wish to entrust me with other arrangements, try to select melodies that are more logical, more clearly defined. Perhaps Sephardic texts.” (“Si vous avez d'autres harmonisations à me confier, tachez de choisir les mélodies plus logiques, plus claires. Peut-être des textes sephardim.” English translation by Philip V. Bohlman.) *Ibid.*, xii.

¹¹⁸ See chapter 1. The minutes of the first meeting of the Centre in March 1938, at which Milhaud (who did not attend) was formally elected to the position of honorary president, are reprinted in Philip V. Bohlman, *The World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine 1936–1940: Jewish Musical Life on the Eve of World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 125.

attached to the religion of my forefathers.”¹¹⁹ Milhaud contributed an article on the music of the Comtat Venaissin to the first and only issue of *Musica Hebraica*, the organization’s journal.¹²⁰ Parts of the article are similar to the first chapter of *Notes sans musique*, indicating that his personal narrative of Provençal Jewish history was established well before World War II.¹²¹

After 1948, musicians in Israel made a particular effort to connect with their Jewish counterparts in the United States and elsewhere, seeing this as a way for the new nation—and for Jewish music—to establish legitimacy in the international musical community. Leonard Bernstein’s long association with the Israel Philharmonic is an especially striking example of this mutually beneficial exchange, both raising the orchestra’s profile internationally and strengthening the role of the conductor’s Jewish identity in his public life.¹²² It was primarily through Milhaud’s continued presence in the United States that he became involved in this type of activity. His first composition written specifically for Israel was *The Seven-Branched Candelabra*, a set of easy piano pieces named for Jewish holidays (Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Sukkot, Hanukkah, Purim, Passover, and Shavuot). He composed it in Paris in December 1951 and immediately sent the manuscript to San Francisco so that it could be presented to the Israeli ambassador to the United States at Pierre Monteux’s “Tribute to Israel” concert on 29 January 1952.¹²³ Milhaud was also “among the American composers” on the

¹¹⁹ Quoted in English translation in *ibid.*, 47.

¹²⁰ Darius Milhaud, “La Musique juive du Comtat-Venaissin,” *Musica Hebraica* 1–2 (1938): 18–20. All articles in the journal appeared in both English and German; Milhaud’s was the only one printed in French as well.

¹²¹ Milhaud also addressed this topic in a 1938 lecture titled “La Musique en Provence,” though much of the section about the Comtat Venaissin is crossed out in the first draft. Darius Milhaud, “La Musique en Provence,” unpublished manuscript (c. 1938), PSS-DM. See Jennifer Walker, “Darius Milhaud, *Esther de Carpentras*, and the French Interwar Identity Crisis” (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2015).

¹²² Erica K. Argyropoulos, “Conducting Culture: Leonard Bernstein, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, and the Negotiation of Jewish American Identity, 1947–1967” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2015).

¹²³ “Sponsors for Bond Concert,” *San Mateo Times*, 23 January 1952; “Israel Receives Original Manuscripts from Two Outstanding Jewish Composers,” *Jewish Criterion*, 4 April 1952. A letter from Madeleine Milhaud to Lynn White, the president of Mills College, reveals that her husband was not enthusiastic about donating the manuscript:

Composers' Committee for Israeli and American-Jewish Music, established by Abraham W. Binder in 1953.¹²⁴ The aims of the committee included "To send to America and vice versa, to Israel, music of Jewish musical interest. . . . To present concerts and aid in stimulating performances of such music in joint programs in America and Israel. . . . To effect a tie between Jewish composers in America and in Israel which will aid in the development of a Jewish national style."¹²⁵

Milhaud's opera *David*, a five-act dramatization of the life of the Biblical patriarch, connects each part of the world for which he wrote Jewish music during this period. Composed in 1952–53 for a festival in Jerusalem, it subsequently had several performances in Europe before being staged in Los Angeles at the Hollywood Bowl in 1956.¹²⁶ Each performance was in a different language (Hebrew, Italian, German, French, and English) and emerged from its particular circumstances and context. In Israel and California especially, the work's status as a Jewish cultural product was central to its presentation, publicity, and reception, albeit in very different ways. Additionally, publicizing the opera enabled Milhaud to articulate an identity as a Jewish composer—rather than just a composer who happened to be Jewish—that would not have been possible (or desirable) for him even ten years earlier.

As recounted by Alfred Frankenstein in the *San Francisco Chronicle* a decade later, the opera's origin story has allusions to David's anointing of Solomon. While hospitalized in San Francisco after conducting the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra there in February 1951, Serge Koussevitzky summoned Milhaud and asked him "to write a great musical composition to be

"Milhaud decided to send a manuscript because *you* wrote. He gave them a manuscript last year and he considers them as serious beggars!!" Madeleine Milhaud to Lynn White, 4 January 1952, Mills-DM, 3.2.20.

¹²⁴ A. W. Binder, "Musical Bridge Between Israel and America," *Jewish Criterion*, 27 March 1953.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ The dates of composition are given as 5 August 1952–17 February 1953 in Madeleine Milhaud, *Catalogue*, 510.

given in Jerusalem itself’ for an upcoming festival celebrating what was declared to be the three thousandth anniversary of the founding of that city by King David.¹²⁷ The conductor, who had been a leader in the realm of U.S.-Israeli musical exchange, died in June of that year, but the work of the Koussevitzky Foundation continued, and this festival was to be one of its major endeavors, with Milhaud’s opera as the centerpiece.¹²⁸

Invited to choose his own librettist, Milhaud selected his lifelong friend Armand Lunel, a philosophy teacher in Monaco. Lunel had provided the text for several of Milhaud’s previous theatrical works, including *Esther de Carpentras*, which drew on their shared Provençal Jewish heritage.¹²⁹ Though not religiously observant himself, Lunel was a scholar of Jewish scripture and history, and Milhaud trusted him to approach the project with the necessary concern for tradition.¹³⁰ The composer, his wife, and the librettist traveled to Israel together in April 1952 at the invitation of the Israeli government. Madeleine Milhaud later recalled: “Interestingly we were received in Israel with a certain distrust as our names did not strike the Israelis as being properly Jewish; they were used to Polish or German names.”¹³¹

One purpose of the visit was to assure the committee in charge of the festival that the opera would depict its subject with the proper respect and faithfulness to the Biblical narrative, in contrast to the 1951 Hollywood film *David and Bathsheba*, which depicted the love affair

¹²⁷ Alfred Frankenstein, “‘David’ Had Its Inception in an S. F. Hospital Room,” *San Francisco Sunday Chronicle*, 3 February 1963. This article publicized an unstaged performance of part of the opera by the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra on 9 February 1963.

¹²⁸ “Dr. Koussevitzky had the idea of proclaiming a ‘King David Year,’ in which all composers of the world would devote a work to the royal poet; he himself commissioned an opera from Darius Milhaud to be based on the life and times of King David.” Peter Gradenwitz, “Jerusalem Festival: Annual Event is Planned Starting Next Spring,” *New York Times*, 4 May 1952.

¹²⁹ Walker, “Darius Milhaud, *Esther de Carpentras*, and the French Interwar Identity Crisis.”

¹³⁰ Darius Milhaud, *Interviews with Claude Rostand*, trans. Jane Hohfeld Galante (Oakland: Mills College Center for the Book, 2002), 126. See Armand Lunel, *Mon ami Darius Milhaud*, ed. Georges Jessula (Paris: Edisud, 1992), 99.

¹³¹ CWMM, 95.

between the title characters in a way Israeli religious leaders considered distasteful.¹³² Milhaud also made valuable professional contacts, as with the conductor Heinz Freudenthal, who went on to conduct numerous performances of the *Sacred Service* in both Israel and Europe.¹³³ At the home of the composer Marc Lavry, Milhaud held preliminary auditions for the opera; feeling strongly that local singers should take as many roles as possible, he wanted to familiarize himself with the performance forces available before writing the score.¹³⁴ Making Milhaud's acquaintance benefited Lavry as well: when Reuben Rinder visited Israel in 1953, he commissioned Lavry to write a *Sacred Service* for Temple Emanu-El.

After his trip, Milhaud began to assert a connection between Israel and his long-held conception of himself as a "Mediterranean" composer.¹³⁵ Before World War II, his construction of a Mediterranean identity had served to defend French music against German music, to subsume his various musical influences under one label, and perhaps to reframe his Jewishness as less "foreign."¹³⁶ The notion that he had a natural affinity with any landscape or culture that reminded him of Provence—and therefore had a claim to its music—became even more professionally advantageous after his encounter with Israel. In an interview with Clifford Gessler of the *Oakland Tribune* in the summer of 1952, Milhaud put forth his Mediterranean identity as

¹³² MVH, 228; CWMM, 95; Milhaud, *Interviews with Claude Rostand*, 125–26.

¹³³ Joy H. Calico, *Arnold Schoenberg's A Survivor from Warsaw in Postwar Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 77–78.

¹³⁴ MVH, 251. The composer described the desire for local singers as an issue of principle, but Madeleine Milhaud recalled, "Milhaud did not want the Koussevitzky Foundation to have to engage foreigners who would cost too much for an opera requiring many singers." Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 107.

¹³⁵ On the broad discourse of Mediterranean identity in Israeli culture, see Alexandra Nocke, *The Place of the Mediterranean in Modern Israeli Identity* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2009) and David Ohana, *Israel and its Mediterranean Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). On "Mediterraneanism" in midcentury Israeli concert music, see Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities*, 90–92.

¹³⁶ See Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 32–34.

the possible rationale for choosing a French composer who lived in Paris and Oakland to write an opera for a festival in Jerusalem:

The Central European influence is fading in Jewish culture, especially in music. I talked with 28 composers in Israel. Thirty years ago most of them were European in style as well as origin and training. Today they are writing more and more in the direction of a Mediterranean esthetic. The next one or two generations will see a very interesting development in that direction.

Perhaps that was why I was chosen to compose this opera—because I am a Mediterranean composer. In 60 miles of travel between the airport and Jerusalem, I was struck with the similarity of the scenery to that of my own southern France. I felt quite at home there.¹³⁷

The resemblance to his native Provence was not the only impression Israeli geography made on the composer. Milhaud took at face value the words of his tour guides, who showed him the sites traditionally associated with various Biblical stories and drew parallels to recent events that had purportedly occurred in the same locations, a common interpretive strategy to legitimate the Jewish claim to the land.¹³⁸ Upon returning to California, he told a music critic for the *San Francisco Chronicle*: “There are modern miracles, too. When I was in Israel last April, we stopped at the place where David defeated Goliath. That miracle was repeated on the very spot only a few years ago, according to the driver of our car, when a few Jews, as unarmed and unprotected as David was, were miraculously saved from the Arabs.”¹³⁹

In Milhaud’s accounts of *David*’s creation, the claims of his tour guides directly inspired one of the opera’s most distinctive features, although according to Lunel, the composer had the

¹³⁷ Darius Milhaud quoted in Clifford Gessler, “Milhaud Returns, Tells of New Music Trend in State of Israel,” *Oakland Tribune*, 13 July 1952. Milhaud also noted similarities between Provence and the San Francisco Bay Area, as I discuss in the Introduction and chapter 1.

¹³⁸ For critiques of such rhetoric from a Palestinian perspective, see Nur Masalha, *The Bible and Zionism: Invented Traditions, Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in Palestine-Israel* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and idem, *The Zionist Bible: Biblical Precedent, Colonialism and the Erasure of Memory* (Durham, UK: Acumen, 2013).

¹³⁹ R. H. Hagan, “An Interview With the French–U.S. Ambassador of Musical Good Will,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 10 August 1952.

idea more than a year earlier, shortly after receiving the commission from Koussevitzky.¹⁴⁰ The five acts cover David’s life from his boyhood through his reign as king, ending with his anointing of Solomon as his successor.¹⁴¹ At certain moments in each act, a chorus representing modern Israeli Jews comments on the action of the plot, connecting it to their own recent circumstances in a manner reminiscent of the 1937 Kurt Weill–Franz Werfel pageant *The Eternal Road*.¹⁴² In Act II, for example, the modern chorus observes a group of villagers dancing and sings: “In that time, they already danced our hora, dance of victory and joy!”¹⁴³ At times, Lunel’s libretto is militantly Zionist, as when the modern chorus responds to David’s slaying of Goliath in Act I with *Marseillaise*-like triumph:

And we, not long ago, for our reborn fatherland,
 with the same faith and in the same struggle as in that time,
 Facing the most dreadful coalition,
 reduced, like our forefathers, to the most pitiful equipment.
 When their tanks, on five fronts, advanced like Goliath the Giant,
 Sons and daughters of Israel, with our grenades and our bottles,
 we crushed them, in their tanks,
 Remembering David, with his rock and his sling!
 Legion of the Living God! Onward! Onward!¹⁴⁴

The opera was originally intended for the new Jerusalem Convention Center, which would have provided the space necessary for a large-scale stage production. However, it soon became clear that the construction of the Center would not be completed in time, and the site

¹⁴⁰ Lunel, *Mon ami Darius Milhaud*, 99.

¹⁴¹ See Jeremy Drake, *The Operas of Darius Milhaud* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 306–17.

¹⁴² On *The Eternal Road*, see Naomi Graber, “Found in Translation: Kurt Weill on Broadway and in Hollywood, 1935–1939” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2013), 19–24.

¹⁴³ *David*, Act II, scene 3: “En ce temps-là, déjà ils dansaient donc notre Hora, Danse de Victoire et de joie!” The hora originated in the Balkans and is not nearly as old as the libretto suggests.

¹⁴⁴ *David*, act I, scene 2: “Et nous hier, pour la patrie renaissante, avec la même foi et dans les mêmes combats qu’en ce temps, Réduits, comme nos pères, devant la plus terrible des coalitions, au plus misérable des équipements. Quand leurs blindés, sur cinq fronts, s’avancèrent comme Goliath le Géant, Garçons et Filles d’Israël, avec nos grenades et nos bouteilles, nous les avons écrasés, dans leurs tanks, En souvenir de David, de sa fronde et de sa pierre! Légion du Dieu Vivant! En Avant! En Avant!”

chosen to replace it for the premiere could support only a concert performance. The plans for a “King David Festival” were also scaled back; while the supposed anniversary continued to be mentioned in conjunction with the opera, the performance was absorbed into the annual festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music.¹⁴⁵ Apart from the opera, the rest of the festival events were in Haifa, about seventy miles from Jerusalem. This was only the third time the ISCM Festival had taken place outside Europe, after the wartime festivals in New York and San Francisco.

Milhaud traveled from Paris to Jerusalem for the performance, which took place on 1 June 1954. Lunel’s French libretto was translated into Hebrew by Aharon Ashmann. The Swiss baritone Heinz Rehfuss played the role of David, while the other characters, the chorus, and the orchestra musicians were all local performers, in accordance with Milhaud’s wishes. In his autobiography, the composer described the significance of hearing the work performed in Jerusalem by Israeli singers:

The singers seemed to be transfigured; they were singing “their” history; the audience participated in the glorification of “its” national hero. At the end of the third act, when David decides to make Jerusalem the capital—just as the Israeli government had done not long before—a collective emotion took hold of the audience, and during the chorus of “Jerusalem! Jerusalem!” it seemed as if they were all breathing as one.¹⁴⁶

In this context, a depiction of the story of David served to tell a larger narrative about the relationship between the present-day State of Israel and its ancient religious heritage. The scene

¹⁴⁵ In 1995, Israel once again commemorated the three thousandth anniversary of the founding of Jerusalem, with no acknowledgment of the fact that the same anniversary had been marked forty-one years earlier. For this event, Alan Menken and Tim Rice were commissioned to write an oratorio on the life of King David, but when the plans for an outdoor performance in Jerusalem fell through, it premiered on Broadway instead. I have not found any reception of the Menken/Rice work that mentions Milhaud’s opera as a precursor.

¹⁴⁶ MVH, 252: “Les chanteurs étaient comme transfigurés, ils chantaient ‘leur’ histoire; le public participait à la glorification de ‘son’ héros national. Lorsque David, à la fin du troisième acte, décide de prendre Jérusalem pour capitale—ainsi que l’avait fait le gouvernement israélien quelque temps auparavant—une émotion collective s’empara des auditeurs et tandis que le chœur ‘Jérusalem! Jérusalem!’ se déroulait, on avait la sensation qu’ils respiraient tous en même temps.”

discussed by Milhaud and the opera's triumphant conclusion could also be seen to look ahead to the reunification of Jerusalem and other future victories. While the oratorio format was a consequence of logistical difficulties, the absence of sets and costumes likely reinforced the connection between past and present for this audience. The performance was broadcast over the radio, and when Milhaud and his wife went to the airport the next day, they were met by a group of admirers.¹⁴⁷

Once it had become clear that a fully-staged opera was not logistically possible at the time of the premiere, Milhaud and his contacts in Israel began to discuss the option of following the oratorio performance with a staged version in Jerusalem the next year. The set designer for this production would have been Marc Chagall, a painter whose postwar status as an internationally-known Jewish artist parallels Milhaud's own.¹⁴⁸ Born in 1887 to a Hasidic family in Russia, Chagall relocated to Paris in 1910 and became involved with the same modernist artistic circles in which Milhaud also moved. After leaving France in 1941 with a visa provided by the same official at the U.S. consulate in Marseille who likely assisted the Milhaud family the year before (see chapter 1), Chagall spent the war years in New York, then returned to France in 1948. Jewish subjects—both Biblical imagery and depictions of Russian Jewish culture—were always prevalent in his artistic output, but as with Milhaud, some of the tension between “modern artist” and “Jewish artist” in Chagall's reception dissipated in the postwar years.

¹⁴⁷ CWMM, 95; Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 107.

¹⁴⁸ Darius Milhaud to Olga Koussevitzky, 1 February 1954, Library of Congress, Music Division, Serge Koussevitzky Archive, ML31.K66, Box 43, Folder 19. This letter appears to be a response to Olga Koussevitzky's suggestion that the opera have its U.S. premiere at Brandeis University, which Milhaud rejected because he wanted the first staged performance to be in Jerusalem or Milan. In the letter, he also mentioned that the New York City Opera, one of the companies he had approached for the premiere of *Bolivar* in 1944, had expressed interest in producing *David*.

The plans for a staged production of *David* in Jerusalem never materialized, and the only remnant of Chagall's involvement is the cover art for the piano-vocal score of the opera, published by Israeli Music Publications in 1954 (Figure 3.1).

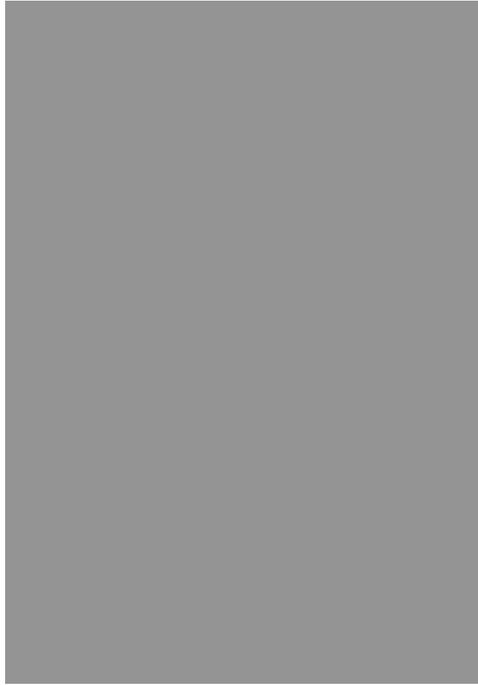


Figure 3.1: Marc Chagall, cover art for *David*, 1954 (Israeli Music Publications)¹⁴⁹

The figure of David holding a lyre is a recurring image in Chagall's body of Biblical art, particularly that of the 1950s and 1960s. In a number of these works, the king stands on the left side overlooking Jerusalem, as he does here. In this version, the name "David" is written in Chagall's hand in both Latin and Hebrew characters, matching the dual-language title page that follows it in the score.

Seven months after the premiere, in January 1955, *David* had its first fully-staged production at La Scala in Milan. Leonard Bernstein was scheduled to conduct it, but he backed out in mid-November to focus on writing *Candide*. This decision elicited a disappointed response

¹⁴⁹ Image removed due to copyright restrictions. No digital image of this particular painting is available, but a similar David figure is seen in a number of Chagall's other works, such as his 1963 "Le Roi David": <http://www.wikiart.org/en/marc-chagall/king-david-1963> (accessed 6 April 2016).

from Milhaud, who—after being unimpressed with George Singer, the conductor in Jerusalem—had looked forward to hearing his opera directed by a conductor he trusted.¹⁵⁰ In this Italian opera house, the apparent purpose of the production was to present a new opera by a major European composer rather than to celebrate the Jewish people. In this setting, it could seem like any other operatic depiction of a legendary hero, or like Milhaud’s other operas about “great men” (*Christophe Colomb*, *Maximilien*, and *Bolivar*). While it still featured the modern Israeli chorus, the program notes pointed out that a similar theatrical device can be found in multiple nineteenth-century Italian plays, giving the audience an alternative context—dramatic rather than Zionist—in which to understand that aspect of the opera.¹⁵¹ Later in 1955, *David* was also heard in a Hamburg radio broadcast and staged at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels. This latter performance, which had the Queen of Belgium among its audience, was organized by the Belgian branch of Youth Aliyah, a Zionist group that originated as a rescue organization during World War II.¹⁵²

After the production at La Scala, a committee of the American Association for Jewish Education began to make plans for a performance in the summer of 1955 at the Music Academy of the West in Santa Barbara, California, where Milhaud had taught during the summer for

¹⁵⁰ Darius Milhaud to Leonard Bernstein, 18 November 1954, Library of Congress, Music Division, Leonard Bernstein Collection, ML31.B49, Box 39, Folder 58: “My dear Lenny, Your letter hurts me ‘a little bit deeply.’ I thought conducting *David*’s premiere at La Scala would mean something for you, too. I was wrong. Take care of yourself, cher enfant gâté [dear spoiled child].” For an earlier letter to Bernstein discussing the upcoming production and Milhaud’s disappointment with Singer (“horrible, hysteric and *can’t hold a tempo*”), see Leonard Bernstein, *The Leonard Bernstein Letters*, ed. Nigel Simeone (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 319. The performance in Milan was conducted by Nino Sanzogno.

¹⁵¹ Giorgio Levi Della Vida, “David l’uomo e il simbolo,” *David* program book, La Scala, 1955, Mills-DM, 2.7.3. The plays named as potential dramatic precursors of *David* include *Adelchi* and *Il Conte di Carmagnola* by Alessandro Manzoni. Levi Della Vida was a Jewish Italian writer who taught at the University of San Diego during World War II before returning to Italy in 1945; I have found no evidence that he and Milhaud were personally acquainted with one another.

¹⁵² “Queen of Belgium Attends Youth Aliyah Affair in Brussels Theatre,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 29 November 1955, <http://www.jta.org/1955/11/29/archive/queen-of-belgium-attends-youth-aliyah-affair-in-brussels-theatre> (accessed 14 March 2015).

several years. Like the premiere in Jerusalem, this production would have been in oratorio form. However, when it became clear that more time would be required to secure the necessary financial support, the “Festival of Faith and Freedom Committee” postponed the performance until September 1956 and also turned its attention toward a much larger venue: the Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles. Demographically speaking, Southern California was an appropriate and promising location for such an event. The population of Los Angeles grew by approximately one million between 1940 and 1960, and new Jewish migration—from both within and outside the United States—was a significant element of this growth. By the end of the 1950s, the city had the second-largest Jewish population in the United States (after New York), with more than half a million.¹⁵³ The community that developed during this time aimed “to become culturally as well as demographically American Jewry’s ‘second city.’”¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Hollywood Bowl was an ideal site for the pageant-like production the committee now envisioned, as it had a history of staging similar spectacles, including some on Jewish themes. One such work was Ben Hecht’s *We Will Never Die* (1943)—with music by Kurt Weill—a “dramatic propaganda piece . . . about the importance of Jews in world culture, the genocide in Europe, and the need for Jewish national as well as just religious and ethnic identity.”¹⁵⁵

The potential for the production of *David* to be a high-profile event—rather than merely a concert performance at a summer music school—enabled the committee to attract supporters and financial backers from Hollywood and across the country. The honorary chairmen of the

¹⁵³ Ellen Eisenberg, Ava F. Kahn, and William Toll, *Jews of the Pacific Coast: Reinventing Community on America’s Edge* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 189, 266.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 189. See also Neil C. Sandberg, *Jewish Life in Los Angeles: A Window to Tomorrow* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986).

¹⁵⁵ Albert Wertheim, *Staging the War: American Drama and World War II* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 91. Following the premiere at New York’s Madison Square Garden on 9 March 1943, the Hollywood Bowl performance took place on 21 July of that year.

committee were California governor Goodwin J. Knight, Los Angeles mayor Norris Poulson, Leonard Bernstein, Ernest Bloch, Gregor Piatigorsky, Artur Rubinstein, and Rabbi Edgar Magnin of the city's Wilshire Boulevard Temple, which counted many participants in the film industry among its congregation.¹⁵⁶ This list of prominent supporters shows the extent to which the production was presented as a significant event for the city of Los Angeles and for Jewish culture both there and in the United States as a whole.

Milhaud was well-positioned to be the composer associated with this event, both because of his connections to California and because of his status within and outside the domain of Jewish music in the United States. The fact that “the greatest living French composer”—as he was often designated in the American press by this time—was also a Jewish composer lent a distinct prestige to his name in this context. In the two years after the performance of *David* in Jerusalem, Milhaud received three honorary doctorates from American Jewish institutions. All were founded shortly after World War II, but represented different Jewish movements.¹⁵⁷ The first, in 1954, was awarded by the University of Judaism, a Los Angeles institution founded in 1947 by Conservative Jews.¹⁵⁸ In June 1955, Milhaud traveled to Brandeis University for its third Festival of the Creative Arts—which included performances of his *Salade* (1924), *Concerto pour batterie* (1929), *Cantate nuptiale* (1937), and *Médée* (1938)—and received an honorary

¹⁵⁶ The list of honorary chairmen appears on the letterhead used by the Festival of Faith and Freedom Committee for fundraising correspondence. University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Seymour Fromer Collection on Darius Milhaud's *David*, 1954–1975, WJHC 1970.002 AR1, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/magnesmuseum/1324624635/in/set-72157614393042235> (accessed 28 March 2015). The musicians on the list were all Jewish, but the politicians were not: Goodwin J. Knight was Mormon, and Norris Poulson was Protestant.

¹⁵⁷ My thanks to Oren Vinogradov for this observation.

¹⁵⁸ See Erik Greenberg, “Competing Visions and the Formation of the University of Judaism, circa 1945–1952,” *Perush* 2, no. 1 (2010), <http://perush.cjs.ucla.edu/index.php/volume-2/jewish-urban-history-in-comparative-perspective-jewish-buenos-aires-and-jewish-los-angeles/-2-erik-greenberg--competing-visions-and-the-formation-of-the-university-of-judaism-circa-1945-1952>

degree at commencement.¹⁵⁹ Though officially secular and nonsectarian, the university was founded and supported by Jewish community leaders and had a majority-Jewish student body. On the same East Coast trip, Milhaud went to New York to be similarly honored by the School of Sacred Music at the Reform-affiliated Hebrew Union College, then the only school in the United States to provide cantorial training.¹⁶⁰ (In a letter to Henri and H el ene Hoppenot, Milhaud noted the irony of awarding a Doctorate of Hebrew Letters, even an honorary one, to someone who “does not even know the alphabet.”)¹⁶¹

The cast of *David* was a mix of Los Angeles-based singers and those brought in from elsewhere, and most of the leading performers had connections to Milhaud, Izler Solomon (who conducted the orchestra), or Roger Wagner (whose professional choir constituted part of the opera’s chorus). Harve Presnell, the twenty-three-year-old baritone cast as David, had studied voice at the Music Academy of the West and performed under Wagner’s direction. In the years following *David*, he became known primarily for his work in film musicals, notably *The Unsinkable Molly Brown* (1964) and *Paint Your Wagon* (1969). Mack Harrell, who played Saul, had sung the lead role in the New York Philharmonic’s concert performance of Milhaud’s *Christophe Colomb* in 1952; he also knew Milhaud through the Aspen Music Festival, having become the director in 1954 following the retirement of its founder, Walter Paepcke. Adele Addison, the African American soprano in the role of Michol, was the soloist in the Brandeis performance of Milhaud’s *Cantate nuptiale* in 1955.

¹⁵⁹ Howard Taubman, “Music: Brandeis Fete,” *New York Times* 11 June 1955.

¹⁶⁰ On this institution, see Judah M. Cohen, *The Making of a Reform Jewish Cantor: Musical Authority, Cultural Investment* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).

¹⁶¹ Darius Milhaud to Henri and H el ene Hoppenot, May 1955, C-Hoppenot, 414: “un doctorat h. c. in... hebrew letters, moi qui ne sais m eme pas l’alphabet.”

With a cast of more than four hundred and numerous connections to the Hollywood film industry, this production can easily be situated within the contemporary tradition of Biblical epic film. The director Cecil B. DeMille was even asked to be involved in an advisory capacity, but he declined because he was too busy with his work on *The Ten Commandments*, his quintessential religious epic, which was released less than two months after the performance of *David*.¹⁶² These “Old Testament” epics were a distinct product of midcentury “Judeo-Christian” American culture, generally presenting a Christianized perspective on the Biblical narratives but also functioning as dramatizations of Jewish history.¹⁶³ Film scholars Bruce Babington and Peter William Evans write that “Hollywood’s Old Testament films not only recreate a remote historical period . . . but also dramatise a new order in post-1948 Jewish history,” with the establishment of Israel leading to “the promulgation of images of Jewish heroism.”¹⁶⁴ After Orson Welles—another non-Jewish director—declined the invitation to stage *David* (but promised to attend the performance), the organizers hired Harry Horner, an Austrian Jewish émigré who worked as a film designer in Hollywood.¹⁶⁵ Horner’s involvement gave *David* a direct connection to another dramatic genre, that of the Biblical pageant, as two decades earlier, he had begun his U.S. career as Max Reinhardt’s assistant for *The Eternal Road*.

Milhaud had forbidden any cuts to his opera in Jerusalem and Milan, but for the Los Angeles performance, Horner abridged and restructured it into two long acts instead of five

¹⁶² Cecil B. DeMille to Seymour Fromer, 23 December 1955, Fromer Collection, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/magnesiummuseum/1325481658/in/set-72157614393042235> (accessed 28 March 2015).

¹⁶³ I use the term “Old Testament” here to acknowledge the Christianized context in which these films were created and received.

¹⁶⁴ Bruce Babington and Peter William Evans, *Biblical Epics: Sacred Narrative in the Hollywood Cinema* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993), 36–40. Among the examples in this study is *David and Bathsheba*, the film Milhaud and Lunel were warned not to emulate.

¹⁶⁵ Orson Welles to Seymour Fromer, 7 May 1956, Fromer Collection, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/magnesiummuseum/1325484310/in/set-72157614393042235> (accessed 28 March 2015).

shorter ones. The libretto was translated into English by the British music critic Rollo H. Myers, a specialist in twentieth-century French music. Horner's design (Figure 3.2) involved removing the shell of the Hollywood Bowl, essentially allowing the hills behind the amphitheater to serve as part of the backdrop.

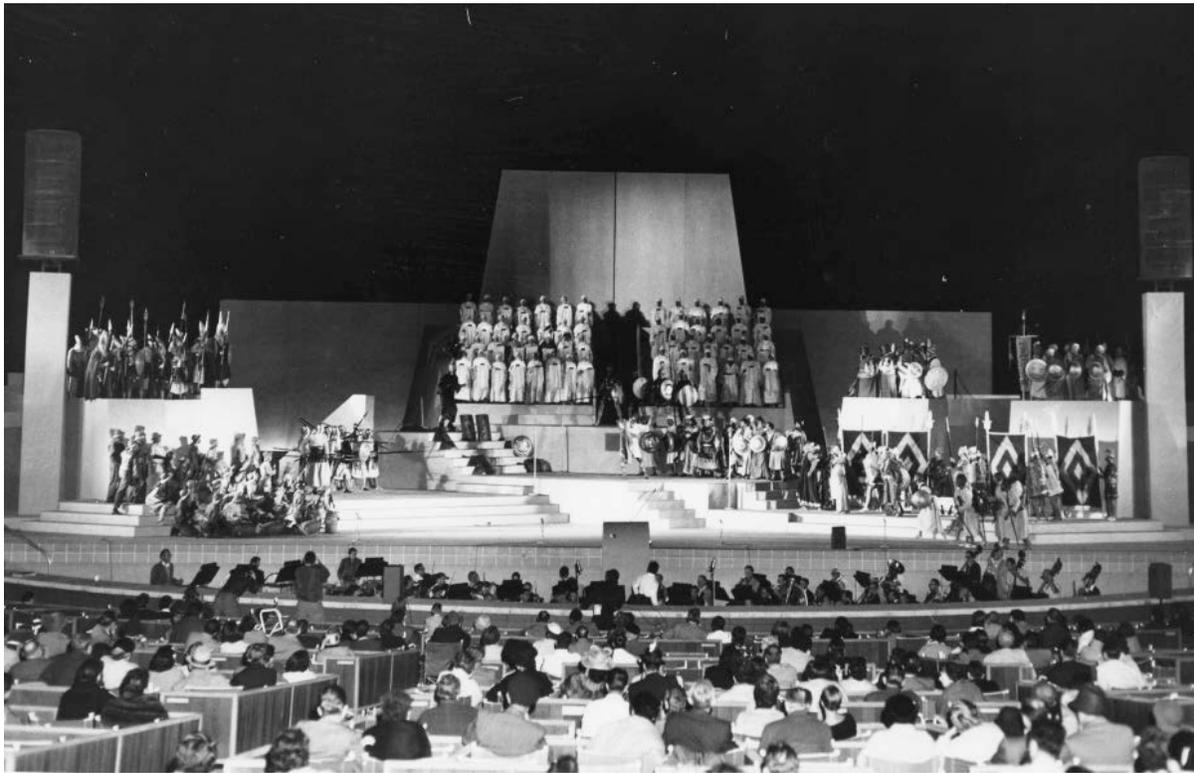


Figure 3.2: *David* at the Hollywood Bowl, September 1956¹⁶⁶

The set was designed to allow multiple groups of performers to be on stage simultaneously, with boxes in the center for the chorus. The second chorus, representing modern Israeli Jews, made its appearances at one side of the stage. Some wore uniforms and carried guns, while others were dressed as civilians.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Fromer Collection, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/magnesiummuseum/3990749863/in/set-72157614393042235> (accessed 28 March 2015). Reproduced under a Creative Commons license. Milhaud is seen at the front of the audience, seated in his wheelchair in the aisle. The photograph appears to be of a rehearsal rather than the actual performance.

¹⁶⁷ Perhaps due to its particular brand of midcentury Zionism, the opera has not been performed since the late 1960s.

Staging the work in this venue, where it would be seen by nearly twenty thousand people, enabled the organizers to fulfill their aim of asserting a central place for Judaism in American life by presenting a depiction of Jewish history to a broad and religiously diverse audience. The statements printed in the program book express this goal of reaching an interfaith audience. Edgar Magnin's message began: "David is alive today. There is no character in history or literature more beloved. His influence extends to the ends of the earth. In every synagogue, church and mosque, his psalms are read."¹⁶⁸ Walter Hilborn, the chair of the Festival of Faith and Freedom Committee, wrote: "Our concept was to develop a better understanding and appreciation of the Biblical heritage which undergirds America and its major faiths, through great musical and dramatic works presented on the highest artistic level." Hilborn further noted that the production "was made possible by the combined energies and talents of many dedicated people of all faiths."¹⁶⁹

The program book also included a congratulatory telegram from President Eisenhower, which was read aloud before the start of the performance, in front of a packed audience. The president, who was running for reelection at this time, lacked strong Jewish support due to his Middle East policies; rather than giving a nod to the opera's Zionist message, though, the telegram focused on its importance as an artistic product.¹⁷⁰ The day after the performance, a

¹⁶⁸ Edgar F. Magnin, "David Lives Today," *David* program book, Fromer Collection, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/magnismuseum/3990653633/in/set-72157614393042235> (accessed 28 March 2015).

¹⁶⁹ Walter S. Hilborn, "A Message from the Founder and General Chairman," *David* program book, Fromer Collection, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/magnismuseum/3990653633/in/set-72157614393042235> (accessed 28 March 2015).

¹⁷⁰ "It is a privilege to join in anticipation and applause of the American premiere of Darius Milhaud's opera 'David.' The American Association for Jewish Education is to be congratulated for sponsoring this new work by one of the world's greatest living composers. The people of our nation have a deep desire to nurture their cultural and spiritual growth with greater opportunities in the arts. For this reason, I have urged Congress to establish a federal advisory commission on the arts. Please accept my best wishes tonight and my hope that you will continue to enrich the cultural life of our nation. —Dwight D. Eisenhower." "A Message from Dwight D. Eisenhower," *David* program book, Fromer Collection, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/magnismuseum/3990747549/in/set-72157614393042235>

review in the *Los Angeles Times*, which had given extensive coverage to the preparations for the opera, emphasized the scale of the spectacle as a sign of “the great capacity of Southern California to muster artistic and musical forces,” but also pointed to its significance for American Jewish life and to its function as a celebration of the modern state of Israel.¹⁷¹

Also in the program book is a message by Madeleine Milhaud titled “Highlights in the life of a Great Composer as seen by His Wife,” in which she wrote:

For the first time I felt in Milhaud’s mind an anxiety while composing *David*. He had already written a great number of religious works, but this one was so deeply related to the history of the country of Israel, and was going to have such a meaning for the Israelis, that he felt a very heavy responsibility. I am sure that it is only because of his strong belief that he came through this work as he did. It is also thanks to his strong belief that he was honored to be commissioned to write it.¹⁷²

Emphasizing Milhaud’s personal faith as the sentiment behind his Jewish compositions—rather than pointing only to his Judeo-Provençal heritage—was a new strategy for the composer and his wife in the postwar era.¹⁷³ This rhetoric reframed Milhaud’s Jewish identity for a cultural context in which Judaism had assumed the status of a “world religion.” It was this framework, along with his ongoing commitment to Israel, that would shape his engagement with Jewish music and identity in the last stage of his career.

(accessed 28 March 2015). See Zvi Ganin, *An Uneasy Relationship: American Jewish Leadership and Israel, 1948–1957* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 182–217.

¹⁷¹ Edwin Schallert, “Packed Bowl at Premiere of Opera,” *Los Angeles Times*, 23 September 1956.

¹⁷² Madeleine Milhaud (as “Mme. Darius Milhaud”), “Highlights in the life of a Great Composer as seen by His Wife,” *David* program book, Fromer Collection, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/magnesiummuseum/3991467834/in/set-72157614393042235> (accessed 28 March 2015). See chapter 5.

¹⁷³ In Madeleine Milhaud’s late interviews, she continued to mention the strength of her husband’s religious beliefs; see CWMM, 96, and *My Twentieth Century*, 108.

A Jewish Composer on the World Stage

From the early 1960s until the end of his life, Milhaud's compositional output slowed to less than half its previous rate, a consequence both of his health difficulties and of the changing musical climate. He focused his energy on fulfilling the commissions he continued to receive each year from organizations in Europe, the United States, and Israel, and his Jewish identity was central to a significant portion of this work. In Europe, he was called upon on multiple occasions to represent Judaism alongside Catholic and Protestant composers. He wrote two final choral works on Biblical texts for U.S. colleges and synagogues: *Cantata from Job* (1966) for Temple Beth Zion in Buffalo, New York, and *Promesse de Dieu* (1972) for the bicentennial of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania. Though he never visited Israel again after the premiere of *David* in 1954, he retained connections to musicians there, and he was asked to write pieces commemorating the thirteenth and twenty-fifth anniversaries of Israeli statehood in 1961 and 1973 respectively.¹⁷⁴

During this period, Milhaud also became more politically outspoken, if not to the extent of a composer such as Leonard Bernstein. With the exception of the Zionist cause, he avoided taking partisan or controversial stances, and he still maintained that he hated politics.¹⁷⁵ But the precariousness of exile was long behind him; from his privileged position as a senior cultural figure, he could use music to draw attention to human-rights issues, for instance, without fear of being seen as subversive. In fact, he generally did so with high-level official backing—for example, his *Hommage à Comenius* (1966), which used a text by the seventeenth-century Czech

¹⁷⁴ Milhaud was scheduled to conduct the premiere of *Cantate de l'initiation* in Jerusalem in August 1961, but he had to cancel the trip due to illness. "Music Festival Begins in Israel," *New York Times*, 27 August 1961.

¹⁷⁵ As I show in chapter 6, however, he did participate in the activity of the anticommunist Congress for Cultural Freedom, and his identity as a cosmopolitan Frenchman was viewed by U.S. journalists through a Cold War lens.

philosopher Jan Amos Comenius to advocate for universal education, was commissioned for the twentieth anniversary of UNESCO.¹⁷⁶

Much of Milhaud's late work bears generic titles—either describing the music (*Suite en sol*, *Six danses en trois mouvements*) or acknowledging the origin of the commission (*Musique pour Lisbonne*, *Stanford Serenade*)—and has no particular extramusical agenda. When he did address a political concern in a composition, he most often did so through the language of the sacred. Moreover, he did so through a distinctively Jewish lens, even when drawing upon Catholic or nonsectarian texts and imagery; not only was he informed by his own life experience and the devastation of the Holocaust, but he also knew that his work would be received as the product of a Jewish compositional voice. This activity once again has a parallel in the work of Marc Chagall, who turned to the medium of stained glass in the late 1950s and created windows for synagogues, churches, and secular institutions such as the United Nations.¹⁷⁷

Milhaud's 1963 choral symphony *Pacem in terris* epitomizes both his turn toward moral and political issues and the authority he commanded as one of the world's foremost living Jewish composers. The idea to create a musical setting of excerpts from the final encyclical of Pope John XXIII came from Michel de Bry, the secretary of the Académie du Disque Français, shortly after the text was issued in April 1963.¹⁷⁸ Milhaud recalled in *Ma Vie heureuse*:

¹⁷⁶ Milhaud wrote of this composition in *Ma Vie heureuse*: “The thinking of Comenius, a philosopher who lived in the seventeenth century, seemed to me to be absolutely in line with UNESCO: Comenius was a supporter of universal education, without discrimination by race or class.” (“La pensée de Comenius, ce philosophe qui avait vécu au XVII^e siècle, me parut être absolument dans la ligne de l’U.N.E.S.C.O.: Comenius était partisan de l’éducation universelle, sans distinction de race ou de fortune.”) MVH, 284. (As a recipient of the Comenius Medallion Scholarship from Moravian College, I appreciate Milhaud’s choice of text.)

¹⁷⁷ See Aaron Rosen, “True Light: Seeing the Psalms through Chagall’s Church Windows,” in *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms: Conflict and Convergence*, ed. Susan Gillingham (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 105–18.

¹⁷⁸ Milhaud had become the president of the Académie du Disque Français in 1956, following the death of Arthur Honegger.

His idea seemed insane to me. Collaborating with a pope! What insurmountable difficulties that would raise. Michel de Bry was undeterred by my arguments, and he made me promise to read the Encyclical right away. This text made a profound impression on me. It unveiled the injustice in our society and supported all the theories I held dear. I started to think seriously about de Bry's project, but it seemed unfeasible, and besides, I knew that it was forbidden to abridge a papal or liturgical text. De Bry, always devoted and dynamic, proposed to me that he would take all the necessary steps with Rome. He obtained all of the requisite authorizations from the Vatican: the right to choose extracts from the Encyclical in order to create a choral symphony with them, to have it edited and performed as I pleased.¹⁷⁹

As his ancestors in the Comtat Venaissin had lived under papal protection from the thirteenth century until the French Revolution and had included prayers for the pope in their liturgy, Milhaud held a certain ironic respect for the institution of the papacy. In 1940, shortly before leaving France, he had dedicated a portion of a cantata based on the Comtat Venaissin liturgy—the movement titled “Prière pour le Pape”—to John XXIII's predecessor, Pius XII, and even attempted to send him a copy of the score on parchment engraved with the papal coat of arms.¹⁸⁰ However, the outbreak of war prevented the copy from being sent, and while in exile, Milhaud privately rescinded the dedication in response to Pius XII's lack of public action on

¹⁷⁹ MVH, 279: “Son idée me parut insensée. Collaborer avec un pape! Que de difficultés insurmontables cela soulèverait. Michel de Bry ne se démonta pas devant mes arguments et il me fit promettre de lire aussitôt l'Encyclique. Ce texte m'impressionna profondément. Il dévoilait l'injustice dans notre société et soutenait toutes les théories qui m'étaient chères. Je commençai à penser sérieusement au projet de de Bry, mais il me paraissait irréalisable, et puis je savais qu'il était interdit d'abrégé un texte papal ou liturgique. De Bry, toujours dévoué et dynamique, me proposa de faire toutes les démarches nécessaires à Rome. Il obtint du Vatican toutes les autorisations voulues: le droit de choisir des extraits de l'Encyclique pour en faire une Symphonie chorale, de la faire éditer et jouer à ma guise.”

¹⁸⁰ Lunel, *Mon ami Darius Milhaud*, 95. The cantata, eventually titled *Couronne de gloire*, was intended to mark the centenary of the synagogue the composer's great-grandfather, Joseph Milhaud, had founded in Aix-en-Provence in 1840. The text was primarily drawn from the eleventh-century Sephardic poet Solomon ibn Gabirol, whose *Keter Malkuth* (“Royal Crown”) had been incorporated into the liturgy of the Comtat Venaissin; the “Prière pour le Pape” was contributed by Armand Lunel. On the plan to send a copy of that movement to the pope, Milhaud wrote facetiously to Hélène Hoppenot: “The idea of sending it to Pius XII fills me with delight. I hope that the Holy Father, my ex-sovereign, will send me a handwritten letter (if not a medal) and that he will not be content to charge Henri with thanking me!!” (“L'idée de l'envoi à Pie XII me comble d'aise. J'espère que le S^t-Père, mon ex-souverain, m'enverra une lettre autographe (à défaut d'une décoration) et qu'il ne se contentera pas de charger Henri de me remercier!!”) Darius Milhaud to Hélène Hoppenot, February 1940, C-Hoppenot, 172.

behalf of European Jews.¹⁸¹ With *Pacem in terris*, Milhaud aligned himself with a pope who made significant efforts to acknowledge and atone for the Catholic Church's legacy of antisemitism.¹⁸²

After receiving a commission from Henry Barraud to compose a work for choir and orchestra for the inauguration of Paris's new Maison de la Radio, Milhaud wrote the fifty-minute composition in just under a month, "sustained by the sentiments of this great patriarch, who vehemently criticized discrimination, racism, injustice, infringements on liberty, and atomic weapons, and who fervently expressed a desire for world peace."¹⁸³ From the 172 paragraphs of the Latin encyclical, he selected twenty-five that conveyed ideas he found compelling, made further deletions to streamline the still-lengthy text, and divided the resulting excerpts into seven movements.¹⁸⁴ His selections focused on issues such as religious freedom, equality, racism, atomic weapons, immigration, and political refugees. The penultimate paragraph of the encyclical, used for the final movement, is a prayer for peace to be achieved through the power of "our divine Redeemer" (*divino Redemptore nobis*), but Milhaud made it less specifically Christian by removing the one sentence that identified the Redeemer as Christ.

¹⁸¹ Georges Jessula, editorial note in Lunel, *Mon ami Darius Milhaud*, 95: "Darius Milhaud ayant eu connaissance, dans son exil d'Amérique, des silences de la papauté au moment où, dans l'Europe entière, les juifs étaient menacés d'extermination, décida de renoncer à cet hommage. Le manuscrit relié fut offert à Hélène Hoppenot (information communiquée par Madeleine Milhaud)." The question of Pius XII's wartime activity remains a subject of active scholarly debate. See John Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (New York: Viking, 1999); David G. Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope: How Pope Pius XII Rescued Jews from the Nazis* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2005).

¹⁸² In 1959, John XXIII removed the word "perfidis" ("faithless") from the Good Friday prayer for the Jews—though the prayer itself, calling for Jewish conversion to Christianity, remained in the liturgy. One product of the Second Vatican Council, convened by John XXIII in October 1962, was the declaration *Nostra aetate* ("In Our Time"), which addressed the relationship between the Catholic Church and other religions. It was not issued until 1965, after the pope's death, but he commissioned the first draft of the section condemning antisemitism and rejecting the idea that Jews bore collective guilt for the death of Christ.

¹⁸³ MVH, 279–80: "Soutenu par les sentiments de ce grand patriarche qui critiquait avec véhémence la discrimination, le racisme, l'injustice, l'atteinte à la liberté, les armes atomiques, et exprimait avec ferveur un désir de paix universelle, je composai *Pacem in Terris* entre le 7 juillet et le 6 août 1963."

¹⁸⁴ Many of the cuts within paragraphs simply remove the attributions before quotations of the Bible, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Pius XII, though the quotations themselves are included.

Although the text was deeply meaningful to Milhaud, he acknowledged the irony of his position as a Jewish composer setting the words of the Pope, particularly in light of other composers' activities. Several days after finishing the piece, he wrote to Henri Sauguet: "At the same time, Stravigor [Igor Stravinsky] is writing a work in Hebrew, commissioned by Israel... so, the Jew with the Pope and the antisemite with the State of Israel, political representative of the Old Testament. All very John XXIII."¹⁸⁵ Milhaud's composition can also be viewed in light of Francis Poulenc's *Sept répons des ténèbres*, the Latin liturgical text of which includes several references to "the Jews" as the murderers of Jesus. After the premiere by the New York Philharmonic on 11 April 1963—the same day on which John XXIII issued *Pacem in terris*—conductor Leonard Bernstein received numerous letters protesting the antisemitic elements of the text.¹⁸⁶

When de Bry approached Vatican officials on Milhaud's behalf for permission to set excerpts of the encyclical, their only stipulation was that "to highlight the ecumenical character of this event . . . the first performance should be directed by a Protestant conductor."¹⁸⁷ Charles Munch fulfilled that duty for the premiere in Paris on 20 December 1963, and he conducted the work again on 30 May 1964 in a concert at Notre-Dame de Paris, commemorating the eight hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the cathedral's construction. The requirement that the conductor be Protestant applied only to the premiere; to conduct the first U.S. performance,

¹⁸⁵ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 10 August 1963, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (234): "Pendant ce temps Stravigor écrit une œuvre en hébreu, commande d'Israël... donc le Juif avec le Pape et l'antisemite avec l'Etat d'Israël, représentant politique de l'Ancien Testament. Tout ceci très Jean XXIII." The Stravinsky work was *Abraham and Isaac*.

¹⁸⁶ New York Philharmonic Leon Levy Digital Archives, folder "Poulenc 'Sept Repons des Tenebres' Controversy, Apr 11, 1963 – Oct 17, 1963," <http://archives.nyphil.org/index.php/artifact/8fc7c886-baed-4ea5-b911-2e7ecf76a2e5/> (accessed 11 March 2015). I have found no commentary from Milhaud on Poulenc's composition or the controversy surrounding it.

¹⁸⁷ MVH, 279: "Une seule exigence, afin de souligner le caractère œcuménique de cette manifestation, le Vatican désirait seulement que la première exécution fût dirigée par un chef d'orchestre protestant."

Milhaud first asked Bernstein, then successfully engaged Maurice Abravanel, the conductor of the Utah Symphony Orchestra, who also was Jewish.¹⁸⁸ Under Abravanel's direction, *Pacem in terris* was performed and recorded in December 1964 at the Mormon Temple in Salt Lake City, adding yet another interfaith dimension to the work's performance history.¹⁸⁹

In December 1963, at the time of the *Pacem in terris* premiere, Milhaud composed his *Ode pour les morts des guerres* in response to the French government's request for a piece commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of World War I. Here, too, Milhaud's Jewish identity served an "ecumenical" function, as the other composers commissioned were the Catholic Olivier Messiaen and the Protestant Georges Migot.¹⁹⁰ *Ode pour les morts des guerres* is an orchestral composition with no text, but the titles of the three movements suggest a sacred—though nonsectarian—memorialization of the war dead:

1. Déploration sur les populations civiles massacrées [Lament for the massacred civilian populations]
2. Prière pour les morts en captivité et en déportation [Prayer for those who died in captivity and deportation]
3. Hymne funèbre pour les morts au champ d'honneur [Funeral hymn for those killed in battle]

Finally, in 1965, Milhaud was invited to a concert at the Vatican. He initially declined, as he was in Oakland at the time, but after a telegram informing him that Pope Paul VI personally requested his presence, he reconsidered.¹⁹¹ This performance, the first "ecumenical concert" organized by the Italian radio, featured music by composers of four different faiths: Milhaud as a

¹⁸⁸ Darius Milhaud to Leonard Bernstein, [August 1963], Library of Congress, Music Division, Leonard Bernstein Collection, ML31.B49, Box 39, Folder 58.

¹⁸⁹ Before a performance of *Pacem in terris* by the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra less than two months later, Milhaud was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle*: "To make it more ecumenical, Madame Salabert, the publisher is Greek Orthodox, and the recording took place in the Mormon Tabernacle." Robert Commanday, "Milhaud Discusses his 'Pacem in Terris,'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 January 1965. See also MVH, 279.

¹⁹⁰ Jean Roy, *Darius Milhaud: L'homme et son œuvre* (Paris: Editions Seghers, 1968), 83.

¹⁹¹ MVH, 281–82.

Jew, Stravinsky as a Russian Orthodox Christian, Gian Francesco Malipiero as a Catholic, and Jean Sibelius as a Protestant (“they could find a better protestant composer,” Madeleine Milhaud quipped to Reuben Rinder).¹⁹² The three living composers—Sibelius had died in 1957—were present at the concert. Milhaud and Stravinsky were both represented on the program by psalm settings written more than three decades earlier: Milhaud’s *Psalm 129* (1918) and Stravinsky’s *Symphony of Psalms* (1930). After leaving Rome, Madeleine Milhaud wrote to Rinder:

We sat next to the Pope who—*twice*—spoke to Darius, he thanked him for coming and he said that he desired absolutely that Milhaud would be present at that concert. He added that he knew how difficult it was for him to travel and that he was grateful that he did so... then he gave us presents... Strange! astonishing! and in this world of absurdity all the same hopeful. . . . (We are not converted!)¹⁹³

Milhaud’s status as the quasi-official Jewish composer of both France and the Vatican was limited to the period between the convening of the Second Vatican Council in 1962 and the Six-Day War in June 1967. France had previously been an ally of Israel and one of its primary sources of weaponry, but after this conflict, the French government broke with Israel to avoid antagonizing France’s Arab allies and former colonies. Like many French Jews, Milhaud—who had been a supporter of Charles de Gaulle until this point—was concerned about the change in policy, and about the international reaction to Israel’s victory more broadly.¹⁹⁴ He wrote to Henri and H el ene Hoppenot on 26 June 1967:

I have been very worried since this morning, with the Johnson-Kosygin meeting achieving nothing.¹⁹⁵ I followed all of the UN’s blathering on TV. So much bad faith! France *silent*, and then the General [de Gaulle] condemns Israel. That really takes the cake! The closure of the Gulf of Aqaba, the departure of the UN soldiers, the howling of

¹⁹² Madeleine Milhaud to Reuben Rinder, [June 1965], University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Reuben R. Rinder Papers, BANC MSS 2010/692, Folder 41.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ See Hyman, *The Jews of Modern France*, 200–04.

¹⁹⁵ Milhaud refers here to the Glassboro Summit Conference, a three-day meeting between U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson and Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin that concluded on 25 June 1967. The two leaders disagreed on the Middle East conflict, with Johnson taking the pro-Israel position.

Nasser and Co., are not an aggression. *Alone*, in legitimate defense, Israel responds to the provocations, wins the war with breathtaking speed, and... it is the aggressor. Are we heading toward that world war I have dreaded for months? And France with the Russians and the Arabs? *Inconceivable*.¹⁹⁶

This staunchly pro-Israel perspective was likely reinforced not only by the composer's connections to that country, but also by his links to Zionism in the United States, where it was a more mainstream position. In the 1960s, he was a featured speaker for at least two San Francisco benefit dinners for the Israel Bonds Development Corporation of America. On 27 March 1963, the event was in his honor; in his fifteen-minute address, he spoke primarily about his Provençal Jewish heritage and his 1952 visit to Israel, reiterating his belief in "a sort of parallelism between the time of the Bible and the time of the resurrection of the state."¹⁹⁷ For a banquet in honor of the violinist Isaac Stern on 14 February 1965, Milhaud presented the violinist with an award from the organization.¹⁹⁸

After *David*, the Israeli government commissioned Milhaud to compose two more works, both commemorating significant milestones in the life of the nation. The first, *Cantate de l'initiation* ("Bar Mitzvah Israël 1948–1961"), marked the thirteenth anniversary of statehood in 1961. When he asked Rabbi Edward Zerlin, whom he met in Aspen, to suggest "a text in the Saturday morning service that would contain an allusion to the prophecy heralding the

¹⁹⁶ Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, 26 June 1967, C-Hoppenot, 482–83: "Je suis depuis ce matin très inquiet, l'entrevue Johnson Korzgin [*sic*] n'ayant rien donné. J'ai suivi à la Télé tous les blablas de l'ONU. Tant de mauvaise foi! la France *silencieuse*, puis le Général condamne Israël. Ça c'est le bouquet! La fermeture du Golfe d' Akaba, le départ des soldats ONU, les hurlements des Nasser et C^{ie} ne sont pas une agression. *Seul*, Israël en légitime défense, répond aux provocations, gagne la guerre d'une manière vertigineuse et... c'est lui l'agresseur. Allons-nous à cette guerre mondiale que je redoute depuis des mois? et la France avec les Russes et les Arabes! *Impensable*."

¹⁹⁷ "Darius Milhaud for Israel Bonds Development Corporation of America," audio recording, 27 March 1963, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Israel Bonds Development Corporation of America (San Francisco Office) records, BANC MSS 2010/688, https://archive.org/details/cbm_000015 (accessed 14 March 2015).

¹⁹⁸ "Isaac Stern for Israel Bonds Development Corporation of America," audio recording, 14 February 1965, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, Israel Bonds Development Corporation of America (San Francisco Office) records, BANC MSS 2010/688, https://archive.org/details/cbm_000017 (accessed 14 March 2015).

reconstruction of the State of Israel,” Zerlin happened to choose the Torah portion from Milhaud’s own bar mitzvah in 1905.¹⁹⁹ Reuben Rinder assisted the composer with the Hebrew prosody, as he had done for the *Sacred Service*. For Israel’s twenty-fifth anniversary in 1973, Milhaud composed *Ode pour Jérusalem*, which the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra premiered under the direction of Daniel Barenboim.²⁰⁰

One month after completing *Ode pour Jérusalem* in August 1972—and one day before his eightieth birthday—Milhaud began his last major composition, *Ani Maamin* (“*I Believe*”): *Un chant perdu et retrouvé*. By this time, he had retired to Geneva and was in very poor health, but he had received a commission from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (now the Union for Reform Judaism) for a composition to mark the centenary of that organization. His librettist was Elie Wiesel, who described the genesis of the project in a 1978 interview:

First I wrote the poem, then I gave it to Darius Milhaud. I wrote the words and he wrote the music. I went to Geneva once to see him. He was an old man and couldn't move. I sang the Hasidic *Ani Maamin*. I wanted him to hear it. He comes from a Sephardic family where they never sang this kind of *Ani Maamin*. That was the only contact. He worked alone; I worked alone.²⁰¹

Ani Maamin, meaning “I believe,” is the title of a prayer based on the Thirteen Principles of Faith by the medieval Jewish philosopher Maimonides. It has been set to a number of melodies, none of which Milhaud used for the cantata. The version Wiesel sang to Milhaud was likely the one attributed to Azriel David Fastag, who is said to have composed it while in transit

¹⁹⁹ MVH, 263: “un texte dans le service du samedi matin qui contiendrait une allusion à la prophétie annonçant la reconstruction de l’Etat d’Israël.” The Torah portion is “Ki Tavo,” Deuteronomy 26:1–29:8.

²⁰⁰ Madeleine Milhaud, *Catalogue*, 437.

²⁰¹ Elie Wiesel in John S. Friedman, “The Art of Fiction LXXIX: Elie Wiesel,” *The Paris Review* 91 (1984): 146. In Wiesel’s memoirs, he locates this meeting in Paris rather than Geneva. “Ensnconced in his armchair near the window in his Paris apartment, Milhaud asks why I chose this theme, this legend, over others. I tell him that since childhood I have felt a special tenderness for this twelfth article of faith proclaimed by the great Rabbi Moses Maimonides.” Elie Wiesel, *And the Sea is Never Full: Memoirs, 1969—*, trans. Marion Wiesel (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 67.

from the Warsaw Ghetto to the Treblinka extermination camp.²⁰² Wiesel’s libretto uses excerpts and paraphrases of the original *Ani Maamin* text in the sections sung by the choir, but the spoken narrative portrays three Biblical patriarchs—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—confronting God about the Holocaust.²⁰³ God is silent in the face of these impassioned cries, but after the three men become discouraged and leave heaven to be witnesses to the Jewish victims, the narrator reveals that God weeps while watching them.²⁰⁴ Wiesel wrote the text in French (with some quotations in Hebrew from the original *Ani Maamin*), and his wife Marion translated it into English for the premiere. Milhaud completed the score in October 1972 and sent the manuscript to Wiesel, who wrote to the composer in December: “We just heard your music, played on the piano: it is beautiful, heartrending in its beauty.”²⁰⁵

Confronting God for abandoning humankind is also the central theme of Bernstein’s Third Symphony, “Kaddish” (1963).²⁰⁶ Milhaud knew this work, though it seems to have provoked mixed feelings in him. After attending a performance by the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra in January 1965, he wrote to Bernstein: “It was marvellous to hear Kaddisch, which I knew well thanks to the record. It is a beautiful work and Felicia [Montealegre] was simply

²⁰² See Jonathan L. Friedmann, *Social Functions of Synagogue Song: A Durkheimian Approach* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012), 120–22.

²⁰³ Wiesel revisited this idea in his 1979 play *The Trial of God*, set in a fictional seventeenth-century village.

²⁰⁴ The text of the cantata has been a subject of analysis in a number of studies of Wiesel’s theology and approach to Holocaust memorialization. See Françoise Mies, “Job dans la tourmente: De l’intrigue biblique à Élie Wiesel,” in Françoise Mies, ed., *Bible et littérature: L’homme et Dieu mis en intrigue* (Brussels: Lessius, 1999), 100–121; Alan L. Berger, “The Storyteller and His Quarrel with God,” in Rosemary Horowitz, ed., *Elie Wiesel and the Art of Storytelling* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006), 78–81; John K. Roth, “Face to Face: Biblical Traces in the Philosophy of Elie Wiesel,” in Beth Hawkins Benedix, ed., *Subverting Scriptures: Critical Reflections on the Use of the Bible* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 48–56.

²⁰⁵ Elie Wiesel to Darius Milhaud, 18 December [1972], PSS-DM: “Nous venons d’écouter, jouée au piano, votre musique: elle est belle, bouleversante de beauté.”

²⁰⁶ On the reception of this work, see Argyropoulos, “Conducting Culture,” 225–30.

sublime.”²⁰⁷ To Henri Sauguet, he again praised the quality of the performance, but also called the symphony “interminable and extremely questionable,” perhaps indicating a distaste for the work’s theology as well as its music.²⁰⁸

Ani Maamin was commissioned to commemorate an institutional anniversary, but in the month before the first performance at Carnegie Hall on 13 November 1973, it gained a connection to a more urgent matter—the Yom Kippur War. On 19 October, two weeks into the conflict, a half-page advertisement for *Ani Maamin* appeared in the *New York Times* (Figure 3.3). At the top is an excerpt from the text, with one significant word change: “and all to Abraham” becomes “and all to Israel.” A second quotation by Wiesel, not from the cantata, appears below it, further calling upon readers to view support for Israel as an essential duty for Jews in the diaspora. Neither quotation hints at the bitter and complex irony of Wiesel’s complete text. Above the information about the performance is a notice that the proceeds from the concert would be donated to the United Jewish Appeal’s “Israel Emergency Fund.”

²⁰⁷ Darius Milhaud to Leonard Bernstein, [January 1965], Library of Congress, Music Division, Leonard Bernstein Collection, ML31.B49, Box 39, Folder 58.

²⁰⁸ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 11 January 1965, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (242): “[Jennie] Tourel *a très bien* chanté hier dans l’interminable et archi-discutable Kaddish de L. Bernstein dans lequel sa femme (Felicia Montealegre) a une part de récitante immense qu’elle fait d’une manière remarquable.”

Music critic Alan Rich reviewed the premiere in his column for *New York* magazine, a relatively new publication that had been part of the *New York Herald Tribune* before the newspaper folded in 1967. Rich contrasted the power of Wiesel's text with what seemed to him an outdated and unoriginal score, describing the music in terms typical of Milhaud's late reception:

It consists for the most part of some extended choral settings of a text by Elie Wiesel, framing a narration by Mr. Wiesel and a supporting cast which—in the manner of Leonard Bernstein's *Kaddisch*—attempts to scold God for seemingly abandoning His people. For Mr. Wiesel's text and its narration I have only respect; it is a clever, fluent essay in a poetic form which, I understand, goes back to ancient times: the notion of man scornfully telling off a superior power. Mr. Wiesel may actually be telling us more than what appears. The Milhaud score, however, is somewhat disappointing: mostly the kind of ethnic-pastoral writing he was turning out a half-century ago, most of it by now predictable and somewhat tired.²⁰⁹

In the *New York Times*, Harold C. Schonberg took a more positive view of the score, writing: "Milhaud's music represents what is for him an unusually consonant and direct setting. . . . Some lovely melodies came and went (the pianissimo ending was especially effective), there were some powerful outbursts, and as a whole this proved to be a dignified and heartfelt addition to Jewish religious music."²¹⁰ At a time when Milhaud's music—particularly his late works—was considered a tiresome anachronism by many, it was as a Jewish composer that his name still commanded significant prestige in the United States.

As I have shown in this chapter, the complexity of the intersections between personal identity, creative production, local institutions, and global cultural factors over the course of a long transnational life makes it impossible to speak of a fixed relationship between Milhaud's Jewish identity and his music. His strategies for self-promotion as a young composer in Paris

²⁰⁹ Alan Rich, "Just Plain Georg," *The Lively Arts*, *New York*, 10 December 1973, 100. See also chapter 6.

²¹⁰ Harold C. Schonberg, "Milhaud 'Ani Maamin' Has World Premiere," *Music*, *New York Times*, 15 November 1973.

were shaped both by his awareness that the limiting expectations for “Jewish composers” were incompatible with his career goals and by his *israélite* conviction that his heritage and beliefs did not diminish his Frenchness, but rather reaffirmed it. The upheaval of war and exile in 1940 had both immediate and long-term effects on this carefully developed public persona. Resisting essentialism became even more vital—as seen in “The Problem of Jewish Music”—but so, too, did proclaiming his Provençal Jewish origins, as he did in the opening chapter of *Notes sans musique*. In the postwar years, Milhaud’s large-scale Jewish compositions resulted not only from his transnational activity and his personal connections with influential individuals such as Reuben Rinder and Serge Koussevitzky, but also from broad cultural changes—including post-Holocaust demographic patterns, the establishment of Israel, and American “Judeo-Christian” rhetoric—that turned this aspect of his identity into a professional asset. Without losing the specificity of his Judeo-Provençal background, Milhaud engaged as a composer with a spectrum of Jewish and interfaith cultural activity in Europe, Israel, and the United States, which became a central element of the final stage of his musical career.

CHAPTER FOUR: MILHAUD AND MILLS COLLEGE

At the time of Darius Milhaud's arrival in 1940, Mills College, with around 650 students, was one of only a few women's colleges in California.¹ Founded in 1852 as a "Young Ladies Seminary" for the daughters of pioneer families, it had become a center for music, dance, art, and literature despite its small size and somewhat isolated location in the Oakland foothills. The music department dated back to the establishment of the Oakland campus in 1871; one of its first graduates was the soprano Emma Nevada.² In the first decade of the presidency of Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, which began in 1916, she oversaw a rapid increase in enrollment, the accreditation of the college, and curriculum changes that included the establishment of a School of Music—which became a department within the School of Fine Arts in a 1926 reorganization—and a Graduate Division.³ In 1922, Luther Marchant was hired as chair of the School of Music, a position he held until 1954.⁴

Central to the college's reputation for music and art was the annual Summer Session, which started in 1929.⁵ Featuring classes in an expanding array of subjects, music and dance performances (including a resident string quartet), and impressive rosters of visiting faculty, the

¹ Rosalind A. Keep, *Fourscore and Ten Years: A History of Mills College* (San Francisco: Taylor and Taylor, 1946), 12–13. The 1940–41 course catalog lists the total enrollment as 649, including 86 graduate students.

² *Ibid.*, 71. Before 1871, the college was located in Benicia, California, about twenty miles north of its current location.

³ George Hedley, *Aurelia Henry Reinhardt: Portrait of a Whole Woman* (Oakland: Mills College, 1961), 99–103.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁵ For a history of music in the Mills College Summer Sessions, see Ann Marie Newman, "Making Music at Mills College: Summer Sessions, 1929–1957" (MA thesis, San Jose State University, 2003).

program quickly became a fixture of the Bay Area, and it was recognized especially as a center for interdisciplinary collaboration and modern music. Henry Cowell was part of the Summer Session faculty in 1933 and 1934, teaching courses in “Comparative Musicology” and “The Appreciation of Modern Music” and giving additional lectures in modern and world music.⁶ After his May 1936 arrest prevented him from working as an accompanist in the dance division and teaching a course on “Theory and Practice of Rhythm,” members of the dance faculty visited him in prison.⁷ To replace Cowell in 1938, the dance department hired John Cage and Lou Harrison, who had both studied with him. In addition to accompanying dancers, Cage and Harrison started a series of percussion concerts featuring their own works and those of other modern composers, performed by an ensemble of both faculty and students.⁸ In 1939, the Bennington School of the Dance, which included Martha Graham among its faculty, held its summer program at Mills rather than its usual location in Vermont.⁹ Outside of music and dance, the Mills Summer Session had also become a center for French language and culture through its *Maison Française*, founded in 1934. Students living in the house were required to speak only French, and lectures were given by visiting French writers and artists.¹⁰

At a time when Milhaud’s music was not well known in most of the United States, it already had a presence at Mills. Between 1933 and 1935, the Pro Arte Quartet, the Summer Session’s resident string quartet from 1932 to 1938, played several of his quartets and the piano-

⁶ Newman, “Making Music at Mills College,” 34. See Joel Sachs, *Henry Cowell: A Man Made of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 207.

⁷ Newman, “Making Music at Mills College,” 35–36, 284; Nathan Rubin, *John Cage and the Twenty-Six Pianos of Mills College: Forces in American Music from 1940 to 1990* (Moraga, CA: Sarah’s Books, 1994), 5. On Cowell’s arrest on a morals charge and his subsequent imprisonment, see Sachs, *Henry Cowell*, 275–89.

⁸ Newman, “Making Music at Mills College,” 46.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 41–42.

¹⁰ On the *Maison Française* after 1940, see chapter 5.

quintet transcription of *La Création du monde*.¹¹ Cowell, who had been performing Milhaud's music in San Francisco since the early 1920s, included his compositions in lectures on modern music.¹² Away from the college campus, Milhaud had other connections in the region, including two French-born musicians whose efforts to promote French music in the United States dated back to the late 1910s. Pierre Monteux, who shared Milhaud's Provençal Jewish ancestry, had conducted performances of Milhaud's music in Boston, Amsterdam, and Paris before becoming the director of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra in 1936, and the composer held him in high esteem.¹³ The pianist E. Robert Schmitz, who moved from Los Angeles to Oakland in the late 1930s when his daughter Monique enrolled at Mills, had organized both of Milhaud's U.S. concert tours in the 1920s as the president of the Pro Musica Society, which was called "the Franco-American Musical Society" during its first three years of activity, and he regularly included Milhaud's piano and chamber music in his own recitals.¹⁴

On 23 June 1940, while waiting in Lisbon for passage on a ship to New York, Milhaud wrote to the influential U.S. music patron Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge: "We will arrive in New York in the middle of summer, and with very little money. I am hoping to find work. I *beg* you to help me, dear Mrs. Coolidge. I would like to find a master class in composition, a summer

¹¹ Rubin, *John Cage and the Twenty-Six Pianos*, 7; Margaret Lyon, "Music—Milhaud—Music," *Mills Magazine*, November–December 1971, 3. The Pro Arte Quartet, which was connected to Milhaud through Paul Collaer and Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, had already given the world premieres of Milhaud's Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth String Quartets in Europe.

¹² Newman, "Making Music at Mills College," 34–35.

¹³ In April 1921, Monteux gave the first U.S. performance of Milhaud's *Suite symphonique no. 2* ("Protée") with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, just six months after its premiere in Paris under Gabriel Pierné. H. L., "Boston Hears New Works: Score by Stuart Mason and Milhaud Suite Played by Monteux," *Musical America* 34, no. 1 (30 April 1921), 53. Monteux was still in Boston at the time of Milhaud's 1923 tour, but a performance with the orchestra could not be arranged due to scheduling conflicts.

¹⁴ For a detailed history of the Pro Musica Society, see Ronald Victor Wiecki, "A Chronicle of Pro Musica in the United States (1920–1944): With a Biographical Sketch of its Founder, E. Robert Schmitz" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1992). Milhaud's 1926–27 tour is discussed on pp. 255–65. See also the Introduction of this study.

course, or a conservatory directorship *anywhere*.”¹⁵ Like many of his contemporaries, Milhaud had already benefited from Coolidge’s generosity; she commissioned his Eighth and Ninth string quartets in the early 1930s, and they spent time together during her visits to France and Italy in those years. As a prominent patron, Coolidge received many requests for help, especially as the war began to displace many of the European musicians she had assisted previously. Not all of these requests could be fulfilled, but in this case, her connections and resources opened the door for Milhaud’s appointment at Mills College.¹⁶

At the time of Milhaud’s letter to Coolidge, the Mills music department was seeking a replacement for its previous professor of composition, the Italian-born Domenico Brescia, who had died in March 1939 after fourteen years on the faculty. Coolidge had known Brescia as a friend and as a composition teacher since before he began working at Mills, and her long association with the institution had developed from this friendship.¹⁷ In 1928, she attended the dedication of the music building and played piano in a composition Brescia wrote for the occasion.¹⁸ The chair of the music department, Luther Marchant, also became her close friend, and she made regular gifts of money and scores to the department and its library, including Gian Francesco Malipiero’s complete edition of the works of Claudio Monteverdi.¹⁹ She sponsored

¹⁵ Darius Milhaud to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, 23 June 1940, Library of Congress, Music Division, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, ML29, Box 69, Folder 39: “Mais nous allons arriver à New York en plein été et avec très peu d’argent. J’espère trouver du travail. Je vous *supplie* de m’aider, chère Mrs. Coolidge. J’aimerais trouver une master class de composition, un cours d’été, ou une direction de conservatoire *n’importe où*.” See Cyrilla Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge: American Patron of Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1998), 269–71.

¹⁶ On Coolidge’s efforts to help Milhaud and other exiled musicians, see Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge*, 267–81.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 201–02.

¹⁸ Margaret Lyon, “Music—Milhaud—Music,” *Mills Magazine* 3, no. 2 (November–December 1971): 3. Because the piano began the piece alone, Coolidge has been credited with playing “the opening notes on the piano in the Chamber Music Hall.” Keep, *Fourscore and Ten Years*, 139.

¹⁹ Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge*, 261. The Library of Congress holds extensive correspondence between Marchant and Coolidge. Documents relating to Coolidge’s gifts to Mills College can also be found in Library of Congress, Music Division, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, ML29, Box 70, Folders 6–7.

the Pro Arte Quartet, a Belgian ensemble whose members were well known to her, for their annual residencies at Mills during the Summer Session, and her continuing composition studies with Brescia led her to spend several summers on campus herself.²⁰ The opportunity for Mills College to hire Milhaud satisfied the music department's interest in finding another distinguished European composer to replace Brescia, and it also aligned with President Aurelia Henry Reinhardt's efforts to recruit refugees to the faculty.²¹

Milhaud's affiliation with Mills College lasted thirty-one years; following his seven years of exile, he spent alternating academic years in Oakland until 1971, when he returned to Europe for the last three years of his life. I begin this chapter by tracing the mutually beneficial relationship between the composer and the college across his three decades on the faculty, which provided an important anchor in Milhaud's life during and after exile while also enhancing the prestige of the music department. The openness toward teaching in an American liberal-arts environment that he expressed in interviews contrasts with the stereotypical image of discontented émigré composer-teachers, but, I argue, it aligns with his established reputation as a composer whose formative influences included popular music and jazz. Challenging previous depictions of the Mills music department that treat its position in a women's college as a mere quirk, I show how the experiences of female and male composition students at Mills were shaped by the gender dynamics both of midcentury U.S. society and of this college in particular. I conclude with a discussion of Milhaud's relationship to the experimental musicians at Mills in the 1960s, for whom his own avant-garde past took on new significance.

²⁰ Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge*, 259.

²¹ Through the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, the college had hired Alfred Neumeyer as a professor of art history and Bernhard Blume as chair of the German department, among others. Hedley, *Aurelia Henry Reinhardt*, 115–16.

Milhaud and Mills

The offer of a one-year position as Visiting Professor of Music, at a salary of \$2,500—of which \$500 came from Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge—arrived by telegram while Milhaud was on board the *Excambion* from Lisbon to New York.²² Two days after reaching the United States, Milhaud, who worried that the proposed salary would not be enough to support him and his family after the losses caused by their displacement, wrote to Luther Marchant to ask him to understand his need to supplement this income by accepting concert engagements and composing film scores.²³ Once he arrived at Mills, he and Marchant met to discuss the terms of his employment at the college, which included twelve hours of teaching per week, leaving time for composing and other projects.²⁴ Milhaud asked Marchant several times if the college would provide housing for his family, but this would not happen until the following year.

Darius and Madeleine Milhaud quickly became involved in the life of the college and the wider community, facilitated by the friends they already had in the area.²⁵ On 4 September 1940, the composer's forty-eighth birthday, he gave a recital in Berkeley with the violinist Doris Ballard.²⁶ Several days later, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge hosted a dinner in honor of the Milhauds, with an invitation list that included Pierre Monteux, Arnold Schoenberg, Bruno Walter, and former U.S. President Herbert Hoover.²⁷ (The report in the *Oakland Tribune* does not specify whether all those invited actually attended, but the list demonstrates the reach of Coolidge's social capital and her willingness to deploy it for Milhaud's benefit.) During this

²² MVH, 220; see also chapter 1. The telegram to Milhaud does not survive.

²³ Darius Milhaud to Luther B. Marchant, 17 July 1940, Mills-DM, 3.1.5. See chapter 1.

²⁴ Memo dated 28 August 1940, Mills-DM, 3.1.5.

²⁵ On Madeleine Milhaud's activities during this time, see chapter 5.

²⁶ "Milhaud-Ballard Recital in Berkeley," *Oakland Tribune*, 1 September 1940.

²⁷ Suzette, "Milhaud is Honored at Dinner Here," *Oakland Tribune*, 9 September 1940.

time, as Milhaud adjusted to life in the United States and confronted the challenges of exile, the hospitality he found at Mills quickly became a source of comfort. In a letter to Coolidge in October, he told her: “The teaching at Mills is *wonderful* and I am everyday more graceful to you to have make me work there.”²⁸ A short time later, Luther Marchant wrote to Coolidge:

Mr. Milhaud is meeting with great success in every way. He has endeared himself to faculty and students. His kindness, which is almost tenderness, his great knowledge and his ability as a teacher and his character as a man and a potential citizen have won for him a host of friends.

I want to make him a full professor and his position permanent. He loves it here and wants to live here. He said if he had to choose to live any place in the world, except France, he would want to be at Mills. It has all been so agreeable and satisfactory to him and his family and to us that, as he said to me yesterday, “You have just been waiting for me.” He feels it almost a divine providence that sent him here. So you know how grateful I am to you for suggesting him and for your help toward his salary. He is a great asset and compensates our loss of dear Brescia.²⁹

In the spring, President Reinhardt renewed Milhaud’s contract for three years, now as Professor of Music with a salary of \$4,000. (“But three years from now, ah!” Darius wrote to H el ene Hoppenot.) She also offered to have a house built for the family in the campus’s Faculty Village, which later enabled the composer to teach his courses from home when his health and impaired mobility made it necessary.³⁰ Though this first step toward a permanent position provided much-needed stability in an uncertain time, looking beyond the immediate future drew attention to the likelihood that the Milhauds’ stay in the United States would not be a short-term

²⁸ Darius Milhaud to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, [October 1940], Library of Congress, Music Division, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, ML29, Box 69, Folder 35.

²⁹ Luther B. Marchant to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, 4 November 1940, Library of Congress, Music Division, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, ML29, Box 67, Folder 15. See Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge*, 270.

³⁰ Darius Milhaud to H el ene Hoppenot, 14 June 1941, C-Hoppenot, 202: “Mills College m’engage pour trois ans et fait construire sur son ‘Campus’ une maison pour nous. Mais d’ici trois ans, ah!” Milhaud’s signed Acceptance of Appointment forms for these years are in Mills-DM, 3.1.8. He began teaching from home in 1944, a year in which he experienced a significant decline in his health.

situation. Madeleine later recalled: “I tried to dissuade [Reinhardt]; I was convinced that the war would soon be over and we should then leave for France. Wishful thinking, alas!”³¹

The significant increase in Milhaud’s salary—and the end of Coolidge’s contribution to it—resulted in the dismissal of the composer Arthur Berger, who had taught at Mills for two years. Berger wrote to Aaron Copland:

A difficult situation has come up here. Esther and I have been very friendly with the Milhaud’s [*sic*], we like them very much and they have acted as if they like us. . . . Milhaud and I have been teaching much the same work, and since Mills can pay for only one of us, it is quite natural that Milhaud and not myself will be retained. I hope you understand that I do not bear any personal grudge against Milhaud. This is a social problem which far exceeds individuals. It is the duty of society to provide a more stable base for refugees than merely a year’s salary following which they are left high and dry.³²

Copland responded sympathetically: “I was of course rather shocked to hear the denouement of the Milhaud ‘visit.’ Here again, your philosophical calm is somehow more effective than the usual ‘ranting.’ Nevertheless it seems a pity that it should have turned out that way.”³³ Despite the circumstances of Berger’s departure from Mills, he and Milhaud remained on friendly terms, and Berger later credited his former colleague with inspiring him to return to composition after an unproductive period.³⁴

It was not only through hospitality and security that Mills College facilitated Milhaud’s first years in the United States. The administration, the music faculty, and the college’s press

³¹ CWMM, 60.

³² Arthur Berger to Aaron Copland, 10 March 1941, in Wayne D. Shirley, ed., “Aaron Copland and Arthur Berger in Correspondence,” in *Aaron Copland and His World*, eds. Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 185.

³³ Aaron Copland to Arthur Berger, 19 March 1941, in *ibid.*, 186.

³⁴ Arthur Berger, *Reflections of an American Composer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 223–24: “During my second year [at Mills] Darius Milhaud joined the faculty and my fellow composition teacher Charles Jones started to show our celebrated colleague his compositions on a regular weekly basis. So I followed his example. When I brought Milhaud the music I was writing for a Mills dance group he threw up his hands, shouted ‘merveilleux,’ and embraced me. To have such a reaction from a world-class musician was all I needed to restore my faith in my composing. It was only later that I became aware that Milhaud was unburdening himself of a favorite locution that he would as readily use for the most primitive attempt of a freshman.”

office all recognized the importance—and the mutual benefit—of helping him to cultivate his career outside Mills. When Milhaud performed his Piano Concerto no. 2 in Chicago in 1941, his biography in the program concluded with “He now makes his home in the United States and is at present on the faculty of California’s Mills College”; after the concert, someone sent a copy of the program to the Mills press office with the note “Couldn’t have better publicity.”³⁵ In 1942, President Reinhardt wrote to Nelson Rockefeller on Milhaud’s behalf in an attempt to secure a U.S. production of *Bolivar*, telling him that Milhaud was “an inspiration not only in his field of music, but in the program of South American studies which has been developed during the last two years at this college” through the composer’s association with Brazil.³⁶ The *Oakland Tribune* and other Bay Area newspapers followed Milhaud’s activities closely, aided by the Mills press office and such critics as Clifford Gessler and Alfred Frankenstein. In this part of California, Milhaud was both a world-class composer and a local celebrity.³⁷

From the beginning of his time at Mills, Milhaud contributed to the cultural life of the campus and the surrounding area. The collection of Erik Satie’s manuscripts and papers that he had brought out of France was displayed in an exhibit at Mills in October 1940; for the opening of the exhibit, he revised a lecture on Satie that he had delivered the year before at the Bibliothèque Nationale when he gave part of the collection to that library.³⁸ In his first year, he also presented lectures in Oakland and Berkeley on Debussy, on music and poetry (with Madeleine Milhaud and the pianist Jean Leduc), and on his own compositions.³⁹ The Northern

³⁵ Concert program in Mills-DM, 2.5.1.

³⁶ Aurelia Henry Reinhardt to Nelson Rockefeller, 4 December 1942, Mills-DM, 3.1.8.

³⁷ On Milhaud and the Bay Area press after World War II, see chapter 6.

³⁸ “Erik Satie,” manuscript in PSS-DM.

³⁹ “Milhaud to Open Mills Lectures,” *Oakland Tribune*, 8 October 1940; “Milhaud Recital Across Bay Today,” *Oakland Tribune*, 24 November 1940; “Milhauds in Lecture Recital Tomorrow,” *Oakland Tribune*, 4 February 1941; “Darius Milhaud to Lecture in Berkeley,” *Oakland Tribune*, 27 April 1941.

California WPA Symphony Orchestra premiered the saxophone and orchestra arrangement of *Scaramouche*, his popular two-piano suite, in November 1940.⁴⁰ In February 1941, Milhaud conducted the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra in his First Symphony, which the Chicago Symphony Orchestra had premiered the previous October.⁴¹ That same month, he composed a brief work for string ensemble titled *Mills Fanfare*, punning on the name of the college by translating the title into French as “La fanfare du moulin.”⁴²

The Summer Session programs in music and French were already strong before Milhaud’s arrival, but his status and connections further enhanced the college’s offerings in those areas and drew renewed attention to the summer school. The guests of the Maison Française in 1941 included Fernand Léger, who had designed the set and costumes for *La Création du monde* in 1923, and André Maurois, who had known the Milhauds for more than a decade.⁴³ Léger had settled in New York after leaving France in 1940; to get to Mills, he took a bus across the country. As the artist spoke little English, his lecture on “Modern French Painting” was delivered in French. In addition to teaching, he assisted with sets and costumes for the student plays, likely including the one directed by Madeleine Milhaud.⁴⁴ Maurois gave lectures in both French and English, including several on issues related to the war.⁴⁵ That summer, Milhaud taught three courses: Composition (for “advanced and graduate students only”), Counterpoint (“strict

⁴⁰ “‘Scaramouche’ to Be Played Friday,” *Oakland Tribune*, 6 October 1940. By the time of Milhaud’s arrival in July 1940, recordings of *Scaramouche* had been released in the United States by both Columbia (Ethel Bartlett and Rae Robertson) and Victor (Vitya Vronsky and Victor Babin), and both piano duos had integrated the work into their concert repertoires.

⁴¹ “S.F. Symphony Will Present Milhaud Opus,” *Oakland Tribune*, 16 February 1941. This concert was given in honor of Ignacy Jan Paderewski, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the pianist’s U.S. debut.

⁴² On the manuscript, dated 11 February 1941, the French title appears at the top of the page, with “Mills Fanfare” written below it.

⁴³ In MVH, 173, Milhaud mentions spending time with Maurois and his wife in Berlin in 1930.

⁴⁴ Rosamond Bernier, *Some of My Lives: A Scrapbook Memoir* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 151.

⁴⁵ Newman, “Making Music at Mills College,” 235–37.

counterpoint in two, three, and four parts”), and Orchestration.⁴⁶ The Casa Panamericana, the Spanish and Portuguese counterpart to the Maison Française, engaged him to give lecture-demonstrations on Brazilian and Latin American music in 1943, in addition to his music courses.⁴⁷ In 1944, he added a course consisting of “Individual conferences in the interpretation of the compositions of Mr. Milhaud,” which may indicate that a significant number of students had begun to attend the Summer Session especially to learn from him.⁴⁸ After 1947, he shared his teaching responsibilities with other instructors, as he had started to spend part of each summer at the Music Academy of the West, the Berkshire Music Center, the University of Wyoming, or the Aspen Music Festival.⁴⁹

Milhaud also organized other special events at the college, including a visit by Igor Stravinsky and Nadia Boulanger in October 1944. Milhaud wrote to Stravinsky in March to tell him that the college was planning to invite him for a lecture in the fall; by late April, Mills had extended an official invitation, which Stravinsky accepted.⁵⁰ In August, Stravinsky told Milhaud that he would probably have to cancel due to another project planned for that time, but after Milhaud and Luther Marchant discussed changing the date, Stravinsky agreed to come on 26

⁴⁶ Ibid., 316–18. The description for the orchestration class is in Milhaud’s uncorrected English: “Study of the instruments and their passivity’s. Exercises in orchestration as exemplified in classical and contemporary works. Particular attention will be given to the arrangement of music for the orchestra as having to do with moving pictures.” Quoted in *ibid.*, 318.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 239.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 323.

⁴⁹ In 1949, he wrote to Copland: “We sail for Paris Sept. 29. after THREE summer sessions (Laramie, Mills, S^{ta} Barbara) I need money!” Darius Milhaud to Aaron Copland, [Summer 1949], Library of Congress, Music Division, Aaron Copland Collection, ML31.C7, Box 259, Folder 19. On his time at the University of Wyoming in 1949, see Jeannie Gayle Pool, *American Composer Zenobia Powell Perry: Race and Gender in the 20th Century* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 124–34. This workshop followed a shorter visit in the summer of 1945, where he conducted his Cello Concerto no. 1 with soloist Joseph Wetzels (an instructor at the university and former member of the Belgian Piano-String Quartet) and an orchestra that included a number of local high school students. “University News Notes,” *Big Piney Examiner*, 3 May 1945; MVH, 233.

⁵⁰ Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, 22 March and 25 April 1944, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection.

October.⁵¹ The plan to include Nadia Boulanger came later; Milhaud wrote to her in September to invite her to visit, but without saying anything about performing at Mills.⁵² When the date of her visit happened to coincide with Stravinsky's lecture, she agreed to participate by playing two-piano transcriptions of several of his works.⁵³ After Stravinsky returned to Los Angeles, Milhaud wrote to him: "It was so nice to have you here. It will be the oasis of the year. . . . All of the students were enlightened by your presence and your music."⁵⁴

After the war, Mills College was central to Milhaud's decision to maintain a presence in the United States. The offer of a teaching position at the Paris Conservatoire was an honor he could not refuse, but neither would he abandon the college that had given him a lifeline at the beginning of his exile and supported him for the past seven years.⁵⁵ Moreover, although he and his family had postponed their first trip back to France until conditions in Paris and the composer's health had improved sufficiently, there was no guarantee that he would be able to manage that challenging environment, whereas Mills College had worked to accommodate his disability. The initial arrangement seems designed to protect his ability to return to Oakland permanently if Paris did not work out: Milhaud took a paid sabbatical from Mills for 1947–48,

⁵¹ Igor Stravinsky to Darius Milhaud, 16 August 1944, and Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, 21 September 1944, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection.

⁵² Darius Milhaud to Nadia Boulanger, September 1944, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 87 (54).

⁵³ According to a draft of the program that Stravinsky sent Milhaud several weeks before the visit, Stravinsky's lecture was titled "Composing, Performing, Listening," and the pieces he performed with Boulanger were the Sonata for Two Pianos (which Boulanger and Richard Johnston had premiered earlier that year), *Scherzo à la Russe*, and *Circus Polka*. Igor Stravinsky to Darius Milhaud, 7 October 1944, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection. See Kimberly A. Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky: Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist Icon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 150–54.

⁵⁴ Darius Milhaud to Igor Stravinsky, 14 November 1944, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection: "Comme c'était gentil de vous avoir. Ce sera l'oasis de l'année. . . . Toutes les étudiantes ont été illuminées par votre présence et votre musique."

⁵⁵ See chapter 2.

he and his wife kept their status as U.S. permanent residents, and the local press characterized the trip to Paris as a “visit” rather than as a definitive return.⁵⁶

In his letter requesting a sabbatical leave, Milhaud wrote to Lynn T. White, Jr., who had succeeded Reinhardt as president of the college in 1943:

My purpose is to go to France and study the music written since the war, to conduct some of my works, to make a survey of the teaching methods in the Conservatoire, to visit Belgium, England and other countries where my music is performed, to do my best to obtain performances of the music of young american composers in France and particularly in the Radio.⁵⁷

While clearly written to make the strongest case for a sabbatical—notably, he conveniently neglected to mention that he would be teaching at the Conservatoire, although White was aware of that fact—this statement shows Milhaud positioning his return to France as something that was not just for his own personal and professional benefit, but would also enrich the Mills College music department. The planned European performances of his music would boost his international reputation, which would reflect back on the college. By studying recent French music and Conservatoire teaching methods, he could impart this up-to-date knowledge to his Mills students upon his return the following year, and with his promise to try to get music by young American composers performed in France, he showed that he was interested not only in using the existing prestige of French music to benefit his students back in the United States, but also in raising the profile of American music in Europe.

Further demonstrating his interest in acting as a link between California and Paris, Milhaud arranged for the establishment of a Mills College extension course that would enable

⁵⁶ Darius and Madeleine Milhaud were U.S. permanent residents until 1968, when they changed their residency status to make it easier to stay close to their son. For their final two visits to Mills (1968–69 and the spring of 1971), the college arranged to bring them back under a non-immigrant H-1 visa. Darius Milhaud to Mary Woods Bennett, 15 January 1968, Mills-DM, 3.1.2.

⁵⁷ Darius Milhaud to Lynn White, 13 October 1946, Mills-DM, 3.1.12.

several of his students to travel to France for a year to continue their work with him.⁵⁸ The participants in the first year were Dick Collins, Jack Weeks, and David van Kriedt, three members of the recently-formed Dave Brubeck Octet. Like Brubeck, the three men were veterans studying on the G.I. Bill.⁵⁹ Milhaud's reputation as a "serious" composer who valued and appreciated jazz had attracted them to Mills, where as men, they could either enroll in the graduate program or take classes as non-degree students.⁶⁰ While in Paris, they were able to make connections in the French jazz scene in addition to continuing their composition studies.⁶¹ However, due to the health crisis Milhaud experienced upon returning to Aix-en-Provence (see

⁵⁸ On the history of study-abroad programs between the United States and France, see Whitney Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad: France and the United States, 1890–1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

⁵⁹ In 1949–50, the Extension Course had eight students, most of whom had never attended Mills: Larry Adler, the harmonica virtuoso who had commissioned a work from Milhaud in 1942 and was in the process of immigrating to the United Kingdom to continue his career after being blacklisted; Robert R. Becker, the director of the orchestra at the University of Wyoming, where Milhaud had taught in the summer of 1949; Josefa Heifetz, daughter of the violinist Jascha Heifetz; Anne Kish, a former Mills graduate student; Thomas E. Ribbink, a ballet composer and choreographer from Texas; James Ringo, a young composer who later worked primarily as a music critic; Jerome Rosen, a Berkeley graduate who later taught music at the University of California, Davis; and Victor Yellin, a composer and musicologist who had just completed his undergraduate studies at Harvard. Mary C. Walker to the Mills College Public Relations Office, 18 November 1949, Mills-DM, 2.1.2.

⁶⁰ Brubeck was a graduate student, as his brother Howard had been, but he did not complete the program; most of his friends were non-degree students, and several of them later received master's degrees from the University of California, Berkeley, where they studied with Roger Sessions. Mills had accepted male graduate students since 1935, but the G.I. Bill markedly increased their presence on campus. Marianne Buroff Sheldon, "Revitalizing the Mission of a Women's College: Mills College in Oakland, California," in *Challenged by Coeducation: Women's Colleges Since the 1960s*, ed. Leslie Miller-Bernal and Susan L. Poulson (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006), 177.

⁶¹ Collins wrote in 1995: "I spent the entire year studying with Milhaud, and playing in France with musicians like Kenny Clarke and some other marvelous French musicians." Dick Collins to James Harrod, 3 December 1995, Mills-DM, 9.1.20. Kenny Clarke, an African American drummer who later moved to Paris permanently, recalled visiting Milhaud's apartment and demonstrating jazz drumming for the composer: "Milhaud began to take notes as we talked and while Dick and I played together. He used to ask us to stop just in the middle of something, and he'd note it down. We'd talk and then begin to play again. He'd ask things like, 'What is swing?' I'd tell him it was a feeling, more or less, and we'd illustrate it. He was interested in the cymbal beat, in what I did with my left hand. He seemed to know quite a bit about jazz. We stayed there about three hours." Quoted in Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff, *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya: The Story of Jazz as Told by the Men who Made It* (1955; reprint, New York: Dover, 1966), 391–92. This encounter, as well as Milhaud's reputation as a sympathetic teacher of jazz musicians, challenges the notion that Milhaud's engagement with jazz ended with his 1926 declaration that it no longer held any interest for him. See Deborah Mawer, *French Music and Jazz in Conversation: From Debussy to Brubeck* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), which discusses both *La Création du monde* and Milhaud's mentoring of Brubeck.

chapter 2), he missed the entire fall term at the Conservatoire, leaving the three “Mills GIs” in Paris without him. Alexandre Tansman, who had returned to France a year earlier, met weekly with these students until Milhaud returned to Paris.⁶²

Near the beginning of Milhaud’s transatlantic period, one sign of his status in the Bay Area was a job offer from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1953. His name was put forward by Roger Sessions, then on the Berkeley faculty, who was planning to return to Princeton University and sought a replacement for himself.⁶³ While Milhaud ultimately decided to stay at Mills, the decision came after months of negotiation between the composer and the two schools. In early February, a letter from Milhaud to Charles Cook Cushing, a close friend and Berkeley music professor, indicated that while it was not an easy choice, he was prepared to accept the new position:

Yes, dear Charles, I hesitated very much about Berkeley. I am old, I adore my house—but I think that... I have decided, and the proximity to the two of you has a lot to do with my decision. Joaquinito [Joaquín Nin-Culmell] has been exquisite through this whole business, and I am very grateful to the other members of the music department for their kindness in this regard.⁶⁴

⁶² Madeleine Milhaud asked Tansman to do this in an undated letter, PSS-DM. On 6 November 1947, Milhaud wrote to Lynn White that “Alexandre Tansman has very generously accepted to see [the students] regularly and give them lessons until I come back.” Mills-DM, 3.1.12.

⁶³ Roger Sessions, *The Correspondence of Roger Sessions*, ed. Andrea Olmstead (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 363. Sessions also suggested Ernst Krenek, who had been seeking an opportunity to relocate to California for several years, but the university decided not to offer him the position. Olmstead notes: “In the end, the University of California decided not to hire anyone.”

⁶⁴ Darius Milhaud to Charles Cook Cushing, 7 February 1953, University of California, Berkeley, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, Charles Cook Cushing Papers, ARCHIVES CUSHING 1, Box 2, Folder 31: “Oui, cher Charles, j’ai beaucoup hésité pour Berkeley. Je suis vieux, j’adore ma maison—mais je crois que... je suis décidé et le voisinage avec vous deux est pour beaucoup dans ma décision. Joaquinito a été exquis dans toute cette affaire et je suis très reconnaissant aux autres membres du département de musique de leur gentillesse à cet égard.” At this time, Cushing and his wife were staying at the Milhauds’ apartment in Paris. Joaquín Nin-Culmell, son of the Cuban-Spanish composer Joaquín Nin and brother of the author Anaïs Nin, was the chair of the Berkeley music department, where he taught from 1950 to 1974.

However, at that time, Berkeley had not yet made a formal offer, which gave his current employers the time to “try to make Mills sufficiently attractive to keep him.”⁶⁵ President White contacted Clara Hellman Heller, a wealthy supporter of the Mills music department, and they agreed on a plan for her to contribute \$10,000 toward Milhaud’s salary—\$3,000 for each of his next three years at Mills (through the 1958–59 academic year), plus an additional \$1,000. This would raise his salary from \$6,350 (in 1952–53) to \$9,350, which was further augmented to \$9,600 in the final offer.⁶⁶ Between that substantial increase and Madeleine Milhaud’s continued employment as a lecturer in the French department—the proposal from Berkeley did not include such a position for her—Mills College was able to present a strong counter-offer.⁶⁷ White also received approval from the Board of Trustees to raise Milhaud’s age of mandatory retirement from 65 to 70, which would allow him to remain on the faculty until 1963.⁶⁸

Even after this, it was some time before the issue was settled. Milhaud wrote to Cushing’s wife in late June: “Big fight between U. C. and Mills. Rien de décidé encore, mais Mills arrive à peu près à ‘match the offer.’ Je suis encore très indécis....”⁶⁹ By 22 July, he had decided to stay at Mills.⁷⁰ After being informed of the decision, Roger Sessions wrote to him:

Joaquin just ’phoned me & told me the news of your decision, & I can’t help writing you a line to tell you I understand. You know how I have hoped it would be otherwise, both for the sake of the Department I am leaving and for the sake of what I have always hoped

⁶⁵ Lynn White to Clara Hellman Heller, 5 May 1953, Mills-DM, 3.1.12.

⁶⁶ Memo from the office of Lynn T. White, Jr., 1 April 1953, Mills-DM, 3.1.12. Clara Hellman Heller had also provided the primary financial support for Milhaud’s *Sacred Service* in 1948 (see chapter 4).

⁶⁷ The proposal from Mills is detailed in a letter from Lynn White to Darius Milhaud, 26 May 1953, Mills-DM, 3.1.12. A. R. Davis, Dean of the College of Letters and Science at the University of California, wrote to White on 10 April: “Professor Nin-Culmell . . . informs me that the proposed salary would be sufficient to offset Mrs. Milhaud’s present income as a faculty member at Mills.”

⁶⁸ Lynn White to Darius Milhaud, 9 June 1953, Mills-DM, 3.1.12. The mandatory retirement age of 65 was a federal policy for college/university faculty at this time.

⁶⁹ Darius Milhaud to Charlotte “Piquette” Cushing, 25 June 1953, University of California, Berkeley, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, Charles Cook Cushing Papers, ARCHIVES CUSHING 1, Box 2, Folder 31.

⁷⁰ Lynn White to Robert Hitchcock, 22 July 1953, Mills-DM, 3.1.12.

to help to build up here; but at the same time I think I very well understand how you feel, and I have to confess that I think you are right. The main thing is that you should have the best possible situation here, from the standpoint of what you want; & believe me, that is as important to me as the other!⁷¹

President White's letter to Heller expressing his appreciation for her support highlights both Milhaud's importance for Mills College and the special role of the college in the composer's life:

I find it impossible to tell you how grateful I am to you for making it possible for Mills College to keep Milhaud on its faculty for the coming decade. I am deeply convinced that this is not only to the interest of the College, but likewise to the interests of Darius and Madeleine and therefore of the art of music in our time. Since he came to Mills in 1940, Darius has composed both in quantity and quality as never before, and I think that he is aware that in his little cottage here he has found a combination of circumstances which by some alchemy enable him to do his best work. For this reason I think that not only Mills College but all future generations of lovers of music are in your debt.⁷²

Raising Milhaud's retirement age to 70 would have made 1962–63 his last year on the faculty, but in 1961, the Board of Trustees of the college arranged for him to “be named Composer in Residence for a two-year renewable term beginning July 1, 1963,” maintaining the same schedule of alternating years between Mills and Paris.⁷³ Milhaud wrote to President C. Easton Rothwell: “I want to tell you how happy I am by the decision of the Board of Trustees to keep [me] at Mills after 1963. I know that you have been the ‘good angel’ in this project and I feel very grateful to you.”⁷⁴ At this new rank, Milhaud's teaching responsibilities remained the same—upper-level undergraduate courses in orchestration and composition and the graduate composition seminars—and his salary increased from \$13,000 in 1962–63 to \$15,000 in 1964–65. He retired from the Paris Conservatoire in 1962, so his years in France no longer involved teaching.

⁷¹ Roger Sessions to Darius and Madeleine Milhaud, 30 July 1953, PSS-DM.

⁷² Lynn White to Clara Hellman Heller, 27 July 1953, Mills-DM, 3.1.12.

⁷³ Minutes from the Mills College Board of Trustees meeting, 16 March 1961, Mills-DM, 3.1.9.

⁷⁴ Darius Milhaud to C. Easton Rothwell, March 1961, Mills-DM, 3.1.9.

Milhaud's seventieth birthday was also marked at Mills by a festival in his honor in May 1963.⁷⁵ An unsigned document from the early planning stages indicates that it was originally intended to be the first in an annual series of new music festivals at Mills, "to sustain the traditional role of Mills College as a center for the creation, study and performance of new music."⁷⁶ As such, the four-day event combined a celebration of Milhaud, his music, and his legacy with performances of works by younger composers including Morton Subotnick, Milton Babbitt, Mario Davidovsky, and Earle Brown. It began with a production of Milhaud's 1938 opera *Médée* in the campus's outdoor Greek Theater, directed by Madeleine Milhaud—the author of the libretto—and featuring members of the college community, the Oakland Symphony Orchestra, and the Oakland Symphony Chorus. Madeleine Milhaud also participated as *récitante* in the premiere of *Suite de quatrains*, a setting of eighteen short texts by Francis Jammes in which the chamber ensemble accompanying the spoken text follows aleatoric procedures.⁷⁷ A month before the festival, the college's press release emphasized the role of the Milhauds in building and sustaining its connections to France and French culture:

The cultural bonds between Mills College and France were forged many years ago. Through the global interests of its students and particularly its faculty, which includes the famed French composer Darius Milhaud and his noted dramatist wife Mme. Madeleine Milhaud, Mills has cemented a chain of cultural interests and understanding that has remained firm and unbroken over the decades.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Milhaud had turned seventy in September 1962, but as he noted in a February 1963 interview, the various commemorations in the United States and France would span the twenty months from January 1962 through August 1963. Alexander Fried, "S.F.'s Salute to Darius Milhaud," *San Francisco Examiner*, 3 February 1963.

⁷⁶ "Notes toward the establishment of a Festival of New Music," [c. 1961–62], Mills-DM, 3.1.9. This document suggested inviting Edgard Varèse, Olivier Messiaen, and Luigi Dallapiccola as additional "central participants," but this did not occur.

⁷⁷ For a brief contemporary assessment of this work, see Jerome Rosen, "A Note on Milhaud," *Perspectives of New Music* 2, no. 1 (1963): 115–19.

⁷⁸ Supplement to Mills College press release, April 1963, Mills-DM, 2.1.8. For more on Madeleine Milhaud's activities at Mills, see chapter 5.

Some of the festival's events, including a rehearsal of *Suite de quatrains*, were filmed for a two-part television documentary that aired in 1965. The first thirty-minute film focused on the 1920s, featuring an interview with Dave Brubeck on Milhaud's use of jazz and a performance of *Caramel mou*; at the beginning of the second, subtitled "Paris and California," Milhaud explained why he had continued to return to Mills College year after year:

I love to be here at Mills because first of all, I always have liked youth, and I am in contact with American youth one year and the French one the other year. But I like this campus; I like the birds, I like the flowers, I like the climate, and as I teach only in the morning, I am free to compose in the afternoon or in the evening, and it is a marvelous life for me because it's not as strenuous as it is in Paris. In Paris, I can work as well as here, but in a much more hectic kind of life, because we are interrupted constantly by telephone, people traveling who want to see me, interpreters, and the radio, the television, the radio of other countries who have an office in Paris, et cetera, et cetera, and finally, it's much more tiring to be disturbed all the time than not to be disturbed. But you know, it's a bit like an old car who is just keeping the battery quiet here and spending it in Paris.⁷⁹

In June 1967, Milhaud received an honorary doctorate from Mills, his sixth from an American institution. In his brief commencement address, he spoke of the kindness the university administration had exhibited toward him over the past twenty-seven years and said, "I have sometimes been offered some situation in some other university. I have always refused. I refused because there is a question of love. I love Mills College, that's all."⁸⁰

Teaching Americans

Unlike some of his fellow émigré composers, such as Arnold Schoenberg and Paul Hindemith, Milhaud came to teaching as a new endeavor in exile. In 1940, his only first-hand experience

⁷⁹ Darius Milhaud in Richard O. Moore, *Darius Milhaud Part II: Paris and California* (aired 1965), San Francisco Bay Area Television Archive, <https://diva.sfsu.edu/collections/sfbatv/bundles/206370> (accessed 24 July 2015), 1:37.

⁸⁰ Transcript of Darius Milhaud's Mills College commencement address, 11 June 1967, Mills-DM, 1.3.10. In addition to the three honorary doctorates from Jewish institutions discussed in chapter 3—the University of Judaism (1954), Hebrew Union College (1955), and Brandeis University (1955)—he had received two others from Lewis and Clark College (1959) and from the University of California, Berkeley (1963).

with the European conservatory environment was as a student—one who subsequently aligned himself with an artistic movement that sought to cast off the influence of his teachers' generation. Based on his work at Mills during the war years, he developed a stance toward American music education that celebrated its openness, the place of music in primary and secondary education, and the ease with which U.S. students approached composition. He expressed this view to French and American readers alike, positioning himself as someone whose experience qualified him to comment on the relative strengths and weaknesses of both education systems. In the first version of his autobiography, *Notes sans musique*—written at the end of his time in exile, but first published in France and directed primarily toward a European readership—he commented at length in the final chapter on his experience teaching composition at Mills:

Musical education in America is very different from ours: while the study of music in France is the object of absolute specialization and can hardly be pursued outside of the Conservatoire or specialized schools, here, it is part of the general culture, and it is taught to very young children. . . . American students [*étudiantes*] are, for the most part, extremely gifted, but I am always amazed, when I ask them to compose—that is, to write a melodic line—on the first day of class, to observe the facility with which they carry it out, and after a few lessons, they are writing songs, small pieces, and even a sonata movement. They have confidence in themselves and are without complexes or inhibitions; composition does not seem to them like something serious or important, but a subject like any other, not reserved for the elite. They do it more or less well, but always with enthusiasm, pleasure, and ease.⁸¹

Similarly, in a 1949 interview in the *Los Angeles Times*, he said of his American students: “They have no inferiority complexes. At Mills I can send a class of girls with only a moderate amount

⁸¹ MVH, 225–26: “L’éducation musicale en Amérique est bien différente de la nôtre: alors que l’étude de la musique en France est l’objet d’une spécialisation absolue et ne peut guère se poursuivre en dehors du Conservatoire ou d’écoles spécialisées, ici elle fait partie de la culture générale et elle est enseignée aux tout jeunes enfants. Les étudiantes américaines sont pour la plupart extrêmement douées, mais je suis toujours étonné lorsque, au premier cours, je leur demande de composer, c’est-à-dire d’écrire une ligne mélodique, de constater avec quelle facilité elles s’exécutent et qu’après quelques leçons elles font des chansons, de petits morceaux et même un temps de sonate. Elles ont confiance en elles-mêmes et sont dénuées de complexes et d’inhibitions; la composition ne leur paraît pas quelque chose de grave ou d’important, mais une étude comme les autres, non réservée aux êtres d’élite. Elles la pratiquent plus ou moins bien, mais toujours avec entrain, plaisir et facilité.”

of previous instruction to the blackboard and tell them to write a melody, and they do it without hesitation. But when I get children of refugees in my classes, or Europeans, they cannot do it so easily. They feel the weight of seven centuries of music on their shoulders.”⁸²

The idea that Americans were free from the burden of the European musical tradition was an established trope at this time, especially among German commentators, and it typically carried some degree of condescension. Amy C. Beal writes that “Germans tended to characterize American music as young, innocent, and fresh, but also naive, second-rate, and historically ignorant. . . . Such descriptions haunt reviews of American music even today.”⁸³ Coming from Milhaud, the intent behind the comments seems less condescending than exoticizing, in a similar manner to his descriptions of Brazilian and African American popular music in *Notes sans musique*.⁸⁴ Playing up the special gifts of U.S. liberal-arts students also served to legitimize his decision to continue teaching in that environment, but a recollection from Richard Felciano, a student of Milhaud’s in the early 1950s, suggests that the composer’s appreciation for U.S. music education was not merely a self-interested façade:

Milhaud was a great admirer of American culture, and he—I remember, in a class at the Conservatory in Paris, some French student had made a snide remark about Americans being uncultured. And Milhaud became absolutely livid and launched into this tirade where he just enumerated a number of things, like, for instance, the extraordinary number and incredible quality of American high school orchestras.⁸⁵

Milhaud’s open enthusiasm for American liberal-arts music education puts him at odds with the typical image of émigré composer-teachers seen in older scholarship. This group—

⁸² Quoted in Albert Goldberg, “Darius Milhaud: International Commuter,” *The Sounding Board*, *Los Angeles Times*, 10 April 1949. The same idea is expressed in Darius Milhaud, *Interviews with Claude Rostand*, trans. Jane Hohfeld Galante (Oakland: Mills College Center for the Book, 2002), 113–16, and MVH, 225–26.

⁸³ Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 48.

⁸⁴ See MVH, 63–67 and 115–16.

⁸⁵ Richard Felciano interviewed by Vincent Plush, 20 September 1983, Oral History of American Music, Yale University. Felciano received an MA from Mills in 1952 and subsequently studied in Paris for several years.

which includes Arnold Schoenberg, Paul Hindemith, Ernst Krenek, Ernst Toch, and others—has often been characterized as frustrated by the experience of attempting to teach within the U.S. educational system, especially when it came to teaching composition, an art assumed to require exceptional talent and dedication. These composers’ letters and other writings do provide some evidence that they felt this way, but when it becomes the primary narrative of émigré pedagogy, the perspective found in these documents is validated and reified to the exclusion of contradictory evidence.⁸⁶ Sabine Feisst has argued, however, that Schoenberg’s frequently-quoted critiques of American education do not present a full picture of his views, and that “he in fact thrived as a teacher and developed a well-deserved reputation as a pedagogue.”⁸⁷

Milhaud’s pedagogical persona is even harder to fit into the expected pattern, for reasons that largely stem from his background as a composer. Although he was the product of a traditional European conservatory education himself, his compositional career was based on rebellion of a different nature from that of his twelve-tone contemporaries. His early creative encounters with jazz and popular music—and his development of a musical ideology that validated the use of such material—likely made him more receptive to music education that did not reinscribe a narrow form of cultural elitism, and his longstanding opposition to German-centered hierarchies of musical value further separated him from most of the well-known émigré composer-teachers. The educational environment of the Mills music department gave Milhaud

⁸⁶ For example, after describing Schoenberg’s low opinion of his students at the University of California, Los Angeles, compared to his previous students in Berlin, Claudia Maurer Zenck adds, “Schoenberg’s experience with American students was similar to that of other colleagues from Europe, including Toch, Krenek, Milhaud, and Hindemith, as well as teachers in other disciplines, all of whom took their profession seriously.” Claudia Maurer Zenck, “Challenges and Opportunities of Acculturation: Schoenberg, Krenek, and Stravinsky in Exile,” in *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 176. (The inclusion of Milhaud in this list is typical of his presence in scholarship on German exiled composers—he is named as an additional example with no supporting evidence.) See also Alan P. Lessem, “Teaching Americans Music: Some Émigré Composer Viewpoints, ca. 1930–1955,” *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 1 (1988): 4–22.

⁸⁷ Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg’s New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 12.

space to develop a reputation as an open-minded teacher, which not only bolstered his image as a (former) musical rebel, but also drew young composers to him who might otherwise have felt alienated by formal music education. His students who became successful in popular genres, notably Dave Brubeck and Burt Bacharach, credited Milhaud with encouraging them to follow their own paths instead of dismissing their talents.⁸⁸

This is not to say that Milhaud always appreciated his Mills students. When he had to decline Serge Koussevitzky's invitation to teach at the Berkshire Music Festival in the summer of 1942, he wrote to Aaron Copland: "The Summer Session begins on June 28 at Mills *and is based on my presence here*. It was *too late* to hope to get away. And it also would have been a chance for me to renew contact with the East, and to have more interesting students..."⁸⁹ The possibility of "more interesting students" was also part of the appeal of the offer from Berkeley in 1953, and it was not the first time he had been tempted by such prospects. In 1945, he briefly entertained leaving Mills for the University of Kansas City, where his friend André Maurois was a visiting professor of literature. Maurois showed a letter from Milhaud to Clarence Decker, the president of the university, and reported to Milhaud that Decker responded: "We would like to have Darius Milhaud here, and I think that we could give him more interesting students than Mills. Moreover, the orchestra here is directed by one of his friends, and a thousand things would

⁸⁸ The African American composer and producer Quincy Jones recalled receiving similar advice from Nadia Boulanger during his studies with her in the 1950s: "She admired jazz. I wanted to learn to write symphonies, but Nadia wouldn't hear of it. She said, 'Learn your skills but forget about great American symphonies. You already have something unique and important. Go mine the ore you already have.' This was years before most universities in my own country, including many black universities, even thought of teaching jazz. In America they taught Beethoven and Bach as if they had a direct line to God." Quincy Jones, *Q: The Autobiography of Quincy Jones* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 133. See also Clarence Bernard Henry, *Quincy Jones: His Life in Music* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2013), 19–20.

⁸⁹ Darius Milhaud to Aaron Copland, 17 June [1942], Library of Congress, Music Division, Aaron Copland Collection, ML31.C7, Box 259, Folder 19: "La session d'été commence le 28 Juin à Mills *et est basée sur ma présence ici*. C'était *trop tard* pour espérer me libérer. Et puis, cela aurait été aussi pour moi l'occasion de reprendre contact avec l'est, et d'avoir des élèves plus intéressants..."

be possible.”⁹⁰ Maurois added: “I think that you would be happy there, but that you cannot give up Mills before being certain that the issues of comfort and housing could be resolved here.”⁹¹

Fifteen years later, the same complaint became part of Milhaud’s conflict with his colleague Leon Kirchner, who had been hired in 1954 to teach composition during Milhaud’s Paris years. In March 1960, the chair of the music department, Margaret Lyon, informed Milhaud that Kirchner had asked to continue teaching graduate composition in 1960–61, when both composition professors would be on campus.⁹² Milhaud responded:

I suppose that Leon is a little impatient to see me retired (or dead.) Selected problems for graduates and theses are the only course *nearly* interesting. I teach the undergraduates—and never complained—although it is sometimes very dull. I don’t see why I would give up part of my best courses—I would not mind giving up the Tuesday seminar (analysis in composition) but *not* the graduates special problems and theses.⁹³

At the same time, Milhaud also supported his most promising students by helping to arrange performances of their compositions. In 1944, for instance, he made an effort to find opportunities for Mary Innes, who had just returned to her native New York after completing the graduate program at Mills.⁹⁴ He sent Aaron Copland two of her scores, hoping that some of her

⁹⁰ Clarence Decker quoted or paraphrased by André Maurois in a letter to Darius Milhaud, 24 April [1945], PSS-DM: “Nous aimerions beaucoup avoir ici Darius Milhaud et je crois que nous pourrions lui donner des élèves plus intéressants que Mills. En outre l’orchestre ici est dirigé par un de ses amis et mille choses seraient possibles. En ce moment je serais incapable de lui donner une maison proche du campus; il n’y a rien de disponible, mais dès la guerre finie, la situation redeviendra normale et comme Milhaud ne parle que de l’année prochaine, après un voyage à Paris, il est très probable qu’en ce temps-là nous trouverions une maison pour lui. En tout cas qu’il se souvienne qu’on est à K.C. prêt à l’accueillir et désireux de l’avoir.” I have not seen the original letter from Milhaud to Maurois, if it survives. “Un de ses amis” likely refers to Efreim Kurtz, the director of the Kansas City Philharmonic; Milhaud had recently composed his *Elégie*, op. 251, for Kurtz, who premiered it in New York later that year.

⁹¹ André Maurois to Darius Milhaud, 24 April [1945], PSS-DM: “Pour vous je crois que vous y seriez heureux, mais qu’il ne peut pas lâcher Mills avant d’être certain que les questions de confort et de logement pourraient être résolues ici.” The reference to “giving up Mills” suggests that the plan was for Milhaud to join the Kansas City faculty on a permanent basis rather than as a guest. However, this letter is the only document I have found that mentions this discussion between Milhaud, Maurois, and Decker, indicating that the idea likely did not proceed further.

⁹² Margaret Lyon to Darius Milhaud, 17 March 1960, Mills-DM, 3.1.4.

⁹³ Darius Milhaud to Margaret Lyon, 21 March 1960, Mills-DM, 3.1.4.

⁹⁴ “Maspeth Girl Awarded Degree in California,” *Long Island Star-Journal*, 14 June 1944.

songs could be performed in a League of Composers concert.⁹⁵ He also wrote a letter of introduction for her to present to Virgil Thomson, telling his friend, “I should like Mary Innes to show you her Mass and her Songs with string quartet, and I should love to have your opinion. I have a great interest in these two works.”⁹⁶ Earlier that year, he wrote to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, “The concert of the compositions of my students was exceptionnaly good. I wish you could have heard the works of these young girls.”⁹⁷ In the early 1940s, the undergraduates and graduates held separate composers’ concerts at the end of each school year; Milhaud’s reference to “these young girls” indicates that he was describing the undergraduate concert.

During his first trips back to Paris after the war, Milhaud even found performance opportunities for works by his Mills students, including—but not limited to—those who followed him to France as part of the Mills Extension Course. In January 1948, he wrote to President White from Paris:

I had the occasion many times to speak about Mills and the young american musicians by Radio from Aix or in Paris. (The microphone and the broadcasting equipment was sent at home) I plan to make a talk on the air about young american music, very soon, and will organize a concert of my Mills Kids at the Radio. Already Paul Collaer from the Belgian Radio choose works from Bazelon[,] Leland Smith, Bill Smith (three of my Mills boys!) to be played in Brussels. Madeleine is going to broadcast also about America, american poetry, theatre, etc.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Darius Milhaud to Aaron Copland, [1944], Library of Congress, Music Division, Aaron Copland Collection, ML31.C7, Box 259, Folder 19. He also wrote to Claire Reis to suggest that Innes’s songs be performed by the League. Darius Milhaud to Claire Reis, [1944], New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, League of Composers/ISCM Records, JPB 11-5, Box 6, Folder 66.

⁹⁶ Darius Milhaud to Virgil Thomson, [c. October 1944], Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Virgil Thomson Papers, MSS 29. Milhaud usually wrote to Thomson in French, but this brief letter is in English. Thomson subsequently sent Innes his telephone number so that she could arrange a meeting with him.

⁹⁷ Darius Milhaud to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, [May 1944], Library of Congress, Music Division, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, ML29, Box 69, Folder 40. In another letter of 10 April 1944, discussing his ongoing health crisis, he told Coolidge, “I am happy that I could manage to keep my students, because I have some *remarkable* elements this year.”

⁹⁸ Darius Milhaud to Lynn White [January 1948], Mills-DM, 3.1.12.

As a parallel to this activity, he also aimed to introduce the music of young French composers to U.S. audiences. Before leaving Paris for Tanglewood in the summer of 1948, he wrote to Copland: “I will bring some elements for a chamber music concert of youngissimi french Kids (Martinet, Nigg, Albin etc etc) and will introduce them. It will be the answer to a program of young americans I am introducing at the Radio here June 16. As oldest: David Diamond and Ch. Jones, the others: Bill Smith, Leland Smith, Mary Innes, Kathy Mulky, Bazelon, Cottington.”⁹⁹ The Mills students represented in the 16 June radio concert included not only graduate students, but also two of his former undergraduates, Katharine Mulky (class of 1945) and Yaada Cottington (class of 1947).¹⁰⁰

In a 1987 interview, Irwin Bazelon, one of the graduate students represented in the 1948 radio concert, characterized Milhaud’s approach to teaching by contrasting him with a more severe contemporary: “Hindemith . . . was a great discourager. He believed that only the best should be composing. And it wasn’t fun. It was intensely serious, whereas Milhaud, who was French, took a much lighter feeling about it. He thought that it was all wonderful.”¹⁰¹ In exile, Milhaud had turned to teaching out of necessity, but it soon became—and remained—central to his musical career. The desire to continue teaching at Mills was a large part of his decision to divide his time between France and the United States after the war, and for the next two decades, his activities in the United States centered around teaching at Mills and Aspen. Recollections

⁹⁹ Darius Milhaud to Aaron Copland, 27 May [1948], Library of Congress, Music Division, Aaron Copland Collection, ML31.C7, Box 259, Folder 19. The three French composers named are Jean-Louis Martinet (1912–2010), Serge Nigg (1924–2008), and Roger Albin (1920–2001).

¹⁰⁰ These two students were later known under their married names of Katharine Warne and Yaada Weber. Warne was the chair of the Darius Milhaud Society for many years beginning in the 1980s, and Weber had a long career as a flutist with the Oakland Symphony and instructor at the San Francisco Conservatory of Music.

¹⁰¹ Irwin Bazelon interviewed by Bruce Duffie, 1987, <http://www.kcstudio.com/bazelon2.html> (accessed 4 August 2014). William Bolcom made a similar comparison in 1977, saying that he had the opportunity to study with Hindemith at Yale, but chose to attend Mills instead because he “had heard that [Hindemith] was tyrannical as a teacher.” William Bolcom, “Reminiscences of Darius Milhaud,” *Musical Newsletter* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1977): 7.

from his American students consistently emphasize his openness to nearly any type of music they might produce, even when the idiom was not to his taste.¹⁰² According to one oft-repeated anecdote, he only became offended when a student's compositions too closely resembled his own.¹⁰³ In this way, he developed a pedagogical approach that aligned with his reputation as a composer who absorbed a variety of influences.

Mills as a Women's College

The fact that all of Milhaud's undergraduates were women is often glossed over in the rush to discuss his famous male graduate students and colleagues. We are quick to jump from "women's college" to "but men could be graduate students" in order to focus on the experiences of a Dave Brubeck or a William Bolcom, overlooking both the undergraduates and the significant number of women in the graduate program. Moreover, when it comes to the music department, Mills's identity as a women's college is treated as a quirk rather than as a fundamental aspect of its existence. For example, Nathan Rubin's history of contemporary music at Mills includes only three women—Tape Music Center founder Pauline Oliveros, undergraduate Elinor Armer, and graduate student Janice Giteck—among the thirty-six individuals discussed in the section covering Milhaud's years as a professor.¹⁰⁴ In the introduction to the book, Rubin, who was a

¹⁰² As I discuss later in this chapter, the turn toward electronic music in the 1960s tested his determination to accept his students' aesthetics and methods.

¹⁰³ For example, Richard Felciano recalled: "But he certainly didn't impose any kind of aesthetic requirement, and, as a matter of fact, the only time I've ever seen him berate a student at Mills was when a student brought in a piece which was in the style of Milhaud, which I—if you'll forgive me for saying this since it's the Yale Oral History—from what I know of it, that was certainly not the case when Hindemith was teaching at Yale. I mean, I heard many of the pieces that came out of that period, and they all sounded like Hindemith." Richard Felciano interviewed by Vincent Plush, 20 September 1983, Oral History of American Music, Yale University.

¹⁰⁴ Rubin, *John Cage and the Twenty-Six Pianos of Mills College*. This count is based on the names listed in section headings between pp. 26–148, omitting Milhaud himself and the names of ensembles. The gender imbalance is perhaps a consequence of Rubin's method for choosing subjects—he included only those with entries in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* or several other "official" reference works, thereby reproducing an existing historiographical bias.

member of the Mills music faculty for a number of years, begins by highlighting the apparent incongruity between the college's founding as a "Seminary for Young Ladies" in the nineteenth century and its status as a site for compositional innovation in the twentieth, writing: "That this enlightened convent would become America's leading center of new music during the second half of the twentieth century was inconceivable. That it, in fact, did is impossible to dispute."¹⁰⁵ Women's education and musical modernism are assumed to be strange bedfellows, with the latter flourishing in spite of the former.

To a certain extent, a focus on graduate students and instructors is to be expected in a discussion of any historically significant music program, especially one with a "great composer" on its faculty. If we are interested in music departments primarily as sites for educating people who went on to make noted contributions in the wider world of music, it makes sense to focus on those who intended to pursue composition seriously rather than undergraduate music majors who might have entered college with little technical knowledge or experience. The portrayal of émigré composers as dissatisfied with their teaching experiences in the United States generally centers on their frustration with the paradox of teaching composition—presumed to be a skill requiring elite knowledge and dedication—to near-beginners who might never write another note after graduation. But in the case of a women's college, the dismissal of students as tedious distractions from important work—whether by the composers themselves or in later scholarship—also has an obvious gendered dimension, due to the implicit association of "serious" composition with masculinity.¹⁰⁶ For example, the difficulties Ernst Krenek encountered during his three years on the faculty of Vassar College (1939–42) have been

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., vii.

¹⁰⁶ See Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 44–79; Lucy Green, *Music, Gender, Education* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 82–90.

attributed to a number of personal and professional factors—including conflicts over the music curriculum, an antagonistic relationship with the department chair, and clinical depression—but one biography of the composer paints his distress as, at least in part, due to the disparity between pre-war Vienna and an American women’s college:

[Krenek’s] troubles began when he suddenly realized that at a women’s college in rural Poughkeepsie he was almost wholly cut off from the music world in which, just a year before, he had been flourishing. It seemed as if overnight he had become an obscure nobody. . . . The students were charming and responsive, to be sure, but was teaching genteel dilettantes to be his life’s work? Was his music destined to be performed henceforth only by and for undergraduates?¹⁰⁷

Jann Pasler notes that a number of prominent U.S. composer-teachers began their careers at women’s colleges before moving on to university or conservatory positions: “Roger Sessions first taught at Smith College (1917–21), Quincy Porter at Vassar (1932–38), Randall Thompson at Wellesley (1927–29, 1936–37), William Schuman at Sarah Lawrence (1935–45), Otto Luening at Bennington (1932–44), and [Ross Lee] Finney at Smith (1929–48).”¹⁰⁸ The pattern of male composers teaching at a women’s college for a period of time before taking a more high-profile job, relegating these schools to the early chapters of the composers’ biographies, perpetuates the notion that women’s colleges are not the place where one’s mature work happens.¹⁰⁹ If Milhaud had accepted the job offer from Berkeley in 1953, he would have been on

¹⁰⁷ John Lincoln Stewart, *Ernst Krenek: The Man and His Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 230.

¹⁰⁸ Jann Pasler, “The Political Economy of Composition in the American University, 1965–1985,” in *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 323.

¹⁰⁹ In Steve Swayne’s recent biography of William Schuman, for example, the composer’s work at Sarah Lawrence College is the focus of the seventh of thirty-five chapters; among biographies of the composers on Pasler’s list, this is perhaps the most attention given to women’s-college teaching. Steve Swayne, *Orpheus in Manhattan: William Schuman and the Shaping of America’s Musical Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 79–92.

this list as well; instead, his three decades at Mills serve as a counterexample to the stereotype of women's colleges as mere stepping stones in a composer's teaching career.¹¹⁰

In a book published in 1959, Igor Stravinsky expressed his belief that composers were better off remaining outside the academy—as he had done himself—using two women's colleges to make his point: “I would warn young composers too, Americans especially, against university teaching. However pleasant and profitable to teach counterpoint at a rich American Gymnasium like Smith or Vassar, I am not sure that that is the right background for a composer.”¹¹¹ A decade later, the *College Music Symposium* published a colloquy of responses to Stravinsky's comments by twenty-three composers, most of them university-affiliated. The respondents focused on the broad question of whether teaching was beneficial or harmful to a career as a composer, but two picked up on the implications of Stravinsky's chosen examples. Ross Lee Finney agreed with Stravinsky on the whole, despite being a university composer himself, but conceded, “it seems to me impolite and a little silly to pick out two eastern women's colleges as representative of the American university.”¹¹² (Finney had taught at Smith for nearly twenty years before joining the faculty of the University of Michigan in 1948, but his essay makes no mention of that fact.) Milton Babbitt, who always maintained that universities were the institutions best equipped to provide a support system for postwar composers, facetiously implied that the threat to productivity posed by a teaching position at Smith or Vassar was the distracting allure of young women for heterosexual male composers—a problem he did not have to face at Princeton University, which had only admitted its first female undergraduates the year before:

¹¹⁰ Of course, Milhaud was already well-established as a composer before beginning to teach, unlike those on Pasler's list, who were between the ages of twenty (Sessions) and thirty-five (Porter) when they took these positions at women's colleges.

¹¹¹ Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959), 153.

¹¹² Ross Lee Finney in “The Composer in Academia: Reflections on a Theme of Stravinsky,” *College Music Symposium* 10 (1970): 76.

The further counsel that certain colleges are perhaps excessively seductive for the composer, or that the composer is less able to think of his own music while teaching counterpoint than while conducting Tchaikovsky, I leave for examination by those of my colleagues who suffer such pedagogical distress, since I teach in a predominantly male institution, and my music has counterpoint.¹¹³

As Milhaud taught from home, he was certainly well aware of the need to avoid any hint of improper behavior toward students; he did not give individual lessons, and his wife was often in the house during his classes. He did occasionally joke to male friends about being surrounded by female undergraduates, though, naming the student population alongside the trees and birds as part of the visual appeal of the campus. In January 1946, for example, upon returning to Mills after a trip to New York, he wrote to Goddard Lieberson of Columbia Records: “Here we are again on our Campus, surrounded by eucalyptus trees, acacias and 713 girls.”¹¹⁴ In the case of other men on the faculty, Milhaud was not entirely inattentive to the issue of impropriety, but neither did he consistently view it as a problem. When his friend Illan de Casa Fuerte visited for the 1943 Summer Session, Milhaud confessed to Elsie Rieti that the marquis was perhaps not an appropriate choice for a women’s college and that he would not be invited again.¹¹⁵ However, two years after Luciano Berio left his first wife, Cathy Berberian, for a Mills undergraduate in 1964, Milhaud urged him to marry her—which would involve finding a way around the absence

¹¹³ Milton Babbitt in “The Composer in Academia,” 63. On Babbitt’s perspective on academia, see Brian Harker, “Milton Babbitt Encounters Academia (And Vice Versa),” *American Music* 26, no. 3 (2008): 336–77.

¹¹⁴ Darius Milhaud to Goddard Lieberson, [January 1946], Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Goddard Lieberson Papers, MSS 69. Lieberson’s response (30 January 1946) began: “Dear beautiful people, surrounded by 713 girls chosen from the cream of American womanhood,” and in Milhaud’s next letter (14 February [1946], the composer wrote, “Instead of going or trying to go to Bermuda you should take a vacation in our little home here. We have a room for you (with also a Stravinsky picture on the wall), french cooking, room service, atmosphere surrounded by poetry, painting, music. Eucalyptus trees guaranteed. (I even don’t mention the 713 girls.)”

¹¹⁵ Darius Milhaud to Elsie Rieti, [1943], PSS-DM.

of a divorce law in Italy—so that he could return to teach at the college, no longer in violation of the ban on unmarried male professors.¹¹⁶

Milhaud's public statements about teaching at a women's college appear as if he wanted to give the impression that he made no distinction between his male and female students, yet the language in these comments is sometimes overtly gendered. For example, a 1961 interview in the *San Francisco Examiner* included the following passage:

Some might question the appropriateness of a distinguished composer like Milhaud teaching at an institution for young ladies. "It does not matter to me whether they are men or women, as long as they are serious," he declares. "It is youth that I care for. Besides, I do not really teach them composition. They open the windows—the little girls—and they write. I simply warn them if something is illogical."¹¹⁷

Although he claimed here that the gender of his students was irrelevant to him, his qualification that he "[does] not really teach them composition" gives a nod to the idea that there *would* be something strange about engaging young women—or, as he called them, "little girls"—in the serious business of writing music.

The women who studied with Milhaud did so over the course of three tumultuous decades for women's education, and in the 1950s, Mills College was at the forefront of a public debate about the proper role of women's colleges in modern American society.¹¹⁸ Lynn White, the (male) president of the college from 1943 to 1958, was among the most vocal proponents of the view that higher education for women should prepare them first and foremost to be successful wives, mothers, and homemakers. His book *Educating Our Daughters*, published in

¹¹⁶ Darius Milhaud to Luciano Berio, 8 September 1966, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Luciano Berio Collection. Milhaud's subsequent letter of 27 September congratulates Berio on his remarriage, which had in fact happened the previous year.

¹¹⁷ Walter Blum, "Darius Milhaud: A Globe Trotting Composer in His California Year," *San Francisco Examiner*, 16 January 1961.

¹¹⁸ On women's education in the United States after World War II, see Linda Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945–1965* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

1950, followed on from his previous essays and lectures on the subject, including a 1947 address to the national convention of the American Association of University Women.¹¹⁹ White's perspective, which rested on the premise that feminism had served women poorly by denying the innate differences between the sexes, was shared by many, but it was far from a universally accepted view. Second-wave feminist writers including Betty Friedan and Mirra Komarovsky criticized him directly in books challenging the notion that women's lives should be limited to what White and others deemed their "natural" function in society.¹²⁰ Some representatives of other women's colleges also expressed disagreement with White's vision for revising curriculums to center practical skills; one Vassar College professor emeritus began his review of the book: "If I did not have more important things to do, I would go to Mills College in Oakland and picket President White's office."¹²¹

One of the primary themes explored in *Educating Our Daughters* is the relationship between gender and creativity. Throughout the book, White argues that feminism—rather than bias or structural misogyny—was chiefly responsible for the perception that women were inferior, as feminists had limited the recognition of women's particular gifts through their insistence on evaluating women by the same standards as men, thereby ensuring that they would always fall short. In a chapter titled "Women are Tough," he writes:

The great blunder of the women's rights movement of the past century was its uncritical acceptance of the masculine scale of values as the human scale. The effective male dominance has been, and is, far less a matter of repressing women than of selling them the idea that the really important accomplishments in life are the things men do best. . . . In the face of the rapidly mounting evidence that cultural creativity is very nearly sex-linked, the orthodox feminist, with her conviction that a single (and masculine) standard

¹¹⁹ Lynn White, Jr., *Educating Our Daughters: A Challenge to the Colleges* (New York: Harper, 1950).

¹²⁰ Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), 159–61; Mirra Komarovsky, *Women in the Modern World: Their Education and Their Dilemmas* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1953), 5–11, 259–71.

¹²¹ Henry Noble MacCracken, "Unfair to Women," *The Journal of Higher Education* 21, no. 7 (1950): 387.

of values can and must be applied to all human accomplishment, finds herself forced to the tragic conclusion that women are an inferior variety of our species.¹²²

White's rhetoric in this chapter asserts that true creativity and innovation are almost exclusively masculine qualities while simultaneously denying that this makes men the superior sex. Deeming cultural creativity "vastly overrated," he calls for women's "sense of persons" and of relationships to be valued more highly, along with their purportedly superior ability to understand the human significance of the art and science created by men.¹²³

It is as important to cherish as to create, and the one takes as much intelligence as the other, although perhaps of a different kind. . . . Our higher education must redress the balance in its judgment of values. It must encourage those who wish to conserve, as well as those who wish to originate, what is good, true, beautiful, useful and holy. Only in such an intellectual atmosphere will girls learn to accept themselves as fully the equals of men.¹²⁴

President White was a strong supporter of the Mills music department, knowing that it was a major asset to the college's reputation, and he likely saw the study of music as broadly compatible with his vision for women's education. In *Educating Our Daughters*, he includes giving music lessons in a list of part-time occupations a woman might undertake while raising children; many Mills music students likely went on to do exactly that.¹²⁵ The structure and emphases of the undergraduate music curriculum remained fairly consistent across his fifteen-year tenure—although an expanding faculty allowed for more performance opportunities and enriched the course offerings in history and analysis—which may indicate that he did not consider it to conflict with his agenda. The course catalogs in both 1943 and 1958 name the development of students' understanding of "the nature of music as a phase of culture" as the

¹²² White, *Educating Our Daughters*, 36, 46.

¹²³ Ibid., 48–49.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 49. For a critique of this passage, see Komarovsky, *Women in the Modern World*, 6.

¹²⁵ White, *Educating Our Daughters*, 119.

primary purpose of the department, which offered specializations in history, performance, and composition. The study of performance and history can be framed as a way of “cherishing” art created primarily by men; it is only composition that poses a challenge to White’s view of gendered creativity.¹²⁶

Additionally, it was only the undergraduates who were all women. Men were consistently overrepresented in the music department relative to other graduate programs at the college, a result of the general gender imbalance in music composition and of the department’s strong reputation in the Bay Area. The college enrolled its first two male graduate students in 1935, and when Milhaud arrived in 1940, eight of the nineteen graduate students in music were men.¹²⁷ Shortly thereafter, the draft sharply reduced the male presence on campus; the register of students for 1943–44 lists only three men as graduate students in music, alongside eight women, and one of the men, Howard Brubeck, was technically no longer a student, but Milhaud’s assistant.¹²⁸ With the passage of the G.I. Bill in 1944 and the end of the war a year later, men once again enrolled in music courses at Mills, including Dave Brubeck and a number of other jazz musicians. Many of them were non-degree students, some of whom went on to receive their degrees from Stanford University or the University of California, Berkeley.

After the immediate postwar years, Milhaud’s established reputation as a pedagogue drew other men to the music department; at the beginning of the Fall 1950 term, he wrote to

¹²⁶ As an example of women’s lack of distinction in male-dominated creative fields, White writes: “Women have shown great talent as actresses and in the interpretation of music, but seldom as dramatists or composers.” *Ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁷ Hedley, *Aurelia Henry Reinhardt*, 103; Register of 1940–41 students in the 1941–42 Mills College course catalog, 187–90.

¹²⁸ Register of 1943–44 students in the 1944–45 Mills College course catalog, 187–88. Comparing the lists of graduate students in music in 1940 and 1943 also shows a geographical broadening, particularly among the women; whereas only two of the eleven women in 1940 had undergraduate degrees from somewhere other than Mills (both Bay Area state colleges) and the majority of the men came to Mills from San Francisco State College, the 1943 roster included graduates of Oberlin College, Westminster Choir College, and Queens College, with only three former Mills undergraduates.

Howard Brubeck: “A lot of graduate students a real MEN invasion. The Deans are going to hide under their desks!”¹²⁹ Ten years later, the college had sixty-four students across all of its graduate programs, of whom fourteen were men.¹³⁰ It is likely that the men were still disproportionately represented in the music department, as by this time, Milhaud regularly brought graduate students to Mills who had already studied with him in Aspen.¹³¹

A November 1960 *Oakland Tribune* article profiling some of the male students in the music and art programs is worth quoting in full, as it reveals a host of stereotypes about the gender dynamics of the college at that time. Reporter Elinor Hayes is quick to dismiss the notion that men might study at Mills for the sole purpose of meeting girls, depicting them instead as “serious” students, though insinuations about dating and flirtation appear throughout the article. Seriousness of purpose is gendered entirely as masculine by contrasting the ambition and “adult purpose” of the men with the presumed frivolity of the female undergraduates, presumed to be “beginners”; Hayes even quotes art professor Antonio Prieto as saying that the presence of these men had inspired the women in the art program to take their work more seriously. Prieto, Kirchner, and Milhaud are described as “geniuses” of “giant caliber,” instructors of high enough renown to attract men to a women’s college.

You could win a wager by betting there are men students at Mills College, Oakland’s long established mecca of higher education for girls. To be sure the tree-shaded campus is noted for femininity and there is no thought of going in for football or track. In fact, as a bevy of Mills’ lasses commented: ‘Mills men? We haven’t seen any. It’s probably a nice idea.’ So for the higher education of Mills girls and others... there ARE Mills boys. Twelve of them. They all are graduate students, serious minded, interested in combining higher education degrees with jobs as assistant teachers and fellowships. They are, in the main, married as well.

¹²⁹ Darius Milhaud to Howard Brubeck, 26 September 1950, Mills-DM, 3.1.3. At this time, the elder Brubeck brother had just left Mills for a faculty position at San Diego State College.

¹³⁰ Sheldon, “Revitalizing the Mission of a Women’s College,” 177.

¹³¹ After the early 1940s, the Mills course catalogs no longer provided lists of students, making it more difficult to determine who was enrolled in the music programs in a given year.

They are not primarily interested in majoring in bicycling, hand-holding or Flirtation Walk. Although some of them do admit it is nice to sit next to and be classmates with 691 undergraduate girls from 43 states and 15 foreign countries. “My wife is very happy about it,” says Mel Henderson of 3673 Madrone Ave., a teaching assistant working for his master’s degree and anticipating teaching on the college level. “I don’t feel conspicuous, rather apart from the multitude of girls. We work in our own little group,” says Richard McLean, of 3040 60th Ave., a handsome, husky student in art... but married, girls, married.

But Dick Steltzner, of 141 Scenic Ave., Piedmont, not only is “single and enjoying it,” but dating Mills girls and “enjoying that too.” So is Stanley Joel Silverman, a dark and intense young musician from New York, who regards Mills girls “in general much more bustling and alive” than their eastern counterparts. Silverman, graduate of Boston and Columbia Universities, composed the incidental music for Maxwell Anderson’s Broadway production of *The Golden Six*. And although he is a guitarist who played with the Boston University Jazz Quartet at the Brussels World Fair, it was not the thought of serenading under the window of a pretty girl that drew him to Mills.

Rather it was the geniuses who instruct, the internationally famed Darius Milhaud and Leon Kirchner. The blunt fact is—and by this you know how serious they really are—is that the men studying at Mills were drawn in the main by the giant caliber of the teacher—Milhaud, Kirchner, Antonio Prieto, noted ceramist, and Artist Ralph DuCasse among others, rather than the girls, lovely, winsome, merry and companionable as they are. Don Cobb, of 442 Beverly Ave., San Leandro, graduate of the Yale University Music School and son of Mrs. Violet Cobb, music teacher in Fremont High School, lists Milhaud and Kirchner as his reasons for coming.

Two of Prieto’s students, Ceramist Charles McKee of 3828 Lundholm Ave., youthful father of three, and Sculptor Mel Henderson, are recent prize winners, indicative of the effectiveness of their instruction. Prieto, a dynamic instructor, credits the men with being a good influence on the women. “Women students are putting vitality into their work that was lacking at one time,” he said. He noted that because the men are graduate students, already well established, the girls, as beginners, look up to them. Thus, the ability, creativeness and adult purpose the men show are inspiration and direction to the girls. The men are here, if not working for a living, at least living for their work. Not many college girls can so testify. Or as [one] young male student put it: “We try to get as involved as possible.” What he means is... Oh, you KNOW what he means.¹³²

Despite the outsized presence of men in the music department and the amount of attention they attracted, Mills College still provided a significant opportunity for women to study with a major composer at a time when several of Milhaud’s distinguished peers taught at all-male institutions (such as Paul Hindemith at Yale and Walter Piston at Harvard). After

¹³² Elinor Hayes, “12 Males—Mostly Ineligible—Mills College Turns Coed—But the Gals Don’t Notice,” *Oakland Tribune*, 10 November 1960. I have removed most of the paragraph breaks in the article for clarity.

graduating, however, the department's alumnae were less likely to pursue composition professionally than their male counterparts. William Bolcom wrote in 1977:

I was one of fifteen male graduate students in a school of some 700 girls; consequently most of our composition group was girls, and Milhaud remarked to me years later that . . . not a single career woman composer had emerged from those California classes. Yet Milhaud had given as much serious attention to his female students as to us, and I can attest to the fact that some of the Mills girls, notably Barbara Rowan and Beverly Bond, were very talented indeed.¹³³

Although Milhaud did not live to see it happen, some of his Mills students did become “career woman composers,” including Elinor Armer and Janice Giteck. Armer is a rare example of a Mills undergraduate who went on to a career in composition; after graduating, she continued her studies at other Bay Area schools, and she established a composition department at the San Francisco Conservatory of Music in 1985.¹³⁴ Giteck, like Bolcom and many others, first studied composition with Milhaud at the Aspen Music Festival—where there were “three women in the class to about twenty men”—starting when she was still in high school. At Mills, Milhaud admitted her into his graduate composition seminar as a first-year undergraduate, and after receiving her MA degree in 1969, she spent a year studying under Olivier Messiaen at the Paris Conservatoire, where she passed the entrance examination to become a regular member of the class rather than an auditor.

In a recent interview, Giteck said of her teachers: “Milhaud in particular, but Messiaen as well, were very pro-feminist. Very pro-women being strong, creative, passionate musicians.”¹³⁵

While acknowledging Giteck's first-hand perspective, I would note that Milhaud did have a

¹³³ Bolcom, “Reminiscences of Darius Milhaud,” 8. Barbara Rowan later became a lecturer in piano at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

¹³⁴ On her time at Mills, see Elinor Armer interviewed by Emily Laurance, July 2013, San Francisco Conservatory of Music Library & Archives Oral History Project, <http://my.sfc.edu/web/sfc/elinor-armer/chapter-2> (accessed 23 August 2015).

¹³⁵ Janice Giteck interviewed by Alexandra Gardner, “Janice Giteck: Music in Mind,” *NewMusicBox*, 1 March 2012, <http://www.newmusicbox.org/articles/janice-giteck-music-in-mind/> (accessed 23 August 2015).

tendency to think of women composers and their music in the paternalistic gendered terms characteristic of his time, even as he did support them. In an early article on Les Six, for instance, he described the work of Germaine Tailleferre as “truly a young girl’s music [*musique de jeune fille*], in the most exquisite sense of the word,” and while four decades passed between that article and Giteck’s composition studies, it is difficult to find later quotations in which Milhaud’s claim that he did not differentiate between his male and female students is not followed by a gendered comment (e.g., “they open the windows, the little girls,” 1961).¹³⁶ Moreover, his response to Lynn White’s *Educating Our Daughters* was not to challenge the Mills president’s view of women’s creative potential, either privately or publicly, but to give White the names of several French educators and literary critics who might be interested in the book.¹³⁷

In the decade following Milhaud’s retirement from Mills, as the culture of the department increasingly turned toward experimental and electronic music, a number of the women who graduated from the newly established Master of Fine Arts program in electronic music and recording media went on to productive careers in the field, including Megan Roberts, now on the faculty of Ithaca College, and Maggi Payne, who has been the co-director of the Mills College Center for Contemporary Music since 1992.¹³⁸ The composer Beth Anderson also received

¹³⁶ Darius Milhaud, “La musique française depuis la guerre,” in *Etudes* (Paris: Claude Aveline, 1927), 18: “C’est vraiment de la musique de jeune fille, au sens le plus exquis de ce mot”; Blum, “Darius Milhaud: A Globe Trotting Composer in His California Year.”

¹³⁷ Darius Milhaud to Lynn White, 2 May [1950], Mills-DM, 3.1.12. Two weeks earlier, on 19 April, White had written to Madeleine Milhaud: “Enclosed is a clipping from *Les Nouvelles Littéraires* which seems to indicate that there is a discussion going on in France closely related to my own little book, *Educating Our Daughters*. If you and Darius could find for me the names of two or three persons in France who are leading this discussion, I should be glad to send them copies of my book.” White had sent the Milhauds a copy of the book in February, but I do not know whether or not they had read it by the time of this exchange.

¹³⁸ Elizabeth Hinkle-Turner, *Women Composers and Music Technology in the United States: Crossing the Line* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 85–94. This book, a broad survey of women composers engaged with music technology in the past several decades, mentions more than a dozen Mills graduates and faculty members from the 1970s and after.

graduate degrees in composition and piano from Mills in the 1970s. During that time, the graduate student population of the music department was still disproportionately male, but the women who studied there—and in composition programs across the country—found more professional opportunities open to them than did their forerunners in the 1960s and earlier. However, my discussion of experimental music at Mills College in the following section, which primarily concerns the male faculty and students, takes place just before this noteworthy wave of activity.

Experimental Music at Mills

The history of Mills College as a site for experimental music dates back to the 1930s, with the participation of Henry Cowell and John Cage in the Summer Session music and dance programs. In the 1960s, Milhaud's final decade on the faculty, a new generation of composers and performers again transformed the musical culture of the campus and of the region, bringing in electronic music and avant-garde performance art. Leon Kirchner and Luciano Berio, who taught at Mills during Milhaud's Paris years in the late 1950s and early 1960s, attracted some graduate students who did not want or need Milhaud's more traditional approach to teaching composition—or his nostalgia.¹³⁹ William Bolcom, who entered the graduate program in 1958 after having studied with Milhaud at Aspen, wrote in 1977: “For the first time I was aware that not everybody admired Milhaud as much as I did; some of the more doctrinaire students made fun of him behind his back. Milhaud was old-fashioned, out of date, *démodé*—the same tune was sung in California and Paris, it turned out.”¹⁴⁰ Ramon Sender, who received an MA from Mills in

¹³⁹ Kirchner was hired in 1954 to replace Luther Marchant; in 1961, he left to replace Walter Piston at Harvard. Berio taught in the spring of 1962 and in the 1963–64 academic year.

¹⁴⁰ Bolcom, “Reminiscences of Darius Milhaud,” 7.

1965, recalled: “Milhaud was a great composer, but a terrible teacher . . . [his] idea of a form and analysis class was to have someone play through the piano reduction of *Boris Godunov* while [he] translated the libretto into English.”¹⁴¹ Similarly, Steve Reich found his studies with Milhaud useless for the type of music he aimed to create, later telling one interviewer: “Milhaud was a very old and sick man who was not really physically in shape to do much teaching. It was more like you would spend time with Mr Milhaud and he would reminisce in your presence. He reminisced a great deal about Satie, and I think he really wanted to be Satie—which really wasn’t something I would put high up in my list of learning experiences.”¹⁴²

For others, however, it was precisely Milhaud’s status as a living link to Erik Satie and the Parisian avant-garde of the 1920s that gave him continued relevance. Milhaud’s supporters among the new-music proponents claimed him as a predecessor, pointing to elements of surrealism, indeterminacy, and other types of experimentation in his early compositions. Such minor works as *Cocktail aux clarinettes* (1920)—in which a singer recites a cocktail recipe while four clarinetists repeat short phrases *ad libitum*—were now held up as signs of his visionary prescience, mentioned in the same breath as Satie’s furniture music.¹⁴³ The Mills Performing Group, an ensemble founded by Morton Subotnick and Luciano Berio in 1963 for the performance of twentieth-century music, regularly included Milhaud’s compositions, both old and new, on its concert programs. For example, a December 1970 “Concert Celebrating the 50th

¹⁴¹ Ramon Sender, email correspondence to Ross Cole, 24 May 2011, quoted in Ross Cole, “‘Fun, Yes, but Music?’ Steve Reich and the San Francisco Bay Area’s Cultural Nexus, 1962–65,” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 6, no. 3 (2012): 318. Editorial insertions are Cole’s.

¹⁴² Steve Reich in Geoff Smith and Nicola Walker Smith, *American Originals: Interviews with 25 Contemporary Composers* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1995), 213. See Cole, “Fun, Yes, but Music?” 318.

¹⁴³ See Rosen, “A Note on Milhaud.” Jerome Rosen did not attend or teach at Mills College, but he did study with Milhaud in Paris in 1949–50.

Birthday of Les Six and So Forth" (Figure 4.1) featured the music of Milhaud, Poulenc, and Satie alongside new works by Mauricio Kagel, Yugi Takahashi, and Niccolo Castiglioni.

1970

The Performing Group
Presents
A Concert Celebrating the 50th Birthday of Les Six and So Forth
Program

MONDAY
DEC. 14
8:30

I Satie: Le Piège de Meduse (1913), "a play with music by the same gentleman"
 Rene Clair: Entr'acte (1924), a film with music by Satie (transcribed by Milhaud)

1. Quadrille
2. Valse
3. Pas vite
4. Mazurka
5. Un peu vif
6. Polka
7. Quadrille

IT'S NO USE TO REFUSE
THE LEGION OF HONOR
SATIE TOLD RAVEL YOU
SHOULD HAVE DONE

Preceding and during the performance
the following works will be played:

1. Milhaud: Pastorale (1914) for violin and piano
2. Satie: Things Seen from the Right and the Left (without eyeglasses) 1914 for violin and piano and possibly
3. Kagel: Ludvig van (1970)

II Poulenc: Sonata for violin and piano (1943) in memory of Garcia Lorca

1. Allegro con fuoco
2. Intermezzo
3. Presto tragico

Intermission

III Yugi Takahashi: Bridges I (1968) for electric harpsichord (played on the Moog Synthesizer), amplified cello and percussion

IV Niccolo Castiglioni: Masques (1968) for chamber orchestra

Performed by: James Shields, baritone;
 Amy Kusian, flute; Allison Christensen, oboe; Donald O'Brien, clarinet; Robert Hughes, bassoon; Chris Bogios, trumpet; David Sprung, horn; Lori Collander and Jill Kroesen, percussion; Naomi Sparrow, piano and Moog; Carol Van Jepmond, piano; Robert Sheff, organ; Nathan Rubin and Karin Deming, violins; Nancy Ellis, viola; Celia De Martini, viola (off-stage); Flynn Warrington, cello
 Jean-Louis LeRoux, conductor

NOTHING TO DESERVE IT TO BEGIN
WITH




Figure 4.1: Mills Performing Group concert program, 14 December 1970¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Special Collections, F. W. Olin Library, Mills College. Reproduced with permission.

In the first part of the concert, they aimed to display the text of Satie's 1913 play *Le Piège de Méduse* simultaneously with René Clair's Dadaist short film *Entr'acte* (1924), which Satie also scored, but the program notes explained that because they were unable to test the film in advance, the plan might not work. ("In that case, the play will be representative of the furniture music whose existence, Satie and Milhaud insisted, was independent of its use.")

The program notes describe the Performing Group's effort to recapture "the immediacy (and hazard)" of Dadaism for an audience whose familiarity with televised sketch comedy such as *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In* would prevent them from reacting the same way as the original "Wagnerianized audience" of *Le Piège de Méduse*. A description of the work of Milhaud and Satie highlights the words "simultaneity," "instantaneous," and "chance," connecting it to the methods of contemporary composers:

Identified in the public mind with a music-hall aesthetic, their (Satie's and Milhaud's) legacy to the generation a half century later was in fact the "simultaneity" which was implicit in the irrational alignment of images in *Le Piège* and explicit in the alignment of events in later works like *Relache*, the "instantaneous" ballet during which *Entr'acte* was shown and in Milhaud works like *Cocktail*, in which the alignment of parts is obliged to be unpredictable through a systematized operation of "chance" (which dadaists had explained as an identification with the orderedness which has no cause.)¹⁴⁵

In some exaggerated accounts, Milhaud's innovations anticipated anything the postwar avant-garde might produce.¹⁴⁶ Nathan Rubin's history of modern music at Mills positions Milhaud less as a teacher than as an inspiring presence animating the creative efforts of new generations. In an overview of Milhaud's career, Rubin writes: "When, soon after 1950, Cage's accomplishments, launching an epoch of unprecedented exploratory fervor, obliged composers

¹⁴⁵ Mills Performing Group concert program, 14 December 1970, Mills-DM, 2.1.12.

¹⁴⁶ Similar claims have been made about other composers of Milhaud's generation and earlier, notably Charles Ives; see David C. Paul, *Charles Ives in the Mirror: American Histories of an Iconic Composer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 207–11. In the case of Ives, his positioning as "the paterfamilias of a specifically American tradition of musical experimentalists" (208) reflects an exclusively nationalist narrative, which the view of Milhaud as proto-experimentalist might disrupt.

throughout the entire world to seek out new territories, they succeeded in going nowhere that Milhaud had not already been.”¹⁴⁷ Rubin, a supporter of new music and participant in the Mills Performing Group, made this claim not to dismiss Cage and his contemporaries, but rather to argue against a dehistoricized view of the new avant-garde that would erase the influence of his distinguished colleague. In 1974, taking the idea of Milhaud as a precursor of Cage to a playful extreme, *Oakland Tribune* critic Paul Hertelendy turned a joke between two friends into another claim to avant-garde precedence:

Perhaps you think John Cage invented the all-silent composition with his piano piece, *4'33"*. But again Milhaud was far ahead, having sent his friend and violist Germain Prévost a 64-bar composition for viola solo, entirely silent. Mailed in a letter well before World War II, the piece was Milhaud's kind-hearted way of chiding Prévost for not having written in so long. (This work, however, was never performed publicly.)¹⁴⁸

According to Rubin, it was Milhaud's "extraordinary modesty" that kept him from taking full credit for the historical significance of his early compositions.¹⁴⁹ Although Milhaud did tend to leave the hyperbole to others, he was well aware that highlighting his past participation in an avant-garde movement was an effective strategy for remaining relevant in this new era—a strategy that also enabled him to deploy the authority of history against musicians whose experiments he deemed misguided. In the television documentary filmed at the time of his seventieth birthday festival, he said of *Cocktail aux clarinettes*, "That's my first experience in the so-called chance music—we didn't have this name at this time, I called them 'cadenzas,'" both establishing that his use of the technique long predated the current interest in aleatoric methods and claiming that he did not see it as anything particularly noteworthy.¹⁵⁰ He also contrasted the

¹⁴⁷ Rubin, *John Cage and the Twenty-Six Pianos*, 27.

¹⁴⁸ Paul Hertelendy, "Milhaud Memorialized," *Oakland Tribune*, 29 June 1974.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁵⁰ *Darius Milhaud Part II*, 8:30.

rebellion of his generation with the institutionalization of new music in the 1960s, saying: “In the twenties, the kind of music that we were doing was not accepted by universities, because they disregarded, they didn’t understand it, and now, even the electronic experiments are performed on the campus, like Mills College [has] done, and it is part of the musical education.”¹⁵¹

The centerpiece of this documentary was a rehearsal and performance of *Suite de quatrains*, a new chamber work for *récitante* and seven instruments in which Milhaud once again used elements of “the so-called chance music.”¹⁵² The timing of each melodic line in certain passages is the only factor determined by the individual musicians; questioned about this decision by the interviewer, the composer commented, “I am very much against improvisation, because I love performers, but I don’t trust them”—that is, he did not trust performers to come up with compelling musical content if left entirely to their own devices.¹⁵³ He further said of the value of written notation:

You never can tell about the future—maybe one day the composer will just take a sheet of paper and will not write a note on it and give it to an orchestra. That’s a fine way to make a symphony in five seconds, but I always felt that when a piece is half-improvised, the moment when the written notes disappear, there is a sort of coming down of the interest, and the style fails.¹⁵⁴

As a teacher with an established reputation for being open to compositional methods outside the academic mainstream, Milhaud tried not to give the impression that he was closed off to what younger musicians were producing, but he was distressed by what he saw as the abandonment of technique. His distaste for uncontrolled improvisation reflects this concern,

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 5:35.

¹⁵² For a description of Milhaud’s “special kind of indeterminacy” in this work, see Rosen, “A Note on Milhaud,” 118–19.

¹⁵³ *Darius Milhaud Part II*, 9:05.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 10:40.

which also manifested in his conflicted attitude toward electronic music. In 1958, he wrote to Henri Sauguet:

Mr. Stockhausen presented a lecture at the Univ. of Calif. He did not deign to call me. He said that the libraries, all music before Webern, and every concert hall must be burned. Moreover, the American youth tends to rush toward Cologne and electronicism. It is just as well. Giving electronic toys to this horde of musicians will keep them busy, and during that time, they will not abuse real music. That is my final slogan.¹⁵⁵

Milhaud's complaint here is personal as well as musical, and it extends beyond the Bay Area experimentalists to European new music. Seeing his students in Paris beginning to leave his orbit for that of Pierre Boulez, he had taken an embittered attitude toward the composers of the Darmstadt School—with the exception of Luciano Berio—and grown suspicious of their influence on young musicians. Stockhausen was among them, having briefly audited Milhaud's composition class at the Conservatoire in 1952. Because Milhaud continued to bring his best American students to Paris, they too were susceptible to the pull of Boulez and his circle. He wrote to Margaret Lyon in 1960, "Beverly Bond, Bill Bolcom, a Canadian (from Aspen) [Bruce Mather], and a wonderful boy from my Paris class are all going to Darmstadt. Frightening!!"¹⁵⁶

In *Ma Vie heureuse*, Milhaud's discussion of the new music of this period shows his attempt to strike a balance between openness and judgment. From his vantage point as a senior composer who had seen multiple avant-garde movements come and go, he characterizes postwar serialism and electronic music as passing trends like any other. He does not mention Boulez, but rather frames his criticism as a pedagogical issue concerning the development of technique.

¹⁵⁵ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 9 December 1958, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (198): "M' Stockhausen a fait une conférence à l'Univ. de Calif. Il n'a pas daigné me téléphoner. Il a dit qu'il fallait brûler les bibliothèques, toute la musique avant Webern et toutes les salles de concerts. Du reste la jeunesse américaine a tendance à se ruer vers Cologne et l'électronisme. Tant mieux. Donner des jouets électroniques à cette horde de musiciens les occupe et pendant ce temps ils n'abîment pas la musique. C'est mon dernier slogan."

¹⁵⁶ Darius Milhaud to Margaret Lyon, 6 July [1960], Mills-DM, 3.1.4.

Even though there is a large gap between the current “avant-garde” and my works, I love to deepen my knowledge of the musical language of today, which changes so quickly... After the war, the serial system utterly intoxicated the youth; forty years later, it seemed to take root with its limitations and its relative ease, without harming the imagination. . . . Now, thanks to the overwhelming force of Xenakis, the serial musicians feel out of fashion.

The development of *musique concrète* and electronic music opens up new possibilities and particularly attracts the youth. There are many electronic centers in the United States; I myself strongly insisted that there should be one at Mills College. But before making use of this means of expression, students should acquire a strong technique. Technique does not oppress, it liberates. . . . Unfortunately, our young fanatics push buttons at random, producing sounds without knowing why, and these unpredictable results satisfy and delight them.¹⁵⁷

As the time of Milhaud’s retirement from Mills drew closer, he became less guarded about how he expressed his views about the state of music. In one lengthy article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in April 1971, shortly before the end of Milhaud’s final semester, chief critic Robert Commanday prefaced the composer’s comments with “Previously, Milhaud had always been very diplomatic in his opinions, but now as he prepared to leave, his feelings were more forcefully expressed.”¹⁵⁸ Milhaud’s attack on composers who presented detailed analyses of their own music in program notes or pre-concert lectures (“For the public, analyses are nothing . . . all those little details on the music, I think it’s stupid!”) apparently had enough potential to cause controversy that Commanday published his own lengthy defense of the comments in the *Chronicle* two days later.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ MVH, 275: “Bien qu’il y ait un grand écart entre l’actuelle ‘avant-garde’ et mes œuvres, j’aime à approfondir la connaissance du langage musical d’aujourd’hui qui change si vite... Après la guerre, le système sériel avait totalement intoxiqué la jeunesse; avec quarante ans de retard, il paraissait s’implanter avec ses limitations et ses relatives facilités, sans nuire à l’imagination. . . . Le développement de la musique concrète et électronique ouvre des possibilités nouvelles et attire particulièrement les jeunes. Il y a de nombreux centres électroniques aux Etats-Unis, j’ai moi-même beaucoup insisté pour qu’il y en ait un à Mills College. Mais avant de se servir de ce moyen d’expression, les étudiants doivent acquérir une forte technique. La technique n’opprime pas, elle libère. . . . Malheureusement nos jeunes fanatiques poussent des boutons au hasard, produisant des sons sans savoir pourquoi et ces résultats imprévisibles leur suffisent et les enchantent.”

¹⁵⁸ Robert Commanday, “A Musical Homage to Darius Milhaud,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 April 1971. On Commanday’s advocacy for Milhaud in the Bay Area, see chapter 6.

¹⁵⁹ Robert Commanday, “Music Notes Versus Joy of Discovery,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 April 1971.

On the subject of electronic music, Milhaud repeated his usual advice about the need for proper technique, and with the perspective of old age, he said of some of his former Conservatoire students: “Time goes so fast. This generation of the ‘Domaine Musicale’ composers, my students Amy, Eloy, Jolas and the others, all between the ages of 35 and 40, they are smitten with a certain anguish. They already feel that musicians who are 20 years of age are going to leave them behind. It’s stupid. It’s wonderful to be old.”¹⁶⁰ Yet his concern for his own legacy comes through indirectly in his comments about what he saw as the misappropriation of the music and character of Erik Satie by John Cage:

John Cage came under Milhaud’s attack. First he exacerbated the way Cage exploited Erik Satie’s private funny commentaries. Satie only wrote these on the side of his music as private remarks to the musicians, and in a notebook. “It was his bashfulness,” Milhaud said, speaking from his close personal affection for Satie and his music. “Cage got a hold of Satie’s little booklet, and there was that piece *Vexations*, which he inscribed ‘to be played 830 [*sic*] times.’ Cage actually did it. Satie would have murdered him.

“Satie was in a violent fury in 1922 when he heard that Schoenberg had read his funny remarks to the public while introducing his piano works. What an idiotic thing to do! And Schoenberg liked Satie’s music.”¹⁶¹

Since Satie’s death in 1925, Milhaud had seen himself as a guardian of his older friend’s legacy, and after taking his collection of Satie’s manuscripts and papers with him when he fled France in 1940, he aimed to continue carrying out this duty in the United States. In another 1971 interview, he said of the renewed interest in Satie’s music: “It is natural. I was expecting it. It is too bad Satie is not here to enjoy it. He died in complete poverty and misery. Now his records are everywhere.”¹⁶² But although Cage’s radical reinterpretation of Satie’s significance raised the French composer’s profile, it also displaced Milhaud in Satie’s musical lineage. Two years later,

¹⁶⁰ Commanday, “A Musical Homage to Darius Milhaud.” The students Milhaud names here are Gilbert Amy, Jean-Claude Eloy, and Betsy Jolas.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² William C. Glackin, “Milhaud Says Au Revoir After 30 Years,” *Sacramento Bee*, 2 May 1971.

asked in an interview to respond to Milhaud's criticism, Cage asserted that he, not Milhaud, was the one who truly understood Satie and his intent in composing *Vexations*:

I think that the piece was a perfectly serious piece which the French, including Milhaud, had not taken seriously. . . . Curiously enough, the textual remarks in connection with the *Vexations* are not humorous; they are in the spirit of Zen Buddhism. It says at the beginning of the piece not to play it until you have put yourself in a state of interior immobility, and it very clearly says that it is to be done 840 times. . . . There was not the true connection between Milhaud (and Les Six) and Satie that we have automatically taken for granted. I think they were all quite different from Satie, and I don't think they really understood much Satie.¹⁶³

The figure of Satie reclaimed by Cage was incompatible with Milhaud's image of the composer. At Mills College, however, the reinterpreted avant-garde Satie strengthened Milhaud's avant-garde credentials by association.

In the passage from *Ma Vie heureuse* quoted above, Milhaud gives himself credit for the establishment of a center for electronic music at Mills, which occurred in 1966 when the San Francisco Tape Music Center became affiliated with the college. It is true that his approval was key to bringing the Center to Mills, but his opinions of the venture exhibited the same ambivalence discussed in his memoirs and elsewhere. As someone who did not reject electronic music on principle, but was skeptical of its influence on young composers, he was able to act as a mediator between the new-music proponents and the more conservative members of the faculty.

The San Francisco Tape Music Center developed out of Robert Erickson's graduate seminars at the San Francisco Conservatory in the early 1960s. Students including Ramon Sender and Pauline Oliveros began organizing experimental concerts featuring electronic music and group improvisation; when Berio was at Mills in the spring of 1962, he became involved as well, as did Morton Subotnick, who had received an MA in music from Mills in 1958 and

¹⁶³ John Cage, Roger Shattuck, and Alan Gillmor, "Erik Satie: A Conversation (1973)," *Contact: A Journal of Contemporary Music* 25 (Autumn 1982): 21–26, reprinted in Richard Kostelanetz, ed., *Conversing with Cage*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 50.

subsequently joined the faculty there.¹⁶⁴ After one year under the auspices of the San Francisco Conservatory, the group reorganized independently as the San Francisco Tape Music Center, using the term “tape music” to sidestep the divide between electronic music and *musique concrète* that preoccupied others in the field. The participants, particularly Oliveros, valued open access to the technology, which was facilitated by the Center’s lack of institutional oversight.¹⁶⁵ However, independence also made it difficult to secure stable funding. The Rockefeller Foundation offered a \$15,000 grant for the 1965–66 concert season, but stipulated that to receive a second—and much larger—grant of \$200,000, the Tape Music Center would have to affiliate with a larger organization, thereby trading its anti-institutional stance for stability.¹⁶⁶ As Subotnick explained, Milhaud’s encouraging presence at Mills was a significant factor in their decision to become part of the college:

The two institutions that wanted us were, one, the [San Francisco] Conservatory, which had kicked us out, and, two, Mills [College]. And that was primarily because of Milhaud, because Milhaud desperately wanted to know everything about what was going on. He was a wonderful person in that regard. Berkeley couldn’t have cared less. We never even approached Stanford; it was too far away. We wanted to be near San Francisco. . . . So, since I was teaching at Mills . . . and there were a lot of connections with Mills, we decided on it.¹⁶⁷

With Milhaud in Paris during the 1965–66 year, when the plans to bring the Tape Music Center to Mills were being made, he could not be present for the negotiations, but department chair Margaret Lyon wrote several times to seek his advice. In one response to her, he wrote:

¹⁶⁴ David W. Bernstein, ed., *The San Francisco Tape Music Center: 1960s Counterculture and the Avant-Garde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 9–14. Of his time as a graduate student at Mills, Subotnick told Vivian Perlis: “Milhaud had a hard time with my music in the seminar. He sort of had his hands over his ears while I went through my thing in the seminar. But we got along very well, and we talked and so forth.” Morton Subotnick interviewed by Vivan Perlis, 23 March 1983, Oral History of American Music, Yale University.

¹⁶⁵ Bernstein, *The San Francisco Tape Music Center*, 18.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁶⁷ Morton Subotnick in *ibid.*, 132. Editorial insertions are Bernstein’s.

The Tape Center question, I know, is delicate. It is very developed in the USA and I think it would be important to have it at Mills but should be limited to graduate students. It is true that it is beginning to “fade out” here, but of course with an interest that you could rate 15%. Anyway the musical studies *must* not be absorbed by it, and Lenny [Klein] and Mort [Subotnick] can have and develop their own way freely as two parallel lines who “rarely” meet. The fact that a lot of my students went to the Tape Center (not mature enough) like butterflies attracted by an electric bulb never changed my way of teaching and the requirements that I ask. So! there is a great and lovely possibility of coexistence in mutual comprehension and respect.¹⁶⁸

Shortly thereafter, he told Lyon in another letter: “I wrote Lenny to calm him down and explained the advantage to have the Tape Center at Mills. We can then *control it* and see that it is used for graduates—or very advanced kids.”¹⁶⁹ Leonard Klein, who had studied under Milhaud at Mills in the mid-1950s and began teaching there in 1965, taught undergraduate harmony and counterpoint and was among the more musically conservative members of the faculty. Apart from Milhaud, who saw him as a talented protégé and potential successor, Klein received little support from the music department, and he left in 1971 after being denied tenure.¹⁷⁰

Apart from Pauline Oliveros and Tony Martin, who served as the music and visual directors for the Tape Music Center’s first year at Mills, all of the original members departed in 1966 rather than following it to its new home. (Subotnick accepted an offer to join the New York University faculty, while Sender went to live in the desert.) Milhaud had not known Oliveros at the time of the negotiations the previous year, and his first impressions were filtered through men who dismissed her abilities. When Lyon wrote to him in Paris to ask his opinion of Oliveros, he responded that while he did not know her, he had been told by one of his students that “she knows *very little* about electronics,” adding, “I think we should have a good technician.”¹⁷¹ His

¹⁶⁸ Darius Milhaud to Margaret Lyon, 16 October 1965, Mills-DM, 3.1.4.

¹⁶⁹ Darius Milhaud to Margaret Lyon, 30 October 1965, Mills-DM, 3.1.4.

¹⁷⁰ For the rest of his career, Klein taught at Stockton State College in New Jersey, which was just about to open its doors at the time of his departure from Mills.

¹⁷¹ Darius Milhaud to Margaret Lyon, [early 1966], Mills-DM, 3.1.4.

informant's belief that Oliveros lacked technical knowledge and skill reflects the misogyny she faced as a woman in the San Francisco electronic-music community, and upon returning to Mills in the fall, Milhaud's general distaste for the work of the Tape Music Center seemed to be colored by gendered assumptions about Oliveros's seriousness of purpose. After the group's inaugural concert on 31 October 1966, Milhaud, who barely tolerated the group's experimental music and avant-garde spirit, complained to Berio: "Here we had a 'happening' (OF COURSE!) for the Performing Group–Tape Center marriage. La Oliveros had produced [*pondu*, "laid"] a 'gratiné' 40-minute electronic 'Hello.' Such childishness! with projections by this Mr. Martin. (OF COURSE) On top of that, it was Halloween and the students [*étudiantes*] were acting crazy."¹⁷²

As director, Oliveros "insisted on maintaining the idea of public access," which conflicted with Milhaud's scheme to block undergraduates from using the electronic studio.¹⁷³ She left in 1967 to take a position at the University of California, San Diego, but the Mills music department continued to promote what was then a very unusual asset for a small liberal arts college.¹⁷⁴ During discussions about revising the music curriculum in the fall of 1967, Milhaud conceded to Lyon: "You can include the electronic *studies* . . . but *optional* (not compulsory!!)"¹⁷⁵ No class in electronic music was introduced at that time, but the course catalog for 1968–69 added a line to the short description of the music department, which had otherwise changed only slightly over the past thirty years: "The Mills College Center for

¹⁷² Darius Milhaud to Luciano Berio, [November 1966], Paul Sacher Stiftung, Luciano Berio Collection: "Ici on a eu un 'happening' (BIEN SÛR!) pour le mariage Performing Group – Tape Center. La Oliveros avait pondu un 'Hello' électronique de 40 minutes 'gratiné.' Quel enfantillage! avec projections de ce M^r Martin. (BIEN SÛR) En plus c'était Halloween et les étudiantes avaient l'air de folles."

¹⁷³ Pauline Oliveros in Bernstein, *The San Francisco Tape Music Center*, 103.

¹⁷⁴ Oliveros later returned to the Mills faculty, and as of 2015, she continues to teach occasional courses there.

¹⁷⁵ Darius Milhaud to Margaret Lyon, [fall 1967], Mills-DM, 3.1.4.

Contemporary Music, consisting of the Performing Group and Electronic Studio, offers students the opportunity to work in electronic composition and to perform contemporary and classic works with professional performers.”¹⁷⁶ The following year, a two-semester graduate seminar in electronic music was established, taught by Robert Ashley—“Mr Ashley Tapecenter,” as Milhaud dubbed him in one letter—who assumed the directorship of the Center for Contemporary Music in 1969.¹⁷⁷

By this time, Milhaud had begun making plans to retire from Mills and to return to Europe permanently. Madeleine Milhaud had already retired from the French faculty in 1967, as she had reached the mandatory retirement age of 65. In 1968, the Milhauds gave up their U.S. residency status, which required the college to make the visa arrangements to bring them back for the 1968–69 academic year. When they went back to Europe in the fall of 1969, they started to move furniture to an apartment in Geneva, where they planned to retire, but told only a few close friends their new address.¹⁷⁸ The composer’s age and health were the principal concerns motivating his impending retirement, but he also saw the music department moving in a direction he could no longer follow. In January 1970, Margaret Lyon wrote to President Robert J. Wert:

During the last two years that Mr. Milhaud has taught composition it was distressingly evident to him that he had lost touch with the newest interests of young composers. Even though he lacked sympathy for the new trends developing after World War II he understood the techniques and although not encouraging students to follow these procedures he could still direct the work. Most recently, however, he simply has not known, in some cases, how to handle a situation.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ 1968–69 Mills College course catalog, 57.

¹⁷⁷ Darius Milhaud to Margaret Lyon, 28 September 1969, Mills-DM, 3.1.4. The Center for Contemporary Music remains a fixture of the Mills music department and of new music in the Bay Area. See David W. Bernstein, “Thirty Years of *Non-Stop Flight*: A Brief History of the Center for Contemporary Music,” http://www.mills.edu/campus_life/center_for_contemporary_music/archives.php (accessed 30 October 2015).

¹⁷⁸ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 14 August 1970, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (283).

¹⁷⁹ Margaret Lyon to Robert J. Wert, 8 January 1970, Mills College, Music Department Files, Correspondence – Margaret Lyon, 1961–1991.

For the 1970–71 academic year, Milhaud was scheduled to teach all of his usual courses—undergraduate orchestration, undergraduate and graduate composition—and the Dean of the Faculty, Mary Woods Bennett, had successfully applied for another non-immigrant visa on his behalf. However, when it came time to leave for Oakland, he was too ill to travel. Shortly before entering the hospital in Geneva, he wrote to Bennett:

We had decided to sail on the “France” on september 4th but I do not feel *well enough*. I am obliged to cancel that trip and stay in Europe longer. It would be really difficult for me to go to Mills *actually* I am most upset as you can imagine and I hope it will not be of a too great inconvenience for you.

As you can imagine, my dear Friend, I would not like to leave Mills so abruptly after so many years of work and happiness. You have always been a true devoted friend so I shall ask you frankly if I could come for few months later... the last trimester perhaps, as my name is mentioned in the Mills catalogue; I could then see the students, teach of course and supervise what they did beforehand. And then, dear Friend we would together make some decisions for the near future.¹⁸⁰

Even before postponing the trip, Milhaud had already decided that he would retire in 1971, but had said nothing to the faculty.¹⁸¹ The Milhauds arrived in early February, just before the start of the spring term, and soon informed the college administration of their plans. On 16 February, President Wert wrote a note to Bennett: “Darius + Madeleine came in to tell me that this would be their last year at Mills. A very pleasant conversation.”¹⁸² Madeleine told Henri Hoppenot: “Da gave his resignation. I wanted him to spend two weeks here before talking to the President—the weather is so nice... and the area is truly superb, and I was afraid he would regret it... but it is done—he does not want to change, and prefers the ‘old Europe’...”¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Darius Milhaud to Mary Woods Bennett, 27 August 1970, Mills-DM, 3.1.2.

¹⁸¹ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 14 August 1970, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322.

¹⁸² Robert J. Wert to Mary Woods Bennett, 16 February 1971, Mills-DM, 3.1.2.

¹⁸³ Madeleine Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, 26 February 1971, C-Hoppenot, 513: “Da a donné sa démission. Je désirais qu’il passe ici deux semaines avant de parler au Président—il fait si beau... et le pays est vraiment superbe et je craignais qu’il ne regrette... mais c’est fait—il ne veut pas changer et préfère la ‘vieille Europe’...”

One announcement for an April 1971 Performing Group concert at Mills—originally intended to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of Milhaud’s arrival, then repurposed as a farewell concert—stated that the program would present “innovative works by Mr. Milhaud (whose achievements include the 20th century’s first chance and spatial works and some of the earliest expositions of noise and electronic materials).”¹⁸⁴ The concert spanned his career, featuring two early works (*Cinq Etudes* and *La Mort d’un tyran*) alongside three of his most recent compositions (*Musique pour Graz*, *Six Danses en trois mouvements*, and *Musique pour Ars Nova*, all written in 1969 or 1970) and two with a connection to his life at Mills (*Suite de quatrains*, recited by Madeleine Milhaud, and *La Muse ménagère*, a piano suite dedicated to her).¹⁸⁵ The program notes begin, “Although Milhaud rejects designation as an experimentalist it is nevertheless possible to discover many of the concepts underlying the avant-garde music of the recent past in a remarkable group of works composed by him between 1915 and 1921,” then describe several such works (none of which was to be performed in the concert), and finally address his recent use of simultaneity in *Six Danses* and indeterminacy in *Suite de quatrains*, *Musique pour Graz*, and *Musique pour Ars Nova*.¹⁸⁶ Thus, as the college prepared for Milhaud’s final departure, his significance continued to be framed in terms not only of his decades of service to the Mills music department, but also of his past as an avant-garde pioneer.

At the age of forty-eight, reeling from the shock of exile, Milhaud became a teacher for the first time, and Mills College served as a precious lifeline. The presence on campus of an eminent European composer quickly began to attract students—both women and men—from the surrounding cities and beyond, and as word got around of his aesthetic broad-mindedness,

¹⁸⁴ “Mills Honors Les [*sic*] Groupe des Six,” *The Mills Stream*, 3 December 1970.

¹⁸⁵ On *La Muse ménagère*, see chapter 5.

¹⁸⁶ Concert program, “Homage to Darius Milhaud,” 26 April 1971, Mills College, Mills-DM, 2.1.14.

openness to jazz, and relatively low-pressure teaching style, he came to be seen by some as a liberating alternative to the strictness of an Arnold Schoenberg or a Paul Hindemith, further forming the culture of the department in the years to come. As I discussed in chapter 1, the isolation of the Mills campus, so far from Los Angeles and New York, was sometimes distressing for the exiled composer. Yet it was, above everything, Milhaud's unwillingness to leave the college behind that impelled him to craft a transatlantic career after the war, with half of his life still firmly rooted in the Bay Area. This rootedness at the heart of his transnational mobility enabled him to continue to shape a musical community that had become vitally important to him. Finally, as the musical culture of the department and of the broader San Francisco region shifted toward experimental and electronic music in the 1960s, Milhaud found renewed legitimacy through his own experimentalist past, not only allowing him to remain engaged with the activity of the department for as long as possible, but also giving a new dimension to his legacy.

CHAPTER FIVE: MADELEINE MILHAUD

In the last decades of her long life, Madeleine Milhaud ended several interviews with the same anecdote, a way of making light of her ongoing dedication to her late husband.¹ “I once asked a psychologist, ‘What would you do with a patient of yours who from the age of seventeen to ninety devoted herself entirely to one man?’ ‘I would lock her up,’ he replied.”² Indeed, each of these interviews provides more information about the composer to whom she was married for forty-nine years than about her own life, reflecting not only the priorities of her interviewers, but also her determination to uphold Darius Milhaud’s legacy after his death in 1974. Her activity as a composer’s widow was an extension of the “composer’s wife” persona that she developed during and after World War II, through which she oriented her public life around his. Madeleine Milhaud’s self-presentation in relation to her husband, carried out across more than half a century, raises complex questions about biography, legacy construction, and the boundaries of feminist scholarship. In the case of a woman who depicted herself as a secondary character in someone else’s story, what does it mean to view her instead as a protagonist? Conversely, how does recognizing a woman’s agency in shaping her husband’s public image affect how we interpret the resultant historical record?

¹ As Darius and Madeleine Milhaud were first cousins, she never had a different surname; I have opted to refer to her by her full name in most instances (rather than “Madeleine” or “Mme. Milhaud”). As in other chapters, “Milhaud” refers to Darius, though I also use his full name when necessary for clarity. As she often called her husband “Milhaud” in interviews, I did not see a pressing need to deviate from typical usage in this chapter.

² CWMM, 103. See also Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, trans. Mildred Clary (Cleveland: Darius Milhaud Society, 2008), 112, and eadem, “Souvenirs intimes (entretien avec Florence Lévi),” *Sigila* 12 (2003): 127.

During the Milhauds' penultimate summer at the Aspen Music Festival, in 1968, *Denver Post* journalist Barbara Haddad opened an article about Madeleine Milhaud's student productions of one-act operas by lamenting the lack of recognition the director had received for her achievements:

Look up the name Milhaud in any standard biographical reference book and you're likely to find a long, impressive listing under "Milhaud, Darius." The French composer at 75 is among a scant handful of living musical immortals. But look up the name of his wife Madeleine and you'll be out of luck. This is an annoying oversight by all those infallible-looking volumes since the petite Mme. Milhaud is a creative member of the artistic community in her own right.³

To a certain extent, this "annoying oversight" is, in its past and present forms, a product of familiar historiographical issues, such as the centering of composers and the marginalization of women's creative activity. As an actor, director, and teacher, Madeleine Milhaud certainly undertook work that merits attention; in addition to the operas she directed in Aspen, she should also be recognized for her pioneering radio broadcasts in the 1930s and her performances of speaking roles in compositions by her husband and others. Yet attributing the neglect of her professional accomplishments only to the biases of historiography conceals the extent to which she actively positioned herself as "the composer's wife," intentionally sublimating her own talents in service of Darius Milhaud's career and legacy. This, too, was work—her public persona was auxiliary to that of her husband, but by no means passive or voiceless, even as it relied on the perpetuation of traditional heteronormative gender roles.

Although I began this project several years after her death in 2008—making me part of the first generation of musicologists to conduct research on Darius Milhaud without the possibility of learning from her directly—I have benefited immeasurably from Madeleine

³ Barbara Haddad, "Reference Books Guilty of Oversight Concerning Mme. Milhaud," *Denver Post*, 25 August 1968.

Milhaud's decades of advocacy for the composer and his music. Her communication with such scholars as Jeremy Drake and Barbara Kelly enabled the research I have relied on for information and insight. The materials in the Paul Sacher Stiftung were in her possession until recently, and the collection still bears the evidence of her years of work to gather and organize these documents, from her handwritten notes about dates and biographical context to photocopies of letters from Milhaud that she acquired from the recipients or their heirs. Interviews with her—published, recorded, or in archival collections—have informed every chapter of this dissertation. I am indebted to her, yet I also recognize that her decisions about which letters to keep or discard, which scholars to support or discourage, and which stories to tell or withhold have shaped my understanding in ways both evident and unknowable.

As Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr have noted, the first generation of feminist musicologists tended to prefer subjects who could challenge male-dominated historiography on its own terms, particularly composers.⁴ The field has since broadened its scope significantly to include performers, musicologists, and pedagogues, but the figure of “the wife” still poses a conceptual problem for feminist musicology, particularly in relation to that of “the composer.” Without a feminist lens, it is tempting to view the wife of a composer (a “great man”) as either a passive muse or a destructive force; much of the work on Alma Mahler, for instance, is rooted in misogynist tropes that have implicitly shaped even the feminist attempts to reclaim her.⁵ To

⁴ Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr, “Introduction: Music Patronage as a ‘Female-Centered Cultural Process,’” in *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860*, ed. Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 2–4. See also Kimberly A. Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky: Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist Icon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 10.

⁵ For depictions of Alma Mahler as *femme fatale* written by women, see Susanne Keegan, *The Bride of the Wind: The Life and Times of Alma Mahler-Werfel* (New York: Viking, 1992), and Karen Monson, *Alma Mahler: Muse to Genius—From Fin-de-Siècle Vienna to Hollywood's Heyday* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983). For a critique of Monson's book on charges of inaccuracy and undue prurience, see Susan M. Filler's review in *College Music Symposium* 26 (1986): 151–55. See also Bee Wilson, “She gives me partridges,” review of *Malevolent Muse: The Life of Alma Mahler* by Oliver Hilmes, *London Review of Books* 37, no. 21 (5 November 2015): 7–11, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v37/n21/bee-wilson/she-gives-me-partridges> (accessed 6 November 2015).

counter such distortions, the impulse may be to portray such a woman as a creative force “in her own right” and to resist interpretations that place her primarily in her husband’s orbit. In the case of Clara Wieck Schumann, a composer herself, this perspective has been quite fruitful, even if it cannot tell the whole story.⁶ But just as overlooking patrons obscures the role of economic factors in music composition, arguing for Madeleine Milhaud’s significance solely on the basis of activity that fits the framework of an “artist in her own right” would have the effect of erasing the work that went into shaping Darius Milhaud’s reputation during and after his life, thereby making our image of the composer seem natural or inevitable. At the same time, limiting her to the category of “wife” would be both inaccurate and unjust. This chapter therefore has a dual purpose: I aim both to depict Madeleine Milhaud as the protagonist of her own story and to explore the ways in which she used the persona of “wife of the composer” to influence the public perception of her husband and of herself.

Madeleine Milhaud’s role as “the composer’s wife” also calls attention to the extent to which Darius Milhaud’s legacy is a product of migration, even as scholars and critics continue to place their primary focus on his earlier career in France. Prior to exile, she had not yet taken on “the composer’s wife” as an intentional aspect of her public image; indeed, she was uncomfortable with the idea of being seen only in relation to her increasingly famous husband. Once in Oakland, she began to refashion her identity in response to American expectations about women and relationships. At first, this was primarily a means of presenting herself as an ideal representative of France during wartime, but after the liberation of her homeland, she began to

⁶ For a concise overview of the historiography of Clara Wieck Schumann both as “inspiration and consort” and as “a musician-composer in her own right,” see Jennifer Holz and Georgia K. Peeples, “From Consort to Composer: The Emergence of Clara Wieck Schumann in Music History Texts,” *Women of Note Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (2005): 24–27. Though their primary focus is on music history textbooks, Holz and Peeples also note such pioneering scholarship as Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985, rev. ed. 2001).

focus instead on developing an image as the supportive wife of “the greatest living French composer.” Depicting their relationship in ways that largely reinscribed traditional gender roles became a way to counter the stereotype of the physically disabled composer as helpless or tragic. At a time when his music was no longer considered “new,” her vocal advocacy also contributed to his image as a senior cultural figure whose significance was not limited to the compositional innovations of earlier decades. After Milhaud’s death in 1974, she continued to make occasional trips to the United States for the next two decades, putting her support behind efforts to promote his music and maintaining relationships with friends, supporters, and former students across the country.

I begin this chapter with a brief overview of Madeleine Milhaud’s life and professional activity before 1940 to establish her background, her relationship with Darius Milhaud, and the acting career that was cut short by the invasion of France. I then retell the story of the Milhaud family’s exile from her perspective, focusing on her experience of homesickness, her use of language, and her efforts to use her personality and talents to interest Californians in the fate of her occupied homeland. Although Darius and Madeleine endured exile together and shared the objective of promoting French culture in the United States, their individual experiences diverged—whereas he quickly resumed his compositional activity in a new country, she had to build an entirely new professional life while managing a household with little support. She never returned to the stage; instead, she taught French and drama, directed student plays, and occasionally performed as a *récitante*, continuing this work through the 1960s. This reconstituted career granted her creative satisfaction without threatening the public identity she came to emphasize above all others, that of “the composer’s wife.” In the final part of this chapter, using

newspaper articles and other documents, I focus on the development of this identity and the ways in which it functioned in the United States both during and after Darius Milhaud's life.

Madeleine Milhaud in France

Madeleine Milhaud spent her childhood in an environment distinct from that of her Provençal older cousin; born in Paris in 1902 as the second child of Michel Milhaud and Marie Ehrlich, she was raised in a secular household.⁷ Whereas Darius was educated at home before entering the *lycée* in Aix at the age of ten, Madeleine attended a private school and, considering herself a poor student, chose not to take the *baccalauréat*.⁸ She saw her cousin occasionally after he moved to the capital in 1909, and she and her mother lived in Aix-en-Provence for several months at the beginning of World War I to be at a safe distance from the conflict.⁹ Although no one else in her immediate family studied music, she took piano lessons with Marguerite Long and became a skilled sight-reader, capable of playing a four-hand arrangement of *The Rite of Spring* with Darius by the age of twelve.¹⁰ She learned English from her British governess, a skill that not only gave her an advantage in the United States in later decades, but also enabled her to engage with the literary scene of the Left Bank as an adolescent. Frequenting the bookshops of Adrienne Monnier and Sylvia Beach in the years immediately after World War I brought her into contact with both French and expatriate writers. She also made the acquaintance

⁷ Marie Ehrlich was originally from Belgium; Michel Milhaud was the younger brother of Darius's father, Gabriel.

⁸ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 23–24. If she had attended a girls' *lycée* rather than a private school, the *baccalauréat* would not have been an option; before World War I, girls' *lycées* granted only the *diplôme*, and the curriculum did not prepare students to take the *baccalauréat* independently. Siân Reynolds, *France Between the Wars: Gender and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 47–50.

⁹ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 31.

¹⁰ CWMM, 11–12.

of Erik Satie, who performed his *Socrate* at Monnier's Maison des Amis des Livres in 1919.¹¹ Satie became a personal friend of both Madeleine and Darius, and during his final illness in 1925, she was one of the only people he trusted to retrieve items from his apartment in Arcueil.¹²

At the age of nineteen, in November 1921, Madeleine Milhaud married Jacques Pfeiffer, a Parisian lawyer of German-Jewish descent.¹³ This marriage ended in divorce in the summer of 1924, when she became engaged to Darius Milhaud.¹⁴ In later years, she almost never mentioned that Darius was her second husband; rather, she spoke of her growing devotion to him following his return from Brazil in 1919.¹⁵ According to a story she told often, she left her parents' box at the theatre during the riotous 1920 premiere of Milhaud's *Deuxième Suite symphonique (Protée)* to stand beside her cousin, following her "instinct of future wife of composer."¹⁶ They were married at the synagogue of Aix-en-Provence in May 1925, with her brother Etienne and the writer Paul Claudel as the witnesses.¹⁷ Francis Poulenc, who also attended the wedding, remarked in a letter to Georges Auric two months before, "Darius is still madly in love. I

¹¹ CWMM, 16; Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 40.

¹² CWMM, 80.

¹³ "Madeleine Milhaud," Jean François Hartmann's Family Tree, Geneanet, <http://gw.geneanet.org/jfhartmann> (accessed 19 May 2015); "Jacques Gérald Gustave Pfeiffer," Geni.com, <https://www.geni.com/people/Jacques-Pfeiffer/6000000029282470829> (accessed 19 May 2015). The identity of her first husband became public knowledge only in 2014, with the addition of his name to several genealogy websites.

¹⁴ In August 1924, Darius wrote to the Hoppenots: "Excuse my long silence, but a troubled time is the cause of it. The result? The divorce of my little cousin Madeleine, whom I am marrying next April." ("Excusez mon long silence, mais une période troublée en est la cause. Le résultat? Le divorce de ma petite cousine Madeleine que j'épouse en avril prochain.") Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, 4 August 1924, C-Hoppenot, 85.

¹⁵ See CWMM, 16–17. The only interview I have read in which she mentions her first marriage is Madeleine Milhaud, "A Souvenir of Milhaud, His Friends, His Work," oral history conducted by Marguerite E. Schumann (1986), 5.4.

¹⁶ Madeleine Milhaud, "Ma Vie heureuse," transcript of speech given at Mills College [c. 1968], Mills-DM, 12.1.2, 6. See also Madeleine Milhaud, "On Living with a Composer," transcript of speech given at Mills College [c. 1963], Mills-DM, 12.1.2, 3 ("I have stood next to him from that day—to my pleasure, to my great honor, and I'm pleased to have done it"); Madeleine Milhaud, "A Souvenir," 5.1.

¹⁷ MVH, 149.

approve, but I would have chosen a different wife.”¹⁸ When the first edition of Poulenc’s correspondence was being prepared for publication in the 1960s, Madeleine Milhaud was asked if she wanted the letter to be redacted, but she was amused by it and insisted that it be published. She later told Florence Lévi: “It is rather funny! It is understandable: I was not dressed in Chanel and was not a socialite.”¹⁹

In the first years of their marriage, the Milhauds traveled frequently. For their honeymoon, they embarked on a trip that was meant to lead to Palestine, but the tour was cut short when Darius fell ill in Beirut. “I saw the Promised Land only from a distance (like Moses), through my porthole in the Jaffa harbor,” he wrote to Paul Collaer.²⁰ He later wrote in *Notes sans musique*: “It was then that Madeleine began her work as a nurse, which she practiced often, too often, with tireless devotion and extraordinary equanimity.”²¹ The following March, they visited Moscow and Leningrad with Jean Wiéner, and at the end of 1926, she accompanied Milhaud to the United States for his second concert tour there, which took them across the country to San Francisco, where her grandfather had once lived.²²

By the time of their son Daniel’s birth in February 1930, Darius Milhaud had been suffering for several years from attacks of what would later be diagnosed as rheumatoid arthritis. In a chapter of *Notes sans musique* titled “Beginning of the Era of Illness” (“Début de l’ère des maladies”), he described the decline in his mobility and wrote: “These periods of illness also

¹⁸ Francis Poulenc to Georges Auric, 15 March 1925, C-Poulenc, 252: “Darius est toujours fou d’amour. J’approuve mais aurais choisi une autre épouse.”

¹⁹ Madeleine Milhaud, “Souvenirs intimes,” 123: “C’est assez drôle! Cela s’explique: je n’étais pas habillée par Chanel et n’étais pas mondaine.”

²⁰ Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, 5 June 1925, C-Collaer, 209: “Je n’ai aperçu la Terre Promise que de loin (comme Moïse) à travers mon hublot, en rade de Jaffa.”

²¹ MVH, 152: “Madeleine commença alors son métier d’infirmière qu’elle pratiqua souvent, trop souvent avec un dévouement inlassable et une égalité d’humeur extraordinaire.”

²² CWMM, 37.

immobilized my dear Madeleine, wonderful nurse, who provided admirable moral support through her optimism, her equanimity, her patience, her endless devotion.”²³ He treated his condition primarily through homeopathic methods, as he would continue to do in later years.²⁴ In photographs from this period, he is occasionally seen with a cane, but he did not begin using a wheelchair until the 1940s.²⁵

Despite the demands of caring for her young son and her frequently ill husband, it was in the early 1930s that Madeleine Milhaud embarked on her own career as an actor. As a child, she had studied acting with a friend of her mother’s, but her father would not allow her to perform publicly, so she abandoned it altogether.²⁶ But after her father’s death, she was able to justify an acting career as a way to provide financial support to her recently widowed mother, who had moved into an apartment in the same building as Madeleine, Darius, and Daniel.²⁷ She joined Charles Dullin’s acting course in 1932 after observing rehearsals for *Le Château des Papes*, a play with incidental music by her husband, and she soon began performing professionally with the companies of Dullin, Louis Jouvet, and Georges Pitoëff, usually taking smaller roles. She explained to Roger Nichols: “As I was no longer particularly young I did not want to play the part of leading ladies. I was more attracted to character parts: nasty women, stupid women and such like!”²⁸

²³ MVH, 182: “Ces périodes de maladie immobilisaient aussi ma chère Madeleine, infirmière merveilleuse, d’un secours moral admirable par son optimisme, son égalité d’humeur, sa patience, son dévouement sans fin.”

²⁴ MVH, 183.

²⁵ Two such photographs show Darius and Madeleine on a 1933 trip to Prague. My thanks to Christopher Bowen for spotting them in the Silvestr Hippman papers at the Literary Archives of the National Museum.

²⁶ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 19.

²⁷ CWMM, 64. In this interview, she states, “My mother was left without any money and I did not want Darius to have to help her on his own,” leaving her older brother’s responsibility—or lack thereof—unmentioned.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

Not long after the start of her own performing career, she began to teach acting as well. She had a group of private students, some of whom were foreigners learning to perform in French, and she also taught courses at the Schola Cantorum, where she became the chair of the Department of Dramatic Art in 1935. At that time, her husband was writing the incidental music for Jules Supervielle's play *Bolivar*—a precursor to his later opera based on the same text—leading Georges Auric to comment: “Darius makes music for French actors; Mme. Milhaud does theatre for singers. Is this a challenge or a game of hide and seek?”²⁹ In 1936 and 1937, Milhaud composed music for more than a dozen plays—comprising over one third of his output during those years—which reflects the influence of his wife's involvement with Parisian theatre on his own professional activity.³⁰

Away from the stage, Madeleine Milhaud regularly presented poetry programs on the radio, introducing listeners to the work of contemporary writers as well as little-known poems from past eras.³¹ Writers including Francis Jammes, Paul Valéry, Colette, and François Mauriac engaged her to read texts in their lectures at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and other venues.³² With her knowledge of English and German, she also did occasional translation work; for example, she translated the songs from Kurt Weill's *Der Silbersee* for the November 1933 concert at the Salle Pleyel at which Weill was the target of antisemitic protests from the composer Florent Schmitt. (Weill was not only a close friend of the Milhauds, but also

²⁹ Georges Auric quoted in André Frank, “Au rideau,” *La semaine à Paris*, 27 December 1935, 14: “Darius fait de la musique pour les comédiens français; Mme Milhaud du théâtre pour les chanteurs. Est-ce une gageure ou une partie de cache-cache?”

³⁰ See MVH, 199–200. For example, his music for *Le Voyageur sans bagages*, a play by Jean Anouilh in which Madeleine Milhaud played a minor role, became the Suite for Violin, Clarinet, and Piano, op. 157b, one of the composer's most popular chamber works. The connections between Darius and Madeleine Milhaud's work during these years merit further study.

³¹ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 42; CWMM, 65.

³² Ann Marie Newman, “Making Music at Mills College: Summer Sessions, 1929–1957” (MA thesis, San Jose State University, 2003), 189.

Madeleine's lover during his time in Paris; after his departure in 1935, they remained friends and corresponded frequently.)³³ She made her debut as a *récitante* in musical compositions with a performance of her husband's *Les Choéphores* in Nantes; she also premiered his *Cantate pour l'inauguration du Musée de l'Homme* in Lille in 1937, and the following year in Brussels, she gave the first performance of *Cantate de l'enfant et de la mère*, which was written for her. She played the role of Joan of Arc in several dramatic works, including Charles Péguy's 1898 play *Le Mystère de la charité de Jeanne d'Arc* and Manuel Rosenthal's 1936 orchestral suite with narration from Joseph Delteil's novel, two leftist interpretations of the story.³⁴ In an interview decades later, she attributed her intensive activity as a *récitante* during that time to the fact that she was one of the only actors among the wives of the composers in Milhaud's circle.³⁵

When the Milhaud family's vacation to Aix-en-Provence in the summer of 1939 became an indefinite stay, both Darius and Madeleine faced the disruption of their professional activity (see chapter 1). For the composer, it was chiefly his health that prevented him from working; during the periods between relapses, he was still able to complete eleven new works, including his First Symphony. But Madeleine Milhaud was separated from the theatres of Paris and from her professional networks there, cutting short a time of consistent work, public exposure, and moderate financial success. In place of acting and radio work, she turned her attention toward directing short plays with local students as a way to entertain wounded soldiers and to raise money for the war effort. While assuming a matter-of-fact attitude toward wartime sacrifice, she

³³ Letters from Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folders 47–48.

³⁴ See Elizabeth Dister, "Inspiring the Nation: French Music about Jeanne d'Arc in the 1930s and 1940s" (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2015), 145–72. Ludmilla Pitoëff, wife of Georges, was the *récitante* for the premiere and several other early performances of the Rosenthal work; Madeleine Milhaud performed it in a radio concert on 1 June 1937. *Ibid.*, 154–55.

³⁵ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 43.

also lamented the change in her daily activities, which now provided little intellectual stimulation and no financial compensation. She wrote to Weill in November: “Business, unfortunately abandoned now. And it was going rather well for me (I made 38,000 francs last year without much fuss).”³⁶ This sum was modest in comparison to the income of her husband, who could sometimes make more from a single commissioned composition—for example, he received 50,000 francs from Ida Rubinstein for *La Sagesse* in 1934—but it likely exceeded the amount she needed in order to support her mother.³⁷

In several of her letters during this period, Madeleine Milhaud claimed that apart from work, Paris and its residents held no attraction for her.³⁸ Focusing on the negative aspects of her home city seems to have been a way of resigning herself to her circumstances; a similar strategy is evident in her wartime letters from Oakland in the following years, when she criticized the French émigrés of New York and Los Angeles despite her longing for intellectual community. In the case of Paris, it was also the fear of invasion that led her to attempt to distance herself emotionally from her home city, knowing that what she loved about it could soon disappear. From the first weeks of the war, she followed the news and received reports from friends still in Paris. In September 1939, she wrote to Weill: “You see, it is ridiculous, but I already have the impression that I will never again see the Paris that I love so much....”³⁹ She did have one final opportunity to visit Paris before leaving the country, for the French premiere of *Médée* in May

³⁶ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 6 November 1939, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48: “Business, malheureusement abandonné maintenant. Et qui pour moi marchait assez bien (je gagnais 38.000 frs l’année dernière sans grande affaire).”

³⁷ Louis K. Epstein, “Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918–1939” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013), 62–64, 74.

³⁸ See Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 15 December 1939, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48. (“Je me félicite d’être restée ici, car Paris ne me manque pas.”)

³⁹ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, [25 September 1939], Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48: “Voyez-vous, c’est ridicule, mais j’ai déjà l’impression que je ne reverrai plus jamais le Paris que j’aime tant....”

1940.⁴⁰ After returning to Aix, she paid attention to the increasingly distressing news reports, but did not take action to leave until just after the Germans entered the capital. She wrote to Weill on 13 June: “For the moment, we are staying here, but it is difficult to predict the future.”⁴¹ The very next day, Paris fell to the invading army, and several days after that, Darius, Madeleine, and Daniel Milhaud began their month-long journey to the United States.

A French Woman in Exile

In addition to Darius Milhaud’s status as a prominent Jewish public figure, a central factor in the family’s decision to leave France was the composer’s illness and increasingly limited mobility. Madeleine Milhaud told Roger Nichols in 1991: “I distinctly remember saying to him, ‘I can do a lot of things for you, but I cannot carry you on my shoulders and hide you.’ So we decided to leave.”⁴² In a 1984 interview, she even said that if it had not been for her husband’s health, she would have preferred to take the risk of remaining in France to fight for survival alongside her compatriots.⁴³ While this comment may reflect only the imagining of a different path decades after the fact, it also points to the centrality of her husband’s safety and needs in the decision to leave.

In the same interview, Madeleine Milhaud refused to take credit for arranging the family’s escape.⁴⁴ It is true that, as she emphasized, they would not have been able to obtain the necessary visas so easily without the documentation of Milhaud’s planned U.S. concert

⁴⁰ The opera was first performed in Antwerp in October 1939, but the Milhauds did not attend due to Darius’s health and the outbreak of war. (See chapter 1.)

⁴¹ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 13 June [1940], Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48: “Pour le moment, nous restons ici, mais il est difficile de prévoir l’avenir.”

⁴² CWMM, 57.

⁴³ Madeleine Milhaud, “A Souvenir,” 8.1–8.2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.2.

engagements. However, if she had not quickly taken the initiative to make those arrangements—and to convince her husband that leaving was the right choice—they would have missed the small window of opportunity before France’s surrender and the establishment of the Vichy government. Those who attempted to leave the country even a few weeks later faced considerably greater obstacles and delays.

After reaching New York in mid-July, Madeleine Milhaud drove her husband and son to California in the used car they bought with the money from their last visit to the United States in 1926–27. They had taken only a small sum out of France, following the orders of the Minister of Finance, and most of it was spent in Spain on the way to Lisbon, as they knew they could not keep it. In the United States, blocked from the money in their French bank accounts and receiving no royalties from compositions published in France, they were suddenly thrown from the financial comfort they had enjoyed before the war. Relying entirely on Darius’s Mills salary and the money he made from commissions, conducting engagements, and publication of new works, they were acutely aware of the precariousness of their situation and the effort it would take to regain stability. In the first year, they also lacked permanent housing, moving from one rented home to another every few months. Furthermore, the composer’s frequent illnesses and declining physical mobility presented additional challenges and limited his participation in the activities of day-to-day life.

These circumstances forced Madeleine Milhaud to assume all the duties of a homemaker, something she had never previously had to do. The need to manage without domestic help—which the family had always been able to afford in Paris—was a significant part of the culture shock she experienced in Oakland. She wrote to Lotte Lenya in October 1940: “For the moment, waiting for the opportunity to work (!), I am the veritable *bonne à tout faire*. Servants are very

expensive here, and it is impossible to have them in our current circumstances, so I do everything around here.”⁴⁵ Darius recognized the extra work his wife had taken on, writing to Henri and H  l  ne Hoppenot in December of that year: “Mady is admirable. She helps me to live, to keep from dying of despair. Her daily life is no fun. We have a little bungalow, something like a doghouse, but it is impossible to find servants; their salaries are unbelievable. So Mady also cooks, washes, irons, does the housework, drives the car.”⁴⁶

Alongside the constant burden of housework, the absence of intellectual community or of meaningful relationships outside her family contributed to making Madeleine Milhaud’s experience of isolation and homesickness in exile more acute than that of her husband, who had his work at Mills to sustain him from the start. Near the beginning of her time in Oakland, she reached out to Weill, who was across the country in New York, asking him to write “a little letter for me all alone” while her husband traveled to Chicago to conduct his First Symphony.⁴⁷ Weill’s response is, unsurprisingly, not preserved in the archives, but her subsequent letter to him—in which she wrote of their ongoing love for one another and addressed him with the familiar *tu* for the first time in years—indicates that he did indulge her request for a private letter.⁴⁸ After this, her letters to Weill continued, but quickly returned to the mode of platonic friendship, once again using the formal *vous* and avoiding direct references to their previous

⁴⁵ Madeleine Milhaud to Lotte Lenya, [October 1940], Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 47: “Pour le moment, en attendant d’avoir l’occasion de travailler (!) je suis la v  ritable brave bonne    tout faire. Les domestiques tr  s ch  res ici et il est impossible dans notre condition actuelle d’en avoir, alors je fais tout ici.”

⁴⁶ Darius Milhaud to Henri and H  l  ne Hoppenot, 18 December 1940, C-Hoppenot, 193–94: “Mady est admirable. Elle m’aide    vivre,    ne pas mourir de d  sespoir. Sa vie quotidienne n’est pas dr  le. Nous avons un petit bungalow, genre niche    chien, mais on ne trouve pas de domestiques, on a des traitements invraisemblables. Aussi Mady cuisine, lave, repasse, fait le m  nage, conduit l’auto.”

⁴⁷ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 1 October 1940, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48: “une petite lettre pour moi toute seule.”

⁴⁸ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 21 October 1940, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 47.

intimacy. For Weill's part, he wrote to her in 1941: "To me, France exists now only in Mills College because I feel that the France that I loved, will always be where you are."⁴⁹ The passing of time only worsened Madeleine Milhaud's sense of isolation, especially after the total invasion of France in November 1942 made communication with those who remained there all but impossible. Darius Milhaud wrote to Henri Hoppenot in 1943: "We are on a desert island; I work a lot, but Mady has been sick and is adjusting poorly. Her homesickness grows day and night. She is always active and marvelously courageous, but I can tell that she is worn down."⁵⁰

As I discussed in chapter 1, the Milhauds' perception of their relative isolation in Oakland was not exclusively negative, which had as much to do with their mixed feelings about the émigré communities of New York and Los Angeles as it did with their life in the Bay Area. Although Madeleine was more troubled by Oakland's isolation than her husband was, she, too, found her encounters with French émigrés in these other cities more unpleasant than refreshing. After a visit to Los Angeles in the fall of 1941, she wrote to Weill: "The Refugee French are unbearable indeed. They are transferring their obsessions with 'petty politics' here. It really is not about 'France for Ever' or 'De Gaulle,' but simply about 'Being against the Nazis by any means possible.' If you knew how agitated the French in Los Angeles can be.... They give me a vague idea of what the ones in New York must be like."⁵¹ She was especially irritated by the attitude of the Los Angeles exile community toward her friend André Maurois, whom she felt

⁴⁹ Kurt Weill to Madeleine Milhaud, 14 August 1941, PSS-DM.

⁵⁰ Darius Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, 1943, C-Hoppenot, 231: "nous sommes sur une île déserte, moi je travaille beaucoup, mais Mady a été malade et s'habitue mal. Son mal du pays grandit jour et nuit. Elle est toujours active et merveilleuse de courage mais je la sens minée."

⁵¹ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, [c. October 1941], Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48: "Les français Réfugiés sont, en effet, odieux. Ils reportent ici leurs manies de 'petite politique' il ne s'agit guère de 'France for Ever' ou de 'De Gaule' [*sic*] mais simplement d' 'Etre contre les Nazis par n'importe quel moyen.' Si vous saviez ce que les français a Los Angeles peuvent être agités.... Ils me donnent une vague idée de ce que doivent être ceux de New York." See also Darius Milhaud to Hélène Hoppenot, October 1941, C-Hoppenot, 208.

they attacked “as if he were the greatest enemy of the nation” while ignoring “that he has given remarkable lectures, telling the Americans to hurry, to go to war or to help, that time is an important factor, that the Americans should take into consideration the mistakes made back home [in France] in order to avoid them.”⁵²

In addition to offering a window on the personal challenges of adjusting to life in a new country, the Milhauds’ correspondence during this period also raises the complex issue of language in exile, reflecting the intersection of individual relationships and circumstances with broader cultural concerns. While Darius quickly began to use English in his letters to the majority of his non-French friends, colleagues, and business contacts, Madeleine continued to write in French whenever possible, even though her command of the English language was stronger than his at the time of their exile, as she had learned it in childhood.⁵³ Closely attuned to the nuances of language due to her expertise in literature and poetry, she may have found communicating in English frustrating and been unwilling to take the playful approach that marks Darius’ writing in the language. To the extent that she did perceive herself as competent in English, she may also have wished to avoid displaying her comparatively more developed skill alongside that of her husband.

⁵² Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, [c. October 1941], Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 48: “ils s’attaquent à Maurois comme s’il était le plus grand ennemi de la nation . . . mais personne n’ose redire qu’il a fait des conférences remarquables, disant aux Américains de se dépêcher, d’entrer en guerre ou d’aider, que le temps est un facteur important, que les Américains devraient prendre en considération les Bêtises commises chez nous afin de les éviter.” On the controversy surrounding Maurois in the United States, see Emmanuelle Loyer, *Paris à New York: Intellectuels et artistes français en exil (1940–1947)* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 2005), 112–15, and Colin W. Nettelbeck, *Forever French: Exile in the United States* (New York: Berg, 1991), 42–44. Nettelbeck writes that in response to the criticism, Maurois “progressively dropped his defence of the Vichy government, and even his critiques of gaullist sectarianism, in favour of a more positively expressed hope for the liberation of France through an Anglo-American victory” (43).

⁵³ Friends to whom Darius wrote primarily in English (after 1940) and Madeleine wrote primarily or exclusively in French include Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland (after 1943), Irving and Verna Fine, Louis and Annette Kaufman, Arnold Schoenberg, Vitya Vronsky and Victor Babin, and Kurt Weill. Among the correspondence I have read, the majority of Madeleine’s English-language letters are to members of the Mills College faculty and administration.

Using her native language was also a political choice—albeit one that played out at the level of personal communication—as she felt that she carried France and French culture with her in exile and had an obligation to preserve and transmit that culture in the United States.⁵⁴ The political implications of the German language were very different, and many German and Austrian exiles consciously stopped using their native language in the United States due to that stigma, including Kurt Weill. Weill’s earliest extant letters to the Milhauds are in German; after he moved to France in 1933, he began writing to them in French. When the Milhauds arrived in the United States in 1940—five years after Weill’s own emigration—he immediately switched to English in his letters to both of them.⁵⁵ Darius Milhaud likewise began writing to Weill in English at that time, but Madeleine continued to use French. The letters from Paul and Gertrude Hindemith to the Milhauds exhibit similar linguistic shifts.⁵⁶ After a 1928 letter to Milhaud in markedly inexpert English (“Have you anyone new compositions which is possible to be executed while the next Baden festival?”), Paul Hindemith began corresponding with him in German, perhaps knowing by that time that Madeleine could read it.⁵⁷ In 1940, he reverted to English—by then much improved.⁵⁸ His wife Gertrude, who spoke both English and French in

⁵⁴ On the relationship between language and identity in exile, see André Aciman, ed., *Letters of Transit: Reflections on Exile, Identity, Language, and Loss* (New York: The New Press, 1999); Isabelle de Courtivron, ed., *Lives in Translation: Bilingual Writers on Identity and Creativity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Obododimma Oha, “Language, Exile and the Burden of Undecidable Citizenship: Tenzin Tsundue and the Tibetan Experience,” in *Exile Cultures, Misplaced Identities*, ed. Paul Allatson and Jo McCormack (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2008), 81–98. Much of the scholarly work on exile and language focuses on literature rather than everyday speech; recent examples include Alicia Borinsky, *One-Way Tickets: Writers and the Culture of Exile* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2011); Axel Englund and Anders Olsson, eds., *Languages of Exile: Migration and Multilingualism in Twentieth-Century Literature* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013); Sophia A. McClennen, *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language, and Space in Hispanic Literatures* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2004).

⁵⁵ Weill’s letters to the Milhauds are in PSS-DM.

⁵⁶ I have not yet seen any letters from the Milhauds to the Hindemiths, but the letters from the Hindemiths to the Milhauds are in PSS-DM.

⁵⁷ Paul Hindemith to Darius Milhaud, [1928], PSS-DM.

addition to her native German—and received a Master’s degree in French philology from Yale in 1945—consistently wrote to the Milhauds in French after 1940, even when she and her husband wrote on the same postcard or sheet of paper.⁵⁹

Madeleine Milhaud did, of course, communicate in English with non-French speakers in the United States, but she found other ways to present herself as an exemplary representative of her home country, feeling that this would be her way of contributing from a distance to the defense of France and the preservation of its culture. As she told Roger Nichols, “I did everything in my power to make myself friendly and popular so as to interest as many people as possible in the fate of Europe.”⁶⁰ Particularly before the United States entered the war in December 1941, the Milhauds felt that Americans gave little thought to events in Europe, especially those on the West Coast.⁶¹ Madeleine Milhaud aimed to challenge American apathy in her own community through her presence as a “friendly and popular” French woman.

In some ways, she did this by participating in her local community in ways that were expected of her as the wife of a professor. The *Oakland Tribune* and other area newspapers recorded her attendance at a number of parties hosted by prominent Bay Area women, and she also regularly served as hostess at her home on the Mills campus. She joined the Parent-Teacher Association at Daniel’s elementary school, and in 1941, she gave several lectures at education-related events with such titles as “A Foreign Mother’s Impressions of American Schools,” “A Parent’s View of the American Teacher,” and “What American Schools Mean to My

⁵⁸ Except when writing to his wife or to certain close German-speaking friends, Hindemith wrote letters primarily in English after 1940. For example, all of Hindemith’s published letters to Paul Collaer are in German except one written in English on 11 November 1946 (C-Collaer, 400–01). See Paul Hindemith, *Selected Letters of Paul Hindemith*, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Skelton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁵⁹ Luther Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 162.

⁶⁰ CWMM, 61.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*; see also chapter 1.

Children.”⁶² To aid the war effort, she became certified in first aid by the Red Cross and taught classes in Oakland; she also coordinated a clothing drive at Mills College through American Relief for France and participated in the organization’s work in San Francisco.⁶³

Madeleine Milhaud’s specific knowledge and skills also came into play in her wartime activity. She gave poetry readings and lectured on French theatre and literature; the “Music and Poetry” lecture-recital she and her husband had developed in Lisbon was reprised several times in Oakland, and she also lectured on Molière at the University of California, Berkeley.⁶⁴ In the fall of 1944, after the liberation of Paris but before the end of the war, she participated in a panel discussion on the radio about writers and artists of the French Resistance.⁶⁵ That same year, two records she made—possibly recordings of French poetry—were sold to raise money for American Relief for France.⁶⁶ In contrast to her poetry readings and radio work in Paris before the war, where she had moved in the same social circles as many of the contemporary poets whose work she promoted, she now tasked herself with the political mission of introducing Americans to the literature of her homeland. Before returning to France in 1947, she was made a *Chevalière* of the Légion d’Honneur in recognition of her wartime work, as well as for “her

⁶² These lectures took place at “the Wildwood School Mothers’ Club,” “the annual education dinner sponsored by the School of Education at Mills College,” and a meeting of “the 28th District, California Congress of Parents and Teachers.” “Mme. Milhaud to Address Mothers,” *Oakland Tribune*, 21 February 1941; “Many Guests Bidden to Dinner at Mills,” *Oakland Tribune*, 14 March 1941; “Actress to Give Address,” *Oakland Tribune*, 2 November 1941. See Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 90.

⁶³ Buffer Yates, “Mme. Milhaud of Mills Wears Honors Modestly,” *Oakland Tribune*, 8 February 1947.

⁶⁴ Darius Milhaud to Hélène Hoppenot, 26 October 1940, C-Hoppenot, 190. In Oakland, the Milhauds were assisted in their “Music and Poetry” lecture-recitals by the Québécois pianist Jean Leduc, who would soon marry the daughter of Robert and Germaine Schmitz. For the text of the lecture-recital as performed in Lisbon, see Pierre Cortot, “Darius Milhaud et les poètes” (PhD diss., Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2003), 959–72.

⁶⁵ Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, 9 October 1944, C-Hoppenot, 281.

⁶⁶ In December 1944, Darius Milhaud wrote to Hélène Hoppenot, “For Christmas, I am sending you two records that Mady made, which are sold for the Am. Rel. For France” (“Je vous envoie pour Noël deux disques que Mady a faits et qui sont vendus pour l’Am.{erican} Rel.{ief} For France”); C-Hoppenot, 284. I have found no other information about these records.

hospitality to visiting French artists and government officials and her efforts toward a better understanding between the French people and Americans.”⁶⁷

Most of these lectures have left little or no archival trace, but one typewritten document at Mills College appears to be a draft of one of Madeleine Milhaud’s other lectures, written around 1943. Titled “France is a Person,” the English-language text provides insight both into her mindset during exile and into the ways in which she aimed to interest those around her in the fight for France.⁶⁸ The typescript is labeled “Extracts,” which may indicate that it represents part of a larger essay, whether written or only planned. She began by describing her experience of separation from her invaded homeland:

We are, through our love, amongst the people of France who are suffering, and, daytime or nighttime the continuity of our thoughts is broken up by their sufferings.

Full of anguish we lean over the genuine presence of our mother-land and its wounds. We contemplate her, such as we are in her, with her mortified soul; we live, in mind, by the side of her children who are fighting, remaining silent and hoping.

So far away from our country, we prick up our ears at the slightest whisper which reaches us; out of the silence of distress and waiting, a few beautifully pure voices arise; at times they travel through space and come to us, here. It might be an article by Mauriac, a few lines by Valéry or Vildrac, a single page by André Gide, a poem by Claudel or some plays.⁶⁹

Like her husband, Madeleine Milhaud celebrated the persistence of French cultural activity in occupied Paris, naming the same Poulenc and Sauguet works that he discussed in an article for *Pour la Victoire* (see chapter 1) and adding the example of poetry.

Letters, for the past three years have kept us up to date on musical events such as a new Ballet by Poulenc on La Fontaine Fables, an opera-comique by Sauguet, the libretto of

⁶⁷ Lois Thomas, “Darius and Madeleine Milhaud Share Highest French Honors,” *San Francisco News*, 10 February 1947. See also “Madam Milhaud Awarded French Cross for Work,” *Hayward Daily Review*, 7 February 1947; Buffer Yates, “Mme. Milhaud of Mills Wears Honors Modestly,” *Oakland Tribune*, 8 February 1947; “For Services to Her Native France, Mme. Milhaud Receives Highest Honor,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 February 1947; “Mills Lecturer is Honored by France,” *Berkeley Gazette*, 12 February 1947.

⁶⁸ The title echoes the nineteenth-century historian Jules Michelet: “L’Angleterre est un empire, l’Allemagne un pays, une race; la France est une personne.”

⁶⁹ Madeleine Milhaud, “France is a Person (Extracts),” unpublished typescript, c. 1943 (Mills-DM, 12.1.2), 1.

which was taken from a play by Sedaine; other letters tell us about young people's theatre companies putting on plays in villages; and, other letters yet, telling us about the heroic courage of relatives and friends sacrificing themselves ceaselessly, at the peril of their lives, in order to fight cruelty and injustice. We also hear of society women who are not satisfied with giving hospitality to some thirty artists now little in favor, but who also order compositions from them which are performed in their "Salon."

One must mention too, those Litterary Magazines which are so extraordinary, that it is difficult to realize that the articles they include have been written during the past three years. Poetry is everywhere: young poets sing in spite of hunger, danger, grief and misery; their song is that of their burdened soul, a song of love, liberty and happiness. No politics in these magazines for they would have been swiftly done away with but under the sign of poetry, they succeed in rendering homage to the enemies of our enemies.⁷⁰

On the subject of poetry, she mentioned the ongoing work of the poet Joë Bousquet—who, paralyzed in World War I, became a symbol of survival in the face of German aggression—along with politically-motivated translations of "Chinese poems, of to-day's China which is fighting for us and with us" and of the work of the executed Spanish writer Federico García Lorca.

The lecture then turns to Madeleine Milhaud's own memories of Paris, giving a picture of the city environment that was under threat:

France, as you know, absent or present is always alive in the heart of Frenchmen. I, who was born in Paris, have never crossed the Place de la Concorde without admiring it. And I must admit, that in the last few years, I used to pray God that nothing should come and destroy the remarkable ordonnance of its buildings. I did not admire the Place de la Concorde alone but all the narrow streets of our city, the fragrance of the chestnut trees in spring, the birds, the gardens and the squares in summer, the boulevards all year round.⁷¹

The typescript ends with a series of images from her childhood: "the quais, the old booksellers, responsible for many minutes lost . . . the Luxembourg, the students and the cafes, as different as the quarters of Paris themselves . . . the 14th of July when exhaustion alone would stop the dancing in the streets . . . And this is just a small glimpse of what my memory, magician of my heart, lets me evoke."⁷² Both she and her husband expressed nostalgia for France in their letters

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 2.

⁷² Ibid., 2–3.

to friends, but it was only Madeleine Milhaud who explicitly articulated this nostalgia as part of her public role as a French citizen in exile.⁷³

The program of a 1943 recital given in San Francisco by Madeleine Milhaud and the pianist Janet Graham offers another window on her attempts to evoke sympathy for France in her American audiences. She opened the recital with Walt Whitman's "France, The 18th Year of These States," selections from the poems of Paul Verlaine, and Stephen Vincent Benét's "Litany for Dictatorships," all politically significant choices.⁷⁴ The Whitman poem, first published in the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, "pairs the French Reign of Terror with the impending crisis of the Civil War," envisioning the emergence of democracy from violent conflict.⁷⁵ Heard in the voice of an exiled French woman in 1943, it would have more strongly evoked her homeland's current crisis than the French Revolution, with the final lines looking ahead to liberation:

And I send these words to Paris, with my love,
And I guess some chansonniers there will understand them,
For I guess there is latent music yet in France—floods of it,
O I hear already the bustle of instruments—they will soon be drowning all that would
interrupt them,
O I think the east wind brings a triumphal and free march,
It reaches hither—it swells me to joyful madness,
I will run transpose it in words, to justify it,
I will yet sing a song for you, ma femme.⁷⁶

⁷³ On nostalgia as part of a range of possible emotional responses to exile, see Eva Hoffman, "The New Nomads," in *Letters of Transit: Reflections on Exile, Identity, Language, and Loss*, ed. André Aciman (New York: The New Press, 1999), 39–63.

⁷⁴ "The Alumnae Association of Mills College and the Mills Club of San Francisco present Janet Graham, Pianist, in collaboration with Madeleine Milhaud, Diseuse," recital program, 13 May 1943, Mills-DM, 2.1.3. The program alternated groups of poems with groups of piano pieces; there is no indication that the poetry readings were accompanied in any way. The second set of readings consisted of selections from Julien Green's English translation of Charles Péguy's Catholic poetry, Paul Claudel's "Pan et Syrinx" (which Darius Milhaud had set as a cantata in 1934), and the Heiligenstadt Testament of Ludwig van Beethoven. Graham performed works by Vivaldi, Debussy, Brahms, Beethoven, and Chopin.

⁷⁵ Betsy Erkkilä, "'To Paris with my Love': Whitman Among the French Revisited," *Revue française d'études américaines* no. 108 (May 2006): 15.

⁷⁶ Walt Whitman, "France, The 18th Year of These States," in *Leaves of Grass* (Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860), 407.

The program does not name the Verlaine poems she recited, but she likely delivered them in French, following Whitman's love letter to Paris with the sounds of her native language. With Benét's "Litany for Dictatorships," she confronted her audience with the brutal reality of twentieth-century fascism in the words of a poet who had died just two months before the recital. The long poem, written in 1935, enumerates the myriad victims of fascism—"the Jew with his chest crushed in and his eyes dying, the revolutionist lynched by the private guards . . . the women who mourn their dead in the secret night." The fifth stanza includes "those escaping incredibly into exile and wandering there" among these victims.⁷⁷

By this time, Madeleine Milhaud was well aware that her family, whom she was all but unable to contact, was in great danger. As communication channels with Europe re-opened in the following year, she and her husband began to receive information about the fates of their relatives. In the spring of 1944, she learned of the deportation of her brother Etienne's oldest son, Jean Milhaud; her brother, his wife, and their younger son were also arrested, but escaped before being deported. Her mother also survived the occupation, having gone into hiding in the mountains with several members of the Milhaud side of the family.⁷⁸

During the period between the liberation of Paris in 1944 and the Milhauds' return three years later, Madeleine Milhaud struggled with the question of when to make the journey back to France. As I discussed in chapter 2, it seems that the Milhauds never seriously considered the option of remaining in the United States permanently—there were too many factors drawing them back home, both personal and professional—but Darius Milhaud's health presented a serious complication. As they knew from friends in France, life in Paris after the liberation

⁷⁷ Stephen Vincent Benét, "Litany for Dictatorships," in *The Devil and Daniel Webster and Other Writings*, ed. Townsend Ludington (New York: Penguin, 1999), 361–62.

⁷⁸ Darius Milhaud to Alexandre Tansman, [1944], PSS-DM. See chapter 2.

involved too much material hardship for the chronically ill composer. In letters to her closest confidantes, Madeleine Milhaud confessed her worries and uncertainty, weighing the reasons to return against the need for caution—her husband’s reputation and career on the one hand, and his physical condition on the other. Early in 1945, she wrote to H el ene Hoppenot:

His condition is a serious handicap for a return to France, because he would not be able to tolerate houses without heat—and would be forced to stay immobilized at home, because he cannot walk. And the Californian climate, always the same, and the heating switch that allows us to maintain an ideal temperature in the house have not particularly toughened him up. On the other hand:

France, what it represents for us

What Milhaud represents for the French

Daniel and, as I am a miserable businesswoman, the situation in Aix to sort out.

So that is where we are, my dear, and as always in these cases, I think, I hope that my Providence will make me wise enough to make a reasonable decision when the moment comes.⁷⁹

Several months later, she expressed similar concerns in a letter to her cousin Gabrielle L eon, also mentioning the death of her nephew:

Milhaud’s health is better—but you know, I am not unaware that “this ‘better’ is temporary.” The death of our little Jean distresses me; this child marked by fate since his birth was particularly dear to me. And now Daniel is the oldest of the Milhaud children—a lovable, good, very direct, intelligent person, who has remained very French even though he was raised among Americans. But I do not know how he will adapt in France.

As for me, my dear, I will not act for myself, but will obey Milhaud’s wishes a little. After his last illness, I thought that he must be brought back to France no matter the cost; exile is hard sometimes, and solitude adds to the misfortune. He has his friends in France (this letter is for you alone, my dear, because I do not want to share my anxieties so openly with just anyone). On the other hand, it pains me to tear Milhaud away from a comfortable existence that may allow him to remain stable. You see the problem clearly, right?⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Madeleine Milhaud to H el ene Hoppenot, [early 1945], C-Hoppenot, 292: “Son  etat est un s erieux handicap pour un retour en France car il ne supporterait pas les maisons sans feu—et serait contraint de rester immobilis e chez lui puisqu’il ne peut pas marcher. Et le climat californien toujours  egal, le bouton de chauffage qui permet de maintenir une temp erature id eale dans la maison, ne l’ont pas particuli erement aguerri. D’un autre c ot e:

La France, Ce qu’elle repr esente pour nous

Ce que Milhaud repr esente pour les Fran ais

Daniel et puis, puisque je suis une sordide femme d’affaires, la situation aixoise  a d ebrouiller.

Voil a ch erie o u nous en sommes et comme toujours en ces cas-l a, je pense, j’esp ere que ma Providence me rendra assez sage pour prendre une d ecision raisonnable le moment venu.”

⁸⁰ Madeleine Milhaud to Gabrielle L eon, 22 September [1945], quoted in Cortot, “Darius Milhaud et les po etes,” 782: “La sant e de Milhaud est meilleure—mais tu sais, je n’ignore pas que “ce mieux est provisoire.” La mort de

In both of these letters, Madeleine Milhaud's own life and well-being seem hardly to matter in her decision process. I have not seen any letters from this period in which she discussed her plans for what she intended to do in Paris—beyond the work involved in reestablishing her and her family's lives there—or her own reasons for wanting to return, aside from the general desire to see France again. There is little indication of what drew her as an individual to Paris or to Oakland; her expressed concern is chiefly for her husband. Yet over the past seven years, she, like Darius, not only had suffered loss and the interruption of a promising career, but also had built up new projects and relationships in California.

Professional Activity

Although Madeleine Milhaud's seven years of exile were marked by stress, isolation, and loss of autonomy, it was also during that period that she began to develop a multifaceted professional life in the United States that would continue through the next two decades of transatlantic travel. Her pre-war career on the stage was over: she felt that her French accent and heavy personal obligations made acting unfeasible in the United States, and in both countries after the war, she prioritized her husband's personal and professional needs over an independent public career.⁸¹ However, beginning in the exile years, she channeled her interest in drama and literature into a variety of other activities, including teaching, directing, and performing. Most of this work took place alongside Darius Milhaud's own teaching positions at Mills College, the Music Academy

notre petit Jean me désole, ce petit marqué par le destin depuis sa naissance m'était particulièrement cher. Voilà Daniel l'aîné des Milhaud—un être attachant, bon, très direct, intelligent, qui est resté très français bien qu'il ait été élevé avec des Américains. Mais j'ignore comment il s'adaptera en France. Quant à moi, ma chérie, je n'agirai pas pour moi mais obéirai un peu aux désirs de Milhaud. Après sa dernière maladie, j'ai pensé qu'il fallait le ramener en France coûte que coûte, l'exil est dur parfois et la solitude pèse dans le malheur. Il a ses amis en France (cette lettre est pour toi seule ma chérie, car je n'ai pas fait partager mes angoisses aussi clairement à qui que ce soit). D'autre part, il m'est pénible d'arracher Milhaud à une existence confortable qui lui permet peut-être de se maintenir. Tu vois clairement le problème n'est-ce pas?"

⁸¹ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 89.

of the West, and the Aspen Music Festival; since she needed to accompany him in his travels, it made sense for her to have her own work to do in each location. But it was in these places that she could be more than “the wife of the composer,” with her own students, pedagogical concerns, and performances.

At Mills College, Madeleine Milhaud quickly became part of the campus community not just as the wife of a prominent new professor—though she did host her share of receptions—but also as someone with her own talents to contribute. In November 1940, she took part in the college’s “Faculty Follies,” a variety show to raise money for alumnae doing relief work in China, which the *Oakland Tribune* reported as “her first appearance on the English-speaking stage.”⁸² The fact that such a performance was thought to merit a mention in the newspaper perhaps reflects the efforts of the Mills College press office to publicize her presence at the school.⁸³ She was identified primarily as an actress in the first *Oakland Tribune* articles about Darius Milhaud’s activities in the Bay Area; two such articles gave her several labels by describing her as “his librettist wife, Madeline [*sic*], Parisian stage and radio actress.”⁸⁴ Although she was not a major focus of the press attention directed at her husband, her former profession lent additional prestige to the family—especially when modified by the adjective “Parisian”—and thereby to their new place of residence.

Madeleine Milhaud’s first opportunity to work with students at Mills came during the 1941 Summer Session, when she began her long involvement with the Maison Française, the summer program’s French-language house. She and her husband presented their “music and

⁸² “Mme. Milhaud To Act at Mills: French Actress Will Take Part In ‘Faculty Follies,’” *Oakland Tribune*, 30 October 1940. The article misreports her name as “Marguerite Milhaud.”

⁸³ On the Bay Area press and the Milhauds’ status in the region, see chapter 4.

⁸⁴ “French Composer to Teach at Mills,” *Oakland Tribune*, 27 August 1940; Suzette, “Milhaud is Honored at Dinner Here: Famous French Composer, Wife Guests of Honor,” *Oakland Tribune*, 9 September 1940.

poetry” lecture-recital in French on 22 July, and she directed a group of students in a French play—the first of many—that was performed on 5 August.⁸⁵ In a letter to H  l  ne Hoppenot, she wrote that while the environment of the Maison Fran  aise could not completely alleviate the miseries of exile, the increased presence of French people and culture was a welcome change:

The Summer Session permits us to live among French people and with Maurois, who has proven to be a fantastic lecturer—*human*—fair—moderate—He represents our country admirably, and the students like him very much. The Maison Fran  aise has a lot of students in spite of the situation—Milhaud does music classes—the Budapest Quartet plays twice a week. We are privileged, as you see, and despite that, *nothing* could make us truly happy...⁸⁶

The following summer, she wrote to Kurt Weill: “It is extremely strange to reimmerse oneself in an atmosphere of one’s country for six weeks. To fight to maintain one’s language, one’s literature—and to succeed.”⁸⁷ Teaching had become a key part of her strategy for getting Americans to care about the fate of France, as she later explained to Florence L  vi: “It is very simple: when you arrive in a country like America . . . what you do is try to make France as likeable as possible to the Americans. Milhaud only had to be Milhaud; me, I had poetry and theatre. Therefore, I taught both of them, and that worked. It enchants them a little.”⁸⁸ Yet it was not only political concerns that drew her to teaching, as she described in an undated document in the Mills College archives:

⁸⁵ Newman, “Making Music at Mills College,” 235.

⁸⁶ Madeleine Milhaud to H  l  ne Hoppenot, 17 July 1941, C-Hoppenot, 204: “La session d’  t   nous permet de vivre entre Fran  ais et avec Maurois qui s’est r  v  l   un   tonnant conf  rencier—*humain*—juste—mod  r  —Il repr  sente admirablement notre pays et les   tudiants l’aiment beaucoup. La Maison fran  aise du Coll  ge a beaucoup d’  tudiants malgr   la situation—Milhaud fait des cours de musique—Le Quatuor de Budapest joue deux fois par semaine. Nous sommes comme vous voyez favoris  s et malgr   cela *rien* ne pourrait nous rendre vraiment heureux...”

⁸⁷ Madeleine Milhaud to Kurt Weill, 17 August 1942, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, MSS 30, Box 49, Folder 47: “Il est extr  mement curieux de se retremper pendant 6 semaines dans une atmosph  re de son pays. Lutter afin de maintenir sa langue, sa litt  rature—Et y parvenir.”

⁸⁸ Madeleine Milhaud, “Souvenirs intimes,” 121: “c’est tr  s facile: lorsque tu arrives dans un pays comme l’Am  rique . . . ce que tu fais, c’est essayer de rendre le plus possible la France sympathique aux Am  ricains. Milhaud n’avait qu’     tre Milhaud, moi, j’avais la po  sie et le th   tre. Donc, j’enseignais l’un et l’autre, et   a marchait.   a les envo  te un peu.”

I taught dramatic art for five years at the Schola Cantorum of Paris and at the same time conducted at my home a private preparatory course for the theatre and cinema. In this latter work I was dealing not only with young French people but those of numerous European nationalities whose diversity of culture and thought, of tendencies in interpretation created for each an individual problem. For this reason when I was called to give a course at “La Maison Française” of Mills College, I was struck by the unity represented in the young Americans. They have an extreme rapidity of comprehension. In my course of phonetics and that of Dramatic Art I was able, solely by the study and comparison of equivalent sounds to correct rapidly the principal faults in accent. I was also able during the rehearsals of the play that I directed to observe how completely one could succeed in obtaining from these young interpreters a homogeneity in their acting without rushing to weaken their qualities of natural expression and fantasy. It is this extreme malleability which I appreciate and esteem above all.⁸⁹

In the 1941–42 academic year, Madeleine Milhaud taught a weekly evening course in “French fluency” through the Mills College extension program for members of the community.⁹⁰ She incorporated her interest in poetry and drama into this teaching, and even her beginning students took part in French-language performances. In May 1942, for instance, she organized a poetry reading by her students at her Faculty Village home, to which she invited the French faculty and President Aurelia Henry Reinhardt.⁹¹ She also directed her students in a production of Molière’s *Le Mariage forcé*, which they performed both on campus and at André Ferrier’s Théâtre d’Art in San Francisco, then the only French theatre in the city.⁹² Her work with the Maison Française continued in subsequent summers, where she was faced with political differences among the French faculty and the challenge of finding respected and noncontroversial visiting lecturers. In the midst of preparations for the 1943 Summer Session, she wrote to Henri Hoppenot:

⁸⁹ Madeleine Milhaud, untitled and undated typescript, Mills-DM, 1.1.1.

⁹⁰ “Course in French Fluency at Mills,” *Oakland Tribune*, 29 September 1941. For a full list of extension classes in the Spring 1942 semester, see “Spanish Courses at Mills College,” *Oakland Tribune*, 23 January 1942.

⁹¹ Madeleine Milhaud to Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, [May 1942], Mills-DM, 3.2.15.

⁹² *Ibid.*; see also Darius Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, 22 May 1942, C-Hoppenot, 215. On André Ferrier and the Théâtre d’Art, see Lawrence Estavan, *The French Theater in San Francisco; The German Theater in San Francisco* (San Francisco: Works Progress Administration, 1939), 69–103, <https://archive.org/details/sanfranciscothea19389sanf> (accessed 6 May 2015).

The departure of Maurois, the refusal of Maritain, and the financial difficulties are making the development of our Maison Française program very difficult. And we open in two weeks. Could you respond to me by return mail if a lecturer—known to you and respected—might be in our region in July and August. A lecturer—with a broad enough mind and without political blinders—because disagreements are so contrary to the interest of our country, and we have succeeded the two previous years with Mlle. Réau, rabid Petainist—a nice pair of ardent Gaullists, Maurois, and us, in maintaining a perfect harmony that was constructive and solely on the cultural level.⁹³

At this time, Madeleine Milhaud was particularly concerned about maintaining the reputation of the Maison Française in competition with the Casa Panamericana, the new Spanish and Portuguese language house at Mills, which received much of its funding from the federal government through Nelson Rockefeller's Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.⁹⁴ She worried that if the widespread enthusiasm for Pan-American cultural exchange were to draw a significant number of people away from the study of French, it would become more difficult to carry out her goal of using the language and culture of her homeland to raise awareness of the country's plight among American students. At the same time, however, the Milhauds aimed to use the appeal of Pan-Americanism and the college's connection with Rockefeller to convince an opera company to stage *Bolivar*, and Darius Milhaud participated in the Casa Panamericana by giving lectures on Brazilian and Latin American music.⁹⁵

⁹³ Madeleine Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, June 1943, C-Hoppenot, 233: "Le départ de Maurois, le refus de Maritain, les difficultés financières, rendent l'élaboration de notre programme de la Maison Française très difficile. Et nous ouvrons dans quinze jours. Pourriez-vous me répondre par retour de courrier—si un conférencier—de vous connu et estimé serait dans notre région entre juillet et août. Un conférencier—dont l'esprit serait assez large et sans œillères politiques—car les dissensions sont tellement contraires à l'intérêt de notre pays et nous avons réussi les deux années précédentes avec Mlle Réau pétainiste enragée—une Belle paire de gaullistes ardents, Maurois et nous, à maintenir une parfaite harmonie constructive et uniquement sur le plan de la culture." Cécile Réau, whom Madeleine Milhaud identifies here as a "pétainiste enragée," was a long-time member of the Mills College French faculty and, at this time, the head of the Maison Française. I have found no information about why Jacques Maritain did not accept the invitation. The Maison Française was unable to find a replacement for André Maurois, who had gone to Algeria, but Illan de Casa Fuerte, a guest of the Casa Panamericana, gave several lectures on French topics. Darius Milhaud to Elsie Rieti, [July 1943], PSS-DM.

⁹⁴ George Hedley, *Aurelia Henry Reinhardt: Portrait of a Whole Woman* (Oakland: Mills College, 1961), 105.

⁹⁵ Aurelia Henry Reinhardt wrote a letter to Rockefeller on Milhaud's behalf in December 1942, asking him to meet with the composer to discuss *Bolivar*, "something of Pan American interest and value"; Mills-DM, 3.1.8. I have not found any evidence that this meeting occurred. In the summer of 1943, Milhaud made three presentations for the

Despite this competing program, the Maison Française found continued success for the next several years. In 1944, the featured guests were Julien Green, who had sailed from Lisbon to New York on the same ship as the Milhauds four years earlier, and Maurice Coindreau, a professor at Princeton University since 1922.⁹⁶ Beginning in 1945, with France newly liberated, the Maison Française was no longer limited to visiting scholars who were already in the United States. After five years of separation, both the French visitors and the Mills College community found meaning in these encounters. Darius Milhaud wrote in *Notes sans musique* that Georges Magnane, a guest in 1945, “was the first to speak to us of the poets of the Resistance and of existentialism,” making it possible once again for the Mills students—and the Milhauds—to become familiar with new intellectual developments in France.⁹⁷

The 1945 Summer Session began shortly after the conclusion of the two-month United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco, which brought a number of French people to the Bay Area. Darius Milhaud wrote to Henri Hoppenot, whose daughter Violaine was serving as an interpreter at the conference after spending several years engaged in Resistance work in France, “Our monotonous little life has changed greatly, and what a breath of fresh air all of these visitors bring us.”⁹⁸ For Madeleine Milhaud, this event was especially invigorating, and she worked with the Maison Française to provide hospitality and entertainment to the French delegates.⁹⁹ In the summer of 1946, the college invited the poet Claude Roy, who

Casa Panamericana, listed on the schedule as “Lecture and Demonstration of Brazilian Music,” “Lecture and Demonstration of Latin-American Music,” and “Music of Brazil; The Opera ‘Bolivar.’” Newman, “Making Music at Mills College,” 239–40. On music and Pan-Americanism, see Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁹⁶ “Mills Plans for Summer Study,” *Oakland Tribune*, 29 June 1944.

⁹⁷ MVH, 235: “Georges Magnane fut le premier à nous parler des poètes de la Résistance et de l’existentialisme.”

⁹⁸ Darius Milhaud to Henri Hoppenot, 23 May 1945, C-Hoppenot, 301: “Notre petite vie monotone est bien changée et quelle bouffée d’air frais nous apportent tous ces visiteurs.”

⁹⁹ “Al Fresco Play For Delegates,” *Oakland Tribune*, 13 May 1945.

became a lifelong friend of the Milhauds. Another guest was Rosine Bernheim, a member of the French Resistance who had survived the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Twenty-two years old, she traveled from France to California for the Summer Session before beginning graduate studies at Harvard University. In a 2001 interview, Bernheim recalled the impact of her time at Mills on her readjustment to society after the trauma of war and imprisonment:

Welcomed to Mills College by the musician and composer Darius Milhaud and his wife Madeleine . . . I had the role of “contributing to the atmosphere”: demonstrate good manners, speak French with the beautiful and classy American girls, entirely out of step with my recent past. Over the course of that summer, with the Milhauds, I discovered chamber music, the concerts of the Budapest Quartet, and painting as well: a tremendous step for a return to life. . . . Barely a year after leaving Ravensbrück, I was experiencing an immense feeling of freedom, and I found myself immersed in a wonderful musical and intellectual environment, thanks to which I rediscovered the joy of living, of a light, merry, and carefree life.¹⁰⁰

During the war, the impossibility of travel between France and the United States had drawn people to the Maison Française and to similar programs across the country. Both for students and for exiled artists and scholars, the opportunity to live in a French-speaking environment was a valuable one. As the above quotation from Rosine Bernheim attests, the Maison Française also became a site for renewed cultural contact in the period immediately following the liberation of France. But in the following years, when most French intellectuals returned home and American students could once again study abroad, domestic language programs became a less enticing option, and the Maison Française soon faced rising operational

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in Brigitte Couzinet, “Rosine Crémieux: une ancienne à l’itinéraire bien particulier,” *Contacts sans frontière*, July–August–September 2001, reproduced at <http://www.ourstory.info/3/FF/d/Rosine.html> (accessed 21 May 2015): “Accueillie au Mills College par le musicien compositeur Darius Milhaud et son épouse Madeleine . . . j’avais pour rôle de ‘contribuer à l’atmosphère’: montrer les bonnes manières, parler français aux belles jeunes filles américaines ‘chics et pimpantes’, en total décalage avec mon passé récent. Au cours de cet été, avec les Milhaud, j’ai découvert la musique de chambre, les concerts du ‘Quatuor de Budapest’, la peinture aussi: un formidable pas pour un retour à la vie. . . . A peine un an après avoir quitté Ravensbruck, j’éprouvais un sentiment immense de liberté et me trouvais immergée dans un milieu musical et intellectuel merveilleux grâce auquel j’ai retrouvé la joie de vivre, une vie légère, gaie, facile.” See MVH, 235.

costs and declining enrollment.¹⁰¹ After Madeleine Milhaud became the chair of the Maison Française in 1949, she argued that money should be redirected from bringing in visiting “stars” to improving pay for the regular faculty, as the expensive guest lecturers were often unknown outside France anyway.¹⁰² But the 1952 Summer Session would be the last for the Maison Française, and the entire Summer Session program ended in 1957. Still, the Maison Française outlived the Casa Panamericana, which lasted only until 1949; a report following the 1948 Summer Session stated that “the romantic public interest in Latin America which once was its strength now has faded to the point of being its factor of greatest vulnerability.”¹⁰³

By the time the Maison Française closed its doors, Madeleine Milhaud had also become a lecturer on the French faculty, a rank she held until she reached the mandatory retirement age of 65 in 1967. After teaching part-time in 1945–46, she assumed a full course load—three classes per semester—at the last minute to fill in for someone who had declined an offer to join the faculty.¹⁰⁴ Between 1948 and 1953, she taught full-time during her alternate years in Oakland, but after her husband’s salary increased substantially as part of the arrangement to keep him from leaving for Berkeley, she returned to a half schedule, with a corresponding pay cut. At the time of her retirement in 1967, her salary was \$4,400, less than a third of what her husband—who had received special permission to stay on the faculty after the age of 65—made in the same year.¹⁰⁵ She was one of only a few faculty members at the college with the rank of Lecturer,

¹⁰¹ Newman, “Making Music at Mills College,” 25–29. On study-abroad programs between the United States and France, see Whitney Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad: France and the United States, 1890–1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

¹⁰² Editorial note in C-Hoppenot, 402–03.

¹⁰³ Quoted in Newman, “Making Music at Mills College,” 94.

¹⁰⁴ Dominic Rotunda to Lynn White, 26 September 1946, Mills-DM, 12.1.3.

¹⁰⁵ C. Easton Rothwell to Madeleine Milhaud, 8 April 1966, Mills-DM, 12.1.3; C. Easton Rothwell to Darius Milhaud, 7 April 1966, Mills-DM, 3.1.9. Darius Milhaud’s salary as Composer-in-Residence for 1966–67 was \$15,000.

which placed her at the bottom of the academic hierarchy. This status may reflect her position as the wife of a much more prominent professor, the fluctuations in her course load to suit the needs of the department, or her lack of formal academic qualifications. Although the majority of the French faculty consisted of women without doctoral degrees, she was the only one without any post-secondary education. However, her previous experience teaching at the Schola Cantorum and acting in Paris carried its own prestige, and by the time she joined the faculty, she had already proven herself at Mills through the Summer Session and her courses for members of the community.

When Madeleine Milhaud first joined the faculty, she taught only Elementary French and an intermediate conversation course. Shortly before the Milhaud family's first trip back to Paris in 1947, Lynn White wrote to her: "I have discussed with a number of persons the possibilities of improving and enlivening your teaching schedule and likewise have examined the budget to see what improvement in salary is possible." Cécile Réau, who was about to retire from the French faculty, had suggested to White that Madeleine Milhaud develop "a year's course in Drama and Poetry, focusing perhaps on the 19th and 20th centuries," which would align with the department's goal of changing the French curriculum from chronological to genre-oriented, something the Spanish program had recently implemented.¹⁰⁶ Madeleine Milhaud's "Modern Drama and Poetry" course, which she taught for almost two decades beginning in 1948, not only enabled her to teach in her area of expertise—in addition to her slate of grammar and conversation courses—but also involved staging French plays with her students on a regular basis. These plays were produced with limited means, as she later recalled: "I had no financial

¹⁰⁶ Lynn White to Madeleine Milhaud, 30 July 1947, Mills-DM, 3.2.20.

help so I dressed the students in pyjamas and assorted oddments—it’s difficult to describe. The pawn shop was most useful! Milhaud’s students of course provided the music.”¹⁰⁷

At the Aspen Music Festival, by contrast, Madeleine Milhaud was afforded the resources and creative agency to shape the opera program at what became one of the most prominent summer music schools in the country. The Milhauds joined the Aspen faculty in 1951, the third year of its existence, and Madeleine quickly became involved with the Opera Workshop as an acting teacher. Working primarily with singers, she taught courses titled “Opera Dialogues,” “Pantomime,” “Improvisation,” “Stage Department,” and “French Diction,” each meeting for ninety minutes per week.¹⁰⁸ “Stage Department” was the only one of her courses open to students outside the opera and voice programs. She occasionally also lectured on specific topics; for example, in 1953, she gave a master class on “*The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro* in relation to Beaumarchais’ play.”¹⁰⁹

Bruce Berger’s history of the Aspen Music Festival provides an intriguing picture of Madeleine Milhaud’s pedagogical approach:

Her coaching methods anticipated techniques later used by encounter groups and psychodrama, for she deliberately cast students in roles that contradicted their personalities . . . Milhaud also had students write imaginary letters while others guessed the recipients. . . . In retrospect Madeleine Milhaud found her teaching methods risky, particularly considering that she knew nothing of the students’ backgrounds and potential psychological problems, and later she felt lucky not to have provoked a calamity or a lawsuit.¹¹⁰

This strategy of counterintuitive casting was something she had developed in the 1930s as a professor at the Schola Cantorum. She later explained: “One can transform people through the

¹⁰⁷ CWMM, 65.

¹⁰⁸ This list combines information from the 1963 and 1968 course catalogs (Mills-DM, 2.5.13).

¹⁰⁹ “Program: Seventh Week: 1953 Aspen Festival,” Mills-DM, 2.5.13.

¹¹⁰ Bruce Berger, *Music in the Mountains: The First Fifty Years of the Aspen Music Festival* (Boulder: Johnson Books, 1999), 46.

theatre, if one chooses texts that are completely opposed to their manner of speaking, roles in which the character's personality is totally different from their own, for quite some time, 'in secret,' without telling the student, and then one fine day, you give them things that correspond to their nature."¹¹¹

In the 1960s, Madeleine Milhaud continued teaching these courses, and she also began directing students in productions of one-act operas and other short dramatic works.¹¹² Although she gave lessons in French diction to voice students, these productions were all done in English, which made them both easier to prepare and more accessible for the audience, especially as the operas she chose were mostly not well known. A 1968 interview in the *Denver Post* described the pedagogical satisfaction of directing these productions:

Mme. Milhaud enjoys teaching at the Aspen Music School and the students obviously are glad she's there. "It's such a human relationship to work with students," she observed. "They just jump and kiss me and are so thankful for what they are able to do. They understand a work like the operas must be done in common. I fight against prima donnas."

She said she now feels the school has a responsibility to show new works, and she likes the idea of one-act operas. "It's good to give the kids things they aren't used to singing," she said. "Then they have to fight a little harder, and fighting is part of life on every level."¹¹³

Of the sixteen works she staged between 1961 and 1969 (see Table 5.1), eleven were written in the twentieth century, each by Milhaud or a composer with whom he was personally acquainted. The five from before the twentieth century were by well-known composers, but were

¹¹¹ Madeleine Milhaud, "Souvenirs intimes," 121–22: "On peut transformer des êtres par le théâtre, si on choisit des textes qui sont complètement opposés à leur manière de parler, des rôles de personnages dont le caractère est totalement différent du leur, un certain temps, 'en secret' (!), sans le dire à l'élève, et puis un beau jour, on leur donne des choses qui correspondent à leur nature."

¹¹² Elemer Nagy, the head of the Opera Workshop, directed the longer productions.

¹¹³ Barbara Haddad, "Reference Books Guilty of Oversight Concerning Mme. Milhaud," *Denver Post*, 25 August 1968.

not widely performed. This combination of modern and little-known older works parallels the poetry she presented on French radio in the 1930s.¹¹⁴

Year	Productions
1961	Joseph Haydn, <i>Lo speziale</i> (as <i>The Apothecary</i> , 1768)
1962	Henri Sauguet, <i>La Contrebasse</i> (1930)
1963	Darius Milhaud, <i>Les Malheurs d'Orphée</i> (1925) Vittorio Rieti, <i>The Pet Shop</i> (1958)
1964	Gioachino Rossini, <i>La cambiale di matrimonio</i> (as <i>The Marriage Contract</i> , 1810)
1965	Igor Stravinsky, <i>L'Histoire du soldat</i> (1918) Igor Stravinsky, <i>Mavra</i> (1922)
1966	Darius Milhaud (based on Adam de la Halle), <i>Le Jeu de Robin et Marion</i> (1948) Jacques Offenbach, <i>Le mariage aux lanternes</i> (as <i>The Lantern Marriage</i> , 1857)
1967	Georges Bizet, <i>Le docteur Miracle</i> (1857) Humphrey Searle, <i>The Diary of a Madman</i> (1958) Ernst Toch, <i>Egon und Emilie (Edgar and Emily)</i> (1928)
1968	Hans Werner Henze, <i>Ein Landarzt</i> (as <i>The Country Doctor</i> , radio version 1951, stage version 1964) William Walton, <i>The Bear</i> (1967)
1969	Gaetano Donizetti, <i>Rita</i> (1841) Darius Milhaud, <i>Fiesta</i> (1958)

Table 5.1: One-act operas and other short works directed by Madeleine Milhaud at the Aspen Music Festival, 1961–69¹¹⁵

Although she taught drama at Mills and Aspen, Madeleine Milhaud's own activity as a performer after 1940 was limited to poetry readings and speaking roles in musical compositions, as an independent career in the theatre was no longer one of her priorities. Most of her musical performances were in works composed by her husband, the majority of which were written with her in mind. The composition she performed the most frequently was *Cantate de l'enfant et de la mère*, written in 1938 for piano, string quartet, and reciter.¹¹⁶ Because it was one of the few manuscripts Milhaud was able to take out of France, it was a staple of their wartime performance

¹¹⁴ Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 42; CWMM, 65.

¹¹⁵ This information is taken from Darius Milhaud's letters to Henri Sauguet, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (213, 234, 237, 247, 255, and 270), and from articles in Colorado newspapers.

¹¹⁶ The first performance took place in Brussels on 18 May 1938 with Madeleine Milhaud, the Pro Arte Quartet, and Paul Collaer. Madeleine Milhaud, *Catalogue des œuvres de Darius Milhaud* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982), 485.

activity, beginning in Lisbon.¹¹⁷ The first performance in the United States was in New York at a League of Composers concert in Milhaud's honor on 27 December 1940, with the Galimir String Quartet and the pianist Irma Jurist.¹¹⁸ The promotional material for the concert provided the following description of the *disease*:

Madeleine Milhaud, who began her theatrical career at the age of eight, rose to occupy one of the most distinguished places on the contemporary French stage. She has also participated in numerous concerts where recitation was required. Collaborating in more than one way with her husband Darius, Mme. Milhaud is also the author of the Libretto of Milhaud's most recent opera *Médée*, which was recently heard in Paris. Her recitations and interpretations of contemporary French poetry at the sessions and conferences of the Société de Poésie, were the highlights of the Parisian intellectual life.¹¹⁹

On the same East Coast trip, which followed their first semester at Mills, Madeleine Milhaud also contributed several poetry readings to a recital at the Chilton Club in Boston—part of a reception organized for the Milhauds by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge—in between music performed by the violinist Henri Temianka and the composer at the piano.¹²⁰

Another Milhaud work she performed in New York was *Les Choéphores*, the second part of his *L'Orestie* trilogy. Composed in 1915, it was obviously not originally intended for Madeleine Milhaud's voice, but it features the technique of rhythmically notated speech later used in *Cantate de l'enfant et de la mère*, combined with the innovative use of percussion that

¹¹⁷ MVH, 219.

¹¹⁸ The other works on the program were the String Quartet no. 9 (1935); the song cycle *Le Voyage d'été* (1940, world premiere), performed by Marcelle Denya and the composer; an excerpt from *Christophe Colomb* (1928), performed by Mordecai Bauman and the composer; and the piano suite *L'Album de Madame Bovary* (1934), performed by the composer. Concert program, 27 December 1940, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, League of Composers/ISCM Records, JPB 11-5, Box 9, Folder 2.

¹¹⁹ Advertisement for 27 December 1940 concert, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, League of Composers/ISCM Records, JPB 11-5, Box 9, Folder 2.

¹²⁰ Madeleine Milhaud to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, [December 1940], Library of Congress, Music Division, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, ML29, Box 69, Folder 41. I have not found information about the specific poems included in the recital, but the poets listed in this letter are Pierre de Ronsard, Jean de La Fontaine, Robinson Jeffers, Archibald MacLeish, T.S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens, Charles Baudelaire, Francis Jammes, and Charles Péguy.

was a hallmark of his early compositional output.¹²¹ Under the direction of Dimitri Mitropoulos, the New York Philharmonic performed the composition on 16 and 17 November 1950 with, as Darius Milhaud described, “Madeleine roaring in front of the chorus and the percussion orchestra.”¹²² In *Musical America*, critic Robert Sabin described her role as “comparable, to a degree, with Schönberg’s sprechstimme, except that it does not follow definite levels of pitch,” and wrote of her performance: “Mme. Milhaud spoke her role with amazing rhythmical precision and beautiful diction. Her voice was too light to come through clearly in many places but she conveyed the inflections even when her words were obscured by the sounds of the chorus and percussion instruments.”¹²³

Arranging for Madeleine Milhaud to participate in this performance involved several months of negotiations between Darius Milhaud and Bruno Zirato, the assistant manager of the Philharmonic. In April 1950, Zirato had his secretary ask Milhaud for information about the types of whistles required by the score; in his reply, the composer inquired whether the performance could be moved from November to December so that he could attend, and also asked, “Who are you going to have for the solo Recitante in the spoken chorus. This is very important, specially if it is in French.”¹²⁴ Zirato (or his secretary) wrote to Milhaud in May with information about the cast, saying that he was considering assigning Edwina Eustis, who would

¹²¹ See Pascal Lécroart, “Milhaud et l’expérimentation vocale: un innovateur malgré lui?,” in *Darius Milhaud: Compositeur et expérimentateur*, ed. Jacinthe Harbec and Marie-Noëlle Lavoie (Paris: J. Vrin, 2014), 17–35.

¹²² Darius Milhaud to Henri and Hélène Hoppenot, 2 November 1950, C-Hoppenot, 366: “avec Madeleine rugissant en tête des chœurs et de l’orchestre de percussion.”

¹²³ Robert Sabin, “Les Choéphores,” *Musical America* 70, no. 15 (15 December 1950), 7, 33.

¹²⁴ Louise Fry (“Secretary to Bruno Zirato”) to Darius Milhaud, 21 April 1950, and Darius Milhaud to Bruno Zirato, [c. May 1950], New York Philharmonic Leon Levy Digital Archives, folder “Modern and Special Works of Music, Music Rental, 1948–1955,” pp. 196–98, <http://archives.nyphil.org/index.php/artifact/3d022d93-090a-4dc4-9d6e-1ec5a88f1320> (accessed 9 May 2015). The rest of the letters quoted in this paragraph are from the same digital collection; numbers in parentheses indicate the page of the folder.

be performing the contralto solo, to the spoken part as well.¹²⁵ While stopping in New York on the way from Paris to California in early July, Milhaud met with Zirato, and this meeting apparently resulted in the decision to invite Madeleine Milhaud to perform the role. However, the Philharmonic could offer her only \$100, an amount Darius Milhaud deemed insufficient due to the cost of a second round-trip train ticket to New York. Additionally, since the concerts could not be moved to December, she would have to find—and pay—someone to cover her classes at Mills during her absence.¹²⁶ Milhaud suggested a fee of \$250, but settled for Zirato’s final offer of \$200, the same amount paid to the other soloists.¹²⁷ Once the issue of the fee was resolved, the composer made a final request: “For poster and programs please use the name as MADELEINE MILHAUD (and not Mrs. Darius Milhaud).”¹²⁸

Aside from her husband, the composer with whom Madeleine Milhaud was most closely associated as a performer was Igor Stravinsky. In the postwar years, she was one of Stravinsky’s trusted performers for the lead role in his *Perséphone*, and she named it her favorite work by another composer to recite.¹²⁹ She first performed it on 15 January 1947, in a late-night CBS radio broadcast conducted by the composer. The event came at the end of the Milhauds’ usual winter visit to New York, but Darius was unable to attend, as he had to return to Oakland to teach. Stravinsky supplemented Madeleine Milhaud’s fee from CBS with “a cheque out of his own pocket.”¹³⁰ On 23 April 1954, she reprised the role in Turin opposite the Welsh tenor

¹²⁵ Bruno Zirato to Darius Milhaud, 8 May 1950 (200).

¹²⁶ Louise Fry to Darius Milhaud, 7 July 1950 (205); Louise Fry to Darius Milhaud, 24 July 1950 (207); Darius Milhaud (in Madeleine Milhaud’s hand) to Bruno Zirato, 25 July 1950 (208/211).

¹²⁷ Darius Milhaud to Bruno Zirato, 2 August 1950 (210); Bruno Zirato to Darius Milhaud, 8 August 1950 (213).

¹²⁸ Darius Milhaud to Bruno Zirato, [August 1950] (214).

¹²⁹ CWMM, 30. For a detailed study of the origins of this work, see Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³⁰ CWMM, 29. In this interview, Madeleine Milhaud incorrectly identifies the network as NBC rather than CBS.

Richard Lewis. Stravinsky's first choice for this performance was the Argentinian writer Victoria Ocampo, who had done it in South America several times in the 1930s, but when the Perón regime barred her from obtaining a passport, she had to back out.¹³¹ Stravinsky wrote to Mario Labroca of Radio Italiana, directing him to contact Madeleine Milhaud immediately to invite her to perform. Stravinsky knew that the Milhauds already had plans to be in Italy at that time, so there would be no risk of travel complications; furthermore, he trusted her as a performer, having already directed her in the role, so she met his requirements for someone reliable and competent to replace Ocampo.¹³² At Aspen in 1966, she performed *Perséphone* again, two hours after a hand injury that required stitches; according to her husband's letter to Henri Sauguet, she still managed to give a strong performance.¹³³

Madeleine Milhaud also narrated two recordings of Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du soldat* in December 1966 for Vanguard Records, alongside Jean-Pierre Aumont as the soldier and Martial Singher as the devil. They recorded the work in both French and English, with the original release featuring both versions on the same LP. The actors recorded their parts without hearing the music, and Leopold Stokowski then conducted the musicians to a recording of the narration, "with the consequence that the coordination was totally artificial and indeed the tempos were quite wrong at times."¹³⁴ In the English recording, her command of the text is noticeably stronger than that of her co-performers, who were also French; she later recalled, "The English

¹³¹ Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: The Second Exile: France and America, 1934–1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 305.

¹³² Igor Stravinsky to Mario Labroca, 6 February 1954, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Igor Stravinsky Collection."For the tenor role, Stravinsky suggested either Richard Lewis or Peter Pears, both of whom had performed for him in other works.

¹³³ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 20 July 1966, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (254).

¹³⁴ CWMM, 30.

accent of my two partners was even worse than mine—and that gave me some courage!”¹³⁵ In French only, she recorded two oratorios by Arthur Honegger in Salt Lake City in 1964, also for Vanguard. She was the narrator in *Judith* (1925)—an extensive role—and in *Le roi David* (1921), she played the Witch of Endor, who appears in only one brief scene. Of the latter performance, she later gave the disclaimer: “It is not a role that suits me at all, but at that time there were very few French reciters in the USA.”¹³⁶

The world of concert narration in the United States at this time encompassed such popular works as Aaron Copland’s *Lincoln Portrait* (1942) and the Earl Robinson–John Latouche cantata *Ballad for Americans* (1939); *Genesis Suite*, the collaborative Biblical work to which Darius Milhaud contributed in 1945, also fits into this category, though it was less successful.¹³⁷ But the modernist French style of recitation, often involving precisely notated rhythms, was indeed a small subset of this broader realm; few performances required it, and few actors were trained to perform the roles to the satisfaction of such composers as Milhaud and Stravinsky.¹³⁸ Madeleine Milhaud’s most prominent colleagues in this area, Vera Zorina and Felicia Montealegre, were, like her, the foreign-born wives of influential male musicians, and their repertoires overlapped significantly. After divorcing the choreographer George Balanchine in 1946, Zorina—an actor and ballet dancer—married Goddard Lieberson, who worked for

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹³⁷ On Paul Robeson’s performances of *Ballad for Americans*, see Lisa Barg, “Paul Robeson’s *Ballad for Americans*: Race and the Cultural Politics of ‘People’s Music,’” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 2, no. 1 (2008): 27–70.

¹³⁸ Curiously, Madeleine Milhaud never performed Arnold Schoenberg’s *Pierrot lunaire*, perhaps in part because her husband had already grown tired of it by the time of their marriage, having conducted a number of performances in the early 1920s.

Columbia Records and became the president of the company in 1956.¹³⁹ Acquainted with Milhaud through Lieberson and with Stravinsky through Balanchine, Zorina performed and recorded speaking roles in works by both composers, the same roles that Madeleine Milhaud also performed around that time. Milhaud approved of Zorina as an interpreter of his music, and because she and Madeleine were usually on opposite coasts, they were not in competition with one another. Around 1956, he sent Zorina scores of *Cantate de l'enfant et de la mère* and *La Sagesse* in the hopes that she would perform them, and in 1961, she gave the spoken role in *Les Choéphores* with the New York Philharmonic under the direction of Leonard Bernstein.¹⁴⁰ Montealegre, Bernstein's wife, did not do any of Milhaud's or Stravinsky's works, but she and Zorina both took on a role Madeleine Milhaud never performed—that of Joan of Arc in Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher*—in concerts with the New York Philharmonic.¹⁴¹

Within a niche specialty dominated by the wives of prominent men, Madeleine Milhaud was able to continue performing without appearing to have a full-fledged independent career. As a teacher and director, too, she worked only in places where her husband also taught. On one level, this arrangement developed from a practical concern—as she explained in multiple interviews, Milhaud's health and physical disability made it too difficult for him to be separated from her for any length of time, which precluded a return to the stage. However, it also reflects her aim of ensuring that “wife of the composer” would remain her primary public identity in the United States.

¹³⁹ Born in Germany as Eva Brigitta Hartwig, she took the stage name “Vera Zorina” at the age of seventeen as a ballet dancer in London.

¹⁴⁰ Darius Milhaud to Goddard Lieberson [c. 1956], Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Goddard Lieberson Papers, MSS 69.

¹⁴¹ Zorina performed it in 1948 and 1967, and Montealegre in 1958. Madeleine Milhaud did portray Joan of Arc in works by several other composers, however.

The Composer's Wife

On 25 January 1959, Madeleine Milhaud was the subject of Kay Wahl's *Oakland Tribune* column, "She Also Cooks," which profiled prominent local women with a focus on their negotiation between public life and responsibilities in the home. Each installment of the column highlighted the subject's own views on the issue within a framework supporting Wahl's belief that women—i.e., middle- and upper-class white women—should cultivate their talents without neglecting domesticity.¹⁴² The profile of Madeleine Milhaud began:

Love should decide a woman's career.

To a Frenchwoman this fact hardly needs stating. And for Madeleine Milhaud, actress, authentic beauty, wife and mother, it is the rule of her life.

But though it has brought her a life of devotion to one of the great musical figures of our time, Darius Milhaud, greatest living French composer, it hasn't ruled out the use of her own talents.

"There is no question about it," she says, "women have to work—I am absolutely for the complete activity of every moment of the day and night. But a career should never interfere with her private life. And if you're in love—and you ought to be—your husband and home come first.

"If you decide to be an actress, your house can't come first. It's a serious and very personal thing, for a person to put on the scale and consider what is more valuable."

But no amount of devotion to her family, or association with a great figure like her husband, can extinguish the brilliance of Madeleine Milhaud's own personality and intellect.¹⁴³

This juxtaposition of public and private aligns with the way the *Oakland Tribune* had been covering the Milhauds for the previous two decades as international celebrities who were also part of the local community (see chapters 4 and 6), but the nature of the "She Also Cooks" column makes the gendered dimensions explicit. In accordance with Wahl's agenda, Madeleine Milhaud is depicted here as an engaging and multi-talented person in her own right, but one whose first priority was to support her husband, the "greatest living French composer."

¹⁴² Jessica Weiss, "She Also Cooks: Gender, Domesticity, and Public Life in Oakland, California, 1957–1959," in *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 211–26.

¹⁴³ Kay Wahl, "She Also Cooks..." *Oakland Tribune*, 25 January 1959.

Madeleine Milhaud participated in the construction of this image through her own words, characterizing her “life of devotion” as a choice, albeit the only responsible one for a woman in her position.

Wahl continued by recounting some of Madeleine Milhaud’s accomplishments and activities—her opera librettos, her work as a director, her status as a *Chevalière* of the Légion d’Honneur, her former career on the Parisian stage—before concluding with another picture of domesticity:

World figures and college students beat a path to the door of the Milhauds’ home in Faculty Village, where Mme. Milhaud is a hostess of cosmopolitan beauty and charm. And yet, with the domestic talents for which her countrywomen are famous, she is also a distinguished cook.

“I will give you a fish recipe,” she said in her expressively musical voice, and the simple sentence took on drama and importance. “Here people don’t eat fish enough. That is, they don’t like kinds of fish they don’t know. But these are kinds any housewife can find easily.”¹⁴⁴

The apparent contradictions in the image presented here—intriguingly cosmopolitan, yet reassuringly domestic; accomplished in her own right, yet ultimately devoted to her famous husband—are all part of the persona of the “composer’s wife” that Madeleine Milhaud developed in the United States. Tailored to the cultural environment of midcentury America and complementing Darius Milhaud’s own public image, this was an active and highly visible role that served multiple functions. Although its roots can be traced to the early 1940s, it was in the postwar years that her function as “wife of the composer” became both her primary public identity and a crucial part of her husband’s U.S. reception.

There is little archival evidence of Madeleine Milhaud’s attitude toward her position as a composer’s wife before 1940, and the narrative of her marriage that she crafted in later years

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. Every article in the “She Also Cooks” column concluded with a recipe from the subject.

leaves no room for the acknowledgment of discontent.¹⁴⁵ However, from the few traces that persist, it does seem that she struggled to some extent with being thought of primarily as Darius Milhaud's wife, and that her acting career did not provide enough of an independent identity in the public eye or in their social circles. Whatever the reasons for her affair with Kurt Weill in 1933–34, it was a relationship that could, unlike her marriage, exist solely in the realm of the personal, with no public obligations other than discretion. After Weill's departure for the United States, at a time when Milhaud was experiencing both increasing prominence as a composer and debilitating health problems, being Milhaud's wife may have seemed to be even more of a constraint than before. In a diary entry of March 1938, H  l  ne Hoppenot described a conversation she had with Madeleine Milhaud when they went to Weill's old apartment together to collect the papers he had not taken with him when he left France several years before: "Today, completely given over to her memories, away from Darius's presence, she understands better, and makes me understand better, her secret wound of only being 'the wife of the Maestro' for so many of her acquaintances. . . . She suffers from being unable to make her own personality known."¹⁴⁶ Hints of discontent are also apparent in Madeleine Milhaud's letters to Weill during her year in Aix-en-Provence, especially when she made reference to the gendered discrepancy between her situation and that of her husband (see chapter 1).

In the first years of exile, as I discussed above, housework occupied most of her time and energy, and her efforts to shape her public persona were focused on serving as an effective cultural representative for France. The intersection between these two concerns—domesticity

¹⁴⁵ In my archival research, I have not found any letters from Madeleine Milhaud dated earlier than 1938; although this obviously reflects the scope of my study rather than the full range of available documents, it is unlikely that earlier letters preserved in archives would contain much in the way of personal disclosures about her marriage.

¹⁴⁶ H  l  ne Hoppenot, diary entry, 14 March 1938, C-Hoppenot, 149–50: "aujourd'hui tout abandonn  e    ses souvenirs, hors de la pr  sence de Darius, elle comprend mieux et me fait mieux comprendre sa blessure secr  te de n'  tre pour le grand nombre de ses connaissances que 'La femme du Ma  tre'. . . . Elle souffre de ne pouvoir faire reconna  tre sa personnalit  ." Before this quotation, there is a redaction in the published text.

and Frenchness—is the central theme of an unsigned article draft from around 1942, one of the first extended profiles of her by a U.S. author.¹⁴⁷ In the second paragraph, following a description of “her vivid blond[e] beauty and her electric personality,” the author wrote: “Mme Milhaud has allowed neither her intellectual interests nor her career to interfere in the least with her all-important roles of wife, mother, and house-keeper. Like all French women, she considers it only natural that she should be expert at all the feminine arts and practice them even though it should not be required of her.” In a similar manner to the 1959 *Oakland Tribune* article discussed above, this statement highlights her accomplishments while positioning the role of “wife, mother, and house-keeper” as even more important than anything else she might do. Madeleine Milhaud is presented as someone who could have found professional success by choosing her career over her home life, but who became still more impressive and admirable by putting her many talents to the service of her husband and son.

By representing “French” domestic womanhood as a moral example for American women to follow, the article—perhaps intended for the women’s section of a Bay Area newspaper—aligned with Madeleine Milhaud’s wartime goal of promoting France through her personality and her everyday interactions with Americans. The rest of the paragraph discusses her purportedly genuine enthusiasm for cooking and cleaning, describing as “French” both her innate skill in the kitchen—“She is one of those who do not have to learn to cook”—and her avoidance of American “mechanical household devices for saving time.” The author even connected this activity to Madeleine Milhaud’s health and appearance, writing: “She maintains that there is nothing better for one’s health than enthusiastic housekeeping. ‘Vigorous dusting and washing are wonderful exercise,’ she says. And Madeleine Milhaud’s striking beauty seems

¹⁴⁷ The draft is in Mills-DM, 1.2.4; I have not found a published version.

to thrive on it.” The promotion of housework as a source of energy contrasts sharply with the repeated confessions of exhaustion and depression seen in the Milhauds’ letters to close friends during this period.

Later in the article, Madeleine Milhaud’s decision to begin a professional acting career in the 1930s is also positioned as a family-oriented choice. After establishing that the adolescent Madeleine abandoned acting because her parents would not allow her to pursue it professionally, the author wrote:

After her marriage to Darius Milhaud in 1925, she felt herself drawn back again to her chosen art and followed courses in dramatics and diction. When people asked her if she wanted to play a role she always said “no.” “It never occurred to me to say ‘yes.’” She said, “You see, I felt that I had a role already as wife and mother.” But when her father died, leaving her Mother in a difficult financial situation, Madeleine Milhaud went into theatre work to aid her.

This narrative has her making choices based on her family’s needs and wishes at every turn—first obeying the demands of her parents by renouncing the stage, then assuming “wife and mother” as her only role, returning to acting to provide monetary support to her widowed mother, and finally devoting herself to housework in Oakland.

Although this article is shot through with rhetoric of domesticity, family, and middle-class feminine respectability—both in the author’s descriptions and in Madeleine Milhaud’s own words—it also paints a detailed picture of her creative and professional activity before and after leaving France. Moreover, it says little about her husband. Even in the discussion of her duties as a wife, the fact that Darius Milhaud was a famous composer seems almost incidental; housework, childcare, and companionship would be her principal obligations no matter whom she had married. This characterization contrasts with her postwar persona, which was focused much more intently on Milhaud and his accomplishments.

Although her life seemed at times to be wholly defined by domesticity, being Darius Milhaud's wife also involved the artistic collaboration that had begun before the war. Her first opera libretto for Milhaud was *Médée*, whose Paris premiere in May 1940 marked the end of their pre-exile careers. *Bolivar* (1943), their next collaboration on an opera, emerged from the circumstances and emotions of their exile, although it would not be performed until 1950.¹⁴⁸ The life of Simón Bolívar, the South American revolutionary leader of the early nineteenth century, resonated in Milhaud's mind with his own homeland's ongoing fight for liberation.¹⁴⁹ He had composed music for Jules Supervielle's original play in 1936, but he did not use any music from that production in the new opera.¹⁵⁰ Although Supervielle's play formed the basis of the opera's libretto, Madeleine Milhaud still had to undertake a considerable amount of work in order to adapt it effectively. With Supervielle in Uruguay rather than occupied Europe, she and her husband could communicate with him—albeit slowly—to discuss the project and collaborate on the libretto. Supervielle contributed texts for several new scenes; Madeleine Milhaud changed the ending and incorporated text from Simón Bolívar's will, although Supervielle preferred the conclusion of his original play.¹⁵¹

In later years, Madeleine Milhaud tended to downplay her work as a librettist, pointing to the fact that she adapted existing texts—rather than writing entirely new material—and claiming that she only did this work out of necessity and obligation to her husband. Of *Médée*, she told Mildred Clary:

¹⁴⁸ Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 193–95.

¹⁴⁹ Madeleine Milhaud later recalled: “In 1942 he was very keen to write an opera and at the same time his thoughts were fixed on the liberation of Europe. Both thoughts came together and Bolivar seemed the perfect subject, and he wrote the opera the following year.” CWMM, 49.

¹⁵⁰ Jeremy Drake, *The Operas of Darius Milhaud* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 291.

¹⁵¹ Jules Supervielle to Darius Milhaud, 29 November 1942, PSS-DM; Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 194.

Milhaud wrote to several friends he thought might be interested in writing the libretto, but one was on vacation, another unavailable, and a third had something else to do, so Milhaud said to me, “*Why don’t you do it?*” I let him insist. Now I am not a writer and I wish I were, but I am good at blending various ingredients. . . . I gathered ideas from left and right. There was not a word of my own in any of it.¹⁵²

Similarly, she said of the relationship between her libretto for *Bolivar* and Supervielle’s original play: “I respected his text, just shortening it here and there and sometimes changing the order of the scenes.”¹⁵³ Although it is true that her librettos were based on the texts of other writers, her denial of the work and creativity involved in the process of adaptation seems to have been part of a strategy of presenting herself as modest and self-effacing in order to shine the spotlight on her husband’s accomplishments.

Even when Madeleine Milhaud was indisputably the creative force behind a text, she resisted taking credit. Milhaud’s song cycle *Rêves*, composed in 1942, was published by Heugel in 1946 with the poems credited only as “Textes anonymes du XX^e Siècle.” The fact that Madeleine Milhaud was the true author was known only to close friends until 2002, when Jean Roy disclosed the information in his preface to Mildred Clary’s interview with Madeleine Milhaud.¹⁵⁴ The imagery and sentiments in these poems mark them as a product of her exile; themes of distance, nostalgia, dreaming, and companionship in difficult times are explored through references to Provençal geographical features. In the third song, “Confidence” (“Secret”), she names two Mediterranean trees also found in California, the holly oak and the bay laurel (“les hautes branches du chêne vert et du laurier”); her home in exile becomes, in the words of André Aciman, a “shadow city” of her husband’s native region, a place to which she

¹⁵² Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 104.

¹⁵³ CWMM, 94.

¹⁵⁴ Jean Roy, “Foreword,” in Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, 13–14.

also had a certain nostalgic attachment.¹⁵⁵ The next song depicts the *mistral*, the cold wind that blows through southern France: “It plays with the trees, the flowers, the birds / It blows the clouds, the dust, the stars / The earth shivers, the wheat fields roll / It is rhythm, it is life.”¹⁵⁶ “Long Distance,” the only song with an English title, captures the emotional impact of hearing from a distant loved one “across the towns, the mountains, the flowers, the fields, the rivers.”¹⁵⁷

Paul Collaer, who likely knew that Madeleine Milhaud had written the texts, compared this song cycle to another musical product of the couple’s home life, writing: “The six songs grouped together under the title *Rêves* were composed on anonymous texts that happened to come to the composer’s attention. They have the same kind of confidentiality as the piano suite *La Muse ménagère*, which was written only a short time later. They communicate a kind of inner vision, thereby lending themselves to performance in the intimacy of a home.”¹⁵⁸ Darius Milhaud wrote *La Muse ménagère* (“The Household Muse”) in secret in the summer of 1944 and dedicated it to his wife.¹⁵⁹ The fifteen short movements depict aspects of her daily life, including “housework,” “cooking,” and “laundry” alongside shared moments such as “music together,” “sweetness of the evenings,” and “reading at night.”¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ André Aciman, “Shadow Cities,” in *Letters of Transit: Reflections on Exile, Identity, Language, and Loss*, ed. André Aciman (New York: The New Press, 1999), 19–34. In chapter 1, I apply Aciman’s essay to Darius Milhaud’s perception of the resemblance between California and Provence.

¹⁵⁶ “Il joue avec les arbres, les fleurs, les oiseaux / Il chasse les nuages, le poussière, les étoiles / La terre frissonne, le blé moutonne / Il est le rythme, il est la vie.”

¹⁵⁷ “Ta voix, vibration si douce à mon oreille / Traverse en soupir les villes, / les montagnes, les fleurs, les champs, les fleuves.”

¹⁵⁸ Paul Collaer, *Darius Milhaud*, trans. Jane Hohfeld Galante (San Francisco: San Francisco Press, 1988), 171.

¹⁵⁹ The published score gives the dates of composition as 5–11 July 1944.

¹⁶⁰ In the score published by Elkan-Vogel, the English titles of the fifteen movements are “My Own – Dedication,” “The Awakening,” “Household Cares,” “Poetry,” “Cooking,” “Flowers in the House,” “Laundry,” “Music Together,” “The Son Who Paints,” “The Cat,” “Fortune Telling,” “Nursing the Sick,” “Sweetness of the Evenings,” “Reading at Night,” and “Gratitude to the Muse.” The French titles are also printed in the score.

The origins, subject, and reception of this piano suite highlight the intersections between public and private expression in the life of a prominent couple. Although it was written as a gift, it was not intended to remain only between them, as evidenced by its swift publication (Elkan-Vogel, 1945). The title *La Muse ménagère* reiterates the familiar trope of the wife or lover of a great artist as his “muse,” combined with a reference to the domestic obligations that occupied Madeleine Milhaud’s time and energy during World War II.¹⁶¹ It was well known—and fairly obvious—that the work was for and about her, but the published score lightly veils this fact; it is dedicated to “M.M.M.M.” (standing for “Madeleine Milhaud, muse ménagère”), and the illustrations accompanying each movement depict a generic couple—the man is thin, the woman tall. In this way, the work could function both as a celebration of the Milhauds’ home life and as an ode to 1940s gender roles more broadly.

Collaer gave the first performance of *La Muse ménagère* on Radio-Bruxelles in May 1945; Milhaud, who usually resisted performing his own music, played it at the Library of Congress in December of that year and recorded it in 1946.¹⁶² In 1950, the composer’s recording was released by Columbia alongside *Cantate de l’enfant et de la mère*, which the Milhauds had recorded the year before with the Juilliard String Quartet and pianist Leonid Hambro. Clifford Gessler’s review of the record in the *Oakland Tribune*, accompanied by a photograph of the couple, commended the “great clarity and expressiveness” of Madeleine Milhaud’s recitation in

¹⁶¹ Among composers’ wives, the image of the “muse” has been particularly prevalent in the literature on Alma Mahler. See Monson, *Alma Mahler, Muse to Genius*; Susanne Rode-Breymann, *Alma Mahler-Werfel: Muse–Gattin–Witwe: eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 2014); Oliver Hilmes, *Malevolent Muse: The Life of Alma Mahler*, trans. Donald Arthur (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2015). (The original German title of Hilmes’s book—*Witwe im Wahn: Das Leben der Alma Mahler-Werfel*—emphasizes another gendered aspect of her public image, that of the “delusional widow.”) See footnote 5 for additional sources on Alma Mahler. For a broader discussion of the figure of the “muse” in biographical writing on male composers, see Christopher Wiley, “Musical Biography and the Myth of the Muse,” in *Critical Music Historiography: Probing Canons, Ideologies and Institutions*, ed. Vesa Kurkela and Markus Mantere (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 251–61.

¹⁶² Madeleine Milhaud, *Catalogue*, 377; “In the World of Music,” *New York Times*, 9 December 1945.

the *Cantate*, but focused primarily on *La Muse ménagère*'s link to the Milhauds' life at Mills College and the story behind the work's composition: "Milhaud wrote *The Household Muse* surreptitiously, during a summer session, with his son Daniel standing guard while Mme. Milhaud was in her classroom, and presented [it] to her, when completed, as a surprise."¹⁶³

In a newspaper that had regularly printed information about the Milhaud family's activities for the past decade, their status as local celebrities and members of the community gave the recording significance, independent of any broader aesthetic concerns. Conversely, in a review published in the *Tucson Daily Citizen*, critic Richard Tracey dismissed this record, treating it as evidence of Milhaud's decline as a composer:

Milhaud has gone through his revolutionary days. He proceeded cautiously and in a style that pleased his following as he dabbled experimentally. But in a piano suite titled *The Household Muse*, the French contemporary has slumped to embarrassing sentimental vignettes. They are diminutive bits of pensiveness, humor and insignificant philosophy which are sometimes gracious, more often dull. More consistent with the old Milhaud is his *Cantata of the Child and the Mother*. Aside from the moments when the composer's wife who serves as diseuse reminds you of Edith Sitwell in *Façade*, this is good Milhaud but still short of his original pace.¹⁶⁴

Tracey did not mention the connection between Madeleine Milhaud and *La Muse ménagère* in this review, but he still implicitly opposed masculine innovation and feminized sentimentality, viewing the latter as "insignificant" and "embarrassing" from a composer once known as a minor pathbreaker.¹⁶⁵ He also blamed "the composer's wife" for the perceived shortcomings of *Cantate de l'enfant et de la mère*, comparing her derisively to another female reciter. In the judgment of

¹⁶³ Clifford Gessler, "Two Milhaud Works on New Disc," *Oakland Tribune*, 13 August 1950. The review in the *San Francisco Chronicle* takes a similar perspective. R. H. Hagan, "Some New Records In Review," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 July 1950.

¹⁶⁴ Richard Tracey, "Let's Look At The Record," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, 10 July 1950. Incidentally, in her interview with Roger Nichols, Madeleine Milhaud mentioned William Walton's *Façade* as a piece she would have liked to perform if her English had been up to the task. CWMM, 85.

¹⁶⁵ This critical stance has many parallels in music history, among them the reaction of many male jazz critics to Ella Fitzgerald's participation in Chick Webb's band. Christopher J. Wells, "'Go Harlem!' Chick Webb and His Dancing Audience during the Great Depression" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2014), 202–19.

this critic—for whom “the old Milhaud,” by then almost a historical figure, set the standard by which the composer’s new works were to be evaluated—the personal, and by extension the feminine, signified decline and a lapse in creativity.

These two contrasting reviews came at a time when Milhaud’s place in the American musical landscape was in flux. When this recording was released in the summer of 1950, Darius and Madeleine Milhaud were on their way back to Oakland after their second year-long stay in Paris. The composer had become an established fixture of the Bay Area, yet it remained to be seen how his nationwide reputation might change in the postwar period. There were also changes in the Milhauds’ personal life, beyond the new schedule of transatlantic travel. The financial precarity of the war years was no longer a concern, and their twenty-year-old son had moved to Italy on his own to continue his art studies; both of these factors made it easier for Darius and Madeleine to travel within the United States for performances and lectures. They would soon begin their annual summer residency in Aspen, adding new pedagogical activity to their ongoing work at Mills. Having made the decision to maintain a presence in the United States, they now faced the question of what that presence would look like in the following years.

It was at this time that Madeleine Milhaud began to position herself actively and intentionally as “the composer’s wife,” aided by the press both in and outside the Bay Area. Descriptions of her in newspapers followed much the same pattern as before, highlighting both her artistic accomplishments and her devotion to home and family.¹⁶⁶ But when the focus was on her husband, her own voice began to come through more frequently, always in a supporting role, and a number of newspaper articles about the Milhauds as a couple appeared not only in the Bay Area, but also in some of the cities they visited for concerts and lectures. A new collection of

¹⁶⁶ For example, see Wahl, “She Also Cooks...”

tropes developed, such as her loving persistence in accompanying him on his travels and the notion that they had never had an argument in all their years together. In photographs, she often appeared standing behind the composer, who by this time was almost always seated in a wheelchair (as in Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1: Darius and Madeleine Milhaud at home in Oakland, 1967¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Special Collections, F. W. Olin Library, Mills College. Photographer unknown. Reproduced with permission.

The Mills College Public Information Office was the driving force behind much of this press coverage, as the couple's fame reflected well on the college; the biographical files and press releases prepared by the office found their way into countless articles. In advance of the Milhauds' visit to Santa Barbara in July 1955, the director of the office, Margaret Williams, sent "biographical material on Mme. Milhaud and a glossy photograph of the couple" to a reporter for the *Santa Barbara News-Press*, adding, "Also, the plan to have Mme. Milhaud interviewed from the woman's slant should secure you a good feature news play. Here at Mills we have always had tremendous press results with everything along the interview line concerning Mme. Milhaud. She has a special sparkle all her own and our news people have gone for it every time."¹⁶⁸

Madeleine Milhaud's "special sparkle" was considered an asset to her employer—and, as an intelligent and literary-minded woman who supported her husband's artistic career, she corresponded closely to the model of women's education put forth by Lynn White as president of the college (see chapter 4). Away from the Mills campus, her presence and personality were also central to shaping her husband's public image at a time when his status as "the greatest living French composer" started to clash precariously with the growing distaste for his music among many critics (see chapter 6). By playing the role of the devoted wife, she could both draw attention to his accomplishments—both past and present—and frame his significance as a composer in a way that did not rest entirely on aesthetic concerns or the judgment of history. She began to speak more directly about being the wife of a composer, discussing his working methods and her first-hand experience of his music. For example, the program book for the Hollywood Bowl production of Milhaud's opera *David* in 1956 (see chapter 4) included a one-page essay titled "Highlights in the life of a Great Composer as seen by His Wife," credited to

¹⁶⁸ Margaret Williams to Mrs. Robert C. Smitheran, 5 July 1955, Mills-DM, 1.2.7. The Milhauds were in Santa Barbara from 22 to 24 July.

“Mme. Darius Milhaud” and accompanied by a photograph not of her, but of her husband. She began:

Being Darius Milhaud’s first cousin, I have watched his creations from the beginning of his career—I have had the privilege of assisting at the first performances of most of his works.¹⁶⁹ The elaboration or building of a great musical work, from its conception, through its development and the final fulfillment in the stages of production and performance, is truly the most gratifying side in the life of a composer’s wife.¹⁷⁰

Despite the stigma surrounding cousin marriage in the United States, the Milhauds were open about their family relationship; in this instance, it enabled Madeleine to make the point that he, and his music, had always been a part of her life, giving her a unique perspective on his career. After describing his temperament as a composer (“Composing, for him, is as natural as breathing, and about as important”) and the special sense of religious obligation that drove him to write *David*, she concluded by re-emphasizing the joy of accompanying her husband to performances of his music: “I was with him in Jerusalem and in Milano when the opera was performed, and how wonderful it is for me to be able to be present with him at this American premiere in Hollywood, and to thank as a composer’s wife, all the persons who have been responsible for this night.”¹⁷¹

At a time when second-wave feminist writers such as Betty Friedan were mounting public critiques of the limitations American society placed on middle-class white women—especially in their role as wives—Madeleine Milhaud continued to present herself and her marriage in ways that aligned with traditional expectations.¹⁷² The year-long celebrations of

¹⁶⁹ The word “assisting” here is likely a translation error (*assister*, “to attend”).

¹⁷⁰ Madeleine Milhaud (as “Mme. Darius Milhaud”), “Highlights in the life of a Great Composer as seen by His Wife,” *David* program book, Fromer Collection, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/magnesiummuseum/3991467834/in/album-72157614393042235/> (accessed 28 March 2015).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963).

Darius Milhaud's seventieth birthday in 1962–63 received regular attention in the press, especially in the Bay Area, and her presence in these articles shows the way in which she and the journalists co-constructed the image of an exceptionally devoted and supportive wife for the public. A February 1963 article by Alexander Fried in the *San Francisco Examiner* included a photograph of the couple with the caption "Darius and Madeleine Milhaud at Home: Few famous men ever had a more devoted companion."¹⁷³ In advance of a performance of *Cantate de l'enfant et de la mère* in San Francisco in November 1962, an article by Mildred Schroeder in the same newspaper began, "Although Madeleine Milhaud smiled fondly and said, 'I celebrate his birthday EVERY day,' she also will take part in a public 70th anniversary tribute to her husband, the renowned contemporary composer Darius Milhaud." Several paragraphs later, she was quoted again: "'After all, we have been married 37 years—close, wonderful years. We've never had an argument... have we?' and she leaned over to take his hand in hers."¹⁷⁴ In a talk at the University of California, Davis, that coincided with the publication of Schroeder's article, Darius Milhaud claimed to have been "happily married for 37 years 'without an argument.'"¹⁷⁵ This assertion became a permanent fixture of the way they both spoke about their relationship to audiences.¹⁷⁶

The wives of most of Milhaud's married contemporaries had little presence in the American press, unless they were performers or had achieved prominence in another field. (Louise Varèse, for instance, received some recognition for her work as a translator.) Several articles in the 1950s and 1960s took Vera Stravinsky as their subject, but she resisted fitting

¹⁷³ Alexander Fried, "S. F.'s Salute to Darius Milhaud," *San Francisco Examiner*, 3 February 1963.

¹⁷⁴ Mildred Schroeder, "They've Always Been in Tune," *San Francisco Examiner*, 19 November 1962.

¹⁷⁵ Aaron Epstein, "Pots and Pans 'Kitchen Music' Pleases Composer Milhaud," *The Sacramento Bee*, 18 November 1962.

¹⁷⁶ For example, see CWMM, 103.

herself to the “supportive wife” mold; even under such a headline as “Mrs. Igor Stravinsky: Bright Note in Home Life” (*Baltimore Sun*, 1967), she said of her husband, “Life for me in California is very difficult. He does nothing for the house. He composes. He eats. He won’t even work in the garden now.”¹⁷⁷ Felicia Montealegre, who married Leonard Bernstein in 1951, was somewhat more accommodating of the image the *New York Times* and other newspapers constructed of her.¹⁷⁸ Given both her husband’s status as a mainstream celebrity at the peak of his career and his undisclosed queer sexuality, it is unsurprising that she had more of a media presence than most of her counterparts. Montealegre knew about her husband’s preferences and understood what was at stake in his self-portrayal as a heterosexual family man; she likely approached interviews with the conscious aim of bolstering his “heterosexual identity credentials” by presenting herself as the devoted wife and mother.¹⁷⁹

As a French composer of tonal music, Milhaud fell on the “queer” side of the aesthetic divide discussed by Nadine Hubbs in *The Queer Composition of America’s Sound*, but his sexual identity was not in question; rather, the threat to his image as a normatively masculine figure was that of disability.¹⁸⁰ The association of physical disability with a loss or failure of masculinity

¹⁷⁷ Joy Miller, “Mrs. Igor Stravinsky: Bright Note in Home Life,” *Baltimore Sun*, 24 January 1967. See also Mary Ann Callan, “Mrs. Stravinsky’s Art Untrammelled,” *Los Angeles Times*, 20 June 1958 (an article that identifies her as Stravinsky’s wife but focuses primarily on her own activities as a painter), and William McPherson, “To Wife of Composer-Conductor Stravinsky, Washington is Pianissimo,” *Washington Post*, 31 December 1960 (in which she complains about travel, the weather, and Washington, D.C.).

¹⁷⁸ For example, see Joan Cook, “Bernstein At Home: Relaxed,” *New York Times*, 22 November 1965; Michael Wale, “Harmony at Home,” *The Observer*, 22 January 1967; Nancy L. Ross, “Cool, Quiet Felicia—And Then There’s Lenny,” *Washington Post*, 24 October 1971. Both Vera Stravinsky and Felicia Montealegre were the subject of domesticity-focused articles featuring descriptions of their hostess duties and examples of their favorite recipes, similar to the 1959 *Oakland Tribune* article about Madeleine Milhaud (Wahl, “She Also Cooks...”). Evelyn de Wolfe, “Composer’s Wife Has Informality on Menu,” *Los Angeles Times*, 16 June 1960; Craig Claiborne, “Chupe, Choclo, Etc.,” *New York Times*, 16 November 1958. Each of the three articles highlights the foreign background of its subject (and therefore of her cooking).

¹⁷⁹ Nadine Hubbs, “Bernstein, Homophobia, Historiography,” *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 13 (2009): 25.

¹⁸⁰ Nadine Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of America’s Sound: Gay Modernists, American Music, and National Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

has been addressed by a number of scholars in the field of disability studies.¹⁸¹ A 1966 book by Berkeley psychologist Harold Geist, *The Psychological Aspects of Rheumatoid Arthritis*, presents a contemporary picture of the gendered theories associated with Milhaud's particular condition. In a review of previous studies on the subject, Geist discusses the correlation identified by multiple researchers between rheumatoid arthritis and a failure to conform to typical gender roles; according to these studies, women with the illness "assume certain masculine attitudes, compete with men and cannot submit to them," while men are "passively effeminate," and those of both genders tend to experience "restricted heterosexual relations" and failed relationships.¹⁸² In the Freudian climate of midcentury psychological discourse—which permeated the broader culture as well—physical, behavioral, and sexual pathologies could not be disentangled.¹⁸³

Although Milhaud was not yet visibly disabled to the casual observer at the time of his exile in 1940, his body was already perceived as non-normative due to his weight. In the *New York Times* on 21 July 1940, Olin Downes noted that Milhaud had "added some weight to his stature since last we saw him in Paris," and after the family passed through Chicago on the way

¹⁸¹ See Thomas J. Gerschick, "Sisyphus in a Wheelchair: Men with Physical Disabilities Confront Gender Domination," in *Everyday Inequalities: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Jodi O'Brien and Judith Howard (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), 189–211; Dan Goodley and Katherine Runswick-Cole, "Disability: Crippling Men, Masculinities and Methodologies," in *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, ed. Barbara Pini and Bob Pease (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 142–56; Lenore Manderson and Susan Peake, "Men in Motion: Disability and the Performance of Masculinity," in *Bodies in Commotion: Disability and Performance*, ed. Carrie Sandahl and Philip Auslander (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 230–42; Tom Shakespeare, "The Sexual Politics of Disabled Masculinity," *Sexuality and Disability* 17, no. 1 (1999): 53–64; Margaret Rose Torrell, "Potentialities: Toward a Transformative Theory of Disabled Masculinities," in *Emerging Perspectives on Disability Studies*, ed. Matthew Wappett and Katrina Arndt (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 209–25; Daniel J. Wilson, "Fighting Polio Like a Man: Intersections of Masculinity, Disability, and Aging," in *Gendering Disability*, ed. Bonnie G. Smith and Beth Hutchison (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 199–233.

¹⁸² Harold Geist, *The Psychological Aspects of Rheumatoid Arthritis* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1966), 12, 14, 24.

¹⁸³ On the influence of Sigmund Freud in the United States, see Nathan G. Hale, Jr., *The Rise and Crisis of Psychoanalysis in the United States: Freud and the Americans, 1917–1985* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); John Burnham, ed., *After Freud Left: A Century of Psychoanalysis in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

to Oakland, June Provines of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* called him “a corpulent, phlegmatic man.”¹⁸⁴ Madeleine Milhaud is all but invisible in most of these early accounts, though in August 1940, a writer for *Time* described the couple as “fat, stubby-haired Milhaud and his pretty actress wife Madeleine,” drawing a contrast that both emphasized the composer’s unusual physicality and suggested evidence of normative heterosexual masculinity.¹⁸⁵ In the ensuing years, when the composer’s ill health became public knowledge and the use of mobility aids made his disability overtly visible, his wife’s constant presence alongside him in the role of caretaker risked reinforcing the stereotyped picture of a helpless invalid. By consistently declaring that traveling with her husband and accompanying him through life was a joy rather than a duty, Madeleine Milhaud worked to realign the public image of their relationship with conventional gender expectations—successful husband, devoted wife—and thereby mitigate the damage that negative disability tropes could have on his reputation.¹⁸⁶

The allure of disability-related sensationalism is seen conspicuously in the press coverage of Milhaud’s December 1960 visit to Dallas, Texas, for a conference and the premiere of his Eleventh Symphony, which had been commissioned by the Dallas Symphony Orchestra. At the beginning of the trip, *Dallas Morning News* arts critic John Rosenfield described Milhaud’s transatlantic career and wrote: “For all this traveling, Milhaud is a wheel-chair case, crippled by arthritis and growing bigger (about 300 pounds) through enforced immobility. ‘I need two strong men to lift me,’ he recently wrote to George Henderson, head of the Library’s Fine Arts Division.”¹⁸⁷ (Milhaud presumably did not intend for that letter to be shared with the public.)

¹⁸⁴ Olin Downes, “Milhaud Arrives to Teach,” *New York Times*, 21 July 1940; June Provines, “Milhaud in Chicago,” *Front Views and Profiles*, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 22 August 1940.

¹⁸⁵ “Music: Cortège Hollandais,” *Time*, 12 August 1940.

¹⁸⁶ For additional discussion of perceptions of disability in Milhaud’s reception, see chapter 6.

¹⁸⁷ John Rosenfield, “Milhaud Opus Gets Premiere,” *Dallas Morning News*, 4 December 1960.

The following week, the same critic described the composer as “an arthritic in a wheelchair” in the first paragraph of his preview of the new symphony, and as “bound by arthritis to a wheelchair” in a report on the Composers Conference.¹⁸⁸ The one article focusing on Madeleine Milhaud, a piece by Mary Brinkerhoff in the “News of Women” section of the *Dallas Morning News*, described Darius Milhaud’s size and physical condition in similar language: “The massive composer, an arthritis victim, depends on his wife to unravel the tangles of travel and everyday living in Oakland or at their Montmartre apartment in Paris.” Yet here, the description is followed by Madeleine Milhaud’s own words: “But mostly, she says, ‘he definitely likes to have his wife with him. This I am very proud of.’”¹⁸⁹ In the context of an article about Milhaud’s wife and their relationship, it becomes harder to imagine him as a tragic figure, even when the same rhetoric is used to describe his disability.

By having such a visible and active presence alongside her famous husband, Madeleine Milhaud became much better known in the United States than she otherwise would have been. In contrast to a number of wives in the history of American music, she did not act as her husband’s manager; for example, she only wrote letters on his behalf when his arthritis made it difficult to hold a pen, and this was usually personal correspondence rather than anything business-related.¹⁹⁰ Rather, it was principally through her presence in the press that she influenced his

¹⁸⁸ John Rosenfield, “Milhaud No. 11 to Get Premiere by Symphony,” *Dallas Morning News*, 11 December 1960; idem, “Listeners Acclaim Woodwind Numbers,” *Dallas Morning News*, 11 December 1960. For a critical study of language used to describe people with disabilities, see Simi Linton, “Reassigning Meaning,” in *The Disability Studies Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Lennard J. Davis (New York: Routledge, 2006), 161–72. Linton writes: “The ascription of passivity can be seen in language used to describe the relationship between disabled people and their wheelchairs. The phrases *wheelchair bound* or *confined to a wheelchair* are frequently seen in newspapers and magazines, and heard in conversation. . . . The various terms imply that a wheelchair restricts the individual, holds a person prisoner. Disabled people are more likely to say that someone *uses a wheelchair*” (169).

¹⁸⁹ Mary Brinkerhoff, “Composer’s Wife Proves to Be Husband’s ‘Best Accompanist,’” *Dallas Morning News*, 10 December 1960.

¹⁹⁰ Madeleine Milhaud’s handwriting was much harder to read than her husband’s, which may be one reason why she did not take on more of his letter-writing obligations. One woman of Madeleine Milhaud’s generation who did perform the role of manager for a famous musical husband was Eslanda Robeson, of whom her biographer Barbara

career on a public level.¹⁹¹ Many articles about the Milhauds described Madeleine's background in acting and her current activities, but she was careful not to appear as if she wished to take the spotlight for herself. Her characterization as a bright and interesting person "in her own right"—as she truly was—had the dual effect of highlighting her individuality and of making her continual insistence that her husband was her first priority seem all the more striking and effective.

The Composer's Widow

During the three years between Darius Milhaud's retirement from Mills College in 1971 and his death in Geneva on 22 June 1974, public advocacy was not a priority for Madeleine Milhaud, as she focused on caring for her ailing husband. She traveled with him to events in France and Belgium, although these trips gradually decreased in frequency. She continued to correspond with members of the Mills faculty and other American friends, sending regular updates on their activity and the composer's health, but she grew impatient with the amount of letters and autograph requests from unknown admirers.¹⁹² Most of the coverage of Darius Milhaud's death in the American press mentioned her only briefly, if at all, but one extended obituary in the *New*

Ransby writes: "Her identity as Mrs. Paul Robeson was extremely important to her. That title gave her access to otherwise unreachable people and places and honored her role in their partnership. Whatever it meant to 'be' Paul Robeson, Essie felt she had had a hand in creating that status." Barbara Ransby, *Eslanda: The Large and Unconventional Life of Mrs. Paul Robeson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 6. For an earlier context in which women served as their husband's managers on some level, that of late nineteenth-century opera, see Kristen M. Turner, "Opera in English: Class and Culture in America, 1878–1910" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2015), 110–13.

¹⁹¹ Government scholar MaryAnne Borrelli describes a similar strategy used by Lady Bird Johnson, the first lady of the United States from 1963 to 1969: "Lady Bird Johnson . . . advertised and facilitated the successes of her husband's administration through travel, speechmaking, and networking. Yet she framed this participation in the public sphere as an extension of her private-sphere relationships, presenting herself as a loyal wife and downplaying her politics. . . . Johnson did not challenge the separate-spheres ideal. Instead . . . she used, bent, and manipulated its standards, seeking to mask the extent of her participation in the public sphere." MaryAnne Borrelli, *The Politics of the President's Wife* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 110–11.

¹⁹² Madeleine Milhaud to Margaret Lyon, 24 December 1973, Mills-DM, 3.2.14.

York Times described her role in his life: “In 1925, Milhaud married his cousin, Madeleine Milhaud, who was preparing for a career on the stage. She frequently served as librettist and as narrator for his works, and he relied upon her for care during the constant traveling that marked his career—despite the wheelchair and the two canes that became indispensable features of his life.”¹⁹³

After 1974, Madeleine Milhaud resumed her efforts to promote her late husband’s music and legacy, now in the role of “the composer’s widow.” As she outlived him by more than thirty years, she was able to contribute actively to the work of performers and scholars until the early twenty-first century. In 1982, she published a catalog of Milhaud’s compositions that represents years of work to collect and organize information.¹⁹⁴ Her interviews with Roger Nichols (published in 1996) and Mildred Clary (published in 2002) are among the most significant sources of information about her husband’s life and, to a lesser extent, her own. She readily shared information and copies of documents with scholars, including graduate students; for example, Sandra Sedman Yang, author of a 1997 dissertation on Milhaud’s ballets, thanked Madeleine Milhaud in her acknowledgments, writing: “Without her support, this dissertation could not have been completed. Her immediate responses to numerous questions about Milhaud’s ballets have been most useful in filling in the necessary research about each ballet. Her vast knowledge and keen recollections are a great asset to this project, as well as to all current research in Milhaud’s music.”¹⁹⁵

Although Madeleine Milhaud conducted most of this work from her Paris apartment, she also maintained contact with friends and supporters in the United States, making regular visits to

¹⁹³ “Darius Milhaud, Rebel Composer, Dies,” *New York Times*, 25 June 1974

¹⁹⁴ Madeleine Milhaud, *Catalogue*.

¹⁹⁵ Sandra Sedman Yang, “The Composer and Dance Collaboration in the Twentieth Century: Darius Milhaud’s Ballets, 1919–1958” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1997), vii.

the country until the mid-1990s. As the Mills College music department, library, and administration worked to commemorate Darius Milhaud's legacy at the school, she granted her support to their efforts and flew out to Oakland multiple times for special events. She performed *Cantate de l'enfant et de la mère* and *Suite de quatrains* in an April 1980 concert on campus that formed part of a three-month "Celebration of Darius Milhaud" in the Bay Area. In 1985, she attended the concert celebrating the opening of the Darius Milhaud Collection at Mills, and in 1987, she received an honorary doctorate at commencement. She was unable to travel to the centennial celebrations at Mills in 1992, but she contributed an essay and an interview to the booklet produced by the Alliance Française of San Francisco for the occasion.¹⁹⁶ Finally, in October 1995, she gave a lecture and narrated *Suite de quatrains* in a concert honoring both Milhaud and Stravinsky. Her biography in the concert program acknowledged her ongoing work: "Since Milhaud's death, she has remained active as a performer, lecturer, conductor of master classes, advisor to scholars, composers, researchers and students."¹⁹⁷

In addition to her visits to Mills College, she also accepted invitations from Mills alumnae across the country as they organized their own events in celebration of Milhaud and his music. In October 1982, for instance, she attended a festival at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where Milhaud's former student Barbara Harris Rowan was on the faculty. (To friends in Paris, Madeleine Milhaud described the Chapel Hill campus as consisting primarily of trees and musicologists.)¹⁹⁸ Her most enduring connection was with Katharine Mulky Warne,

¹⁹⁶ "Madeleine Milhaud remembers..." and "An interview with Madame Madeleine Milhaud," in *Darius Milhaud 1892–1992: A Centennial Celebration*, booklet printed by the Alliance française de San Francisco, 1992. Mills-DM, 2.2.9.

¹⁹⁷ Concert program, "Darius Milhaud and Igor Stravinsky with special guest Madame Madeleine Milhaud," Mills College, 6 October 1995. Mills-DM, 2.2.11.

¹⁹⁸ Madeleine Milhaud, "A Souvenir," 11.4. The UNC music library's copy of *Notes sur la musique*, the 1982 volume of Milhaud's writings edited by Jeremy Drake, bears her inscription. The festival was organized by Rowan and department chair James W. Pruett.

who founded the Darius Milhaud Society in Cleveland.¹⁹⁹ For a number of years, the Society was very active in promoting Milhaud's music through concerts and special events in Cleveland, and its newsletter, published between 1985 and 2002, printed essays by those who had known the composer and news about performances of his music. Shortly after the founding of the Society in 1984, Madeleine Milhaud went to Cleveland for its inaugural festival. She "accepted a document from Mayor George Voinovich of Cleveland to proclaim Darius Milhaud Day on March 31," then participated in the festival by giving a master class, delivering two lectures, and performing *Suite de quatrains*.²⁰⁰ She returned to Cleveland in September and October 1985 for a two-week "Salute to Darius Milhaud" at the Cleveland Institute of Music, again lecturing and performing, and in 1989, the Institute awarded her an honorary doctorate.

After the death of Olivier Messiaen in 1992, his widow, Yvonne Loriod, wrote to Madeleine Milhaud: "You do not know just how much we admired you: 'How does she have this courage? And she goes everywhere, running along, cheerful, and can continue to love her great Milhaud.' I must take you as my model."²⁰¹ And indeed, Loriod's way of being a composer's widow was to be similar to Madeleine Milhaud's; until her death in 2010, she continued performing her husband's music, gave interviews, and granted scholars access to her personal archives and to her expert knowledge.²⁰² Yet the authority to grant access to information,

¹⁹⁹ Warne (1923–2015) was a 1945 graduate of Mills who went on to study at Juilliard and the Cleveland Institute of Music.

²⁰⁰ *The Darius Milhaud Society Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1985), 1. In this issue of the newsletter, the four "Honorary Trustees" of the society are listed as Madeleine Milhaud, Vitya Vronsky Babin, Grant Johannesen (president of the Cleveland Institute of Music), and Milhaud's cousin Odette Valabrègue Wurzbürger, a Cleveland resident; the "Honorary Committee" consisted of Maurice Abravanel, Leonard Bernstein, Dave Brubeck, Aaron Copland, Charles Jones, Virgil Thomson, and, representing Europe, Henri Sauguet and Paul Collaer.

²⁰¹ Yvonne Loriod to Madeleine Milhaud, 22 May 1992, PSS-DM: "Vous ne savez pas à quel point nous vous admirions: comment a-t-elle ce courage? et elle va partout, trottante, souriante, peut continuer d'aimer son grand Milhaud. Il faut que je vous prenne comme modèle."

²⁰² Messiaen's biographers Peter Hill and Nigel Simeone write in the acknowledgments to their book: "This book would have been impossible without the overwhelming generosity of Olivier Messiaen's widow, Yvonne Loriod-

however generously exercised, is also the authority to control access to information. Scholars of Messiaen have only just begun to be able to put forth images of the composer that clash with Loriod's version of the narrative, particularly where his first wife is concerned.²⁰³ Helene Berg, the wife of the composer Alban Berg, not only concealed the knowledge of her late husband's significant extramarital relationship, but also barred anyone from viewing the manuscript of the incomplete third act of Berg's opera *Lulu* in an effort to prevent any other composer from completing it. (A version completed by the Austrian composer Friedrich Cerha had its premiere in 1979, just three years after Helene Berg's death.)²⁰⁴ An even more extreme example is that of Alma Mahler, whose selective editing of letters and distortion of her first husband's biography have been termed "the Alma Problem" by later scholars working to correct the record.²⁰⁵ In the case of Madeleine Milhaud—who was certainly no Alma Mahler—it may still be too early to see how scholarship on Darius Milhaud will change in the wake of her passing. My sense, however, is that an equally interesting question may be how scholars might begin to reassess her own life and work in the years to come, given her sustained effort to direct attention away from herself and toward her husband. In this chapter, I have both given recognition to her self-fashioned persona as "the composer's wife" and looked beyond it, but more work remains to be done.

Messiaen. Initially, we wrote to her requesting information about photographs and other materials which she might have in her possession. Her reaction was an immediate invitation to Paris in order to discuss our plans. During this visit she showed us Messiaen's pocket diaries, letters and photographs, and offered us the use of the archives which she had been putting in order since the composer's death in 1992. . . . Throughout our research, Mme Loriod-Messiaen has given us every possible assistance, without at any time seeking to guide or influence our work and our conclusions." Peter Hill and Nigel Simeone, *Messiaen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), vi.

²⁰³ Stephen Broad's edition of Messiaen's writings of the 1930s, for instance, includes information about a composition by Claire Delbos, the composer's first wife. Stephen Broad, *Olivier Messiaen: Journalism 1935–1939* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

²⁰⁴ Douglas Jarman, "Preface to the Paperback Edition," in *The Music of Alban Berg* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), v–vii. Jarman notes: "The original manuscript of this book was completed in the autumn of 1976, a few weeks after the death of Helene Berg, Alban Berg's widow. The six years following Helene Berg's death have seen significant developments in our knowledge of Berg and of his music" (v).

²⁰⁵ Wilson, "She gives me partridges."

CHAPTER SIX: IDENTITY AFTER EXILE

Darius Milhaud's seventieth birthday year (1962–63) was commemorated by concerts and other special events across the United States and in Europe.¹ In July 1962, two months before his September birthday, the Aspen Music Festival began the year of international tributes with a two-day festival that combined the recognition of its distinguished faculty member with a celebration of Bastille Day “in the genuine French manner.” After the first day of the festivities, *New York Times* music critic Harold C. Schonberg reported:

It was Bastille Day in France yesterday, and it was also Bastille Day in Aspen, the little town in Colorado that is the scene of what artistically is the finest music festival in America.

And Bastille Day continues through midnight tonight, with dancing in the streets, “flics” in blue uniform, street singers in beard and beret, balloons, kiosks, a working guillotine and even a newspaper. For this occasion the masthead of *The Aspen Times* has read *Le Temps d'Aspen*.

What better way to honor the seventieth birthday of Darius Milhaud, even if the actual date is about two months off? Milhaud is a world-famous composer, and he has been associated with the festival for twelve years—almost since its very beginning fourteen years ago. Thus he is a familiar sight here every summer. Last night he had a good time watching the festivities from his wheelchair. . . .

The big attraction was the guillotine. Many faculty members knelt to put their heads on the block, with delighted roars of approval from the students. Milhaud watched this part of the evening with a curiously speculative look.²

Alongside this performance of stereotyped Frenchness on the streets of a Colorado resort town were more typical acts of commemoration—a speech by the mayor, the awarding of a key to the city, a concert featuring several of Milhaud's compositions as well as a symphony by Charles

¹ On the recognition of this anniversary in the Bay Area, see chapter 5.

² Harold C. Schonberg, “Music: Bastille Day at Aspen Festival,” *New York Times*, 16 July 1962. For Milhaud's own description of the event, see MVH, 271.

Jones written in his honor, and “the presentation of the Aspen Laurel Leaf Crown to Milhaud by Darius Brubeck, 15-year-old son of Dave Brubeck.”³

This event in Aspen and its coverage in the local and national press present a concentrated picture of the constellation of themes that comprised Milhaud’s identity as a public figure in the United States after World War II. First, and most overtly, it demonstrates that more than twenty years after his arrival in the United States as a composer in exile, Milhaud remained undeniably French to American eyes. His yearly travel between France and the United States from 1947 onward gave him an ongoing connection to the country that had welcomed him during the war, but it also continually reinforced his link to his homeland. Moreover, Milhaud’s self-presentation made it impossible to see him as anything other than French. He spoke with a thick accent and wrote in steadily improving but always idiosyncratic English, his compositions were almost always performed under French titles, and newspaper articles and concert programs regularly noted that he had styled himself in his memoirs as “a Frenchman from Provence.” In exile, Milhaud had foregrounded his national identity as a political act (see chapter 1); after World War II, both his Frenchness and his international mobility took on renewed political relevance in light of Cold War–era French-American relations and cultural diplomacy. His transatlantic travel and extensive professional networks made him well positioned to facilitate contact between U.S. and European musicians; students who began working with him at Mills or Aspen routinely followed him to Paris for further study, where they made their own connections in the world of European music, and he also helped to arrange U.S. visits by some of his European colleagues.

³ “Bastille Day Celebration Begins Sat. As Aspen Honors Milhaud,” *Greeley Tribune*, 10 July 1962.

The second theme that emerges from this event is the double-edged sword of age and status. At seventy, Milhaud had reached a point in his career where official honors and recognition came to him regularly, which he handled with his usual wry modesty—when he became a *Grand Officier* of the Légion d’Honneur two summers later (in 1965), he responded to a congratulatory message from Henri Sauguet with “Thanks for your telegram, but I know nothing. Grand Officier of what?”⁴ Yet he observed that the cavalcade of awards and titles was accompanied by decreased interest in his music; in response to the Légion d’Honneur promotion, he remarked to Charles Cushing, “France honors me, but her theatres . . . never play me!”⁵ At the Aspen Music Festival, at least, the impulse to honor Milhaud was a response to his continued activity as a member of the faculty and participant in the community; the same was true of the seventieth-birthday festival held at Mills College the following May (see chapter 4). His status as a well-connected senior composer with an international presence was an asset both to Mills and to Aspen in a number of important ways, and it was in the San Francisco Bay Area that his sustained engagement with local musical life was rewarded with consistently positive press coverage. Yet in much of the country, especially among music critics, Milhaud’s ongoing compositional activity often seemed to be of considerably less interest than his legacy. Describing the concert that formed part of the Bastille Day celebration at Aspen, Schonberg praised the “good deal of rhythmic spirit” in the new symphony written by Milhaud’s colleague Charles Jones for the occasion, then wrote:

⁴ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 16 July 1965, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (246): “Merci de votre télégramme mais je ne sais rien. G^d officier de quoi?”

⁵ Darius Milhaud to Charles Cook Cushing, 28 September 1965, University of California, Berkeley, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, Charles Cook Cushing Papers, ARCHIVES CUSHING 1, Box 2, Folder 31: “La France m’honore, mais ses théâtres . . . ne me jouent pas!”

Milhaud's music, of course, has been predictable within the last decade. It is incredibly fluent, a little thin, highly melodic and weakest in the development sections, where patterns seem to be busily juggled instead of carried to their logical consequences.

His songs have always been attractive, and the *Chants Populaires Hébraïques* proved no exception. They were delightful—exotically colored and sophisticated, with the chic so typical of Milhaud's music at its best. The Harp Concerto and the Symphony had a few sections that carried one back to the tongue-in-cheek, purposely naïve music-hall antics of "Les Six" forty years ago.⁶

Schonberg's "of course" suggests that the critic considered his judgment of Milhaud's recent music to reflect a commonly held opinion, and indeed, the idea that Milhaud had become a predictable composer lacking in new inspiration is found with increasing frequency in concert reviews during the postwar era, most acutely in New York. The critique was often tied to his noteworthy prolificness, putting forth the image of a composer who merely "churned out music."⁷

The third issue arising from the Aspen event and its press coverage is the public perception of Milhaud's health and limited physical mobility, which further complicated his reception. Many reports about the concerts he conducted or other events he attended noted his condition and his use of assistive devices. Schonberg mentioned it twice in the Aspen article, first describing the composer sitting in his wheelchair to observe the Bastille Day events, then concluding his review of the concert: "Milhaud, who slowly made his way to the podium supported by two canes, was greeted by a standing ovation."⁸ Schonberg's descriptions here serve primarily to emphasize the composer's senior status, reinforcing a link between disability and age. But Milhaud had been living with mobility impairment and chronic pain for decades—which distinguishes him from composers who became ill or disabled only late in life, such as

⁶ Schonberg, "Bastille Day at Aspen Festival." The symphony performed was Milhaud's Eleventh, composed in 1960.

⁷ Donal Henahan, "Milhaud: He Churned Out Music but Fulfilled the Composer's Role," *New York Times*, 7 July 1974.

⁸ Schonberg, "Bastille Day at Aspen Festival."

Igor Stravinsky or Arnold Schoenberg—and the use of a wheelchair made his disability immediately apparent. The sustained emphasis on Milhaud’s disability in the American press intersects with every other element of his reception, from his reputation as a world traveler to the perception that he composed too much and too carelessly.

This chapter explores these aspects of Milhaud’s identity in the United States after World War II, focusing on interpersonal networks, press coverage, and the ways in which each was influenced by the other. I first discuss how his identity as a French composer in exile was swiftly transformed, with the aid of journalists, into a transatlantic identity that remained distinctly “French.” In the context of the early Cold War, his decision to divide his time between France and the United States aligned with efforts to promote travel and good relations between the two countries. The next section focuses on the role of Milhaud’s chronic illnesses and disabilities in his image as a composer, considering critics’ incorporation of descriptions of his physical condition into reviews of the concerts he conducted, the largely unspoken stigma he faced as someone with a non-normative body, and perceptions of the relationship between his health and his compositions. Finally, I examine the reception of Milhaud’s new compositions in the 1950s and 1960s, which is marked by stark differences between the views of the New York community of music critics and their counterparts in the San Francisco Bay Area. I attribute Milhaud’s increasingly negative reputation in New York in part to the weakening of his professional connections in that city, whereas his ties to the Bay Area only strengthened over time, creating a very different view of his significance.

Embodying International Exchange

In April 1949, during Milhaud's first year back in California after exile, Albert Goldberg's weekly *Los Angeles Times* column, "The Sounding Board," featured an interview with the composer under the headline "Darius Milhaud: International Commuter." Depicting him as a representative of France with a special connection to the United States, uniquely positioned to comment on the differences between the musical cultures of the two countries, the article established a pattern that would be followed by numerous journalists over the next two decades. To introduce the interview, Goldberg, two years into his tenure as the newspaper's chief music critic, wrote: "His conversation bristles with typical French esprit, though he speaks English not only fluently but also with a sometimes disarming command of Americanisms."⁹ After discussing "the contrast between the American system of education and that of his own country" (see chapter 4), Milhaud turned to the issue of government support for musical activity, another area in which he saw a vast difference between France and the United States: "Milhaud believes the problem of opera in the United States is 'without hope' until there is government subvention. 'The Metropolitan Opera is an organization between a museum and a cemetery—although as a museum it is very good. But under present conditions it is impossible to produce new works.'" Looking forward to the premiere of *Bolivar* in Paris after his unsuccessful attempts to have the opera produced in New York, he had first-hand experience with both institutions. The next section of the article quotes Milhaud's assessment of contemporary French music:

The composer reports "unbelievable" musical activity in France. But he mourns that, with all our facilities of rapid communication, one country knows so little of what the other country is doing. . . .

Composition in France is at a crossroads, Milhaud believes.

⁹ Albert Goldberg, "Darius Milhaud: International Commuter," *The Sounding Board*, *Los Angeles Times*, 10 April 1949. Goldberg had moved to Los Angeles in 1947 after working as a critic and conductor in Chicago for twelve years. Burt A. Folkart, "Albert Goldberg; Former Times Music Critic," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 February 1990.

“There are still remains of Ravelism,” he reports. “Messiaen is a strong influence on young composers. There are 12-tone composers there, as in Patagonia and the North Pole, and though I don’t like it I am glad this recognition has come to Schonberg [*sic*], whom I greatly respect and admire. Stravinsky is also still a strong influence through the teaching of Nadia Boulanger.”

Thus Milhaud finds commuting between America and Europe invigorating and stimulating. It has only one drawback—the expense.¹⁰

This article demonstrates how quickly the image of Milhaud as a transatlantic composer supplanted that of the composer in exile. After only one trip back to Paris, his yearly travel between the two countries was already characterized as a fixed routine. Three years later, a similar profile in the *San Francisco Chronicle* glossed over the circumstances of Milhaud’s initial arrival entirely, instead backdating the start of his “shuttle between Paris and Oakland” to 1940. Arts critic Robert H. Hagan set the scene for his interview with Milhaud by describing the “kind of bi-national combination of elements that seem to surround the composer”—his “Mediterranean-style villa” on the Mills campus, the quintessentially American “home-made basketball backboard” on the outside of the house, the living room that was “American, to be sure, in the Baldwin piano and the severely professional-looking phonograph that dominated one alcove, but unmistakably French in the paintings and drawings on the wall.” Milhaud himself is described as “indisputably French,” possessing “Gallic *raison*, Gallic enthusiasm, and Gallic spontaneity” and “an undeniably French reasonableness” in his approach to composition.¹¹

The headline of Hagan’s article, “An Interview With the French-U.S. Ambassador of Musical Good Will,” is an overt reference to the international sociopolitical context in which Milhaud was cast into the role of French cultural representative. From the beginning of the Cold War, as historian Christopher Endy has shown, travel from the United States to France was

¹⁰ Goldberg, “Darius Milhaud: International Commuter.”

¹¹ R. H. Hagan, “An Interview With the French-U.S. Ambassador of Musical Good Will,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 10 August 1952.

promoted in both countries as part of broader efforts to create closer ties between the United States and Western Europe and to rebuild France's image as a world power after the occupation.¹² Travel writing promoted a "touristic vision of France as a pillar of civilization" and a center of culture.¹³ As a Frenchman who spent half of his time in his native country and the other half in California, Milhaud was held up by U.S. journalists as an embodiment of this politically motivated cultural exchange, and this helped to solidify his image as a transatlantic French composer.

For his part, Milhaud embraced this new role.¹⁴ Crafting a persona that was both acceptable and functional in this new era afforded him the personal security he had lost in exile: where he had once kept his distance from leftist politics out of fear of losing his French citizenship during the Vichy regime, he was now anxious to protect his ability to travel freely. After hearing from Milhaud that he had refused to sign a petition to the U.S. government protesting the deportation of the composer Hanns Eisler, H el ene Hoppenot wrote in her diary in February 1948: "He would have liked to give his name, but he is determined to return to California. Anyone who sides with a communist or a sympathizer is denied entry to the territory."¹⁵ Though perhaps only an excuse in this case, the potential threat to Milhaud's transnational mobility was a legitimate concern, as Eisler's own situation illustrated.

¹² Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁴ For discussions of other composer's constructions of Cold War identities, see Daniel Guberman, "Composing Freedom: Elliott Carter's 'Self-Reinvention' and the Early Cold War" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2012), and Emily Abrams Ansari, "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Cultural Diplomacy," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5, no. 3 (2011): 335–64.

¹⁵ H el ene Hoppenot, diary entry, 27 February 1948, C-Hoppenot, 329: "Il aurait bien voulu donner son nom mais il tient   retourner en Californie. Quiconque prend parti pour un communiste ou un sympathisant se voit refuser l'entr e du territoire."

Furthermore, the political mainstream of the Cold War–era United States was a comfortable fit for a composer who had eschewed partisanship during World War II in favor of “defending French culture” through his music (see chapter 1). Apart from the issue of Zionism (see chapter 3), Milhaud tended to take centrist or noncommittal stances that enabled him to maintain his politically diverse circle of friends and to avoid being viewed as an ideologically motivated composer, but this only made him more suited to a role in Cold War cultural politics. The widespread emphasis on cultural diplomacy—and on music as a diplomatic tool—aligned well with his preferred mode of political engagement, and at a time when the foreign policies of France and the United States were not always in accord, the notion of “French culture” as an exemplar of Western civilization was deployed by those in both countries who urged for closer relations.¹⁶ Whereas Latin American musical nationalism came under increasing suspicion in the United States, leading such composers as Alberto Ginastera to move toward serialism and aleatoricism, Milhaud could continue to benefit professionally from emphasizing his own national identity in his music and in his public persona, as French nationalism did not carry the same communist connotations.¹⁷ As he had done with wartime pieces such as *Suite française* and *Fanfare de la Liberté*, he continued to give French titles to many of his compositions commissioned by U.S. ensembles, including *Ouverture méditerranéenne* (Louisville Symphony Orchestra, 1953), *Ouverture philharmonique* (New York Philharmonic, 1962), and *Promesse de Dieu* (Dickinson College, 1973). Even when a work was premiered under an English title, the score was almost always published in France—his wartime relationships with U.S. publishers, no

¹⁶ See Endy, *Cold War Holidays*, and Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).

¹⁷ Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 143–54; Esteban Buch, *The Bomarzo affair: Ópera, perversión y dictadura* (Buenos Aires: A. Hidalgo Editora, 2003).

longer necessary, having largely fallen by the wayside—making the French title “official” and giving the impression that he habitually named his compositions in his native language.

Performing Frenchness for Americans was not always particularly dignified. In January 1963, he wrote to his Conservatoire colleague Jean Rivier: “You asked me what I have written since October. . . . It is a rather stupid commission from RCA Victor: a suite entitled *A Frenchman in New York*. They will be disappointed if they think that it will be like *An American in Paris*. It is a suite in six parts, quite close to the style of my Symphonies.”¹⁸ The record company had, in fact, intended Milhaud’s composition to be a companion piece to George Gershwin’s *An American in Paris* for a recording by the Boston Pops; the six movements bear picturesque titles, and some of the music can be heard to evoke specific imagery.¹⁹ Although Milhaud willingly accepted and fulfilled the commission (which took three months instead of one due to illness, as he complained to Rivier), he attempted to distance himself from the composition’s programmatic qualities.²⁰ An article in *Newsweek* quoted the composer agreeing with a critic who had heard nothing particularly “New York” about the work: “Music is music. If

¹⁸ Darius Milhaud to Jean Rivier, 12 January 1963, PSS-DM: “Vous me demandez ce que j’ai écrit depuis Oct. . . . C’est une commande assez stupide de RCA Victor: Une Suite intitulée Un Français à New York. Ils seront déçus s’ils pensent que ce sera comme Un Améouicain [*sic*] à Paris. C’est une suite en 6 parties assez proche du style de mes Symph.” Milhaud’s spelling of “américain” as “améouicain,” which appears in a number of his letters, was a reference to Léon-Paul Fargue’s poem “La grenouille américaine,” set by Erik Satie in his 1923 song cycle *Ludions*. (“La gouénouille améouicaine me regarde par-dessus...”)

¹⁹ A similar idea was proposed by the publisher Leonard Feist in 1941, to which Milhaud responded, “Your idea of an answer to the Gershwin American in Paris is to think about, a sort of ‘Frenchie in California’ perhaps? But it is a difficult.” Darius Milhaud to Leonard Feist, 13 October [1941], Library of Congress, Music Division, ML95.M459.

²⁰ The six movements are titled “New York with Fog on the Hudson River,” “The Cloisters,” “Horse and Carriage in Central Park,” “Times Square,” “Gardens on the Roofs,” and “Baseball in Yankee Stadium.” The score was published by Salabert in 1963, but is now nearly impossible to find; I examined the manuscript at the Paul Sacher Stiftung. “New York with Fog on the Hudson River” begins with low, dissonant chords resembling fog horns; “Horse and Carriage in Central Park” uses percussion suggesting the movement of horses; and the finale, “Baseball in Yankee Stadium,” takes the form of a fugue.

you played it without titles, it would be a Suite Symphonique. It is the same with *An American in Paris*.”²¹

As a French citizen, Milhaud did not participate in the U.S. State Department’s cultural diplomacy efforts in the manner of many of his American colleagues, but his existing networks still put him in an ideal position to embody international exchange not only through his professional activity, but also through his very presence in the world.²² Most significantly, he was a long-time friend of Nicolas Nabokov, the Russian-born composer and administrator who served as secretary-general of the anticommunist, and CIA-funded, Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) from 1951 to 1966.²³ Milhaud and Nabokov shared an extensive web of connections cultivated over several decades, and both men followed their wartime residence in the United States with transatlantic careers.²⁴ After leaving France for the United States in 1933 and remaining there through the 1940s—apart from a period of time working with the U.S. military government in Berlin (1945–46)—Nabokov ran the CCF in Paris while retaining his ties to the U.S. government and to U.S.-based composers such as Igor Stravinsky.

²¹ “Fugue to Fungo,” *Newsweek*, 8 July 1963, 50. Echoing Arthur Honegger’s insistence that his *Pacific 231* was an exercise in rhythm and tempo rather than a musical depiction of a moving train, Milhaud specifically denied any programmatic intent behind “Baseball in Yankee Stadium”: “It has nothing to do with baseball. . . . It is just the finale. It is a fugue. It is not describing anything. It’s an affair of movement. You see a lot of movement in a baseball game, don’t you?”

²² On the role of classical music, orchestras, and composers in American cultural diplomacy, see Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*; Emily Abrams Ansari, “‘Masters of the President’s Music’: Cold War Composers and the United States Government” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2009); and Jonathan Rosenberg, “‘To Reach . . . into the Hearts and Minds of Our Friends’: The United States’ Symphonic Tours and the Cold War,” in *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 140–65.

²³ Milhaud and Nabokov met in Paris in the mid-1920s through Henri Sauguet, and in the early 1930s, they were both members of the chamber music society “La Sérénade.” Vincent Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov: A Life in Freedom and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 59, 102.

²⁴ They also shared the experience of teaching at a U.S. women’s college; Nabokov was on the music faculty of Wells College in Aurora, New York, from 1936 to 1941.

Shortly after assuming the leadership of the CCF, Nabokov began organizing a festival of modern music and art in Paris, *L'Œuvre du XX^e siècle*, which was held in May 1952.²⁵ At one concert on 8 May, Milhaud's *Suite symphonique no. 2 (Protée)* was performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra under Pierre Monteux, but the work was—invariably—overshadowed on the program by Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*. Directed by its original conductor nearly forty years after its premiere, the well-received performance of the *Rite* was lauded by U.S. critic Olin Downes as “a triumph of literally epochal significance,” reflecting the festival's championing of Stravinsky as a successful anti-Soviet composer.²⁶ Two years later, at the next CCF festival in Rome (*La Musica nel XX Secolo*), Milhaud conducted his Fifth Symphony and participated in a panel discussion on “Music and Contemporary Society.” In advance of the festival, he served on the board that selected twelve young composers to enter a composition competition.²⁷ He was also invited to Tokyo for the “East-West Music Encounter” in April 1961, but he declined because he already had concert engagements in New York during that time.²⁸ It was as a representative of France, not of the United States, that Milhaud took part in these international

²⁵ On this event and its cultural and political context, see Mark Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), and Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, 250–69. On the participation of Virgil Thomson and other American composers, see Abrams Ansari, “Masters of the President's Music,” 258–62.

²⁶ Olin Downes, “Stravinsky Scores a Hit at Paris Fete,” *New York Times*, 9 May 1952. Monteux and the BSO had given the U.S. premiere of Milhaud's *Protée* in 1921, a fact Downes notes in his review of this concert.

²⁷ Shannon E. Pahl, “The Congress for Cultural Freedom, *La Musica Nel XX Secolo*, and Aesthetic ‘Othering’: An Archival Investigation” (MM thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2012), 61, 113. The other “Music and Contemporary Society” panelists were Nabokov, English composer Alan Rawsthorne, and Italian critics Fedele D'Amico and Massimo Mila. The preselection committee for the competition consisted of Igor Stravinsky (chair), Samuel Barber, Boris Blacher, Benjamin Britten, Carlos Chávez, Luigi Dallapiccola, Arthur Honegger, Gian Francesco Malipiero, Darius Milhaud, Frank Martin, Virgil Thomson, and Heitor Villa-Lobos. The jury awarding the prizes included Milhaud's close friends Paul Collaer, Aaron Copland, and Roland-Manuel (*ibid.*, 63).

²⁸ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 26 November 1960, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (204). On this event, see Giroud, *Nicolas Nabokov*, 329–32.

conferences, but his long association with the United States may have added an additional dimension to his participation.²⁹

In comparison with some of his peers, Milhaud's involvement in these overtly politicized musical activities was relatively limited, but as a pedagogue, he enabled students to undertake their own transatlantic adventures. From the beginning of his postwar teaching career in 1947, he used his influence to bring U.S. students to Paris for further study. Three "Mills G.I.s" followed him across the Atlantic the first year, under the auspices of a "Mills College Extension Course" that Milhaud established (see chapter 4). In 1949, the same program attracted a group of eight young composers, some of whom had never attended Mills. Nadia Boulanger also taught numerous American students in France, as she had done before World War II, but Milhaud's ongoing teaching activity in the United States enabled students to connect with him before traveling abroad.³⁰ Between his first summer in Aspen in 1951 and his retirement from the Conservatoire in 1962, a student might encounter Milhaud in Oakland, Aspen, or Paris and continue studying with him in one or both of the other places. In the vast majority of cases, it was U.S.-based students who traveled to Paris; it was rare for Conservatoire students to continue on to Mills or Aspen, as the composition programs were less advanced or prestigious. One exception was the Japanese student Motoyuki Takahashi, who received fellowships for Aspen and Mills in 1964 after four years at the Conservatoire.³¹

Once in Paris, American students had the opportunity not only to take classes at the Conservatoire, but also to take in the city's other musical offerings. The "Mills G.I.s" in 1947, all

²⁹ See Carroll, *Music and Ideology in Cold War Europe*, 82.

³⁰ For a comparison of Boulanger and Milhaud as teachers, written by an American who studied with both of them in France, see David Ward-Steinman, "On Composing: Doing It, Teaching It, Living It," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 19, no. 1 (2011): 5–23.

³¹ Darius Milhaud to Margaret Lyon, 13 December 1963, Mills-DM, 3.1.4. Milhaud's correspondence with Lyon mentions several other Japanese composition students at Aspen in the mid-1960s, including Sadao Bekku.

jazz musicians, found a new jazz scene to explore; in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was new European music that captivated the American students. William Bolcom recalled the overwhelming force of Pierre Boulez's *Domaine musical* concerts, at which he heard music by such composers as Luciano Berio and Karlheinz Stockhausen, then little-known in the United States: "Those concerts! Their impact was almost frightening, like the way I felt when I first heard *The Rite of Spring*. . . . There were other concert series of new music in Paris, but none had the authority or impact of these; after the pseudo-Schoenbergian crabbed sufferings of the California bunch they were like a breath of fresh air."³²

The official Mills extension course lasted only through the 1953–54 school year, but at a time when governmental initiatives and private foundations in both the United States and France poured resources into facilitating travel between the two countries, particularly for the purposes of academic study, U.S. students had a number of funding options available to enable them to follow Milhaud to Paris for a year.³³ Richard Felciano recalled the speed with which he received a grant from the French government after his first year as a graduate student at Mills:

I was alone in [Milhaud's] living room toward the end of the year, and I remember saying, "It's terrible that you're going to be gone next year. It would be nice if I went, if I could go to Paris with you." Which I just said off the top of my head, not really meaning anything by it. And he simply looked up over the top of his glasses very sternly, as he was apt to do, and said, really growled, "Well, if you are serious, don't sit here talking to me, go to the French Consulate in San Francisco and tell them that you want to go." And so I immediately left the room, got in my car, and drove to San Francisco to the French Consulate. And by the time I got there he had made a telephone call to the French cultural attaché, who gave me some forms to fill out. And ten days later I had a letter from the embassy, French embassy in Washington, saying that the French government had awarded me a grant. And I went to Paris to work with him.³⁴

³² Bolcom, "Reminiscences of Darius Milhaud," 9.

³³ On the early years of the Fulbright fellowship program and its relationship to anticommunist efforts in both countries, see Whitney Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad: France and the United States, 1890–1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 117–23.

³⁴ Richard Felciano interviewed by Vincent Plush, 20 September 1983, Oral History of American Music, Yale University.

Milhaud was familiar with the funding possibilities open to U.S. musicians for travel to France, and as he did in Felciano's case, he encouraged his students and friends to take advantage of the opportunity. He repeatedly urged Charles Cook Cushing, a friend on the Berkeley music faculty, to get a Fulbright fellowship to travel to Paris, as if it were only a matter of filling out the application (and perhaps knowing the right people), and he wrote to Arthur Berger in 1953: "Cant you arrange a kind of Guggenheim Fullbright Carnegie Ford fellowship? It would be so nice to have you both there [in Paris] for a season."³⁵ The successful Fulbright applications of Mills students Barbara Rowan (then Barbara Harris) in 1955 and Beverly Bond in 1959 were reported in the *Oakland Tribune*; the latter article noted that Bond had "toured Europe with a group of students sponsored by the State Department in performing American drama in universities in seven countries" three years earlier.³⁶ In the latter half of the 1950s, approximately three hundred Americans received Fulbright grants each year to travel to France, and a similar number traveled from France to the United States with the support of the same program.³⁷

Milhaud was also influential in facilitating the visits of European musicians to the United States, and particularly to the Aspen Music Festival. For example, for the 1962 festival, which would feature French music in honor of Milhaud's seventieth birthday, he invited Henri Sauguet and Olivier Messiaen to attend and to present their own compositions.³⁸ Alerting Sauguet to the letter of invitation he was to receive from Norman Singer, the director of the festival, Milhaud assured his friend: "It is not *business*, it is a *vacation*. All of your expenses will be paid, of

³⁵ Darius Milhaud to Arthur Berger, [1953], New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, Arthur Berger Papers, JPB 04-38, Box 10, Folder 1.

³⁶ "Oakland Girl Wins Music Award for Study Abroad," *Oakland Tribune*, 8 June 1955; "Mills Music Student Wins Fulbright Scholarship," *Oakland Tribune*, 29 April 1959.

³⁷ Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad*, 120.

³⁸ MVH, 271-72; Peter Hill and Nigel Simeone, *Messiaen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 241.

course.”³⁹ During Sauguet’s visit, the Opera Workshop gave the first U.S. performance of his 1930 opera *La Contrebasse*, directed by Madeleine Milhaud (see chapter 5). Later in the summer, Messiaen arrived with his wife, Yvonne Loriod, straight from their tour of Japan. Loriod helped to adjudicate the piano competition and played concerts including piano music by Messiaen, Milhaud, Boulez, and André Jolivet.⁴⁰ After leaving Colorado, Messiaen wrote to Milhaud with the affection and reverence that characterizes most of his letters to the older composer: “You and your wife, my dear Maestro, were our two *guardian angels* in Aspen! And I continuously think back, with the deepest emotion, on this incredible occurrence: the greatest living French composer, pondering over the works of a colleague more than seventeen years younger with so much simple and affectionate kindness.... Thank you for that, and for everything else.”⁴¹

The Disabled Composer

Throughout his two and a half decades of regular travel between France and the United States, Milhaud was visibly physically impaired, usually requiring the use of a wheelchair, and journalists routinely noted a perceived incongruity between his transnational mobility and the limitations of his body. For example, Walter Arlen began a 1967 profile of the composer in the *Los Angeles Times*:

³⁹ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 29 August [1961], Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (206): “Ce n’est pas *une affaire*, ce sont *des vacances*. Tous vos frais seront payés bien sûr.”

⁴⁰ Hill and Simeone, *Messiaen*, 251.

⁴¹ This brief message in Messiaen’s hand appears at the bottom of a letter from Yvonne Loriod to Darius Milhaud, 8 August 1962, PSS-DM: “Votre femme et vous, mon cher Maître, avez été nos deux *anges gardiens* à Aspen! Et je repense sans cesse, avec la plus profonde émotion, à ce fait inouï: le plus grand compositeur français vivant, qui se penche sur les œuvres d’un confrère plus jeune de près de 17 ans, avec tant de bonté simple et affectueuse... Merci, pour cela, et pour tout le reste.”

He will be 75 on Sept. 4, but he commutes between two continents like a member of the jet set. The crippling arthritis that has tied him to a wheelchair has not interrupted an annual schedule that revolves around summers in Aspen like a merry-go-round: home to Paris for the winter; to Aspen for the music festival; on to Oakland for more teaching at Mills College in winter; back to Aspen for the summer; home to Paris for the winter, and so on, as it has been for more than a decade.⁴²

Arlen's descriptions, and others like them, flatten real-life considerations—the role of the composer's health in the decision to maintain a presence in California after World War II, the particular accessibility challenges of Paris, the salutary effects of Oakland's mild weather and Aspen's altitude—into a simple narrative of perseverance in the face of physical challenges. In more recent accounts of Milhaud's career, travel and disability are sometimes the only images offered to characterize his life after 1947. The article on the composer in the 2001 edition of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, for instance, sums up his late career: "Since he only gave up his Mills post in 1971, the latter part of his life was divided between the two countries. With the constant round of concerts, this all meant a lot of travel, yet despite his handicap, he relished it."⁴³

Although Milhaud always maintained that negative assessments of his music did not bother him, this careful nonchalance did not extend to comments on his physical condition or appearance, as he explained to Claude Rostand in 1952:

Another critic reported not long ago that I was lifted up onto the podium half paralyzed—a spectacle that would suggest I had had a stroke. Furthermore, didn't his comment have the added implication that I wasn't in full possession of my faculties? That was the same critic who, on another occasion, wrote "the always pasty-looking Darius Milhaud." The discomfort that I sometimes suffer as a result of my rheumatic condition is not the

⁴² Walter Arlen, "Darius Milhaud—'Fossil' of the Jet Set," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 April 1967. Arlen, an Austrian Jewish émigré composer and critic, worked for the *Los Angeles Times* from 1952 to 1980. He was part of the social circle Milhaud encountered on visits to Los Angeles; one movement of his 1993 piano work *Monotypes* is titled "Saudades do Milhaud: Collage Musical (Hommage à Darius et Madeleine Milhaud)." Michael Haas, "Walter Arlen: Exiled Composer's Personal Works are Rediscovered," *Artbound* (blog), KCET, 20 October 2015, <http://www.kcet.org/arts/artbound/counties/los-angeles/the-life-of-music-critic-composer-walter-arlen-la-times.html> (accessed 28 January 2016).

⁴³ Jeremy Drake, "Darius Milhaud," *Grove Music Online*.

province of musical criticism, and the constant battle that I wage between my work and my pain is my affair only.⁴⁴

By this time, he no longer played piano in public, so it was as a conductor of his own music that his impairment was the most visible to the concertgoing public—and to music critics. In the 1950s and 1960s, he almost always conducted sitting down, but rather than appearing on stage in a wheelchair, he would generally walk to the podium—slowly, supported by two canes. As Alex Lubet has discussed, performers and conductors with mobility impairments have often had to navigate concert halls not designed with accessibility in mind, and this was likely one of the primary reasons why Milhaud seldom conducted from a wheelchair.⁴⁵ But walking across the stage also demonstrated to audiences that he was not completely immobile, and it was this that preoccupied *New York Times* critic Howard Taubman in a review of a concert at the Aspen Festival in 1957. In the first two paragraphs of the article, which appeared under the headline “Milhaud, Crippled by Arthritis, Conducts,” Taubman interpreted the composer’s choice of assistive device as a matter of pride, invoking the familiar trope of the disabled person who inspires others by performing ordinary actions.⁴⁶

Darius Milhaud is a victim of arthritis and is obliged to use a wheelchair. But when he must appear before the public as a performer, he will not let himself be wheeled onto the stage. He conducted one of his pieces at yesterday’s Aspen Festival concerts and, with the help of a couple of canes, walked on—slowly and gallantly.

⁴⁴ Darius Milhaud, *Interviews with Claude Rostand*, trans. Jane Hohfeld Galante (Oakland: Mills College Center for the Book, 2002), 76. Of the critic’s description of the composer as “half paralyzed,” Madeleine Milhaud recalled: “The next day I received three phone calls from indignant friends, former members of the Resistance, who said, ‘Would you like us to go and punch that critic in the nose?’” Madeleine Milhaud, *My Twentieth Century*, trans. Mildred Clary (Cleveland: Darius Milhaud Society, 2008), 102.

⁴⁵ Alex Lubet, *Music, Disability, and Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 28–29. In 1940, Milhaud raised this concern in his correspondence with Jacques Rouché about his plans to attend rehearsals of *Médée* at the Palais Garnier (see chapter 1).

⁴⁶ For a survey of journalistic tropes related to disability, including that of “inspiration,” see Katie Ellis and Gerard Goggin, *Disability and the Media* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 57–69. Although the examples cited by Ellis and Goggin are from 21st-century publications, many of the stereotypes they discuss are also found in the journalism of Milhaud’s time.

Mr. Milhaud may be determined not to let pity for his infirmity affect the public's reaction to his music. But he need not worry. His position as one of the distinguished composers of our time is solidly established. And his courageous behavior on the concert stage makes one feel a partner in his indomitable pride.⁴⁷

The image of Milhaud walking on stage with difficulty to the sound of prolonged applause became a fixture of reviews of the concerts he conducted.⁴⁸ Describing a concert in Paris in 1959, the Canadian critic Ken Winters wrote, "As the 67-year-old composer-conductor came onto the stage, walking with two canes, his great pale face jutting forward with the effort of negotiating the distance between wings and podium, he was greeted with applause that expressed much affection and respect."⁴⁹ A 1965 article in *Time* depicted a similar scene at the New York Philharmonic's Franco-American Festival: "The old man painfully hobbled on two canes to the seat in the center of the podium at Philharmonic Hall last week and a capacity audience rose to its feet in unison to pay homage."⁵⁰ In the *New York Times*, Richard D. Freed's review of the same concert went further, painting a picture of disability temporarily overcome through the act of conducting:

It was an understandable combination of sentiment and respect that moved the orchestra to rise when Mr. Milhaud came onstage, walking laboriously with the aid of two canes. The tribute was to the man as much as to the composer. He will be 73 in September. His hair is still jet-black, but his pale features reflect the poor health that has plagued him for years. Once he seated himself on the podium, however, his pallor seemed to vanish, just as his canes were forgotten. His vigorous conducting gave the impression of a bottomless resource of energy.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Howard Taubman, "Milhaud, Crippled by Arthritis, Conducts," *New York Times*, 16 August 1957.

⁴⁸ In a 1970 interview, violinist Itzhak Perlman recalled similar language and imagery in reviews of his own performances: "It used to bother me. Like, you know, the headline on the review that says 'Polio Victim Stars in Violin Concert'—that kind of thing. There was this one incredible one, I remember—'Mr. Perlman hobbled out on the stage and his aluminum crutches glistened through the orchestra, a burly man....' Wow." Quoted in Donal Henahan, "When Toby Says It Was Terrific, Then I'm Happy," *New York Times*, 8 March 1970. See Joseph N. Straus, *Extraordinary Measures: Disability in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 144.

⁴⁹ Ken Winters, "Milhaud Conducts His Own Music," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 14 November 1959.

⁵⁰ "Composers: To J.F.K.," *Time*, 6 August 1965, 71.

⁵¹ Richard D. Freed, "Music: Milhaud Conducts," *New York Times*, 26 July 1965. The notion of disability overcome through musical performance was also prevalent in reviews of concerts by the one-handed pianist Paul Wittgenstein;

As these examples only begin to show, critics routinely treated Milhaud's disability and pain with a combination of sensationalism and romanticism.⁵² The sight of the composer walking on stage was depicted as part of the spectacle of the concert, recalling Joseph N. Straus's statement that in Western concert halls, "the disabled performer has a dual task: to perform music and to perform disability."⁵³ In the context of the United States at midcentury, Milhaud's performance of disability has some similarities with the experiences of those with impairments caused by polio.⁵⁴ Milhaud began using a wheelchair at home during the last years of the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who went to great lengths to conceal the extent of his disability from the public.⁵⁵ Polio survivors growing up at this time and in the following decades were often taught to emulate Roosevelt, who was seen as someone who had successfully overcome disability, by striving to appear as able-bodied as possible.⁵⁶ Walking, even with obvious difficulty and requiring crutches or canes, ostensibly signaled a lesser degree of impairment than the use of a wheelchair—regardless of how much less mobile it actually made someone in practice—and it could also be interpreted as a sign of noble perseverance, as the reviews of Milhaud's concerts demonstrate.⁵⁷

see Blake Howe, "Paul Wittgenstein and the Performance of Disability," *The Journal of Musicology* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 135–80.

⁵² For additional examples, see chapter 5.

⁵³ Straus, *Extraordinary Measures*, 126.

⁵⁴ Milhaud was occasionally assumed to be a "polio victim" himself; see Peter Kory, *Sheltered from the Swastika: Memoir of a Jewish Boy's Survival amid Horror in World War II* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012), 189, and Helga Dudman, *Who Stole My Aunt Erica's Fabulous Stradivarius?: The Morini Family and Other Musical Mysteries* (Jerusalem: Carta Jerusalem, 2004), 85.

⁵⁵ Davis W. Houck, *FDR's Body Politics: The Rhetoric of Disability* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2003).

⁵⁶ Daniel J. Wilson, "Passing in the Shadow of FDR: Polio Survivors, Passing, and the Negotiation of Disability," in *Disability and Passing: Blurring the Lines of Identity*, ed. Jeffrey A. Brune and Daniel J. Wilson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 13–35. See also idem, "Fighting Polio Like a Man: Intersections of Masculinity, Disability, and Aging," in *Gendering Disability*, ed. Bonnie G. Smith and Beth Hutchison (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 199–233.

⁵⁷ Wilson, "Passing in the Shadow of FDR," 22–23.

The performance aspect of disability was, of course, not limited to the context of the concerts Milhaud conducted, but rather was part of his everyday life and his other activities as a public figure. The title of the expanded version of his memoirs, *Ma Vie heureuse*, reflects what had become a staple of his autobiographical public lectures, the idea that he was fundamentally a happy person who had lived a good, fulfilling life.⁵⁸ This insistence worked against the stereotypical image of the tortured artist—after one such lecture at Hofstra College in 1961, a student approached him to ask how someone with a happy life could find creative inspiration—but it was also a defense against the temptation to view him as a tragic figure defined by his disability and pain.⁵⁹ Yet this mode of self-presentation played into another archetype, that of the “inspirational” disabled person who maintains a positive attitude in the face of physical challenges.⁶⁰

Milhaud introduced the “happy life” theme into his lectures at a time when “many people in the world considered Helen Keller the greatest living American woman, a person who had overcome blindness and deafness to become a triumphant symbol of human resilience and courage,” and popular representations of Keller’s life story saturated U.S. culture with the idea of disability as inspiration.⁶¹ The *New York Times* described the documentary *Helen Keller in Her Story*, aired on CBS on the occasion of her seventy-fifth birthday in 1955, as “a warm and heartening tale of Miss Keller’s cheerful determination to improve herself and help others,”

⁵⁸ See chapter 5.

⁵⁹ The image of the tortured artist and that of the person suffering from illness or impairment are obviously intimately connected in music historiography and criticism, most pervasively in narratives about the relationship between Ludwig van Beethoven’s deafness and his music. Straus, *Extraordinary Measures*, 26–29.

⁶⁰ In a 2014 talk, Australian comedian and disability activist Stella Young spoke out against the pressure to perform disability in this way. Stella Young, “I’m not your inspiration, thank you very much,” *TEDxSydney*, April 2014, https://www.ted.com/talks/stella_young_i_m_not_your_inspiration_thank_you_very_much/transcript?language=en (accessed 22 October 2015).

⁶¹ Dorothy Herrmann, *Helen Keller: A Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 310.

quoting the film's narration as saying: "Her home is not a sad place because she is not a sad woman. She is extraordinarily gay."⁶² Similarly, both outside commentators and personal friends drew a connection between Milhaud's temperament and his long experience with disability. A report in the *Long Island Press* on his visit to Hofstra began: "From a wheel chair, Darius Milhaud, one of the world's greatest composers, spoke softly: 'I have had an extremely happy life... and continue to.' . . . Neither age, nor infirmity, seem to slow down the composer who more than four decades ago . . . formed the celebrated 'Six' as a rallying point in the revolt against musical impressionism."⁶³ After the composer's death, Yvonne Loriod recalled that he had "radiated joy and serenity, despite being wheelchair-bound for so many years."⁶⁴

Published criticism usually avoided overtly disparaging Milhaud for his condition, but this was not always the case in private conversation among those who were personally acquainted with him. Discussing the discrepancy among the Aspen Festival community between the respect for Milhaud as a person and the growing distaste for his music, Bruce Berger writes that the bassist Stuart Sankey, who began teaching there in the same year as Milhaud, "granted that Milhaud's early works had charm and wit, and that he did a beautiful setting of the Jewish Sabbath service, but believed that the standing ovations were due to his walking on and offstage with great difficulty, using two canes."⁶⁵ In Sankey's view, disability afforded Milhaud more respect than he deserved—respect rooted in pity rather than in recognition of musical talent. In a recent defense of Milhaud's reputation, Robert Shapiro argues that this dismissive perspective was both widespread and damaging:

⁶² J. P. Shanley, "Television: Tribute to Helen Keller," *New York Times*, 27 June 1955. William Gibson's drama *The Miracle Worker*, presented on television, stage, and film between 1957 and 1962, further popularized the story of Keller's early life and her encounter with Annie Sullivan.

⁶³ William A. Raidy, "Old 'Dinosaur' Brings Music to Hofstra Tonight," *Long Island Press*, [May 1961].

⁶⁴ Hill and Simeone, *Messiaen*, 300.

⁶⁵ Berger, *Music in the Mountains*, 70.

During his lifetime, the perception of Milhaud's illness that sporadically confined him to a wheelchair was one of scepticism and derision, strangely and unfairly enough, derived from not only an arrogant ignorance of his medical problems but also the apparent application of certain inherent prejudices regarding Milhaud the Composer as well as Milhaud the Man. Aside from this ludicrous non-issue of prolificness, there perhaps existed a certain disdain due to Milhaud's *seemingly* effortless rise into the upper tiers of critical respect and popular admiration, while the careers of many other composers languished in relative obscurity, by virtue, as some had erroneously presumed, of Milhaud's "aristocratic" status. Milhaud suffered from painful and debilitating rheumatoid arthritis. Some surviving contemporaries of the composer have privately speculated (to this writer) that anti-Semitism actually stood at the heart of many poisonous attacks.⁶⁶

Shapiro's diatribe may be hyperbolic, and it is certainly partisan, but the allegation that ill-informed gossip about Milhaud's health circulated among musicians—and had negative effects on his reputation—should not be dismissed, even in the absence of direct proof. The disparagement and misunderstanding to which Shapiro refers are commonly faced by those whose health conditions require accommodations that may be perceived as inconsistent.⁶⁷ As Milhaud's impairment was caused by a chronic illness, it continually fluctuated; taking a few steps was sometimes enough to exhaust him for days, but at other times, he could reserve his wheelchair for long distances.⁶⁸ After his summer in Aspen in 1952, for instance, he wrote to Henri Sauguet: "At those altitudes, I feel so much better that I very well could have not taken my wheelchair. I did not use it."⁶⁹ The previous year, he had written to Sauguet during a period of more restricted mobility: "Being unable to move about freely is a terrible hardship for me,

⁶⁶ Robert Shapiro, "Darius Milhaud," in Robert Shapiro, ed., *Les Six: The French Composers and Their Mentors Jean Cocteau and Erik Satie* (London: Peter Owen, 2011), 211.

⁶⁷ See Anthea Skinner, "Confessions of a part time wheelchair user," *Ramp Up* (blog), Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 26 May 2014, <http://www.abc.net.au/rampup/articles/2014/05/26/4011965.htm> (accessed 29 September 2015).

⁶⁸ On the relationship between chronic illness and disability, see Susan Wendell, "Unhealthy Disabled: Treating Chronic Illnesses as Disabilities," in *The Disability Studies Reader*, 4th ed., ed. Lennard J. Davis (New York: Routledge, 2013), 161–73.

⁶⁹ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 17 September [1952], Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (178): "A ces hauteurs, je porte tellement mieux que j'aurais très bien pu ne pas emporter mon fauteuil. Je ne m'en suis pas servi."

because I feel more limited every year.”⁷⁰ Ralph Swickard’s documentary *A Visit with Darius Milhaud*, filmed over a period of several months in 1953, primarily features the composer sitting in chairs or at a piano bench, but footage of Milhaud standing up to conduct in Aspen is shortly followed by a conversation with old friends in Paris in which he is seated in a wheelchair, and an early scene even shows him lying in bed during a visit from his son.⁷¹ It is easy to imagine that for someone who did not understand the nature of Milhaud’s condition—and was not inclined to be sympathetic—the variance in his mobility and in his use of assistive devices could lead to suspicions of “faking it,” of overperforming disability to elicit help or sympathy.⁷²

Moreover, obese people with physical disabilities often encounter heightened contempt.⁷³ The assumption that someone’s limited mobility is caused by excess weight—with the resulting conclusion that both conditions are therefore the result of personal moral failure—has led many people to see such individuals as less deserving of accommodation and support than thinner people with similar impairments.⁷⁴ Aside from Milhaud’s restricted movement and use of mobility aids, his size was the most overt sign of his physical difference, attracting attention even before his disability became visible (see chapter 5).⁷⁵ Once he began to use a wheelchair, the

⁷⁰ Darius Milhaud to Henri Sauguet, 27 March [1951], Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, N.L.a. 322 (174): “Ne pouvoir circuler librement est une terrible épreuve pour moi car je me sens plus limité chaque année.”

⁷¹ *A Visit with Darius Milhaud*, directed by Ralph Swickard, 1955.

⁷² See Tobin Siebers, “Disability as Masquerade,” *Literature and Medicine* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 1–22.

⁷³ On stigma related to physical disability and obesity, see Erich Goode, “Abominations of the Body: Physical Characteristics as Deviance,” in Erich Goode, ed., *The Handbook of Deviance* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 422–44 (especially 428–31 and 438–41), and Amy Erdman Farrell, *Fat Shame: Stigma and the Fat Body in American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2011). For an exploration of these issues in relation to masculinity and intelligence, see Sander L. Gilman, “The Fat Detective: Obesity and Disability,” in Lester D. Friedman, ed., *Cultural Sutures: Medicine and Media* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 234–43.

⁷⁴ Discussions of fatness within disability studies tend to center around the question of whether or not fatness itself should be considered a disability, rather than on the figure of the fat *and* disabled body. See Anna Mollow, “Disability Studies Gets Fat,” *Hypatia* 30, no. 1 (2015): 199–216.

⁷⁵ For example, during his first year in exile (1940–41), critics and journalists described him as “a large, square man with a broad face and an impassive look” (Edward Barry, “New Symphony Acclaimed at First Playing,” *Chicago*

confluence of weight, illness, and disability further altered people's perceptions of his body. Shapiro gives the example of the "strangely unnecessary images" in the diary of the composer Ned Rorem, who wrote in 1952 after a visit to Milhaud's Paris apartment: "He is enormously fat in all parts of his body (it is said that his sweat glands don't function) and literally does not walk; his life is spent in a chromium wheelchair."⁷⁶ Rorem went on to compliment Milhaud's musicianship in this diary entry, but his reaction to the physical presence of the composer was one of repulsed fascination.

Shapiro's defense of Milhaud also illustrates the extent to which disability intersected with, and inflected the perception of, other elements of his identity—the hyper-prolific composer, the distinguished cultural figure, the Jewish celebrity.⁷⁷ The intersection with the question of prolificness is particularly crucial to understanding Milhaud's reception in the postwar era and his legacy today. Straus writes of the late music of Frederick Delius, who was blind for the last twelve years of his life, that "the critics are sharply divided into two camps: those who think that the music represents a triumph over disability and those who think it is marred by disability."⁷⁸ Critics discussing Milhaud's music rarely drew an explicit connection between his music—whatever they thought of it—and his physical condition, but it may not be a coincidence that it was the New York-based critics, generally more negative about his music, who most often included lengthy descriptions of his impairment in their reviews, whereas the

Daily Tribune, 18 October 1940), "a stocky, slow moving man" (Robert Pollak, "Music—Milhaud Conducts Symphony's Premiere," *Chicago Daily Times*, 18 October 1940), and "a big, soft, fat man" (Talbot Lake, "His 'Music' Once Brought Cops In a Hurry," *Santa Fe New Mexican* [syndicated], 12 January 1941)

⁷⁶ Shapiro, "Darius Milhaud," 211; Ned Rorem, *The Paris Diary and the New York Diary, 1951–1961* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 64, quoted in Shapiro, "Darius Milhaud," 212. In an earlier diary entry, Rorem also described Milhaud as "tragic in his silver wheelchair." Rorem, *Paris Diary*, 63.

⁷⁷ On the association of Jewishness with illness and obesity in nineteenth- and twentieth-century antisemitism and medical discourse, see Sander L. Gilman, "Fat as Disability: The Case of the Jews," *Literature and Medicine* 23, no. 1 (2004): 46–60. Without additional information from Shapiro's confidantes, it is difficult to say whether these stereotypes were part of how Milhaud was viewed.

⁷⁸ Straus, *Extraordinary Measures*, 23.

Bay Area critics, dedicated Milhaud loyalists, usually mentioned it only in passing, if at all. By juxtaposing imagery of Milhaud's labored walking with dismissive comments about his music, writers could implicitly give the impression of a composer whose body and powers of creativity were equally impaired.

Posthumous evaluations of Milhaud's career tend to put forth an "overcoming" narrative of continuing to compose in spite of decades of physical challenges, but disability is still sometimes named—or implied—as a reason for a perceived decline in his music after his early career.⁷⁹ Both perspectives can be found in the writings of British author Christopher Palmer. In the 1980 *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, he names "increasing age and infirmity" as one cause of the "distinct falling-off in quality" in Milhaud's music after 1940.⁸⁰ In the preface to his 1995 translation of *Ma Vie heureuse*, however, Palmer praises Milhaud's ability to continue producing fine work despite his ailments, going so far as to propose a positive correlation between pain and creativity:

It is arguable that Milhaud's increasingly enforced immobility actually stimulated his productivity. He claimed that he inherited the discipline of regular work from his mother, and this stood him in good stead all his life; but we also know that, quite often, the deterioration of one faculty is counterbalanced by enhanced activity in another. So it seems likely that, increasingly traumatized by pain and physical infirmity, Milhaud's creativity may have been stimulated and enhanced. It would certainly be in keeping with what we know of his personality, which was strong and determined and irradiated optimism.⁸¹

⁷⁹ *San Francisco Chronicle* critic Robert Commanday, one of Milhaud's most devoted advocates in the 1960s and after, wrote of the composer in an adulatory obituary: "his veritable compulsion to bring out the music that lived inside of him lifted him above this painful infirmity." Robert Commanday, "The Vital Music of Milhaud," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 July 1974.

⁸⁰ Christopher Palmer, "Darius Milhaud," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 12, 306. Palmer goes on to state that "the real cause" of Milhaud's decline as a composer was his separation from France, drawing a connection between exile and a diminishment of creativity.

⁸¹ Christopher Palmer, "Darius Milhaud, Poet of Provence," in Darius Milhaud, *My Happy Life*, trans. Donald Evans, George Hall, and Christopher Palmer (London: Marion Boyars, 1995), 21. Palmer's radically different perspective here may have been influenced by his knowledge of his own terminal illness at the time of writing; he did not live to see his translation published.

Taking a less romantic and more practical view, composer William Bolcom raises the issue of disability in a rebuttal to the idea that Milhaud's habit of composing quickly was a sign of carelessness:

There are reasons why he wrote so fast. One was that he was the type of composer who puts it all together in his head and then writes it down. . . . Another reason he wrote quickly and didn't bother erasing was a physical one: all the time I knew him, and for long before that, he was in almost constant pain. . . . Often his hands would swell; I remember when he was thus disabled for six months and couldn't write a note, and this happened more than once. Is it any wonder that his hand would dash across the page when it could?⁸²

The connection drawn here between Milhaud's chronic pain and the physical act of composition relates to the work of music theorist Joseph N. Straus, who has posited that what is often understood as the "late style" of a composer "may in some cases be more richly understood as *disability style*: a perspective composers may adopt at any age, often in response to a personal experience of disability."⁸³ But the case of Milhaud—whose first bouts of incapacitating illness occurred in his early thirties, but who lived another fifty years with varying degrees of physical impairment—complicates an association between disability and "lateness," even though Straus decouples "disability style" from chronological age.⁸⁴ Furthermore, any attempt to discern the effects of disability on Milhaud's compositions would also have to contend with the confluence of disability with exile, another condition that is often assumed to have a perceptible effect on a composer's music.

It is difficult to imagine that Milhaud would agree with an analysis of any of his compositions as a musical inscription of his experiences with disability, given his insistence that his physical condition was outside the proper domain of the music critic. But his health did affect

⁸² William Bolcom, "Reminiscences of Darius Milhaud," *Musical Newsletter* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1977): 4.

⁸³ Joseph N. Straus, "Disability and 'Late Style' in Music," *Journal of Musicology* 25, no. 1 (2008): 6.

⁸⁴ Straus mentions Milhaud in a list of composers with disabilities in *Extraordinary Measures* (15), but does not otherwise discuss him.

his work in a practical sense: his ability to compose and to write the music down—which, according to Bolcom, were essentially separate processes—depended on his degree of fatigue, pain, and stiffness in his hands at a given time. During episodes of acute illness, which could last for months, he sometimes could not compose at all, and each time, as he recovered, he had to prioritize certain projects over others, leading to an increased focus on commissions and music for special occasions. At the end of a long period of illness in the fall and winter of 1955, for instance, he lamented to Paul Collaer that he had been able to produce only an organ suite for his son’s wedding, a *morceau de concours* for the Conservatoire, and a quintet in memory of Arthur Honegger.⁸⁵

The relationship between disability and work in the life of a creative artist is always susceptible to idealized interpretations, both positive and negative, yet ignoring disability or declaring it irrelevant is not the solution. In Milhaud’s reception—as well as in his crafting of his own life story—disability intersects with other issues of identity in overt and concealed ways. Accounting for the material effects of his physical condition on his compositional output challenges both a romanticized notion of creativity stimulated by suffering and the accusation that he gave little thought to his compositions.

Status and Reception

As I discussed in chapter 3, the realm of Jewish music was one context in which Milhaud’s reputation grew rather than diminished during the postwar era. His status saw a similar upward trajectory in the San Francisco Bay Area, where he had become a fixture of the community and a symbol of the region’s growing prominence as a center of culture. Elsewhere, however, Milhaud

⁸⁵ Darius Milhaud to Paul Collaer, 1 February 1956, C-Collaer, 430.

seemed to be falling out of favor, particularly from the mid-1950s onward. New York newspaper critics lost patience with his music, some Aspen Festival participants disparaged him in private conversation, and those who commissioned new works from him were not always pleased with the results.

The new complications in his reception may seem inevitable for a composer of his age—sixty in 1952, seventy in 1962—especially one whose musical language did not change substantially after World War II. Unlike such composers as Stravinsky and Copland, Milhaud never turned toward serialism, which would have contradicted his image as someone who had built his musical identity on the distinction between Germanic atonality and Latin polytonality.⁸⁶ Apart from some ventures in indeterminacy, which he viewed more as a return to the experimentalism of his early career than as a new direction (see chapter 4), he continued in a neoclassical vein, his compositional style marked by his characteristic use of polytonality and contrapuntal textures.⁸⁷ Beyond the issues of age and musical style, however, Milhaud's reception during this period was shaped by factors including his French nationality, his health, his residence in the Bay Area, and the speed at which he produced new compositions.

Milhaud's reputation as an exceptionally prolific composer is especially relevant to his postwar reception. The notion that he wrote too much—and that the quality of his output varied from impressive to embarrassing—had followed him since the early days of his career. In 1921, the New York critic Paul Rosenfeld characterized Milhaud's prolificness as driven by an inability to focus and a desire for attention, writing: "He is finished too quickly with each of his

⁸⁶ See Darius Milhaud, "The Evolution of Modern Music in Paris and in Vienna," *The North American Review* 217, no. 809 (April 1923): 544–54.

⁸⁷ For a stylistic assessment of Milhaud's late-period works in comparison to his earlier music, see Deborah Mawer, "Positioning Milhaud's Late Chamber Music: Compositional 'Full Circle'?", *The Musical Times* 149, no. 1905 (Winter 2008): 45–60.

compositions; over-ready to chase off and attack a new subject before he has really mastered the old; over-eager to have his work printed and out in the world proclaiming his name.”⁸⁸ In later years, the same charge of overproductivity carried the implication that he had lost whatever genuine creative power he might once have had—or, at least, that he employed it only rarely, spinning out a dozen generic pieces for every work of respectable quality. The quantity of his output also set him at odds with the high-modernist valorization of the difficulty of the compositional process (exemplified by Pierre Boulez, his professional adversary in Paris), which some critics found disconcerting.⁸⁹ Yet as Milhaud’s pace of composition slowed significantly in the 1960s, the perception that he wrote too much only grew. This may be because he still regularly received commissions for orchestral works, which almost always carried at least one performance with them, were more likely to be reviewed by prominent critics than other types of music, and signified a level of business success that could be seen as artistically compromised.

In the United States, the rhetoric through which Milhaud and his music were dismissed was developed principally in New York City, where he increasingly lacked the connections necessary to sustain his reputation—and where the so-called “uptown” and “downtown” music scenes both had little use for music like his. At the time of his exile, Milhaud’s most prominent professional contacts were based there, and to maintain those relationships and gain valuable exposure to the concertgoing public there, he traveled to the East Coast every winter (with the exception of 1944, when he was too ill to make the trip).⁹⁰ After the war, however, he began to spend much less time in New York, going there only for special occasions or for brief stops on

⁸⁸ Paul Rosenfeld, “The Group of Six,” in *Musical Chronicle 1917–1923* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1923), 163. The article was originally published in September 1921.

⁸⁹ See Donal Henahan, “Milhaud: He Churned Out Music but Fulfilled the Composer’s Role,” *New York Times*, 7 July 1974.

⁹⁰ See chapter 2.

the way to or from France. At the same time, a generational shift in the city's musical hierarchy displaced many of the allies Milhaud had once found there. Claire Reis resigned as executive director of the League of Composers in 1948, the League reorganized as a branch of the International Society of Contemporary Music six years later, and the death of Serge Koussevitzky in 1951 further weakened Milhaud's ties to the East Coast outside New York. As the principal conductor of the New York Philharmonic beginning in 1958, Leonard Bernstein was a sympathetic friend in a position of power, but his tangible support was limited to the commissioning of an overture in 1961 and the invitation to conduct two recent works in the orchestra's French-American Festival in 1965.

Perhaps most devastatingly, Milhaud also lost the music critics who had viewed him favorably. 1955 saw the death of the *New York Times* critic Olin Downes, who retained respect for Milhaud as a composer even when he thoroughly disliked a particular piece.⁹¹ Virgil Thomson, one of Milhaud's most devoted advocates on the East Coast, retired from the *New York Herald Tribune* in 1954 and was replaced as chief music critic by Columbia musicologist Paul Henry Lang, who found Milhaud's music—particularly his newer works—relentlessly tedious. Reviewing the first New York performance of Milhaud's Eighth Symphony in February 1960, he deemed it “the evening's disappointment” and wrote:

The first movement consists of nothing but tricks; Diogenes equipped with a light house could not find musical ideas in it. The second movement offered latex melodies that can be stretched in any direction, while the third and fourth represent a Frenchman's idea of folksy-gutsy music with lots of ‘wrong’ notes. After a while I was convinced that

⁹¹ Downes disliked Milhaud's Second Symphony, for instance, writing of its New York premiere in February 1948: “The music impresses us as mannered, artificial and unbeautiful, and in point of such thematic ideas as there are, unoriginal and undistinguished.” Reviewing a performance of two of Milhaud's early chamber symphonies two months later, Downes wrote: “Usually a composer fails to be smart when he tries to do so. Mr. Milhaud does not fail. He is really ingenious, light-footed and diverting.” Olin Downes, “Munch Conducts Work by Milhaud,” *New York Times*, 6 February 1948, and idem, “Large Group Heard in Chamber Music,” *New York Times*, 7 April 1948.

Milhaud is trying to imitate some of our boys, the Copland and Schuman of the Thirties.⁹²

Lang's description of Milhaud's symphony as an inferior French imitation of pre-war American music stings on several fronts. Not only does he insinuate that the composition was both derivative and behind the times, but by referring to Aaron Copland and William Schuman as "some of our boys," Lang also turns his distaste for the work into a nationalist argument, reversing the image of American composers looking to Europe for influence. With relations between the U.S. government and the new French Fifth Republic mired in conflict, Lang's critique suggests that Milhaud's strategy of playing up his French identity for U.S. audiences had lost some of its effectiveness. The Eighth Symphony made something of an easy target in this respect; subtitled "Rhodanienne" and inspired by Bedřich Smetana's *The Moldau*, it offers a programmatic depiction of the path of the Rhône river from the Swiss Alps to the Camargue delta not far from Aix-en-Provence.⁹³

In November 1962, Lang wrote of another new composition, commissioned and performed by the New York Philharmonic: "The novelty of the evening—a world premiere that will surely turn into a world dernière—was Milhaud's 'Ouverture Philharmonique,' one of those Milhaud jobs that goes reeling along on ball bearings. This music is trite, empty, and all but useless."⁹⁴ In the *New York Times*, Harold C. Schonberg called *Ouverture Philharmonique* "a chip from the Milhaud workshop," adding: "Milhaud can turn out a score like this 'twixt breakfast and lunch, and often his very fluency acts against itself. Here the craftsmanship cannot

⁹² Paul Henry Lang, "Music: Philadelphia Orchestra," *New York Herald Tribune*, 3 February 1960. Copy typed by Ralph Swickard in Mills-DM, 1.3.2. See Ralph Swickard, "The Symphonies of Darius Milhaud: An Historical Perspective and Critical Study of their Musical Content, Style, and Form" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), 126–27.

⁹³ MVH, 259.

⁹⁴ Paul Henry Lang, "Music: New York Philharmonic," *New York Herald Tribune*, 30 November 1962.

disguise musical ideas that lack distinction.”⁹⁵ Imagery of workshops and factories appears regularly in reviews of Milhaud’s late-period music, and the figure of the craftsman is deployed to dismiss him as competent but uninspired.

Two months after *Ouverture Philharmonique*, Schonberg wrote of Roy Harris’s Ninth Symphony, a work by another composer with a large corpus of symphonic music: “It lasts about 23 minutes and is typical of Roy Harris, full of exuberant yawps and exclamation points. On first hearing, though, it did not impress as a work of much inner force. Harris is cultivating the same field he has turned over so many times in the past, and by now it is almost a mechanical procedure.”⁹⁶ Yet in an obituary for Paul Hindemith in January 1964, he praised the composer’s “impeccable workmanship” and made a case for the enduring value of his music, writing: “Craft—real craft—will always be with us. And purely as a craftsman, Hindemith was on a transcendental level. It must be conceded that craft unsupported by cogent ideas is not enough, and Hindemith was often guilty of writing mechanical strings of notes. . . . But at his best he was a strong creative figure with something positive to offer.”⁹⁷

Shortly after Milhaud’s death in 1974, in a *New York Times* article with the unflattering headline “Milhaud: He Churned Out Music but Fulfilled the Composer’s Role,” critic Donal Henahan attempted to reconcile Milhaud’s approach to composition with “the 20th-century’s admiration for terseness,” naming Anton Webern as “more characteristic of this century’s musical creators” and comparing Milhaud to composers of previous eras such as Bach, Mozart, and Schubert, anachronistic in the modern age. The article concludes with what amounts to a backhanded compliment:

⁹⁵ Harold C. Schonberg, “Music: Work by Milhaud,” *New York Times*, 30 November 1962.

⁹⁶ Harold C. Schonberg, “Debut of a Symphony,” *New York Times*, 31 January 1963.

⁹⁷ Harold C. Schonberg, “Paul Hindemith: A Musician Rooted in the Great German Past and a Strong Creative Figure,” *New York Times*, 5 January 1964.

Milhaud leaves us with the hopeful suggestion that musical creativity does not necessarily have to run dry under the desiccating conditions of modern existence. Looking back at his career, which at first glance appears haphazard and lacking in direction, the suspicion forms that he knew what he was doing in working incessantly and with so few pauses for self-criticism. . . . So Milhaud may turn out to have been a straggler—one of a dying species, and a minor example at that. But he did to the utmost what his talent permitted. He wrote perfectly respectable music in floods and he was content to let matters stand there. As esthetic positions go, not a terribly profound one, but as a guide for the perplexed young composer, worth considering.⁹⁸

The image of Milhaud as a formulaic and overproductive composer was so firmly established in New York music criticism that when critics actually liked a new piece—which did occasionally happen—they framed it as a surprising exception to his usual mediocrity. In July 1965, for example, Richard D. Freed praised Milhaud’s *Murder of a Great Chief of State*, the composer’s elegy for John F. Kennedy, by saying that he heard “no evidence of haste in the music.”⁹⁹ Similarly, Alan Rich began his positive review of the Juilliard School’s premiere of the *Concerto for Two Pianos and Percussion* in April 1963: “A premiere of a work by Darius Milhaud isn’t exactly a rarity these days, since this French-born composer is one of the most facile and prolific craftsmen in the business. A new Milhaud work with strength, profile and genuine originality is somewhat more of a rarity however.” In contrast to Lang’s assessment of the Eighth Symphony, Rich was charmed by the perceived “French” quality of the concerto, imagining Milhaud composing “in his apartment overlooking the Place Pigalle” and describing a percussion-heavy moment in the slow second movement as “a burst of fireworks on a warm July 14 evening.” Yet the “originality” he heard in the work was its resemblance to Milhaud’s more successful pre-war compositions: “Milhaud has returned to a vein that he has mined with great profit in the past. The music has a buoyancy and élan and derives much of its bounce from

⁹⁸ Henahan, “Milhaud: He Churned Out Music.”

⁹⁹ Richard D. Freed, “Music: Milhaud Conducts,” *New York Times*, 26 July 1965.

echoes of French popular and folk songs. One is reminded quite often of such delicious Milhaud scores as his *Suite Provençale* and *Le Bœuf sur le Toit*.”¹⁰⁰

At the Aspen Music Festival, where Milhaud taught composition every summer beginning in 1951, he was recognized as an important part of the community, but his music was subject to the same criticisms as in New York. His *Aspen Serenade*, a piece for chamber orchestra written in honor of the festival, was notoriously poorly received at its premiere in the summer of 1957. According to Bruce Berger’s history of the festival, the nine performers—all members of the faculty—disliked the composition so much that they canceled most of the planned rehearsals, and “the audience found the piece interminable and meaningless.”¹⁰¹ Howard Taubman’s review in the *New York Times* was relatively positive for that newspaper, concluding: “One would not say that the ‘Aspen Serenade’ belongs among the best of Mr. Milhaud’s compositions. As an occasional piece, however, it shows the hand of a polished, though still questing, craftsman.”¹⁰² But at the end of the summer, Lowell Durham’s music column in the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on a Salt Lake City resident’s visit to Aspen: “Mr. [Martin] Zwick attended the premier performance of the much-publicized *Aspen Serenade* of Darius Milhaud and described it as pretty inferior stuff.”¹⁰³ Even in the more welcoming environment of Mills College, Milhaud seemed to know that the fairly dissonant piece was difficult for audiences to appreciate; before a concert at Mills in April 1959, he wrote to his colleague Leon Kirchner:

¹⁰⁰ Alan Rich, “Work By Milhaud Given In Premiere,” *New York Times*, 20 April 1963.

¹⁰¹ Bruce Berger, *Music in the Mountains: The First Fifty Years of the Aspen Music Festival* (Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 1999), 70–71.

¹⁰² Howard Taubman, “Music: Aspen Serenade,” *New York Times*, 20 August 1957.

¹⁰³ Lowell Durham, “Music,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 September 1957.

“The Aspen Serenade will be *well played* but will look for the audience like a bowl of vinegar, which it is (with pepper in the eyes).”¹⁰⁴

In most other places, Milhaud was generally thought of primarily in his historical role as a member of Les Six, although many communities across the country included a Mills alumna or an Aspen student among their local musicians, giving recognition to his ongoing pedagogical activity. For the most part, only a small selection of his music was in regular circulation, the majority of it predating 1940.¹⁰⁵ The two-piano suite *Scaramouche* (1937) remained quite popular, to the composer’s chagrin; school and community bands played *Suite française* (1944); and some of his choral works entered the repertory of college, religious, and amateur choirs, often as the only twentieth-century piece on a concert program. In contrast to New York, where his music was considered outdated, critics more accustomed to music of the common-practice period often had trouble describing what they heard in a Milhaud score, falling back on such terms as “dissonant” and “difficult.” After a performance of his 1937 cantata *Les Deux Cités* at a high school in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1961, for instance, a review of the concert stated: “This is a composition of an unbelievable difficulty, performed with meticulous exactness by the choir, with certain passages of great beauty, but in the main devoid of melody—at least melody as most of us conceive of it. The young people on the stage seemed to enjoy it. Perhaps it is a work that needs hearing often before passing judgment.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Darius Milhaud to Leon Kirchner, 15 April [1959], New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, Leon Kirchner Papers, JPB 11-14, Box 9, Folder 3.

¹⁰⁵ In a 1970 interview, Milhaud said, “I am stuck with the conductors with *Création du Monde*, *Suite Française*, and *Suite Provençale*. I have written twelve symphonies. They are played a little bit, of course, but not to the extent of the three works I just mentioned.” Darius Milhaud and Henry Breitrose, “Conversation With Milhaud,” *Music Educators Journal* 56, no. 7 (March 1970): 56.

¹⁰⁶ Alexius Baas, “Concordia Choir Receives Ovation,” *Capital Times* (Madison, Wisconsin), 18 February 1961. Baas was a retired voice teacher and amateur composer in Madison.

However, due to Milhaud's reputation as a composer who was well-known enough to lend a famous name to an occasion, but who would accept nearly any commission offered to him and could be relied upon to produce the piece on schedule, institutions across the country regularly asked him to write new compositions, usually orchestral or choral works. In contrast to his early career, when he pursued commissions from prominent patrons to raise his own profile, it was now those who funded his music who sought to benefit from their association with a famous composer.¹⁰⁷ Many such requests came either from a committee—such as the Fine Arts committee for the state of Oregon, which engaged Milhaud to write his Tenth Symphony to mark the hundredth anniversary of statehood—or from someone who knew him personally.

When Mario di Bonaventura, a U.S.-born conductor who had studied composition with Milhaud in Paris, became the director of the Fort Lauderdale Symphony Orchestra in 1959, he almost immediately began working with the ensemble's board of directors to commission a symphony from his former teacher.¹⁰⁸ At that time, the orchestra was only ten years old and not yet a professional ensemble, but Milhaud accepted the project, composing his Ninth Symphony in Paris in November and December 1959.¹⁰⁹ Before the first performance in March 1960, advance publicity in the *Fort Lauderdale News* emphasized the prestige a symphony by Milhaud would bring to the orchestra and to the city of some 84,000 people: "The Symphony was commissioned by conductor Mario di Bonaventura, and written expressly for our local orchestra. Needless to say, musical cohorts are properly agog over their coup."¹¹⁰ But the review of the

¹⁰⁷ On Milhaud's relationship with patrons and the music business before World War II, see Louis K. Epstein, "Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918–1939" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013).

¹⁰⁸ Swickard, "The Symphonies of Darius Milhaud," 135.

¹⁰⁹ Milhaud composed his Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh symphonies—all U.S. commissions for regional orchestras—in the span of five months during the winter of 1959–60.

concert in the same newspaper three days later bore the headline “Milhaud’s No. 9 Disappoints: Symphony’s Final Program Termed Worst of Season,” with critic Helen Bowman writing:

There were undoubtedly some in the far-from-capacity audience who found merit in Milhaud’s effort. Frankly, we found no merit whatsoever in it. It sounded like an atonal hodge-podge of nothing. Even the tuning up of an orchestra would sound like a Mozart concert by comparison.

While we’re quite certain that Monsieur Milhaud attaches quite the same significance to our opinions as we do to his work, it none the less seems reasonable to suggest that he move on to the “Tenth” and try to forget the “Ninth.”¹¹¹

To make matters worse—or better, for those in the audience who found the music unbearable—the orchestra only performed the first of the three movements, as they were unable to prepare the entire nineteen-minute work in time for the concert. (“It is fortunate that the audience was required to endure only one movement,” Bowman wrote.) Uniquely among Milhaud’s symphonies, the Ninth never received another performance by any orchestra during the composer’s lifetime.¹¹²

Bowman was probably right to assume that Milhaud would not be particularly upset to know that she had not liked the piece. Although he could experience feelings of deep frustration and betrayal when a project did not work out—and one imagines that the Fort Lauderdale Symphony’s failure to prepare his entire composition might fall into that category—he had insisted since his early career that he placed little or no importance on what critics had to say about his music.¹¹³ As he explained to Elie Siegmeister in 1962, “Critics’ opinions go in periods

¹¹⁰ Yolanda Mauer, “Talk of the Town,” *Fort Lauderdale News*, 27 March 1960, quoted in Swickard, “The Symphonies of Darius Milhaud,” 135.

¹¹¹ Helen Bowman, “Milhaud’s No. 9 Disappoints: Symphony’s Final Program Termed Worst of Season,” *Fort Lauderdale News*, 30 March 1960. Copy typed by Ralph Swickard in Mills-DM, 1.3.2. See Swickard, “The Symphonies of Darius Milhaud,” 135.

¹¹² Swickard, “The Symphonies of Darius Milhaud,” 136. According to Swickard, while Mario di Bonaventura believed that the symphony had been performed in Europe at some point after the premiere, it is unlikely that this occurred.

¹¹³ See Milhaud, *Interviews with Claude Rostand*, 72–77. At the time of the premiere of the Ninth Symphony, Milhaud had recently learned that complications with the estate of Bertolt Brecht would indefinitely delay the

of ten years. If you produce a new work, everybody says it's awful. Ten years later you again write a new piece. The attitude usually is 'This is a terrible work, and it's such a pity when you think of how beautiful a composition he wrote ten years ago.'"¹¹⁴

By this time, maintaining a consistently dismissive attitude toward negative judgments of his music—at least in interviews and other public statements—had become a way of eliding the difference between the young provocateur he once was and the composer in decline many considered him to have become. Indeed, Milhaud's continued reliance on his erstwhile reputation as a musical rebel is nowhere more evident than in his public responses to criticism and rejection. The biggest shock came in 1968, when *Music for New Orleans*, part of his series of late symphonic works named after the cities for which they were written, was rejected outright by the conductor of the New Orleans Symphony Orchestra, Werner Torkanowsky. The conductor replaced it with *La Création du monde* on the concert program, and a report in *Time* quoted his explanation: "As the greatest living French composer, Milhaud deserves to be represented in our concert only by his best work,' Torkanowsky said in a public statement. 'We do not propose to present him at what might be his worst.'"¹¹⁵ As *Time* reported, Milhaud brushed off Torkanowsky's judgment of the piece, and when *Music for New Orleans* had its premiere at Aspen that summer, the program notes stated that the snub had "made Milhaud feel 'as if he were twenty-five again.'"¹¹⁶

Broadway production of Brecht's play *Mother Courage*, for which Milhaud had written a new score. Several years later, translator Eric Bentley, who had worked closely with Milhaud on this project, was hired to work on an approved Broadway production of the play, but without Milhaud's score. MVH, 260–61. The version of the play with Milhaud's music finally premiered in 1997; see Eric Bentley, "Mixing Brecht With the Brighter Colors of Milhaud," *New York Times*, 19 January 1997.

¹¹⁴ Darius Milhaud quoted in Elie Siegmeister, "Conversations with Milhaud," *Musical America* 82 (October 1962): 8. See MVH, 120.

¹¹⁵ "Winning Commissions & Losing," *Time*, 22 March 1968, 66.

¹¹⁶ Aspen Festival Orchestra concert program, 11 August 1968, Mills-DM, 2.5.13.

It was only in northern California that Milhaud had no need to explain away criticism or rejection, because in the region that had become his second home, the discourse surrounding his new compositions was vastly different. William C. Glackin's declaration that the Twelfth Symphony, "like just about everything Milhaud does, is distinguished by originality, intellectual interest and sounds which appeal immediately to the ear" seems almost to be describing a different composer than the manufacturer of tedium or the screeching modernist portrayed by critics elsewhere, but in the context of Bay Area music criticism, it was far from unusual.¹¹⁷ Unlike in New York, Milhaud enjoyed the support of the primary newspaper critics through the 1950s and 1960s. At the *Oakland Tribune*, Clifford Gessler was a reliable source of positive reviews and of news about Milhaud's activities in Oakland and elsewhere.¹¹⁸ Alfred Frankenstein, chief art and music critic for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, was a personal friend and part-time Mills colleague, and his successor, Robert Commanday, became one of Milhaud's most ardent champions in the last decade of the composer's life.¹¹⁹

In contrast to New York, Bay Area music critics consistently depicted Milhaud as a composer who was successful, powerful, and still relevant, and whose music was both important and interesting. Reviews often began by reiterating the composer's long association with the region, as well as his status as a major French composer. For these critics, his age made him distinguished rather than merely past his prime, and his prolificness was a sign of continued vitality. This shared belief in Milhaud's significance and compositional skill led critics to

¹¹⁷ William C. Glackin, "Capacity Davis Crowd Hears New Milhaud Work," *Sacramento Bee*, 17 February 1962. Copy typed by Ralph Swickard in Mills-DM, 1.3.4. See Swickard, "The Symphonies of Darius Milhaud," 169.

¹¹⁸ Gessler was not a professional musician; before becoming a music critic in the 1940s, he had been a travel writer who published books on Hawaii and Polynesia.

¹¹⁹ Commanday's advocacy continued after 1974, as he repeatedly urged Mills College to do more to commemorate Milhaud's legacy and promote his music. Robert Commanday, "A Gap for the Future: A Milhaud Celebration," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 October 1974; Robert Commanday to Mary S. Metz, 29 September 1987, Mills-DM, 9.1.16.

describe his music in very different language than that of their counterparts on the opposite coast. For example, Frankenstein's review of the Eighth Symphony after its premiere in Berkeley differs from Lang's both in the critic's impression of this particular piece and in his operating assumptions about the qualities a work by Milhaud was likely to possess:

Like so many works of Milhaud, it is full of gracious, shapely tunes given both weight and energy by polytonal harmony and colorful orchestration. I especially liked the third movement, which restores the wild, all-out exuberance so characteristic of Milhaud in his earliest music, and the fourth, which is probably the most grandiose of the numerous pipe-and-tabor folk dance pieces he has written in tribute to his native territory.¹²⁰

Milhaud's positive reception and high status in the Bay Area was a function not only of his group of sympathetic critics and the prestige his name lent the area's claims to cultural significance, but also of his own role in shaping the region's musical culture since 1940 and the rich web of professional and personal connections he had developed there. Pierre Monteux, the chief conductor of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra beginning in 1936, was one of the only Bay Area musicians Milhaud knew at the beginning of his exile, and he programmed Milhaud's music even in the face of complaints about the amount of modern music the orchestra performed. After the retirement of Monteux in 1952, his successors Enrique Jordá (1952–63) and Josef Krips (1963–70) presided over the California premieres of a number of Milhaud's major works, including several symphonies and the oratorio *Pacem in terris*. Some of Milhaud's students went on to join the faculties of other local music departments, including Mills alumni Leland Smith (Stanford University) and Richard Felciano (University of California, Berkeley) and former Paris Conservatoire students Jean-Claude Eloy (Berkeley) and Jerome Rosen (University of California, Davis).

¹²⁰ Alfred Frankenstein, "UC Festival Presents Imbrie, Milhaud," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 April 1958. Copy typed by Ralph Swickard in Mills-DM, 1.3. See Swickard, "The Symphonies of Darius Milhaud," 126.

In this context, a new work by Milhaud was not merely another addition to his already-vast catalog, but rather a sign of his commitment to the musical life of the Bay Area, especially when it had a direct connection to the region, as was often the case. The Eighth and Twelfth Symphonies were written for the opening of new auditoriums on campuses in the University of California system (Berkeley and Davis), and both commissions emerged from Milhaud's personal connections at the universities. The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra under Enrique Jordá gave the two premieres, ensuring a high quality that performances of Milhaud's late orchestral music too often lacked.¹²¹ After Milhaud composed the ten-minute orchestral piece *Aubade* for the Oakland Symphony in 1960, conductor Gerhard Samuel was quoted in the *Oakland Tribune* as saying: "M. Milhaud's acceptance [of the commission] and expressed delight clearly indicate his confidence in the reorganized orchestra." The same article put a positive spin on the speed with which Milhaud had composed the work: "The composer had a surprise for the Maestro. Milhaud is one of the most prolific composers, and works at amazing speed. Three weeks after Samuel first asked him to compose the piece, Milhaud called him to tell him the composition had been finished for several days."¹²² It was common for local journalists to recount the stories behind his compositions in this way; when he was in Oakland, they could reach him easily for interviews, and it served to illustrate his status as a member of the community.

Milhaud's final departure from Oakland in 1971 was marked by events and tributes not only at Mills College, but also in the broader musical community, and the laudatory press coverage honored both his international fame and his particular significance to the San Francisco

¹²¹ For a discussion of performance quality and Milhaud's symphonies, see Swickard, "The Symphonies of Darius Milhaud," 173–76. Swickard attributes the problem both to a lack of enthusiasm for Milhaud's music among orchestral performers and to Milhaud's tendency to overestimate what could be achieved with little rehearsal time.

¹²² Clifford Gessler, "Oakland Symphony Will Premiere Milhaud Work," *Oakland Tribune*, 13 November 1960.

Bay Area.¹²³ On 25 April, the day before the farewell concert at Mills, a concert at Stanford University featured his oboe concerto *Stanford Serenade*, which the university orchestra had premiered the year before, and his *Poèmes*, op. 276, with his former student Leland Smith accompanying soprano Elizabeth Appling, then concluded with Madeleine Milhaud performing *Cantate de l'enfant et de la mère*, as she had done numerous times in the Bay Area and elsewhere over the preceding three decades.¹²⁴ The composer conducted the final work—"He abandoned his wheelchair backstage and ambled nimbly to the podium with the help of two canes, seeming to find a medical panacea in the act of conducting an orchestra," wrote *Oakland Tribune* critic Paul Hertelendy—and at the conclusion of the concert, "even Mme. Milhaud, usually the epitome of composure, was unable at the end to hold back her tears."¹²⁵ Robert Commanday's review of the same concert began with a characteristically glowing appraisal of Milhaud's gifts as a composer: "One need only hear one work by Darius Milhaud to know the sensibilities of this man, to feel his presence as a human. Of how many composers, living or dead, can this be said? Very few."¹²⁶

¹²³ On his retirement from Mills and the commemorative events there, see chapter 4.

¹²⁴ Madeleine Milhaud also performed the cantata in a similar farewell concert at the University of California, Los Angeles, earlier that month. Albert Goldberg, "California Chamber Symphony Bids Adieu to Darius Milhaud," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 April 1971. A letter to the editor by restaurant critic Colman Andrews ("Milhaud a Significant Figure," *Los Angeles Times*, 9 May 1971) subsequently disparaged the concert as an insufficient tribute: "As long as we're all so loudly lamenting the lack of attention and respect shown to Igor Stravinsky during his years in California, we might also ask ourselves how well we've treated Darius Milhaud. Even those who dismiss him as a mere orchestrator (an indefensible but not uncommon opinion) must surely honor him as a significant historical figure, if nothing else. He is now going back to France to live (and—we might as well say it—to die). Was the best farewell tribute we could manage half a program of minor works by the California Symphony Orchestra who were, as Albert Goldberg so charitably put it, 'under-rehearsed'? That Milhaud had the dignity to accept this 'tribute,' and to take part in it, should make us all more ashamed." Violinist Henri Temianka, director of the California Chamber Symphony and a long-time associate of Milhaud's, then wrote to the newspaper ("He Should Feel Ashamed," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 May 1971) to accuse music editor Martin Bernheimer of "ignoring the only Milhaud tribute in Los Angeles prior to the event, and demeaning it afterwards"; Andrews responded in protest of Temianka's "shrill invective" ("A Bit Taken Aback," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 May 1971).

¹²⁵ Paul Hertelendy, "Milhaud Conducts Again—A Memorable Farewell," *Oakland Tribune*, 26 April 1971.

¹²⁶ Robert Commanday, "Milhaud's Special Charm: Stanford Concert Honors Composer," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 April 1971.

Milhaud told multiple interviewers that he hoped to keep coming back to California for short visits, but this did not occur; after leaving Oakland for Geneva in early June, he remained in Europe for the last three years of his life. Of the nine compositions he completed after retiring from Mills, three were U.S. commissions—*Promesse de Dieu*, a choral setting of passages from Isaiah and Ezekiel for the bicentennial of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania; *Ani Maamin*, a cantata with a text by the Jewish writer and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel; and *Music for San Francisco*, his final musical offering to the Bay Area.¹²⁷ At the Aspen Music Festival, his eightieth birthday in 1972 was commemorated in his absence by a concert featuring five of his works, all but one of which had been composed before 1940.¹²⁸ In New York, another “retrospective concert” in April of that year included compositions spanning nearly six decades, from the Third String Quartet (1916) to *Suite de quatrains* (1962). Of the varied program, *New York Times* critic Raymond Ericson expressed a preference for the works of the 1930s, “when the composer was in his 40’s and his creations had a kind of assured mainstream modernism”; by contrast, he felt that *Caramel Mou* (1921) “must have seemed naughty and chic in its day but has a faded Art Deco quality now,” while *Suite de quatrains* and *Etude poétique* (1954) “illustrated the composer’s facile but uninspired later efforts.”¹²⁹ Ericson’s comment that one piece was “as playful and witty as anything by Poulenc” reflects the newfound appreciation for Milhaud’s late compatriot among the New York critics; after a performance of Poulenc’s *La Voix humaine* in October 1971, Harold C. Schonberg praised the surprising “staying power” of the younger

¹²⁷ Commissioned for the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra’s series of children’s concerts, this three-movement orchestral work involves audience participation by clapping, stomping, humming, and whistling. Milhaud wrote the piece in Geneva between 26 August and 7 September 1971, and it was premiered on 3 August 1972. Madeleine Milhaud, *Catalogue des œuvres de Darius Milhaud* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982), 436–37; Charles Shere, “Wyss Concert Impressive,” *Oakland Tribune*, 4 August 1972. On *Ani Maamin*, see chapter 3.

¹²⁸ The program consisted of *La Cheminée du Roi René* (1939), *Six Chants populaires hébraïques* (1925), half of the *Saudades do Brasil* (1920), *Concertino d’Hiver* (1953), and *La Création du monde* (1923). “A Darius Milhaud 80th Birthday Concert,” concert program, Aspen Music Festival, 20 July 1972, Mills-DM, 2.5.14.

¹²⁹ Raymond Ericson, “Milhaud’s Variety Marks a Retrospective Concert,” *New York Times*, 21 April 1972.

composer, contrasting it with Milhaud's "once-fashionable modernism" and declaring that it would be Poulenc, not Milhaud or Honegger, who "could end up as the most important minor master of the century."¹³⁰

This consensus that Milhaud's moment had passed—and that even his early works had lost whatever charm they once had—persists in some form to this day, but it becomes deeply uncomfortable in light of his biography. Pitting the members of Les Six against one another was not a new critical exercise, and each of the three best-known composers has been considered at one time or another to be the one history would reward with a place in the canon. When Milhaud is not the favored one, however, the arguments against him can have a disturbing subtext. Schonberg's case for Poulenc's "staying power" rests on the Catholic composer's sincerity, contrasted with Milhaud's "superficiality" that "offers very little any more." Poulenc's late religious works, such as *Gloria* and *Dialogues des carmélites*, are considered by Schonberg to reveal "depth and compassion," written "personally and from the heart," and the idea that his turn toward Catholicism enabled him to transcend the banality of the Les Six era is still the cornerstone of his reputation. Milhaud's *Sacred Service* and *David*, on the other hand, are erased from view—in his case, liturgical music and religious opera are not considered evidence of an inner seriousness, but rather are overlooked entirely in order to dismiss the Jewish composer as a facile imitator of Stravinsky, reduced to provocative-but-empty modernism and an endless stream of uninspired later works.¹³¹ Poulenc's development as a composer is given a pleasing arc of steady growth and increasing power, whereas the perceived trajectory of Milhaud's career as put forth by Ericson—peaking in the 1930s and declining sharply after that—gives the

¹³⁰ Harold C. Schonberg, "The Wheel Spins, Poulenc Wins," *New York Times*, 31 October 1971.

¹³¹ These Poulenc works, of course, are much more frequently performed and recorded than Milhaud's compositions in the same genres. However, this greater visibility is itself a reflection of the larger cultural space allotted to Christianity as a majority religion.

impression of impotence. The unspoken implication, here and in so much of Milhaud's reception, is that exile—without which he surely would not have survived the Holocaust—dealt irreparable damage to his capacity as a composer, and therefore to his place in history.

Before his death on 22 June 1974, Milhaud asked his wife not to tell anyone—not even their close friends—until after the burial, in order to protect his family's privacy. Madeleine Milhaud kept that promise, even lying to H  l  ne Hoppenot by telephone the next day, but the news became public on Monday, 24 June.¹³² The initial obituaries in U.S. newspapers were mostly variations on the Associated Press text, which highlighted his prominence as an “internationally known French composer,” his protracted health problems (“crippled decades ago by rheumatic paralysis and confined to a wheelchair”), his Proven  al Jewish origins, his association with Les Six, the size of his compositional output, and his alternation between Paris and Oakland in his later career.¹³³ (To this straightforward report, the *Chicago Tribune* inserted a sentence about his visits to that city in the 1940s, and the *Baltimore Sun* asserted in the first line that Milhaud had “added hammers and shrieks to the traditional sound of music.”¹³⁴) A lengthy obituary in the *New York Times* on 25 June centered on his status as “a seminal figure in modern music,” though it noted that his reputation as a composer had declined in recent decades, while the *Oakland Tribune* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* filled in the gaps of the AP text with information about his life in the Bay Area and praise for his significance to the region.¹³⁵

¹³² H  l  ne Hoppenot, diary entries of 23, 24, and 25 June 1974, C-Hoppenot, 523.

¹³³ “D. Milhaud; Noted French Composer,” *Los Angeles Times*, 25 June 1974. On 24 June, the same newspaper had printed an abbreviated version of the obituary that mentioned only his disability, Judeo-Proven  al background, extensive works catalog, and exile.

¹³⁴ “French Composer Darius Milhaud Dies,” *Chicago Tribune*, 25 June 1974; “Milhaud, Added Shrieks to Music,” *Baltimore Sun*, 25 June 1974.

¹³⁵ “Darius Milhaud, Rebel Composer, Dies,” *New York Times*, 25 June 1974; “Revolutionary Composer Milhaud Dies at 81,” *Oakland Tribune*, 24 June 1974; “Composer Milhaud Dies: Ex-Mills Teacher,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 June 1974.

Epilogue

In 1992, a special issue of the Darius Milhaud Society Newsletter presented a thirty-page list of concerts, lectures, and other events honoring the composer's centennial year in North America and in Europe. In the United States alone, there were thirty "all-Milhaud performances," a lecture-recital repeated twenty-three times at universities and conferences across the country, ten other lectures and panel discussions, a 25-hour radio marathon, and more than 130 performances of individual works.¹³⁶ A small selection of Milhaud's compositions—*La Création du monde*, *Scaramouche*, *Suite française*, and a few others—comprised the majority of his representation on concert programs, as had been the case during the composer's lifetime.¹³⁷ Among larger performances, the Brooklyn College Opera Theater and the San Francisco Opera each staged *Christophe Colomb* (1992 also being the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus's first voyage), the *Sacred Service* was performed by Jewish choirs in New York and Boston, and a group of several dozen San Francisco pianists marked the composer's birthday on 4 September with a twelve-hour performance of his complete works for solo piano (under the title "O Solo Milhaud").

The various events on the newsletter's list spanned thirty states—plus Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico—but more than half of them took place in California, New York, or Ohio, and the Aspen Music Festival also programmed ten of his works that year. Both the geographical breadth of the centennial celebrations and their concentration in certain locations illustrate the

¹³⁶ "Darius Milhaud Performance Calendar: Centennial Celebration, 1991–1993," Darius Milhaud Society, 1992.

¹³⁷ The particular popularity of *La Création du monde* in the early 1990s is illustrated by the quotation with which the *Washington Post* opened its profile of the conductor Michael Morgan, shortly after the election of Bill Clinton: "My dream is to perform Milhaud's 'The Creation of the World' at the Clinton White House—that would be, like, *it!* Because of the subject of the piece, and that big saxophone solo... but not with Bill on sax. No, I think with Bill sitting and listening." Pamela Sommers, "Maestro for a New Millennium: Michael Morgan's Vision of an Urban Orchestra," *Washington Post*, 7 November 1992.

extent to which Milhaud's legacy in the United States was carried on primarily by those who had known him personally, rather than by those for whom he was only a historical figure. The San Francisco Bay Area had kept up a steady pace of commemorative activity since the composer's death in 1974—though in the eyes of the *San Francisco Chronicle* critic Robert Commanday, it was still not enough to give full recognition to Milhaud's importance to the region.¹³⁸ The Mills College music department established an endowed professorship in his name in 1979, and the library opened the Milhaud archives in 1985.¹³⁹ Cleveland, Ohio, was the home of the Darius Milhaud Society, run by Mills alumna Katharine Warne until her death in April 2015, and she organized multiple concerts there during the centennial year, as she also did before and after 1992. The Cleveland Institute of Music, where Warne received her DMA in 1975, continues to award an annual prize for the best performances of Milhaud's music by its students.

Milhaud's other former students, especially those in teaching positions, have also worked to promote his music in the United States, and the list of centennial events reflects some of this activity. On 9 January 1992, Janice Giteck introduced a chamber concert of Milhaud's music at the University of Washington with a talk titled "Personal reflections on a truly great human being," and at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Barbara Rowan took part in a 22 March tribute concert with other members of the performance faculty. Rowan and fellow alumna Corky Sablinsky also organized a program of new works by composers who had studied with Milhaud—including Anne Kish, Elinor Armer, and William Bolcom—which was presented at the Cleveland Music School Settlement, Mills College, San Francisco State University, the University of Virginia, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in the fall of 1992.

¹³⁸ Robert Commanday, "A Gap for the Future: A Milhaud Celebration," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 October 1974; Robert Commanday to Mary S. Metz, 29 September 1987, Mills-DM, 9.1.16.

¹³⁹ Composers who have occupied the Darius Milhaud Chair in Composition include Betsy Jolas, Lou Harrison, George Lewis, Pauline Oliveros, Iannis Xenakis, and Annie Gosfield.

Patricia Taylor Lee's lecture-recital on Milhaud's piano music took her to Cleveland and to Chapel Hill as well, in addition to a number of performances in California. The centennial year offers only a snapshot of the ways in which Milhaud's U.S. students have sustained his legacy. Although many of them have now retired or passed away, this work goes on; most notably, Bolcom spearheaded the 2013 performance and Grammy-nominated recording of *L'Orestie* at the University of Michigan.

Running the Association Darius Milhaud from her Paris apartment, Madeleine Milhaud was most directly involved with the centennial celebrations in France, where a similar number of concerts and other events took place over the course of the year. However, she also traveled to North America twice in 1992, both times at the invitation of her husband's former students. At McGill University in Montreal, Bruce Mather organized a day-long festival on 3 April that featured a variety of performances, as well as a panel discussion with Madeleine Milhaud and Jean Roy.¹⁴⁰ In October, she took part in a similar event with William Bolcom in New York and attended the performances of *Christophe Colomb* at Brooklyn College.¹⁴¹ She could not attend any events at Mills College that year, but she did visit the campus one final time in 1995.¹⁴²

There has long been a disconnect between the enduring fondness for Milhaud among those in the United States who knew him and the limited recognition of his U.S. activities by musicologists. The situation may be in part self-explanatory—the Milhaud of the 1920s has a secure, if minor, place in the canon, whereas the Milhaud of the 1960s is harder to write into a progress-oriented narrative. I further suggest that this historiographical gap results from the potent assumption that the life of a “great composer” must be thematically coherent. In a 1982

¹⁴⁰ Letters from Mather to Madeleine Milhaud about this event are in PSS-DM.

¹⁴¹ “Music and Film in Tribute to Darius Milhaud,” *New York Times*, 3 October 1992; Bernard Holland, “Milhaud's Opera About Columbus To Get U.S. Staging,” *New York Times*, 8 October 1992.

¹⁴² See chapter 5.

lecture at the Alliance Française of Santa Clara Valley, California, on the subject of “Darius Milhaud aux Etats-Unis,” San Francisco pianist Jane Hohfeld Galante proposed that the reason the composer’s American years had been overlooked by scholars was that “the contact with the United States over more than thirty years influenced Milhaud very little. . . . Quite simply, he had already been formed: formed above all by two old influences—the collective soul of the Mediterranean Jews and the ancient earth of Provence.”¹⁴³ Galante had known Milhaud personally, yet when she tried to assess his legacy, the “French, Jewish, and Provençal” autobiographical trope still overwhelmed anything else she might have thought about him as a composer or as a person, making it impossible to see the ways in which he was indeed shaped by his time in the United States.

Milhaud himself encouraged such an interpretation, returning again and again to the idea that his origins and early influences were the only significant roots of his musical personality. By reducing the question of “American influence” to an issue of compositional style, he could claim to have arrived in the United States already fully formed as a composer, with no need or desire to absorb new influences.¹⁴⁴ Yet although his French nationality was always central to his public persona—as well as to his own conception of his place in the United States and his obligations as a composer—this was a conscious strategy of self-representation, and the meanings and functions of that identity were always constructed through his specific circumstances. It is not enough to say that Milhaud “remained French,” and through this dissertation, I have offered new

¹⁴³ Jane Hohfeld Galante, “Lecture Presented to the Alliance Française of Saratoga, September 1982,” typescript, Mills-DM, 3.2.10, 1–2: “le contact pendant plus de trente ans avec les Etats-Unis a très peu influencé Milhaud. . . . Tout simplement, il avait été déjà formé: formé surtout par deux vieilles influences—l’âme collective des juifs méditerranéens [*sic*] et l’ancienne terre de Provence.”

¹⁴⁴ In 1970, for example, he told Henry Breitrose: “When I came to the United States, I was not young, and I continued my work. It didn’t change my style at all, except that you learn a lot by teaching your students, which I hope they will do also when they go teaching themselves.” Milhaud and Breitrose, “Conversation with Milhaud,” 56.

ways of interrogating and contextualizing the effects of his prolonged contact with U.S. culture, institutions, and musical communities.

During World War II, separated from his homeland by a continent, an ocean, and a hostile occupying force, Milhaud emphasized his national identity to defend France in the only way he saw open to him (see chapter 1). His declaration in 1944 that he was, first and foremost, “un Français de Provence et de religion israélite” set up an interpretive framework for his life and his music that has shaped criticism and scholarship ever since. After the war, systematically dividing his time between France and the United States reframed his Frenchness once again; his traveling was viewed through a Cold War lens, politicizing his identity in a way the composer accepted and perpetuated. Indeed, between his exile to the United States in 1940 and his death thirty-four years later, the primary facets of Milhaud’s identity were continually reconfigured and reinterpreted, intersecting in different ways with each other and with the communities and cultures he inhabited.

As I demonstrated in chapter 3, it was only in the transformed Jewish cultural landscape of the postwar era that Milhaud’s Judeo-Provençal identity became fully legible to a broad audience, but as the reason for his exile, his Jewish ancestry and beliefs were always known and recognized in the United States. His disability, on the other hand, was essentially an invisible concern in 1940; his illness was a key secondary factor driving him and his wife to choose exile over the risk of remaining in France, but it was not yet known to the U.S. public. As the years went by and his condition worsened, becoming readily apparent to observers due to his need for mobility aids, the tropes and imagery of disability increasingly pervaded his reception, merging with established aspects of his reputation. With the aid of his wife (see chapter 5), Milhaud worked to minimize the extent to which disability defined him as a composer, but it remained

central to how he was seen—and to how his music was interpreted—in the last decades of his life and afterward.

Milhaud's long association with Mills College, discussed in chapter 4, not only provided him with security and a home in exile, but also fundamentally shaped the course of the rest of his career by tying him to the San Francisco Bay Area. From his first U.S. tours in the 1920s through the mid-1940s, his more important professional connections were in New York and Boston (see chapter 2), and if he had settled on the East Coast, that would have remained the case; likewise, had he gone to Los Angeles, he would have become enmeshed in a musical community populated by many of his fellow émigré composers, perhaps finding it harder to make space for himself. It took time for his influence in Oakland and the surrounding region to build, but once it did, he was rewarded with enduring support, counteracting his declining reputation elsewhere. In the Bay Area, in fact, his status as "France's greatest living composer" persisted longer than it did in France itself. Living and teaching there also put him in constant dialogue with a younger generation of musicians, which drove him to find ways of staying engaged with new ideas without ceding his claim to authority as a senior composer. These students and colleagues later formed the core of his posthumous support in the United States, sustaining an extension of his presence that continues to this day.

Through an exploration of one composer's life across a thirty-year span, this dissertation also offers new axes and focal points around which other stories could be built. Milhaud's paths of migration diverge from conventional models of "exile" and "return," intervening not only in a strictly nation-centered view of music history, but also in concepts of "exile" that fail to account for lives that pass through, but do not end with, the condition of forced displacement. Indeed, although his postwar transatlantic life was unusual, it was far from unique, which becomes

especially apparent when the field of potential subjects for World War II-era exile and migration studies is broadened beyond those displaced from Central Europe. An account of postwar music centered on the transatlantic movements and networks of former exiles would also involve such musicians as the Italian composer Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and the French pianist and teacher Isidor Philipp, who divided their lives across two continents as Milhaud did, as well as those who remained connected to the United States in other ways, including Nadia Boulanger. Alongside the writers Jacques Maritain and Alexis Leger, among others, Milhaud's example complicates a picture of the French wartime exile as a purely transitory phenomenon with few lasting traces, instead offering a window on postwar Franco-American relations from the vantage point of someone who chose to remain engaged with both cultural landscapes.

I have argued that one of the principal reasons for Milhaud's marginalization in previous studies of exiled musicians is that his residence in Oakland sets him outside established narratives of "émigré communities" centered in Los Angeles or New York. Just as this distance created space for him to rebuild his personal and professional life with a certain welcome detachment from wartime émigré politics, it creates space for scholars to re-map the geography of World War II-era musical migration by bringing in other ostensibly "isolated" individuals and conceiving of interpersonal émigré networks not limited by physical proximity. However, Milhaud's close ties to the Bay Area—involving decades of interchange and mutual influence between the composer, the Mills College community, and the region's musical culture—also demonstrate the value of situating a subject in a specific place, particularly one not typically considered a "center."

At Mills and elsewhere, Milhaud's complicated relationship to postwar avant-garde movements—in which he functioned simultaneously as a living legend, as a reactionary, and as a

voice of mediation—illustrates processes of dialogue and reinterpretation among successive generations of modernist artists. A fully intergenerational perspective on postwar art music would illuminate many more such connections. Paying attention to the ways in which older or more traditionalist composers sought to adopt, reject, transform, critique, or claim authority over elements of new methods and aesthetics both overturns a linear chronological model of “influence” and resists the tendency to let these composers fade from the historical narrative as soon as they begin to seem anachronistic. The prospect of writing Milhaud into the history of twentieth-century Jewish music likewise calls the scope, borders, and trajectory of that history into question, suggesting new angles from which the topic might be approached. The shifting relationship between his Jewish identity and his professional activity over the course of his career highlights a need for historiography in which subjects who cross in and out of the prevailing discourse of “Jewish music” in different times or places are not set aside as outliers, but rather serve to critique essentialism, to enrich the ideological and aesthetic diversity of the broader topic, and to make other such “outliers” visible.

The multifaceted story I have told in this dissertation reminds us that the identity of an artist—the private self, the public persona, the quasi-mythical creator of a body of work—is constructed through a complex web of individuals, institutions, events, and cultural forces. A nuanced biographical perspective not only guards against oversimplification of the relationship between life and work, but also brings to light some of the processes through which the standard images of a given composer have been formed. In the case of Milhaud, a focus on his later career reveals the extent to which his experiences and reception in the United States shaped his current reputation, despite the persistent tendency to gloss over that part of his life. In his familiar declaration of French, Provençal, and Jewish identity, for instance, I see an exiled French citizen

staking claim to his heritage, while the statement's widespread dissemination in the following decades reflects cultural changes that enabled it to be accepted as a compositional identity rather than only a personal one. (Indeed, as the entire first edition of *Notes sans musique* was written between 1944 and 1947, one could potentially go much further in reading his presentation of his own life story through an exile lens.) Images of the proto-experimentalist early Milhaud and the overly prolific late Milhaud both solidified through midcentury aesthetic debates in which he was both a subject of analysis and an active participant. And, perhaps most significantly, it was in the United States that Madeleine Milhaud, reacting to the new complications of migration and disability, assumed a responsibility toward her composer husband's reputation and legacy that she carried into the twenty-first century.

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