

The Refugee Musician Is Now a Part of Us:  
Musical Exiles and Mark Brunswick's National Committee for Refugee Musicians

(1938-1943)

by

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## ABSTRACT

In the early-twentieth-century United States, Jewish and European immigrant scholars, musicians, and composers dominated the academic, orchestral, film and popular music scenes. While some of these musicians immigrated voluntarily, others, having fled the genocide of the Holocaust, were forced into exile due to religious and political persecution. Musicians were often targeted by the Nazi regime for performing and advancing banned music, composing modernist works, or for their religious or political beliefs. The United States upheld strict, pre-World War Two immigration quotas and laws that limited relocation. Specialized rescue agencies arose to help these exiles settle in the United States.

Meanwhile in 1924, American composer Mark Brunswick (1902-1971) moved to Europe and later studied with Nadia Boulanger. He found his niche among members of the Second Viennese School. Brunswick returned to the United States in 1938 and founded the National Committee for Refugee Musicians (NCRM), originally called the Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians, to aid in the relocation and job placement of at-risk musicians and their families during World War Two.

This thesis briefly explores Brunswick's life, and then more closely addresses the formation of the NCRM, its members, those who received aid, and partnering organizations. Finally, cases in point illustrate the varied ways in which the NCRM helped musicians in exile. Brunswick and the Committee played a major role in American musical history, yet no major studies have focused on them. With the NCRM's assistance, many refugees thrived in and contributed to America's musical landscape. By exploring letters, memoranda, and other unpublished archival documents, I will show how Brunswick and the NCRM affected U.S. musical life beginning in the 1930s. The positive effects of this germinal group endure today.

I would like to dedicate my master's thesis to my father and mother, Elliot Kurland (1952-2002) and Laurie Henderson Kurland (1955-2005). They inspired me to be a passionate, driven, and committed person and enjoy whatever I choose to do. I would also like to honor my grandmother Betty Henderson (1922-2011), a musician herself, who enthusiastically encouraged me to pursue music and who supported my graduate studies.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I would like to thank Mimi S. Daitz for her assistance, knowledge, and shared interest in Mark Brunswick and his work. She generously shared her archives with me and read my thesis, which was an invaluable help in finishing this document. She is especially knowledgeable about the NCRM and Brunswick's time at City College in New York (CCNY). I would also like to thank Sydney C. Van Nort, archivist at the CCNY, Gunnar Berg, archivist at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, and Jonathan Hiam, librarian at the NYPL Performing Arts Library for their assistance and flexibility as I visited their archives.

I would like to thank Darcy Kuronen, Pappalardo Curator of Musical Instruments at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, for his flexibility and support of my academic

pursuits as I worked full-time as a curatorial research fellow at the MFA while finishing my thesis.

My gratitude goes to my dear friend and mentor Christina Linsenmeyer for graciously editing the two papers I presented at the American Musical Instrument Society Conferences in New York and Williamsburg, VA. She has also supported my scholarly interests in musical instruments, has encouraged me to pursue a career in musical instrument collections, and has been a wonderful friend. I also thank my friend Molly Papows for graciously reading my thesis. She has been supportive of this research, and I am lucky to have her as a friend. I would like to thank my friends Joan Portnoy and Kim Rakes. They have selflessly acted as surrogate parents for over ten years. They remind me of my mother and I am immensely thankful to have them in my life and cherish our phone calls. I thank my great-uncle Lee Jennings for his enthusiasm for this thesis, and his insight into studying with one of the NCRM exiles. I thank my wonderful family in Arizona: Kathy, Jim, Monica, Lori, Adam, Julia, and Natalie, for being positive forces in my life. I am lucky to have their emotional support and guidance, and am so glad we are so close. I also thank my Luger family: Aunt Lisa, Uncle Sam, Uncle Mike, and Aunt Angela and their families for their love and generosity. I am so glad I have been able to see them more often since moving to Boston. I also recognize the incredibly cold Boston winter of 2015, which gifted me five snow days for writing this document.

I would like to thank my fiancé Jeffrey Moran for his love and endless enthusiasm for this project and for all of my dreams and endeavors. His excitement for his own research has been infectious. I am so grateful for his careful reading and editing of this document. I thank my brilliant sister Blair Kurland for being my personal inspiration and

my best friend. She has been a sounding board for all of my ideas, and I cannot find the words to show how grateful I am that she is in my life. Without these people, I would not have finished, or even started, this document.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### ARCHIVES

- CCNY      City College of New York Division Archives and Special Collections.
- YIVO      Archives at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York. (YIVO is the Yiddish acronym for *Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut*)

[Mark Brunswick] was responsible for saving and transporting to this country a larger part of musical culture than we ever shall be able to know.<sup>1</sup>

Milton Babbitt

The refugee musician is now a part of us. [He/she] does not deny or disguise [his/her] own musical culture. [He/she] now knows that [he/she] and we speak the same universal language.<sup>2</sup>

Mark Brunswick

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<sup>1</sup> Milton Babbitt, "My Vienna Triangle at Washington Square Revisited and Dilated," in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 52.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Brunswick, "Refugee Musicians in America," *Saturday Review of Literature* 19 (1946): 51.

## 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

The foundation of this work was laid when, at the suggestion of my grandmother, I read Martin Goldsmith's *The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany* many years ago.<sup>1</sup> It was my first introduction to music's role during the Holocaust, and informed me that a great deal of music was played and heard in concentration camps during World War II. While working as a curatorial assistant at the Musical Instrument Museum in Phoenix, Arizona in 2009, I researched the history of a mandolin from the museum's collection with provenance suggesting it was played at the Theresienstadt concentration camp. I became fascinated by music making in concentration camps, and referred to Joža Karas's book *Music in Terezín 1941-1945* among other books, when writing the label for this instrument.<sup>2</sup> When I began graduate school at Arizona State University, my first term paper examined secret music making at Auschwitz and other concentration camps. I presented that paper at the American Musical Instrument Society Conference in 2012 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The more I read, the more I focused on this historical period. I drew heavily from the comprehensive book *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* by Shirli Gilbert which details music making in many Nazi concentration camps.<sup>3</sup> I turned to personal accounts of private music making in Paul F. Cummins's *Dachau Song: The Twentieth-Century Odyssey* about conductor Herbert Zipper, Ruth Elias's

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Goldsmith, *The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín 1941–1945* (New York: Beaufort Books, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

*Triumph of Hope: From Theresienstadt and Auschwitz to Israel*, Szymon Lak's *Music of Another World*, and Ken Shuldman's *Jazz Survivor: The Story of Louis Bannet, Horn Player of Auschwitz*, among others.<sup>4</sup>

For this thesis, I began my research at the City College of New York (CCNY) Archives and Special Collections in Manhattan, where Mark Brunswick taught for 21 years. Brunswick's third wife, Natascha Artin Brunswick donated Brunswick's archival material to the university. The collection spans Brunswick's compositional career and is comprised of his correspondence, personal papers, manuscripts and compositions. I drew heavily from the documents pertaining to the National Committee for Refugee Musicians (NCRM) for this paper, focusing specifically on the NCRM's memoranda.<sup>5</sup> I also cite a long, uncut transcription of an interview of Brunswick by Gerald Warwick which was later condensed and published in the *Contemporary Music Newsletter*.<sup>6</sup> I looked into articles written by Brunswick, including "Refugee Musicians in America" from the *Saturday Review of Literature* in 1946.<sup>7</sup> The archives also hold two unpublished articles he wrote, "The Rehabilitation of Cultural Life and Intellectuals in Austria" and "Random Reflections After Munich" in which he strategizes ways to save European musical culture

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<sup>4</sup> Paul F. Cummins, *Dachau Song* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992); Ruth Elias, *Triumph of Hope: From Theresienstadt and Auschwitz to Israel*, translated by Margot Bettauer Dembo (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998); Szymon Laks, *Music of Another World*, translated by Chester A. Kisiel (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1989); Ken Shuldman, *Jazz Survivor: The Story of Louis Bannet, Horn Player of Auschwitz* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Mark Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>6</sup> Gerald Warfield, "Interview with Mark Brunswick," *Contemporary Music Newsletter* 3, nos. 3-4 (1969): 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Mark Brunswick, "Refugee Musicians in America," *Saturday Review of Literature* 19 (1946): 9, 50-51.

after World War II.<sup>8</sup> On this same research trip, I met with Jonathan Hiam, curator of the American Music Collection at the New York Public Library (NYPL) Performing Arts Library at Lincoln Center. Hiam had also researched Brunswick in relation to his dissertation on émigré musicians who taught at Black Mountain College in the 1930s and 40s.<sup>9</sup> He guided me to the programs of the International Society for Contemporary Music, for which Brunswick chaired the American section, and the League of Composers documents from the Claire Raphael Reis collection at the NYPL.<sup>10</sup> I also visited the YIVO Center for Jewish Research at the Jewish Historical Society in New York to investigate their extensive collection on “National Refugee Service” papers on microfiche.<sup>11</sup> These documents included monthly reports from the NCRM, additional memoranda, letters, loan documentation, papers regarding the Musician’s Emergency Fund (MEF), and short biographical information on many musicians aided by the NCRM.

A great deal of informative research has been published on the most widely known exiled scholars and musicians in the United States. *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, edited by Reinhold

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<sup>8</sup> Mark Brunswick, “Random Reflections on Munich” and “The Rehabilitation of Cultural Life and Intellectuals in Austria,” unpublished and undated articles, Series 4, Box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Hiam, “Music at Black Mountain College: The European Years, 1939–46” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2005), Proquest (3200791).

<sup>10</sup> ISCM was founded in 1922 in Salzburg, Austria and the League of Composers was founded in 1923 in New York City. Reis was co-founder and president of the League (1923–1948). In 1954, the League of Composers became the U.S. chapter of the ISCM. See Rita H. Mead and Lincoln Ballard. “League of Composers.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 16 March 2015, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2250034](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2250034).

<sup>11</sup> Records of the National Refugee Service (NRS); RG 248; YIVO.

Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, is a collection of essays which focuses on exiled musicians who found success in the United States. It was the result of an international conference at Harvard University in 1994.<sup>12</sup> Sabine Feisst's remarkable history of Arnold Schoenberg's time in the United States, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* gave me insight into one exiled composer's post-war experience, and shed light on how difficult it often was to immigrate to the United States and then settle into a new musical landscape.<sup>13</sup> Feisst is one of few authors to discuss Mark Brunswick in any detail. Horst Weber and Manuela Schwartz's *Sources Relating to the History of Émigré Musicians 1933-1950* is a two-volume work which focuses on musicians, conductors, and composers who settled in New York and Los Angeles.<sup>14</sup> The book contains details on archival collections with various source materials about these exiles, but also provides biographical material, and many of the exiles featured were aided by the NCRM. Joseph Horowitz's *Artists in Exile: How Refugees from Twentieth-century War and Revolution Transformed the American Performing Arts* provides a good historical background on composers and musicians living in the U.S. from Dvořák through the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Reinhold Brinkman and Christoff Wolff, eds., *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>14</sup> Horst Weber and Manuela Schwartz, *Quellen zur Geschichte emigrierter Musiker/Sources relating to the History of Émigré Musicians 1933–1950, Vol. 1: Kalifornien/California and Vol. 2: New York* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2003 and 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Horowitz, *Artists in Exile: How Refugees from Twentieth-century War and Revolution Transformed the American Performing Arts* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008).

Dorothy Lamb Crawford's *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* provides case studies of musicians who settled in California, including Ernst Krenek, and focuses on his identity as a composer in exile.<sup>16</sup> In the book *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II*, Annegret Fauser pieces together the histories of wartime popular music, music and the military, and music of exiles. I especially focused on her chapters "Exile Experiences" and "Refugees from Axis Nations."<sup>17</sup>

Little has been published to date on Brunswick and his life. A short biography appears in *Grove Music Online*, written by Miriam Gideon, a composer and colleague of Brunswick, and Michael Meckna.<sup>18</sup> Brunswick's stepson Tom Artin wrote a more extensive biography on the user-created encyclopedia, *Wikipedia*.<sup>19</sup> Mimi S. Daitz, a former colleague of Brunswick, has done substantial research on Brunswick's life and work. In the 1990s, she conducted critical interviews with surviving exiles and colleagues of Mark Brunswick, including Galimir, Jahoda, and Natascha Brunswick. I reference a document she wrote in 1993 about Brunswick which shows her intent to

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<sup>16</sup> Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

<sup>17</sup> Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Miriam Gideon and Michael Meckna, "Brunswick, Mark." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed 22 Feb. 2015, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04192](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04192)

<sup>19</sup> "Mark Brunswick," *Wikipedia*, accessed 10 March 2015, [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mark\\_Brunswick](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mark_Brunswick)



pursue a thorough research project on Brunswick and the NCRM.<sup>20</sup> I consulted biographies of honorary Committee members Irving Berlin and Bloomingdale's Vice President, Ira A. Hirschmann, as well as short articles on other Committee members found in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*.<sup>21</sup> I read biographies of exiles aided by the NCRM, including John L. Stewart's *Ernst Krenek: The Man and His Music*, and many more short articles in the *Grove Dictionary of Music*. Broadway composer Marvin Hamlisch's father, Max, was one refugee helped by the NCRM, and I discuss the story surrounding his escape, as told by Marvin in his autobiography, *The Way I Was*.<sup>22</sup>

*American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933-1945* by Richard Breitman and Alan M. Krout provides historical and political background on the United States' position on immigration and refugee aid before and during World War Two.<sup>23</sup> David S. Wyman's two monographs, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*, and *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938-1941* further

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<sup>20</sup> Mimi S. Daitz, "A Work in Progress: The National Committee for Refugee Musicians, Mark Brunswick, and the CCNY Music Department (1946–1961)," Unpublished research, 22 August 1993, series 4, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>21</sup> Ira Hirschmann, *Caution to the Winds* (New York: David McKay Company, 1962); Michael Freedland, *Irving Berlin* (New York: Stein and Day, 1974); and Edward Jablonski, *Irving Berlin: American Troubadour* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999).

<sup>22</sup> Marvin Hamlisch and Gerald Gardner, *The Way I Was* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992).

<sup>23</sup> Richard Breitman and Alan M. Krout. *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

informed my perspective.<sup>24</sup> Lily E. Hirsch's provides excellent context for the Jewish Culture League.<sup>25</sup> Erik Levi's *Music in the Third Reich* explores the use of approved music by the Nazis as well as the calculated anti-Semitism which drove them to defile works by Jewish composers.<sup>26</sup> I include articles written by Guido Fackler on the *Music and the Holocaust* website and articles on the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's comprehensive website.<sup>27</sup> Henry L. Feingold's books *Bearing Witness: How America and Its Jews Responded to the Holocaust* and *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945* helped contextualize the struggles with documented governmental support of Holocaust exile aid.<sup>28</sup> *FDR and the Holocaust*, edited by Verne W. Newton, is a collection of essays and articles drawn from the 1993 conference "Policies and Responses of the American Government Towards the Holocaust," with contributions by Breitman and Feingold.<sup>29</sup> Lyman Cromwell White's *300,000 New Americans: The Epic of a Modern Immigrant-Aid Service* provides

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<sup>24</sup> David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984); Wyman, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938–1941* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968).

<sup>25</sup> Lily E. Hirsch, *Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Culture League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), accessed 14 April 2015, ProQuest ebrary.

<sup>26</sup> Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

<sup>27</sup> *Music and the Holocaust*, accessed 30 March 2015, [holocaustmusic.ort.org](http://holocaustmusic.ort.org) and "Learn about the Holocaust," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed 30 March 2015, [www.ushmm.org/learn](http://www.ushmm.org/learn).

<sup>28</sup> Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938–1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970); Feingold, *Bearing Witness: How America and Its Jews Responded to the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

<sup>29</sup> Verne W. Newton, ed., *FDR and the Holocaust* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

important information on the U.S.'s refugee aid during World War II.<sup>30</sup> Maurice R. Davies's book, *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe*, was published shortly after the war ended (1947), and gives insight into the various Committees established to help with the immigration of exiles to the United States.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout my research, I have experienced Brunswick's work and its lasting impact firsthand. After reading about the work of NCRM-aided organist and educator Walter Teutsch, and his impact at Westminster College in Salt Lake City, Utah, I asked my great uncle Lee Jennings, former choir director at Washington State University-Vancouver if he had ever heard of Teutsch. Coincidentally, Jennings studied with Teutsch and stated that, in addition to being an outstanding musician and composer, he was a thorough teacher, an exacting coach who had a witty sense of humor.<sup>32</sup>

## I. Methodologies

I used several methodologies in my approach to this thesis. To contextualize the need for an organization specializing in musical exiles, I consulted existing literature related to World War II, the Holocaust, United States immigration policy, and exile studies. I searched for references to the NCRM in existing literature related to U.S.

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<sup>30</sup> Lyman Cromwell White, *300,000 New Americans: The Epic of a Modern Immigrant-Aid Service* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957).

<sup>31</sup> Maurice R. Davie, *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947).

<sup>32</sup> Lee Jennings (former director of choirs at Washington State University in Vancouver) in discussion with the author, March 2015.

immigrant aid, American music history, and individual biographies on those who interacted with the NCRM, either as exiles or as affiliated members of the Committee. I consulted primary sources including letters, official memoranda and reports, newspaper clippings, unpublished interviews, and other records found in archival collections. I compiled published and non-published biographical data on Mark Brunswick, confirming dates and content with official records (census, death certificates, for example). I spoke informally with Mimi Daitz about the contents of her archival materials and broadly about the NCRM. I also informally spoke with author Martin Goldsmith, and my great uncle, Lee Jennings, to determine if the National Committee for Refugee Musicians was ever mentioned by George Goldsmith or Walter Teustch, respectively. Finally, I compiled short cases in point on musicians aided by the NCRM to exemplify the various ways immigrants were helped.

## II. Chapter Outline

This thesis is divided into five chapters and a conclusion. The second chapter provides brief outline of events related to the Holocaust and World War II. I discuss the role of music and music-making during the Holocaust. I also explore United States immigration policy and organizations established to help with refugee aid during the war. The third chapter investigates Mark Brunswick's personal history, musical background, and professional life. The fourth chapter is a survey of the activities and members of the National Committee for Refugee Musicians. The fifth chapter focuses on the musicians helped by the NCRM and includes four cases in point which show the various ways musicians received aid.

It is my hope to begin to bring the work of Brunswick to light, and, with the help of these comprehensive resources, to contextualize why the National Committee for Refugee Musicians was created. A wealth of published material exists on musical exiles, World War II and the Holocaust, and refugee aid during this time, but relatively little has been said about the vital role Brunswick played. Against this backdrop, Brunswick's story becomes an important and vital piece of American music history.

## 2. POLITICAL CLIMATE

When Adolf Hitler initially seized power in Germany and became the country's Chancellor in 1933, he immediately began persecuting the Jews, an order executed by his Nazi S.S. army.<sup>1</sup> This led to the first expulsion of Jews and the concomitant wave of European scholars, musicians, and scientists who fled to the United States and elsewhere. Hitler and the Nazis aimed not only to take power of Europe; they looked to create a supreme ruling Aryan race.<sup>2</sup> After 1933, departure from Nazi-occupied countries in Europe became increasingly difficult for anyone living there, but especially for its Jewish residents. While concentration camps were erected in 1933 by the Nazis to hold and torture political dissidents and union organizers, between 1934-1935 these camps officially became "systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored" places to purge the ethnically undesirable, including members of Jewish, Romani, Jehovah's Witness, disabled, and homosexual minorities.<sup>3</sup> The ghettoization of Nazi-occupied Europe followed the 1939 invasion of Poland.<sup>4</sup> The Nazi institution of the "Final Solution" in 1941 marked the beginning of deportations to extermination camps. By 1945, it is estimated that there were over 15,000 labor, concentration, and extermination camps in

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<sup>1</sup> S.S. was the Nazi *Schutzstaffel*, Hitler's paramilitary which executed his orders.

<sup>2</sup> Nazi racial theorist Hans F. K. Günther and the Nazis believed in a racial supremacy wherein those of Nordic descent (later Northern Germanic) with correlating or physical characteristics (white skin, blonde hair, etc.) were considered the "New Nobility" because they were less racially mixed (with other non-Europeans) than other ethnicities. See Bruce David Baum, *The Rise and Fall of the Caucasian Race: A Political History of Racial Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 156.

<sup>3</sup> "Introduction to the Holocaust," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed 22 February 2015, [www.ushmm.org/learn/introduction-to-the-holocaust](http://www.ushmm.org/learn/introduction-to-the-holocaust) .

<sup>4</sup> Ghettoization: forced relocation of minorities into isolated ethnic communities.

Nazi-occupied countries.<sup>5</sup> Scholars believe that more than 8 million people (some estimate as many 11 million) were killed in the Holocaust and about 6 million of them were Jewish. About 1.9 million were non-Jewish Polish civilians, 220,000 were Roma, at least 20,000 were disabled, and between 5,000 and 15,000 were homosexual, and even more were Jehovah's witness, Russian citizens, and other unaccounted for groups (though sources still cannot provide nor agree on an exact number in any of these categories).<sup>6</sup>

## I. Music in the Third Reich

Beginning in Germany, the Third Reich enforced strict laws governing the arts. Like old master paintings, German classical music was a great source of pride for Hitler, and composers such as Ludwig van Beethoven, Anton Bruckner, Richard Strauss, and Richard Wagner were celebrated for upholding the heroic tradition of German music composition. Only the music of Aryan, primarily German composers, was permitted from this point on. Thus, Nazi regulations banned classical music by composers of Jewish heritage, like Mahler who disturbed anti-Semites with his use of German "Wagnerian compositional techniques."<sup>7</sup> Atonal and twelve-tone music was labeled *entartet* or

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<sup>5</sup> Articles pertaining to Holocaust genocide statistics can be found at "Genocide of the European Roma (Gypsies), 1939–1945," and "Nazi Persecution of the Disabled" in *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed 22 February 2015, [www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005219](http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005219) and [www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-features/special-focus/nazi-persecution-of-the-disabled](http://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-features/special-focus/nazi-persecution-of-the-disabled)

<sup>6</sup> "Mosaic of Victims: An Overview" in *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed 22 February 2015, [www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005149](http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005149)

<sup>7</sup> Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 58.

degenerate, and some composers who wrote in this style were similarly ostracized, including Arnold Schoenberg (who was also banned because he was Jewish), and Austrian composer Ernst Krenek (who composed atonally and dodecaphonically and featured provocative subject matter).<sup>8</sup> Compositional technique did not necessarily mean the Nazis would blacklist composers. Schoenberg's pupils, composers Winfried Zillig and Paul von Klenau composed atonal music, although they "softened its impact with tonal material."<sup>9</sup> Zillig's opera *Rosse* would probably have been considered degenerate, however its scenario was based on a play by Richard Billinger, who was revered by the Nazis.<sup>10</sup> He somehow escaped censor by the Nazis and kept his conducting post in Düsseldorf.<sup>11</sup> German composer Carl Orff's involvement with the Nazis is still contested. According to Kater, Orff claimed that his *Carmina Burana* was "proscribed by the Nazis" and that his "use of Latin text in the work "constituted an act of opposition."<sup>12</sup> However, Orff was never officially deemed degenerate, and was, as Erik Levi explains, even asked by Nazi officials to compose "special 'combat music.'"<sup>13</sup>

Musicians who performed modernist music, like the NCRM-supported violinists and quartet leaders Felix Galimir and Rudolf Kolisch, sought asylum in the United States

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<sup>8</sup> Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 84–85. Krenek eventually received aid from the NCRM.

<sup>9</sup> Alex Ross, *The Rest Is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Picador, 2007), 322.

<sup>10</sup> Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 105.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Michael H. Kater, "Carl Orff: Man of Legend," in *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 111–112.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Kater, "Carl Orff: Man of Legend," 132.



due to their Jewish heritage and their known interest in performing modernist music in Europe.<sup>14</sup>

Jewish religious music, Yiddish folk songs, Romani music, and other ethnic minority folk music, along with “non-Jewish compositions evoking patriotic resistance sentiments” (such as war protest music) were forbidden.<sup>15</sup> The Third Reich also ruled that jazz, which was popular in Berlin and elsewhere in Europe immediately following World War I (1914-1918), was a perversion of music created by African American and Jewish musicians. They considered it a risk to the Nazi Party: an “alien music that had to be eradicated.”<sup>16</sup> In 1938, an exhibition in Düsseldorf entitled *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate Music) constituted anti-Semitic propaganda meant to instill hatred for Jewish, modernist, and jazz musics in the German public by naming and blacklisting composers who were guilty of falling into these categories.<sup>17</sup> Curators used racist illustrations to slander those who fit in this genre.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Kolisch’s father and maternal grandmother were Jewish. Leon Botstein, “Modernism.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 22 February 2015, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40625](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40625).

<sup>15</sup> Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín 1941–1945* (New York: Beaufort Books, 1985), 4.

<sup>16</sup> For more on Jazz and the Nazis, see Michael J. Budds, “The New World Enriches the Old” in *Jazz & the Germans: Essays on the Influence of “Hot” American Idioms on the 20<sup>th</sup>–Century German Music*, ed. Michael J. Budds, *Monographs and Bibliographies in American Music* no. 17 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 8; and Guido Fackler, “Jazz Under the Nazis,” in *Music and the Holocaust*, accessed 31 October 2011, [holocaustmusic.org/politics-and-propaganda/third-reich/jazz-under-the-nazis/](http://holocaustmusic.org/politics-and-propaganda/third-reich/jazz-under-the-nazis/).

<sup>17</sup> *Entartete Musik* opened in Düsseldorf on 24 May 1938 and was modeled after the similar exhibition on visual arts called *Entartete Kunst*. Many composers blacklisted and named in the exhibition had already fled Europe. See Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 94.

<sup>18</sup> Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 78.

Conductors, musicians, and academics of Jewish heritage were passed over for positions or fired from their posts, including Brunswick's colleagues, conductors Otto Klemperer, Bruno Walter, and musicologist Paul Nettl (who was aided by the NCRM exile), among many others.<sup>19</sup> Concerts featuring Jewish musical soloists were also cancelled.<sup>20</sup>

In 1933, *Der Jüdische Kulturbund* (Jewish Culture League) was established by Jews in the ghettos to create opportunities for unemployed musicians, actors, and artists who had lost their jobs because they were Jewish.<sup>21</sup> The Nazis consented to these high-level orchestras, choirs, opera, and theater groups initially because they did not pose a threat to the regime, but later used them as propaganda and to distract Jewish participants from their oppression.<sup>22</sup> These ensembles primarily performed music approved by the Nazis, but some programmed works by Jewish composers including Mendelssohn and

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<sup>19</sup> A 1955 court case proved that musicologist Paul Nettl was passed over for a musicology academic position at the German University in Prague for being Jewish. See Bruno Nettl, "Displaced Musics and Immigrant Musicologists: Ethnomusicological and Biographical Perspectives," in *Driven Into Paradise. The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, eds. Reinhold Brinkman and Christoff Wolff (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 59.

<sup>20</sup> David Josephson, "The Exile of European Music: Documentation of Upheaval and Immigration in the *New York Times*," in *Driven into Paradise*, 97.

<sup>21</sup> Lily E. Hirsch, *Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Culture League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 16, accessed 14 April 2015, ProQuest ebrary.

<sup>22</sup> For more on NCRM aided musicians George and Rosemary Goldsmith's experience as musicians fleeing the Holocaust, see Martin Goldsmith, *The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2000).

Ernst Toch.<sup>23</sup> Musicologist Lily E. Hirsch explains that opera singer Masha Benya (who joined the Jewish Culture League) wanted to sing Hebrew and Yiddish folk songs, but was dissuaded because “many League organizers did not consider Hebrew and Yiddish folk music high culture.”<sup>24</sup> But musicians thought that by playing in these groups they were somewhat safe, and for some time they were. The *Kulturbund* was closed by the Gestapo in 1941, although its activities began to wane as early as 1938.<sup>25</sup>

Nazis organized prisoner orchestras and musical ensembles in the earliest concentration camps beginning in 1933.<sup>26</sup> These ensembles served propaganda purposes, entertained SS officers and their guests, and were used to embarrass, humiliate, and even physically harm the prisoners by forcing prisoners to play their instruments for long periods of time.<sup>27</sup> Several orchestras operated in Auschwitz, including one women’s orchestra conducted by Alma Rosé, Gustav Mahler’s niece.<sup>28</sup> Musicians assigned to these orchestras were given instruments to play. These ensembles used traditional orchestral

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<sup>23</sup> Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 53.

<sup>24</sup> Benya was later helped by the NCRM. See Hirsch, *Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany*, 37; NCRM Memoranda, Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians, 14 January 1939, series 3, box 1, Mark Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>27</sup> For more information on Nazi-organized music in the Holocaust, see Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press), 2005.

<sup>28</sup> Alma Rosé Mahler became the director of the women’s orchestra when she was imprisoned in 1943. See Richard Newman and Karen Kirtley, *Alma Rose: Vienna to Auschwitz* (London: Amadeus Press, 2000).

instrumentation, with full string, wind, brass, and percussion sections based on the available instruments.

During the Nazi regime, almost every aspect of daily life was regulated. Anti-Semitic laws prevented Jews from living normal lives. In 1941, the Nazis passed a law prohibiting ownership of musical instruments by Jews in ghettos and concentration camps.<sup>29</sup> Instruments, along with art and other personal belongings, were confiscated from Jewish households as early as 1933.<sup>30</sup> Nazi officials meticulously catalogued the art they stole to help plan for the *Führermuseum*, a national Nazi repository of art to be erected in Linz, Austria.<sup>31</sup> Fortunately for the art world, collectors also kept detailed records of their collections, which have made repatriation possible. Musical instruments (especially those made by lesser-known luthiers and manufacturers) were not tracked as effectively.<sup>32</sup> In recent years, major strides have been made to return looted art; however, musical instruments have been harder to find and verify. However, the 2012 travelling exhibition of Amon Weinstein's collection entitled "Violins of Hope" displays and tells

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<sup>29</sup> Karas, *Music in Terezín*, 3.

<sup>30</sup> For more on Nazi-looted art, see Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Robert M. Edsel, *Saving Italy: The Race to Rescue a Nation's Treasures from the Nazis* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013).

<sup>31</sup> Robert M. Edsel, *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History* (New York: Center Street, 2009) 12.

<sup>32</sup> For more on Nazi-era musical instrument provenance see Carla Shapreau, "The Stolen Instruments of the Third Reich," *The Strad* 120, no.1436 (December 2009), 32.

the stories of the provenance of twelve exceptional violins that were previously confiscated by the Nazis. Many other instruments are still not accounted for.<sup>33</sup>

The Berlin Philharmonic was considered to be the official orchestra of the Third Reich and functioned under Joseph Goebbels' Nazi Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.<sup>34</sup> In the documentary *The Reichsorchester*, Hans Bastian, concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic remembered an occasion when the orchestra was brought to a bank vault filled with fine instruments:

There were violins in a bank and I was allowed to choose one. An Italian violin. It never occurred to me it could be a violin from ... let's say ... from the hands of Jewish people, or that originated from other hands.<sup>35</sup>

Solo cellist Tibor de Machula and first concertmaster Erich Röhn obtained instruments in a similar way.<sup>36</sup> The current location of these instruments is not mentioned in the film.

Prisoners taken to concentration camps often risked bringing their most important possessions, including jewelry, pictures, and family heirlooms because they were often small and easily hidden. However, musical instruments--harder to conceal and easily identifiable--were regularly confiscated. While in a cattle car headed to Auschwitz-Birkenau, Auschwitz survivor and jazz trumpeter Louis Bannet remembered seeing an elderly gentleman clutching an old tattered violin case to his chest. Bannet "crawled

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<sup>33</sup> James A. Grymes, *Violins of Hope: Violins of the Holocaust—Instruments of Hope and Liberation in Mankind's Darkest Hour* (New York: HarperCollins, 2014).

<sup>34</sup> Enrique Sánchez Lansch, *The Reichsorchester: The Berlin Philharmonic and the Third Reich* (C Major Entertainment, 2007), DVD.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

across the car, but when [he reached the man with the violin], he was dead.”<sup>37</sup> This violin was ultimately confiscated once Bannet exited the train. Intensive searches and confiscation of personal items made smuggling improbable. Other instruments were given to imprisoned musicians playing in Nazi-sanctioned ensembles in concentration camps. At Auschwitz, according to Louis Bannet,

The instruments were stored in a converted horse barn ... On one wall ... hung an assortment of brass and woodwind instruments, each one polished to a near-blinding shine ... On another wall hung the string section—violins, violas, and cellos. Leaning against a table scattered with sheet music was a massive double bass. Nearby were a set of drums and several accordions.<sup>38</sup>

If the administrators of a concentration camp experienced a shortage of instruments for their prisoner orchestras, they confiscated them from residents in neighboring towns.

## II. Immigration Obstacles

For Europeans who avoided imprisonment in concentration camps and attempted to leave their homelands for the U.S., the immigration quota was but one of many obstacles. To obtain an entry visa, hopeful immigrants to the United States needed persuasive and carefully written affidavits from multiple sponsors. They must also have secured a waiting number within the quota for their country of birth.<sup>39</sup> Potential exiles had to prove their financial stability, show how they would contribute to American

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<sup>37</sup> Ken Shuldman, *Jazz Survivor: The Story of Louis Bannet, Horn Player of Auschwitz* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), 23.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>39</sup> “Obstacles to Immigration,” Holocaust Encyclopedia, *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed 19 March 2015, [www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007455](http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007455).

society, and/or prove that they were in imminent danger from being blacklisted or being politically dissident. Political exiles were far more likely to be granted asylum than artists or common-class Jews; cases involving the former were often expedited due to personal connections and name recognition. Immigrants had to find sponsors or sponsoring organizations willing to take responsibility for them. The fact that the U.S. government would investigate financial records and personal lives of sponsors deterred many Americans from becoming sponsors for exiles.<sup>40</sup> The visa application process was expensive and tedious. Errors could halt the process altogether. For all these reasons, many were prevented from leaving Europe. Even if all the necessary steps were taken, escape was not necessarily guaranteed.<sup>41</sup> Competition was high for visas, since thousands of immigrants competed for a small number of spots (and many applied for visas in several countries), delays in mail delivery slowed sponsor correspondence, and the substantial financial obligations of this process made leaving Europe very difficult.<sup>42</sup> The exhaustive restrictions and red tape slowed immigration and inevitably kept many people from leaving Nazi-occupied Europe.

Once receiving a visa and preparing for departure, immigrants had to decide what they were able to pack and bring with them to their new home, knowing that they may never come back to their home country again. Choosing which essential possessions were

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<sup>40</sup> Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55.

<sup>41</sup> For more information on American visa policies, see Richard Breitman and Alan M. Krout, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 28–51.

<sup>42</sup> “Obstacles to Immigration,” *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed 19 March 2015, [www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007455](http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007455).

transportable was an emotionally charged, trying choice. One may have to decide between clothing, photographs, heirlooms, and even musical instruments, even at the risk of having these items confiscated while in transit. While American laws did not explicitly limit luggage size and quantity for immigrants at the national level, most shipping companies did limit what travelers could bring with them. Space in ships' holds was limited, so the rule of thumb was that immigrants brought only what they could lift and carry on their own. Even these limitations depended on social status and the length of time an exile was able to prepare for escape. For many, bringing musical instruments, a source of livelihood, trumped additional clothing and other typical necessities. Once in the U.S., however, items could be inspected and even fumigated to treat infestations resulting from crowded trans-Atlantic voyages, thus potentially damaging instruments and other valuables.<sup>43</sup>

Once immigrants finally arrived, adjusting to their new lives in the United States was not always an easy transition. With the anti-Semitism also present in America, many Jewish immigrants decided to fully assimilate, or give up certain aspects of their lifestyle or culture in order to fit into their new home country. Some chose to Americanize their names, stop speaking their native languages in favor of English, and socialize not with their own cultural community, but solely with Americans. Others acculturated, a process wherein they kept certain aspects of their homeland while adapting to American life. And yet others isolated themselves in ethnic refugee communities, which were somewhat self

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<sup>43</sup> Michael F. Potter, "The History of Bed Bug Management: With Lessons from the Past," *American Entomologist* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2011), 17–21.



contained in New York City. The choice to adapt (or not to adapt) was not always a conscious decision.<sup>44</sup>

### III. The Need for Refugee Aid

In the monograph, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry*, Richard Breitman and Alan M. Krout examine the ways U.S. “restrictionist” immigration laws made relocation difficult for at-risk Europeans during World War Two.<sup>45</sup> Much of the American public was anti-immigration, due to what David Wyman calls post-Depression “unemployment, nativistic nationalism, and anti-Semitism.”<sup>46</sup> Because the U.S. had become home to waves of Irish immigrants fleeing the Great Famine after 1845 and again after 1880, to another flood of immigrants—from Italy, Greece, Poland, and elsewhere—U.S. citizens feared losing their jobs once more to immigrants. The Immigration Act of 1924 arbitrarily lowered the total number of people of all immigrant nationalities in the U.S. from three percent (based on the 1890 census) to two percent.<sup>47</sup> Especially after the stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression, many in the U.S. would not have welcomed going abroad to war once again. A growing isolationist movement in Congress resisted further United States’ involvement in foreign wars and upheld outdated legislation, despite dire needs of displaced Europeans.

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<sup>44</sup> For more on the history of assimilation, see Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

<sup>45</sup> For more on “restrictionist” U.S. policies pre-WWII, see Breitman and Krout, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry*, 28.

<sup>46</sup> David S. Wyman, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938–1941* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968), 3.

<sup>47</sup> Wyman, *Paper Walls*, 3.

Once elected in March of 1933, U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt saw a need for the U.S. to “participate more actively in international affairs, but his ability to apply his personal outlook to foreign policy was limited by the strength of isolationist sentiment in the U.S. Congress.”<sup>48</sup> Breitman and Krout assert that, during the inter-war period and throughout World War II, the U.S. State Department was pressured to “commit to a narrow interpretation of its functions and to the protection of American interest alone.”<sup>49</sup> They further state that:

U.S. policy was a product of four major variables: pre-existing restrictive immigration laws and regulations; an entrenched State Department bureaucracy; ... The American public’s opposition to an increase in immigration; and the reluctance of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to accept the inherent political risks of humanitarian measures on behalf of foreign Jews advocated by Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins, representatives of American Jewish organizations, and others.<sup>50</sup>

This inflexibility may have caused the U.S. government to procrastinate before joining the Allied effort in the War. Wyman suggests in *Paper Walls* that

When German anti-Semitism turned to widespread terror in 1938, the world and most persecuted Jews realized that flight offered the only hope. For three years that hope remained a possibility. If, in the crucial years from 1938 to 1941, the world had opened its doors to the victims of persecution, the history of Europe’s Jews from 1942 to 1945 would have been significantly different. Instead, the barriers held firm and relatively few refugees found asylum.<sup>51</sup>

German, Austrian, and Czechoslovakian exiles now competed for a yearly quota of 27,000 U.S. visas, which were filled every year until 1941. In 1941, immigration dropped

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<sup>48</sup> “American Isolationism in the 1930s,” U.S. Department of the State: Office of the Historian, accessed 24 February 2015, [history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/american-isolationism](http://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/american-isolationism).

<sup>49</sup> Breitman and Krout, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry*, 3.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

below 50 percent of the limit established by the quota. In 1942, immigration was down to 18 percent, and in 1943, immigration was below 5 percent.<sup>52</sup> This decline resulted from the War's complicating the process of immigration and also Roosevelt's appointment of Breckinridge Long as assistant secretary in charge of the Visa Division. In 1940, Long established a new visa policy and was quoted saying that

We [the U.S. government] can delay and effectively stop for a temporary period of indefinite length the number of immigrants into the United States. We could do this by simply advising our consuls to put every obstacle in the way and to require additional evidence and to resort to various administrative devices which would postpone and postpone and postpone the granting of the visas.<sup>53</sup>

Long's strict policies may have been due to a sense of paranoia and isolationist rhetoric, along with personal distrust and anti-Semitism.

The 1938 international conference in Evian did little to solve the refugee problem, and little action was taken by any of the participating nations all of which seemed apathetic. The Evian conference outcome may have been influenced by U.S. efforts to stay out of the war at this time, since the U. S. did not enter World War II until the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.

In the early 1930s, it was easier to rescue exiles than when the war progressed into the late 1930s and 1940s. However, the United States government failed fully to offer asylum when it would have been easiest to do so. This missed opportunity had dire consequences. Although Roosevelt and others knew something of the Nazis' extermination plan, their sources disagreed about the gravity thereof. In August 1942, the

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<sup>52</sup> Wyman, *Paper Walls*, 221.

<sup>53</sup> Robert L. Beir with Brian Josephson, *Roosevelt and the Holocaust: A Rooseveltian Examines the Policies and Remembers the Times* (Fort Lee, NJ: Barricade Books, 2006), 156.

State Department received a report sent by Gerhart Riegner, the Geneva-based representative of the World Jewish Congress (WJC):

The report revealed that the Germans were implementing a policy to physically annihilate the Jews of Europe. Department officials declined to pass on the report to its intended recipient, American Jewish leader Stephen Wise, who was President of the World Jewish Congress.<sup>54</sup>

Roosevelt's lack of action may have suggested that he did not care, but Breitman points out that "he wanted to get the Jews out of Germany before the murderers gained full sway."<sup>55</sup> Issues with the quotas were also complicated by a real fear that loosening immigration restrictions would cause serious national security risks. The Bermuda Conference (1943) was held by the United States and the United Kingdom to address the refugee situation, yet nothing came of the meeting.<sup>56</sup> Roosevelt was in a difficult position during wartime; many of the key decisions regarding immigration were left to his appointees, while his focus was on the war.

According to Breitman, three factors signaled a change in Roosevelt's policies and actions regarding the Jewish Holocaust refugees in the summer of 1943: first, the Allied forces were gaining territory and changing the outlook of the war.<sup>57</sup> Secondly, Roosevelt met with Polish ambassador Jan Ciechanowski and Jan Karski, lieutenant in the Polish underground army. Karski informed Roosevelt of the horrors of the Holocaust

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<sup>54</sup> "The United States and the Holocaust," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed 2 March 2015, [www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005182](http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005182).

<sup>55</sup> Richard Breitman, "Roosevelt and the Holocaust," in *FDR and the Holocaust*, ed. Verne W. Newton (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 109.

<sup>56</sup> Breitman, "Roosevelt and the Holocaust," 109.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

and the Final Solution (the Nazi plan to systematically exterminate the Jewish people). Of this, Ciechanowski said,

Hitler and his subordinates aim at the total destruction of the Jews before the war ends and regardless of its outcome. The Allied governments cannot disregard this reality. The Jews in Poland are helpless ... only the powerful Allied governments can help effectively.<sup>58</sup>

Ciechanowski and Karski may have convinced Roosevelt, or at least shown him the realities of the death camps. Thirdly, the American public and congress were becoming increasingly concerned about the genocides occurring in Europe. These three factors may have motivated Roosevelt to establish the War Refugee Board in 1944, which aimed to rescue Jews from occupied territories and provide relief to inmates of Nazi concentration camps by collaborating with Jewish aid organizations already in place, diplomats from neutral countries, and other resistance groups.<sup>59</sup> Eleanor Roosevelt stated:

Against the background of Hitler's crematoriums, the horrors of war, and the slow decay of displaced persons camps ... [came] the most effective and comprehensive program of rescue, resettlement, and welfare services for, and integration of, refugees and immigrants ever devised in any part of the world. More than 300,000 new Americans were helped to begin new lives of freedom and opportunity by the Service to Foreign Born of the National Council of Jewish Women (1904-1946), the National Coordinating Committee (1934-46), the United Service for New Americans (1946-1954), and their many cooperating local organizations.<sup>60</sup>

Even with these organizations working to help the refugee problem, many believe the United States could have done more. Regarding cases such as that of the *S.S. St. Louis*,

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<sup>58</sup> Breitman, "Roosevelt and the Holocaust," 120.

<sup>59</sup> "The War Refugee Board," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed 19 March 2015, [www.ushmm.org/outreach/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007749](http://www.ushmm.org/outreach/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007749).

<sup>60</sup> Eleanor Roosevelt, foreword to Lyman Cromwell White, *300,000 New Americans: The Epic of a Modern Immigrant-Aid Service* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), ix.

the U.S. is often criticized for not bending its stringent immigration rules. This ship set sail in 1939 from the Netherlands headed for Havana, Cuba, where its 900 Jewish passengers fleeing the Holocaust had or were in the process of obtaining visas. Tickets for this ship cost an expensive 600-800 Reichsmarks, with the addition of a required permit for 300 Reichsmarks, which made it impossible for many to even consider purchasing tickets.<sup>61</sup> Once docked in Cuba, the passenger's visas were not accepted, and the passengers were forced to set sail once again, towards the United States. Given the stringent quota, and the several-years-long waiting list of European Jews applying for visas, absorbing the ship's passengers was controversial to much of America. Again, President F. D. Roosevelt could have intervened with an executive order; perhaps since he was still up against an isolationist Congress and he was looking to run for a third term as president. In any case, he chose not to intervene on behalf of the *S. S. St. Louis's* passengers.<sup>62</sup> After being denied by the United States, the ship was forced to return to mainland Europe.<sup>63</sup> This tragedy was avoidable. Eventually, the U.S. finally took action in 1944 with the beginning of the War Refugee Board, but that action was unfortunately too late for many who might have found refuge in America.

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<sup>61</sup> *S.S. St. Louis Passengers* were looking at spending the modern equivalent of \$6000–8000 (900-1100 Reichsmarks) for their ill-fated journey, and only were allowed to bring \$67 (10 Reichsmarks) with them. See [www.westegg.com/inflation](http://www.westegg.com/inflation) for conversions. For a detailed account of voyage of the *S.S. St Louis*, see Beir with Josephson, *Roosevelt and the Holocaust*, 129–130.

<sup>62</sup> Breitman, “Roosevelt and the Holocaust,” 110–112.

<sup>63</sup> For a personal account of this voyage, see Martin Goldsmith, *Alex's Wake: A Voyage of Betrayal and a Journey of Remembrance* (Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 2014).

#### IV. The Aid Organizations

In 1939, a reorganization of the National Coordinating Committee resulted in the Committee being renamed the National Refugee Service (NRS, 1939-1946) a body which more broadly addressed the needs of all refugees seeking asylum in the United States from other countries than Germany and Austria by overseeing specialized aid Committees and their work.<sup>64</sup> The National Coordinating Committee (1934) was established due to the

resulting confusion and the inadequacy of financial resources and personnel of existing organizations [like synagogues, Jewish centers, existing immigrant aid and social service organizations] to cope with the mounting problem [of mass exile] . . . . This was a nonsectarian Committee, financed by Jewish fundraising organizations, which functioned to integrate the activities of agencies giving aid to Jewish and non-Jewish refugees and to provide a clearinghouse of information about them.<sup>65</sup>

Organizations like the ones under the purview of the National Refugee Service did everything they could to save as many refugees as possible from the perils of World War II and the atrocities of the Holocaust genocide. Working within the strict confines of the United States government's quotas, these organizations were forced to defend and fight for every individual at risk.

In addition to general organizations like the Emergency Rescue Committee (later the International Rescue Committee), other more specialized committees were created to focus on helping certain groups of people. Some organizations were based on religious beliefs, like American Committee for Christian German Refugees or the Committee for

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<sup>64</sup> "Guide to the Records of the National Refugee Service, 1934-1952," Records of the NRS, RG 248, YIVO.

<sup>65</sup> Maurice R. Davie, *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (Harper and Brothers, 1947), 96.

Catholic Refugees from Germany, both of which cooperated with the NCRM. Others were based on professional occupations, like the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. Specialized arts organizations were founded to save European cultural figures from the war and genocide. The European Film Fund (EFF) was founded in 1938 in Los Angeles to help exiled actors, writers and film composers in Hollywood. The organization's purpose was "to raise money in order to financially support refugees from Nazi Germany who fell on hard times once they arrived in the U.S."<sup>66</sup> They "closely collaborated with the Emergency Rescue Committee."<sup>67</sup> Surprisingly, there does not seem to be a specialized visual arts committee to rescue artists from the Holocaust; however, the American journalist Varian Fry, an American journalist, was responsible for saving many artists who were blocked from acquiring American visas in Nazi-occupied France. As an agent for the Emergency Rescue Committee, and armed with a list of artists provided by the Museum of Modern Art's first director Alfred Barr, he undertook an ambitious rescue mission to Marseilles in 1940.<sup>68</sup> Fry stated:

There are some things so horrible that decent men and women find them impossible to believe.... The recent reports of the systematic extermination of the Jews in Nazi Europe are of this order.... This is a challenge we cannot, must not, ignore.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Martin Stauter, *Liesl Frank, Charlotte Dieterle and the European Film Fund* (PhD diss., Warwick University, 2010) 83, accessed 14 April 2015, books.google.com.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>68</sup> Sheila Isenberg, *A Hero of Our Own: The Story of Varian Fry* (iUniverse, 2005), 124.

<sup>69</sup> Mordecai Paldie, *Saving the Jews: Men and Women who Defied the "Final Solution"* (E-book: First Taylor Trade Publishing, 2000), 95–97.



He and his volunteers were responsible for transporting Hannah Arendt, Marc Chagall, Marcel Duchamp, Max Ernst, Wanda Landowska, Alma Mahler Gropius Werfel, and Franz Werfel, among many more important cultural figures.<sup>70</sup>

The achievements of independent organizations such as the National Committee for Refugee Musicians (NCRM) contrast sharply with the inadequate response of the American government.<sup>71</sup> Brunswick and the NCRM worked to save as many at-risk musicians from the Holocaust as possible. Given the dire circumstances of living in a war zone, consulates worldwide were bombarded with visa requests from those who wished to leave. Having an established career, recognition, and political importance gave an advantage to many immigrants, but it was often harder to justify leaving the country with a career in the arts. Fortunately for many musicians wishing to live in the U.S., Brunswick and the National Committee for Refugee Musicians saw ways, first, to justify, and then to facilitate the relocation of émigré musicians.

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<sup>70</sup> Paldie, *Saving the Jews*, " 89.

<sup>71</sup> The NCRM was an affiliate Committee of the National Refugee Service (NRS).

### 3. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MARK BRUNSWICK

American modernist composer and National Committee for Refugee Musicians founder Mark Brunswick was born 6 January 1902 in New York City to Emanuel and Cecile Brunswick.<sup>1</sup> Emanuel Brunswick (1858—1933) was born in the United States to wealthy Alsatian-Jewish immigrant parents and worked in garment manufacturing, specifically as an “importer of velvets.”<sup>2</sup> His mother, Cecile Blumgart Brunswick (21 July 1871, 20 December 1968), was born in the United States to Bavarian-Jewish immigrant parents.<sup>3</sup> Emanuel and Cecile married in 1894.<sup>4</sup> They had four children in New York City: Ruth (b.1895), David M. (b.1896), Mark B. (1902-1971), and Alice (b.1903).<sup>5</sup> Seven years after Emanuel’s death in 1933, Cecile married the Zionist activist, Judge Julian William Mack (1866-1943). Mack was the father of Ruth Mack, whom

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<sup>1</sup> Reports of Deaths of American Citizens Abroad, Death certificate of Mark Brunswick, accessed 22 February 2015, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com).

<sup>2</sup> Sources disagree regarding Emmanuel’s birth or death days and years. Emmanuel’s U.S. passport applications from 1920 and 1922 agree with U.S. census records from 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 that his birthday was 18 September 1858, see 1900 United States Census, “Emanuel Brunswick,” New York, accessed 24 June 2013, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com). However, Natascha Artin Brunswick, Brunswick’s third wife, writes that Emmanuel was born on 1 September 1858, and died on 8 May 1933 in a letter to R.C. Normandy, editor of the *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, 8 December 1971, Natascha Brunswick Papers, series 7, box 3, Mark Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>3</sup> Census documents indicate that Cecile Brunswick was born in either 1871 or 1872, see 1900, 1910, 1920 and 1930 United States Census, “Cecile Brunswick,” New York, accessed 24 June 2013, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com); Natascha Artin Brunswick writes that Cecile was born on 25 July 1872, see letter to R.C. Normandy, 8 December 1971, Natascha Brunswick Papers, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>4</sup> Like Emanuel, Cecile’s father Louis Blumgart worked in garment manufacturing in New York City. This perhaps explains how she met her husband Louis.

<sup>5</sup> Death dates, besides Mark’s, are unknown at this time; see 1910 United States Census, “Cecile Brunswick,” New York, accessed 24 June 2013, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com).

Mark Brunswick would eventually marry in 1928.<sup>6</sup>

## I. Personal Life

On 19 July 1917, Mark Brunswick and his family attended the marriage of his mother's cousin, Hermann Ludwig Blumgart (1895-1977), "a leading cardiologist and ... [eventually] the director of Boston's Beth Israel Hospital," to Radcliffe College student Ruth Jane Mack (1897-1946) in Sea Cliff, NY.<sup>7</sup> The couple's marriage did not last beyond 1924.<sup>8</sup> After their divorce, Mack moved to Vienna to study with and undergo psychoanalysis by Sigmund Freud.<sup>9</sup> Ruth became a close colleague of Freud after studying with him. After working with Freud one of his most famous cases, the "Wolf-Man," (a man who suffered from depression), Freud felt he would be best served working

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<sup>6</sup> "Julian Mack," World Jewish Congress, accessed 22 February 2015, [www.worldjewishcongress.org/en/biography/73](http://www.worldjewishcongress.org/en/biography/73). For more on Julian Mack, see Harry Barnard, *The Forging of an American Jew: The Life and Times of Judge Julian W. Mack* (New York: Herzl Press, 1974). Zionism was the movement for the return of the Jewish people to their biblical homeland of Israel. During World War II, Zionism was a growing movement, given the anti-Semitic landscape of Europe and the United States.

<sup>7</sup> William Roscoe Thayer, William Richards Castle, Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe, Arthur Stanwood Pier, Bernard Augustine De Voto, and Theodore Morrison, *The Harvard Graduates' Magazine* 26 (Boston: Harvard Graduates Magazine Association, 1917-8) 168, accessed 23 February 2015, [books.google.com/books?id=ji8pAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=ji8pAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false).

<sup>8</sup> Paul Roazan, "The Women," in *Freud and His Followers* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 423.

<sup>9</sup> "Ruth Mack Brunswick," *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia, Vol. I: A-L* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 194.

solely with her.<sup>10</sup>

Brunswick began seeing Ruth Mack (who was five years his junior) when he moved to Vienna in 1924, although details of their courtship are scant. In 1928, Mark married Ruth in a small ceremony in Vienna, with Freud serving as their witness. Theirs was one of the only marriages he ever attended. During this time, Brunswick also underwent psychoanalysis with Freud. In 1929, the couple briefly returned to New York for the birth of their only daughter, Matilda “Til” Brunswick, perhaps to ensure her U.S. citizenship, but returned to Vienna soon thereafter.<sup>11</sup> Ruth and Mark divorced in 1937, but remarried six months later at Freud’s recommendation.<sup>12</sup> The Brunswick family socialized with Freud and his wife somewhat frequently while in Austria.<sup>13</sup> In 1938, the Brunswicks returned to the United States, the same year as the *Anschluss*. Ruth and Mark divorced for the second and final time in 1945. Ruth struggled with addiction to opiates after suffering physical ailments, and due to complications thereof, died one year later on 24 January 1946 after a fall.<sup>14</sup>

According to Natascha Artin, sometime after 1945 Brunswick was briefly married

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<sup>10</sup> Ruth Mack Brunswick, “A Supplement to Freud’s History of an Infantile Neurosis,” in *The Wolfman and Sigmund Freud*, ed. Muriel Gardiner (London: Hogarth Press, 1972), 263–307.

<sup>11</sup> Matilda later married and changed her name to Matilda Brunswick Stewart.

<sup>12</sup> “Finding aid for the Ruth Mack Brunswick papers, 1921–1943,” Library of Congress, accessed 22 February 2015, [findingaids.loc.gov/db/search/xq/searchMfer02.xq?\\_id=loc.mss.eadmss.ms009276&\\_faSection=overview&\\_faSubsection=bioghist&\\_dmdid=d26932e15](http://findingaids.loc.gov/db/search/xq/searchMfer02.xq?_id=loc.mss.eadmss.ms009276&_faSection=overview&_faSubsection=bioghist&_dmdid=d26932e15).

<sup>13</sup> “Freud home movie clips,” *Sigmund Freud: Conflict and Culture* Exhibition, Library of Congress, accessed 15 March 2015, [www.loc.gov/exhibits/freud/freud03a.html](http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/freud/freud03a.html)

<sup>14</sup> “Ruth Mack Brunswick,” in *Jewish Women’s Archive Encyclopedia*, accessed 1 February 2015, [jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/brunswick-ruth-mack](http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/brunswick-ruth-mack).

to Arlyn McKenna, a secretary at Black Mountain College; they divorced in 1955.<sup>15</sup> In 1959, Brunswick married Natascha (Natalie) Jasny Artin (1909-2003).<sup>16</sup> Natascha was the founding technical editor of the New York University journal *Communications of Pure and Applied Mathematics*, from 1948-1991, and worked closely with the eminent mathematician Richard Courant, applied mathematician and founder of New York University's Courant Institute of Mathematical Sciences. She was also the primary translation editor for the Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics journal, *Theory of Probability and Its Applications*.<sup>17</sup> Brunswick was married to Natascha until his death in 1971.

## II. Musical Life

Brunswick took piano lessons with Victor Wittgenstein at some point between 1918 and 1923.<sup>18</sup> He received his education at the Horace Mann School and one year at Phillips Exeter Academy, and was also enrolled in “several extension courses in history and German at Columbia University” before deciding to focus his efforts on studying

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<sup>15</sup> Natascha Brunswick Papers, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>16</sup> Natascha was previously married to mathematician Emil Artin and had three children from her first marriage: Karin, Michael, and Tom Artin.

<sup>17</sup> Louis Nirenberg, “In Memoriam: Natascha Artin Brunswick, Editor Emeritus,” *Theory of Probability and Applied Math* 47 no. 2 (2003): 189, accessed 22 February 2015, [dx.doi.org/10.1137/TPRBAU000047000002000189000001](https://dx.doi.org/10.1137/TPRBAU000047000002000189000001).

<sup>18</sup> Natascha Brunswick Papers, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

music.<sup>19</sup> Brunswick studied harmony, counterpoint, and fugue with Rubin Goldmark for five years in the U.S (January 1918-June 1923).<sup>20</sup> Later, Brunswick met Ernest Bloch in New York City, at the recommendation of Frederick Jacoby, a former pupil of Goldmark and Bloch. Brunswick explains that:

[Jacoby] had gone to Bloch and he had told me that if I thought that [I was finished] because I finished with Goldmark ... that I was sadly mistaken and I should go on, and he recommended Bloch. And Bloch was a marvelous teacher. Stuff that Goldmark would say ... I couldn't figure out. But Bloch would tell you how to figure it out— how to analyze it.<sup>21</sup>

Brunswick studied theory and composition with Bloch in 1924 while he taught at the Cleveland Institute of Music; however, Brunswick was never officially enrolled there as a student.<sup>22</sup> Brunswick further stated that “what Bloch did was to make me able to use the sort of pent up stuff to make it far more significant than it was.”<sup>23</sup> According to Brunswick, Bloch was a challenging teacher. Despite auspicious beginnings, he would soon feel crushed, like “he had no talent.”<sup>24</sup> In an interview with Gerald Warfield, Brunswick states that he stopped studying with Bloch due to personal reasons, “because

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<sup>19</sup> Curriculum Vitae, series 9, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY. Horace Mann was originally founded as a teaching campus of the Columbia Teachers College, but by 1901, it had become a respected institution in its own right, see “A Long Tradition,” Horace Mann School, accessed 23 February 2015, [Horacemann.org](http://Horacemann.org).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Gerald Warfield draft interview with Mark Brunswick, undated, series 7, box 4, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>22</sup> Bloch was a teacher, confidant, and mentor to Brunswick throughout his life. Bloch to Mark Brunswick, 4 July 1958, series 1, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>23</sup> Warfield draft interview with Brunswick, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

[Bloch] was in such a state of confusion and emotional upset that I wasn't getting very much from him although he was a wonderful teacher."<sup>25</sup>

In 1924, Brunswick moved to Vienna to continue his musical education. He decided to study with Nadia Boulanger from 1925 to 1929 in Paris.<sup>26</sup> In Brunswick's words:

I kept sort of commuting. I was in Vienna for large parts of the time and then I would come to Paris for 3 months or 4 months.<sup>27</sup>

About working with Boulanger and her students, Brunswick wrote:

With her, I was writing my own mush. And she was criticizing it. And her [criticisms were], as I look back on it, very, very constructive. They weren't too deep, but that's about what I needed.

Well, there was Walter Piston, Bernard Rogers, and a large number of other Americans and some French. In the summer we used to go out to [Gargenville] ... where she lived and we lived in various little boarding houses and ate rather miserably and we would have our lessons and then go for bicycle rides together. It was kind of stimulating. When I was in Vienna, I was an extremely timid person. I'm sure as I look back on it, I felt very inferior and so I didn't want to, I didn't try to get in touch with the Viennese composers. I had this rather negative attitude.<sup>28</sup>

Brunswick met Arnold Schoenberg at the 1924 International Society for Contemporary Music festival in Prague, where he heard the premiere of Schoenberg's one-act opera, *Erwartung*.<sup>29</sup> Brunswick explains:

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<sup>25</sup> Warfield draft interview with Brunswick, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>26</sup> At the same time, Boulanger was teaching at the French Music School for Americans in Fontainebleau, France.

<sup>27</sup> Warfield draft interview with Brunswick, CCNY.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Warfield draft interview with Brunswick, Brunswick Collection, CCNY. Schoenberg is probably misspelled as "Cherenburg" in the typed manuscript.

I went to Vienna to see if Arnold Schoenberg would accept me as a pupil. At that time, I had no preconceptions about twelve-tone music. A new world was opening up to me, and I wanted desperately to like the music of a man who liked me, and with whom I wished to study.<sup>30</sup>

In the end, he decided not to study with Schoenberg because he was unable to accept his “stringent stipulations,” but they remained friends.<sup>31</sup> Despite these words, Brunswick did socialize with members of the Second Viennese School, including Heinrich Jalowetz, Ernst Krenek, and Anton Webern. Brunswick explains how he met Webern:

It was through Marcel Dick, a violist for whom I wrote a viola fantasia, that I got willy-nilly into the Viennese circle. He invited Webern to hear it in a private performance, and Webern was very enthusiastic. Later Webern was on the jury for the Barcelona ISCM festival and arranged for my “Two Movements for String Quartet” to be accepted. We later became good friends; I gave his 50<sup>th</sup> birthday party at my home [1933]. In a sense, I loved Webern; he was a wonderful person. Along with his radical musical sophistication there was something down to earth about him. Until the whole Nazi thing came along he used to come to our house often; we talked about music a great deal, and ... about politics, unfortunately.<sup>32</sup>

Brunswick began to embrace atonality in his own compositional style during his association with these Viennese composers. He remembered seeing *Erwartung* soon after he arrived in Europe in 1924. His strong opinions were perhaps more forcefully expressed than he intended.

I attended a performance of Schoenberg’s *Erwartung*; a piece in which a woman shrieks for an hour over a dead body. After ten minutes, I found that not only did I not like this music; I violently disliked it. Among other things, it was hyperemotional and neurotically Romantic. In this respect, I found that there was no difference between Schoenberg’s tone row and non-tone row compositions. I

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<sup>30</sup> Student Interview with Mark Brunswick, series 7, box 4, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>31</sup> Brunswick states that he met Schoenberg at a bad time. He had a number of unpleasant experiences with American students, but does not address what Schoenberg’s “strict stipulations” were. See Gerald Warfield, “Interview with Mark Brunswick,” *Contemporary Music Newsletter* 3, nos. 3–4 (1969): 1.

<sup>32</sup> Warfield draft interview with Brunswick, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.



was more sympathetic to the music of Webern, but his music did not seem to express anything. As for the total serialists, such as Babbitt, their music does not communicate to me. It is just as if they were writing in a completely foreign language, perhaps Chinese. Personally, I see no reason for hobbling oneself with serialism. It is much too intellectualized.<sup>33</sup>

As a young man, he was still forming his compositional style, and in this student interview, he probably remembered being shocked by the work, which was not only dissonant and Expressionist, but which dealt with risqué subject matter. In this quotation, Brunswick seems to be reminiscing about his own visceral reaction from his past, and simultaneously answering some form of the question, why weren't you a serialist? The mature Brunswick would not have worried about offending his mentor with these words, since Schoenberg had died in 1951. When further asked about the use of the serialism favored by his colleagues Schoenberg and Webern, Brunswick responded about his compositions:

Oh no, I have no system. I feel the need to write dissonantly, but my principles of organization are completely intuitive ... I write in short forms because I dislike prolixity, and because I must reach a certain momentary creative intensity to compose, where the music runs out of my guts into the pencil.<sup>34</sup>

Brunswick offers information about securing performances for composition:

Sometimes, if you write for a neglected instrument, you have a good chance of having it played by a virtuoso who is seeking new additions to the rather meager repertoire that is available ... My principle problem is that my music is too modern for audiences, but is ignored by the twelve-tone establishment because it is too conservative.<sup>35</sup>

This is exemplified in Brunswick's String Quartet (1958) which is atypically scored for

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<sup>33</sup> Student Interview with Mark Brunswick, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

violin, viola, cello, and double bass.<sup>36</sup> In regards to his compositional style, Feisst tells us that:

While Schoenberg appreciated Brunswick's loyalty, he never expressed an opinion about his music in writing. It seems, however, that Brunswick was compositionally obliged to Schoenberg, although he never embraced dodecaphony. His small oeuvre reveals emotional intensity, abundant dissonance, and economy of means.<sup>37</sup>

Composer Miriam Gideon and historian Michael Meckna would agree that

Brunswick's music ... is economical, non-rhetorical, and extremely intense. His dissonant linear writing shows the influence of 16th-century polyphony ... and an imaginative and individual use of colour is apparent in each of his works. Most of the vocal pieces are settings of his own verse or of ancient Latin or Greek poetry.<sup>38</sup>

Brunswick's "Four Songs for Tenor and Piano" (1964) were set to his own poetry.

Bomart, G. Schirmer, and Universal published his works. His formative work was an opera *The Master Builder* (based on Henrik Ibsen's 1892 play) that showed great promise but was never finished and thus, never performed by a major opera company. Brunswick found composing difficult, and once said that:

In this musical world of today, with its conflicting and uncertain tendencies and influences, the achieving and maintaining of true individuality and purity of musical thought will always require an intensity of effort and of imagination that can never be easy.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> "Quartet for Violin, Viola, Cello & Contrabass"(1958), manuscript, series 2, box 5, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>37</sup> Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 129.

<sup>38</sup> Miriam Gideon and Michael Meckna, "Brunswick, Mark." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed 22 Feb. 2015, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04192](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04192)

<sup>39</sup> "Mark Brunswick, Composer, Is Dead," *New York Times*, 28 May 1971, series 7, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

Brunswick's few published works have not received much acclaim in recent years.<sup>40</sup>

Brunswick also contributed to journals on music theory and composition, including articles entitled "Tonality and Perspective" (1943) and "Beethoven's Tribute to Mozart in *Fidelio*" (1945), the latter of which was published in the *Musical Quarterly*.<sup>41</sup>

### III. Professional Life

Brunswick's experience living in Europe in the years leading up to World War II surely influenced his formation of the National Committee for Refugee Musicians. He was deeply affected by the imminent danger his colleagues endured. When he returned from his European sojourn in March of 1938, he perceived a dire need for a specialized organization aimed at helping European musicians and their families escape from Nazi-occupied Germany and Austria. When he returned to New York, in addition to teaching music theory and composition at Greenwich House Music School, he founded the Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians (later, the National Committee for Refugee Musicians to include other occupied countries).<sup>42</sup> Brunswick seemed to be a driven, organized, and well-connected chairman of the Committee, even at the beginning of his career. He worked tirelessly for the cause, giving "four half-days a week to the

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<sup>40</sup> For more information on Brunswick's compositions, the Brunswick collection at CCNY Archives (series 2) has manuscripts and prints of many of his works. Also, see Miriam Gideon, "The Music of Mark Brunswick," *American Composers Alliance Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (1965): 1–10.

<sup>41</sup> Mark Brunswick, "Tonality and Perspective," *Musical Quarterly* 29, no.4 (1943): 426–437; Brunswick, "Beethoven's Tribute to Mozart in *Fidelio*," *Musical Quarterly* 36 (1945): 29–32.

<sup>42</sup> Mark Brunswick to Arnold Schoenberg, January 16, 1941, *Arnold Schoenberg Digital Archive*, *Arnold Schönberg Center*, accessed 2 December 2012, [www.schoenberg.at](http://www.schoenberg.at).

administering of a special Committee for the placement and servicing of refugee musicians.”<sup>43</sup>

In 1943, the NCRM ended official operations, and Brunswick hoped to pursue a full-time career in academia.<sup>44</sup> Though college degrees were not a prerequisite in the United States at this time, Brunswick’s lack of a diploma may still have made it difficult to gain college-level employment.<sup>45</sup> Brunswick looked to Walter Piston, a composer and professor at Harvard University, for advice on the subject. In a letter dated 16 December 1943, Piston was pleased to assist in Brunswick’s academic aspirations, but he did not necessarily endorse this career path. Piston believed that

There is one thing certain in the colleges—they are more interested in a man with degrees than in his actual musical ability. It is true that the war has created shortages in teachers and it is also true that there is no longer the vogue of the refugee that there was, as you no doubt know, so that one can never tell what opportunity may turn up. You may be sure I will put in a word for you whenever the chance appears.<sup>46</sup>

In 1944, Brunswick was invited by exiled conductor Heinrich Jalowetz (who had been aided by the NCRM) to teach at the summer programs at North Carolina’s Black Mountain College.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Details about the NCRM are in chapters 5 and 6. Curriculum Vitae, series 9, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>44</sup> Reinhold Brinkman and Christoff Wolff, eds., *Driven Into Paradise. The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 146.

<sup>45</sup> Many established exiled composers, including Schoenberg and Igor Stravinsky, taught at the university level without advanced degrees.

<sup>46</sup> Walter Piston to Brunswick, series 1, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>47</sup> Black Mountain College was located in the rural and somewhat isolated town Black Mountain, near Asheville, North Carolina.

The New School for Social Research, Black Mountain, and Kenyon Colleges, the latter in Gambier, Ohio, were havens for exiled musicians and composers, and each summer the latter two colleges hosted summer music programs. At its summer program in 1944, Black Mountain College' hosted a festival celebrating Schoenberg's 70<sup>th</sup> birthday. Lectures were programmed based on issues related to being a composer in exile and on more general music topics concerned with the theme of "Interpretation." On 2 September 1944, Jalowetz conducted a performance of Brunswick's vocal work "Fragments of Sappho" on the same program with Darius Milhaud's "Cantata For War."<sup>48</sup> On 6 September 1944, Brunswick sat on a panel entitled "The Composer and the American Music Market" alongside Ernest Bacon, Ernst Krenek (aided by the NCRM), Virgil Thompson (NCRM board member), and others at BMC.<sup>49</sup> At Kenyon College in 1945, Brunswick participated in the "Seminar on Composition and Analysis" with Roger Sessions and Ernst Krenek.<sup>50</sup> Brunswick also taught evening classes at Brooklyn College from 1945 to 1946.<sup>51</sup>

On 1 September 1946, Brunswick was appointed Associate Professor of Music at CCNY, upon the recommendation of NCRM Advisory Board members Ira Hirschmann, Douglas Moore, and Roy Dickenson Welch, along with conductor Dimitri Mitropoulos

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<sup>48</sup> Jonathan Hiam, "Music at Black Mountain College: The European Years, 1939–46" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2005), 151, Proquest (3200791).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 74, 77.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>51</sup> Curriculum Vitae, Brunswick Collection, series 9, box 3, CCNY.

and pianist Arthur Schnabel.<sup>52</sup> He was asked to chair CCNY's Music Department in the same year by the school's president, Harry N. Wright. Brunswick retained the post for twenty-one years, until his retirement in 1967.<sup>53</sup> Brunswick, in turn, hired several European exiles, including Fritz Jahoda, Felix Galimir, Elise Braun Barnett, and Otto Deri. About the position, Brunswick said that

In [teaching] I can lose myself, and at the same time be refreshed by contact with students and their works in my own creative work and in my whole relation to music.<sup>54</sup>

Brunswick was known for his passion for teaching and mentorship for his students. In 1967, Jahoda headed a CCNY Music Department Committee to establish the Mark Brunswick Award for undergraduate and graduate students who excel in music composition, which is still awarded annually.

Brunswick was affiliated with many musical organizations. In 1941, Brunswick was appointed the President of the American section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), a post he held until 1950. Brunswick was affiliated with the ISCM while living in Vienna. He stated that he was "sort of co-opted onto the ISCM board which is a great honor because I was an American."<sup>55</sup> Brunswick was also a member of the American Composer's Alliance.

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<sup>52</sup> Curriculum Vitae, Brunswick Collection, series 9, box 3, CCNY.

<sup>53</sup> He succeeded William Neidlinger who nominally ran the small department before Brunswick. See Mimi S. Daitz, "A Work in Progress: The National Committee for Refugee Musicians, Mark Brunswick, and the CCNY Music Department (1946–1961)," unpublished research, 22 August 1993, series 9, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>54</sup> "Mark Brunswick, Composer, Is Dead," *New York Times*.

<sup>55</sup> Warfield draft interview, series 7, box 4, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

Brunswick was known throughout his life for his social activism. He was an ardent advocate for his faculty and defended several faculty members during the McCarthy era. The “largest political purge of faculty in the history of the United States” occurred at CCNY during the McCarthy Era in the 1950s.<sup>56</sup> Brunswick received the first annual Academic Freedom Award from CCNY’s undergraduate newspaper “The Campus” on April 9, 1954. According to the article, Brunswick

Stubbornly resisted the undertow of frantic conformity ... He maintained an admirable personal equilibrium, speaking out boldly for his beliefs and yet wisely withholding ranting counter charges ... [while other students and faculty members] succumbed to the pressures and fears generated by the world’s power struggle [during the McCarthy era].<sup>57</sup>

Brunswick spoke out against the unjust accusations of several CCNY faculty members.<sup>58</sup> In 1958, after seeing the work Brunswick did to organize students for academic freedom, physicist and professor at New York’s Cooper Union, Hugh C. Wolfe, asked Brunswick to serve on the New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Rights Policy, a post he accepted.<sup>59</sup>

Brunswick died of a heart attack at the age of 69, while on holiday with Natascha

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<sup>56</sup> Carol Smith, “The Dress Rehearsal for McCarthyism,” *Academe* 97, no. 4, American Association of University Professors, accessed 24 March 2015, [www.aaup.org/article/dress-rehearsal-mccarthyism#.VRF\\_HfnF-So](http://www.aaup.org/article/dress-rehearsal-mccarthyism#.VRF_HfnF-So)

<sup>57</sup> “Music Chairman is Honored,” *CCNY’s The Campus*, 9 April 1954, series 5, box 2, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>58</sup> CCNY faculty member, composer Miriam Gideon was investigated during this time. Mary Robb, “The Music of Miriam Gideon during the McCarthy Era, Including a Complete Catalogue of her Works” (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, Scotland, 2012), accessed 24 March 2015, [www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/7774/Robb2012](http://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/7774/Robb2012)

<sup>59</sup> Hugh C Wolfe to Brunswick, series 2, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

in London on 26 May 1971.<sup>60</sup> The *New York Times* published a short obituary entitled “Mark Brunswick, Composer, Is Dead” on 28 May 1971.<sup>61</sup> On 8 January 1972 a memorial concert celebrating his life and works and featuring musicians aided during his tenure with the NCRM was held at Carnegie Recital Hall, hosted by the City College of New York. The program included Brunswick’s “Six Bagatelles for Piano,” “Seven Trios for String Quartet,” “Four Songs for Tenor and Piano,” and “Three Choral Madrigals.”<sup>62</sup> Mozart’s Piano Quartet, K.493 and “Poppies in October” by Joyce Orenstein (recipient of the Mark Brunswick Composition Award at CCNY, 1970-1) were also on the program.<sup>63</sup> Performing musicians included Felix Galimir and Fritz Jahoda (both aided by the NCRM), among others.

Brunswick lived a full and complex life. Upon hearing he had won the academic freedom award, Brunswick stated “I’m really truly thrilled. But I haven’t really done that much. All I’ve ever done is spoken my mind at the every appropriate place.”<sup>64</sup> Time and time again, Brunswick indeed took action when others did not. He may not be remembered for his compositions, which are now rarely performed, but his musical

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<sup>60</sup> Cause of death was “myocardial infarction due to coronary thrombosis.” See “Reports of Deaths of American Citizens Abroad: Death certificate of Mark Brunswick,” MyFamily.com, Inc., Ancestry.com: Databases and Record Collections (360 W 4800 N, Provo, UT 84604, U.S.A), accessed 22 February 2015, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com).

<sup>61</sup> “Mark Brunswick, Composer, Is Dead,” *New York Times*.

<sup>62</sup> “Brunswick memorial,” *Village Voice*, 30 December 1971, 50, accessed 17 March 2015, [news.google.com/newspapers?id=jdRHAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=IIwDAAAAIIBAJ&pg=2438%2C6525058](http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=jdRHAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=IIwDAAAAIIBAJ&pg=2438%2C6525058).

<sup>63</sup> Joyce Orenstein was the recipient of the 1970–1971 Mark Brunswick Composition Award at CCNY. Review by Peter G. Davis, clipping, newspaper unknown, series 7, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>64</sup> “Music Chairman is Honored,” *CCNY’s The Campus*.



upbringing, selfless work creating and maintain the NCRM, his passion for teaching throughout his tenure at CCNY and his social activism are ample evidence of his truly remarkable, if relatively obscure, life.

#### 4. THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEE MUSICIANS

Brunswick returned to the United States with his family in 1938. He knew that many of his European colleagues were in danger from the Nazis, and saw an opportunity to try to help as many musicians as he could while living safely in the United States. That same year, Brunswick founded the Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians (PCGAM, 1938-1941), later called the National Committee for Refugee Musicians (NCRM, 1941-1943).

In a letter to Schoenberg on 16 January 1941, Brunswick explains:

The Committee name on the top of this letterhead is going to be changed shortly to National Committee for Refugee Musicians. We have so many refugee musicians of all denominations who are neither German nor Austrian that our present title has become misleading.<sup>1</sup>

The National Committee for Refugee Musicians was an affiliate of the National Refugee Service and cooperated with the American Friends Service Committee, the American Committee for Christian German Refugees, and the Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany.<sup>2</sup>

Brunswick had spent over a decade with composers and musicians in Austria, especially ones who would soon face serious risk of deportation and worse. The Committee's memoranda, held at the City College of New York archives, the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, and the New York Public Library, track the many activities of exiles, but the reports are not comprehensive. Unfortunately, details about the formation and beginnings of the Placement Committee for German and Austrian

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Brunswick to Arnold Schoenberg, January 16, 1941, *Arnold Schoenberg Digital Archive*, *Arnold Schönberg Center*, accessed 2 December 2012, [www.schoenberg.at](http://www.schoenberg.at).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Musicians are not clear. Documentation of this fact has not surfaced to date, but it seems plausible that Brunswick went to the National Coordinating Committee (for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants Coming from Germany, (1934-1938) before officially establishing the Committee, and was probably given instructions regarding the Committee's duties as well as information regarding resources that working within the NCC offered.

Musicians aided by the Committee, especially those who received aid with affidavits and visas, did not necessarily require auditions by the NCRM, since their musical reputations were known to Committee members. The Musician's Emergency Fund (MEF) facilitated auditions pro bono for other musical exiles already in the United States who hoped to be assisted by the NCRM and who did not necessarily have any previous connections to the Committee. The MEF was originally established in 1931 to "provide performance assistance to professional musicians during the Great Depression" as well as "generating projects to hire unemployed musicians."<sup>3</sup> Their primary aim in the '30s was to help American musicians find work, just as the Works Progress Administration helped artists find meaningful employment and funding. During World War II, the MEF's mission shifted, and their programs included "concerts at military bases and free musical instruction for servicemen."<sup>4</sup> For several years leading up to the formation of the NCRM, the MEF collaborated with the National Council of Jewish Women and the Greater New York Coordinating Committee to aid German refugee

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<sup>3</sup> "About Us," *Musicians Emergency Fund*, accessed 17 March 2015: [www.musiciansemergencyfund.org/About\\_Us.html](http://www.musiciansemergencyfund.org/About_Us.html).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

musicians, even though helping foreign musicians was not in the MEF's mission statement.<sup>5</sup> Brunswick writes that the Director of the MEF, Yolanda Mero-Irion went on with her work for these refugees, "thereby disregarding at least the technical rules of her organization."<sup>6</sup> In a document from the YIVO archives, which dates from 1938, the relationship of the NCRM and the MEF is outlined:

At various times certain sums (aggregating approximately \$8000) were donated to the Musicians Emergency Fund by the Joint Distribution Committee. However, the executive president, Mrs. Yolanda Mero-Irion was instrumental in the Joint Distribution Committee's acquiring of these funds which were turned back to her, earmarked for the use for German Jewish musicians refugees ...

Her connections and financial supporters are largely Christians, and represent an entirely different group from those connected with our organization. It is possible for the Musicians Emergency Aid Fund to launch musician refugees in their American career in just those very important social and musical circles which we cannot approach or, even more, which would not be advisable for us to approach. When the Musicians Emergency Fund sponsors or aids a musician, the question of his or her being a refugee does not even come up.<sup>7</sup>

The MEF created make-work performances to employ musicians needing opportunities, like planning performances for school children,

[Using] refugee conductors and performers in broadcasts of operas [and] concerts held in the public schools of New York City, not only give work to the musicians involved, but give them publicity, artistic incentive and above all, frequently result in further engagements, the securing of pupils, valuable professional and social connections, etc.

It would neither be desirable nor possible for this Placement Committee to embark on such activities. The setting up of the necessary apparatus would be far too expensive to be considered even for a moment. The Musicians Emergency Fund has this organization ready at hand and is willing and able to employ our refugee musicians whenever they are artistically fitted for the work involved. The made-work projects have in many cases actually kept German and Austrian

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<sup>5</sup> Musicians Emergency Fund, 1938; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 922, YIVO.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

refugees off the relief of the Coordinating Committee.<sup>8</sup>

The services donated by the established MEF allowed the NCRM to focus on other tasks, and saved the organization money in staffing, as well as refugee aid.

Small in numbers, the Committee staff included Brunswick and at least one secretary at a time: Eni R. Jasperson worked with the Committee from at least 1940-1941, and B. B. Rollnick worked with the Committee in 1940 at least, at one point with Jasperson.<sup>9</sup> The core group was paid by the NCC and managed the NCRM office, located at 165 West 46<sup>th</sup> Street in midtown Manhattan, in the National Coordinating Committee building.<sup>10</sup> Donation checks for the Committee were made out to the National Coordinating Committee and earmarked for the refugee musicians.<sup>11</sup>

#### I. Ladies Auxiliary Committee of the NCRM

An initiative to start a Ladies' Auxiliary Committee was headed by Leonie Guinzburg and included NCRM member Mildred Dettlebach Erlanger.<sup>12</sup> These women, sometimes married to wealthy and known businessmen, were philanthropists, music

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<sup>8</sup> Musicians Emergency Fund, 1938; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 922, YIVO.

<sup>9</sup> Yet another set of initials, NG or NC was on a document from April 25, 1939, but I have been unable to identify the name of the individual, though one document states that there were three stenographers on salary. See Brunswick to Rabbi William Ackerman, 12 February 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 917, YIVO.

<sup>10</sup> Budget documents, 1939; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 922, YIVO.

<sup>11</sup> Memorandum for the Ladies Auxiliary Committee, 16 November 1938; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 939, YIVO.

<sup>12</sup> Memorandum for the Ladies Auxiliary Committee, 16 November 1938; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 939, YIVO. Other members of the women's Committee include: Mrs. Robert M. Ackerman, Mrs. George W. Namburg, Mrs. Alice Pollitner, Mrs. Arthur Hess, Mrs. Lionello Perera, Mrs. Emil Grunberg, Mrs. Paul L Wiener, Mrs. Joseph M. Preskauer, Mrs. Edgar Leventritt, Mrs. Julius Loeb, and Mrs. Charles Heming.

patrons.. Whenever possible, they agreed to hire refugee musicians for social functions that they hosted. They looked into employment opportunities in the Settlements, welfare organizations, and in the schools wherein the Committee would pay refugee musicians to perform.<sup>13</sup> They met and brainstormed about forming children's music programs, including classes and children's orchestras, perhaps to be run by refugees, and to include refugee children as well. This may have included creating endowments for "scholarships in Settlements and Schools for gifted children without means, to be taught by refugee musicians who are particularly adapted for that type of work."<sup>14</sup> One of their most successful initiatives was arranging for musicians to play in the schools. The Ladies Auxiliary Committee seemed to play an active and vital role in the short-term employment of refugee musicians. Especially for those who were unable to gain employment in a major ensemble, playing at school and private functions allowed musicians to play their instruments, interact, and be creative with other musicians. It made exiles feel like they were working towards a worthy goal and had a real purpose in the United States. These performances showed the greater public the high musical proficiency of NCRM exiles and were essential for publicity and fundraising for the Committee. It is unclear how long this branch existed as a separate committee, or if it was reabsorbed into the greater organization, since its prominent members were also Advisory Board members of the NCRM.

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<sup>13</sup> Memorandum for the Ladies Auxiliary Committee, 16 November 1938; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 939, YIVO.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

## II. The Advisory Board for the NCRM

Archival documents relating to the Committee unfortunately do not clearly address all actions taken by the honorary Advisory Board.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, in biographies and articles written about Committee members (and exiles aided by the Committee), the NCRM is often omitted. The Advisory Board comprised composers, music critics, music educators, instrumentalists, and patrons or matrons of the arts, many of whom were influential in the New York Jewish and music communities. Some were active in both. Those who served on the board typically held positions with other music and/or relief organizations. They did not help with the day-to-day management of the Committee. In a letter asking Randall Thompson to join the “Advisory Board” Brunswick even goes so far to say “I try not to bother the Committee members and we have had practically no meetings that take up any time.”<sup>16</sup> Perhaps this indicates that for other members, their level of activity may have only been name recognition, or to help with specific activities, but they did not work with the Committee on a regular basis. Instead, board members used their personal contacts and name recognition to appeal to members of the government and often, educational institutions. These activities included hiring exiled musicians to play at personal events, helping with instrument acquisition and repair, and facilitating job placement.

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<sup>15</sup> On NCRM memoranda, Advisory Board members are listed as “Committee Members.”

<sup>16</sup> Brunswick to Randall Thompson, 8 January 1941, Records of the NRS, RG 248, 928, YIVO.

## 1. NCRM Advisory Board Members<sup>17</sup>

<b>Irving Berlin</b>	Russian-American composer/lyricist, wrote for Broadway
<b>Samuel Chotzinoff</b>	Russian-American music critic and administrator
<b>Eric T. Clarke</b>	British-born administrative secretary of the Metropolitan Opera
<b>Olin Downes</b>	American music critic
<b>Peter Dykema</b>	American music educator, Columbia University
<b>Mildred Dettlebach Erlanger</b>	Member of the National Council for Jewish Women, married to Sidney Erlanger, VP of Erlanger Cotton Mills.
<b>John Erskine</b>	Author (librettist for George Antheil), Columbia University
<b>Leonic Kleinert Guinzburg</b>	Jewish-American socialite of the Kleinert family (Kleinert Rubber Company). Married to philanthropist Col. H. A. Guinzburg.
<b>Howard Hanson</b>	Swedish-American composer, educator and conductor; Eastman School of Music
<b>Ira A Hirschmann</b>	VP of Bloomingdales, War Refugee Board member, co-founder with his wife, pianist Hortense Monath
<b>Frederick Jacobi</b>	American conductor and composer; Juilliard School; ISCM
<b>Douglas Moore</b>	American composer, Columbia University
<b>William Neilson</b>	President of Smith College, MA
<b>Quincy Porter</b>	American composer, violist and educator, president of New England Conservatory; ISCM
<b>Claire Raphael Reis</b>	Founder of League of Composers, married to Arthur M. Reis
<b>Carleton Sprague Smith</b>	American musicologist and Chief of the Music Division in the Reference Department at the New York Public Library
<b>Albert Spalding</b>	American violinist and composer; premiered Barber's Violin Concerto; father established A.G. Spalding sporting goods.
<b>Randall Thompson</b>	American composer and educator; Curtis Institute
<b>Roy Dickinson Welch</b>	Music scholar, composer, Smith College; ISCM

Brunswick strategically chose members to join the Committee and aimed to find members who were well connected, who could contribute financial means and name recognition, and who were willing to be associated with and work for refugee aid at a

<sup>17</sup> NCRM Memoranda, Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians, undated (presumably August–Sept 1938) and 14 January 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.



time when it was not always popular. The Committee was comprised of a diverse mix of composers, musicians, music critics, music scholars, administrators and educators, businessmen, and philanthropic women. Furthermore, Committee members came from diverse backgrounds, and several members were immigrants or first generation Americans themselves. Most Committee members were based in New York City, but Brunswick later sought to involve new members (like Quincy Porter in Boston and Randall Thompson in Philadelphia) in hopes that these members would be able to assist with job placement in less musically saturated cities. Committee memoranda do not always indicate the level of involvement of these Committee members. Leonie Guinzburg and Mildred Dettlebach Erlanger, who were both members of the Ladies Auxiliary Committee, seemed to have a high level of involvement, including coordinating and hosting numerous events featuring exiles, as seen in NCRM and Ladies Auxiliary Committee memoranda.<sup>18</sup>

The connections among the Committee members and the musicians they helped are apparent in the documents pertaining to the American branch of the International Society for Contemporary Music (of which Brunswick was president from 1941-1950). In 1944, Brunswick is listed in an ISCM report as secretary, alongside one of NCRM board member Roy Dickenson Welch, and regional advisors Rudolf Kolisch, Ernst Krenek, and Quincy Porter. The League of Composers' chairman was Claire Raphael Reis, and its Executive Committee included NCRM Honorary Committee member Douglas S. Moore. Krenek (aided by the NCRM) served with NCRM honorary Committee members Howard Hanson, Porter, and Thompson on the Composers'

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<sup>18</sup> Memorandum for the Ladies Auxiliary Committee, 16 November 1938; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 939, YIVO.

Committee (as did Schoenberg who aided the Committee).<sup>19</sup>

Broadway icon and Committee member Irving Berlin is perhaps the best known figure to serve on the NCRM board; however, his involvement with the NCRM is not mentioned in his major biographies, while his involvement in wartime music and his humanitarian aid play prominent roles in these same books. Born Israel Isidore Bellin, Irving Berlin was a Jewish-Russian immigrant known for his Tin Pan Alley songs, musicals, and wartime patriotic songs including “God Bless America” (written in 1918, but popularized during World War II) in which he had hoped to “writ[e] a song about peace, not about war.”<sup>20</sup> Berlin was alarmed by Hitler’s activities and the plight of Jews in the Holocaust. He made large donations to Jewish relief work, and even wrote the song “When That Man is Dead and Gone” about Hitler.<sup>21</sup> In 1946, the National Conference of Christians and Jews honored Berlin for the inspiration his songs gave to the American troops. He responded by writing the song “Help Me to Help My Neighbor,” a theme he exemplified in his own humanitarian work.<sup>22</sup> Berlin’s fame, personal connections, and public activism during the war made him a strong candidate for Committee board member, but becoming involved with an organization primarily focused on Jewish immigrants might have damaged his popularity in New York’s still suspicious, anti-Semitic climate. Perhaps Berlin chose to advocate in a less visible way.

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<sup>19</sup> Programs from Seasons 22–23, League of Composers/ISCM records, JPB 11–5. box 9, f. 1–10, Music Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

<sup>20</sup> Edward Jablonski, *Irving Berlin: American Troubador* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999), 192.

<sup>21</sup> Michael Freedland, *Irving Berlin* (New York: Stein and Day, 1974), 144.

<sup>22</sup> Freedland, *Irving Berlin*, 173.

NCRM member Samuel Chotzinoff was a Russian pianist and noted accompanist who immigrated to the United States in 1906 at the age of 6. Chotzinoff gained notoriety as a “painfully honest” music critic for the *New York Post* in 1934, and in 1936 he became the director of NBC’s musical department.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps this connection helped the committee recommend Felix Galimir to the NBC Radio Orchestra. Chotzinoff founded the Chatham Square Music School where Brunswick taught music theory and composition while chairing the NCRM, which may explain Chotzinoff’s connection to the Committee.<sup>24</sup>

British music administrator Eric Thatcher Clark was the “administrative secretary of the Metropolitan Opera and the driving force behind the Met’s grant-in-aid program,” and was an NCRM honorary Committee member.<sup>25</sup> The Met was one of the few operatic employers in the United States in the 1930s.<sup>26</sup> The U.S. boasted few other comparable institutions, but as Brunswick pointed out, “large numbers of solo singers, choral singers, orchestral musicians, coaches, conductors, producers, composers—all possible kinds of musicians” were employed by European opera houses.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps Clarke was responsible for helping with operatic job placement. Austrian conductor and NCRM-aided exile

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<sup>23</sup> “Samuel Chotzinoff Dead at 74,” *New York Times*, 11 February 1964, accessed 17 March 2015, [www.nytimes.com/1964/02/11/samuel-chotzinoff-dead-at-74.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/1964/02/11/samuel-chotzinoff-dead-at-74.html?_r=0).

<sup>24</sup> In 1953, Chatham Square Music School merged with Mannes College. Mannes joined the New School in 1989.

<sup>25</sup> Steve Swayne, *Orpheus in Manhattan: William Schumann and the Shaping of America’s Musical Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 259.

<sup>26</sup> The New York City Opera was founded later in 1943.

<sup>27</sup> Mark Brunswick, “Refugee Musicians in America,” *Saturday Review of Literature* 19 (1946): 50.

Julius Rudel joined the New York City Opera company in 1944, and later became its principal conductor from 1957 to 1979.<sup>28</sup> Eric's sister, Rebecca Clarke (1886-1979), was a renowned composer and violist who was stranded in the United States in 1939 while visiting her brothers, and after marrying an American, decided to remain here for the last 35 years of her life.<sup>29</sup>

One influential advocate on the honorary Committee was Ira A. Hirschmann, Vice President of Bloomingdale's Department Store and cofounder of Friends of New Music in New York City with his wife Hortense Monath. The organization's seventh season (1942-1943) featured musicians including the NCRM-aided Galimir and Kolisch Quartets.<sup>30</sup> Hirschmann was also an amateur pianist who traveled to Europe to study with Artur Schnabel and Arturo Toscanini (both eventual wartime émigrés to the U.S.). In August of 1932, while studying with Schnabel in Germany, Hirschmann saw a large group gathering in a Weimar meeting hall and witnessed an early anti-Semitic speech by Hitler. Being Jewish, Hirschmann was especially affected by Hitler's tirade about Jews, thinking, "He's talking about me. He means *me*."<sup>31</sup> Like Brunswick, Hirschmann sought to be an active agent of change upon his return, utilizing his political connections and

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<sup>28</sup> Robert D. McFadden, "Julius Rudel, Longtime Impresario and Conductor of City Opera, Dies at 93," *New York Times*, 26 June 2014, accessed 17 March 2015, [www.nytimes.com/2014/06/27/arts/music/julius-rudel-longtime-city-opera-impresario-dies-at-93.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/27/arts/music/julius-rudel-longtime-city-opera-impresario-dies-at-93.html?_r=0).

<sup>29</sup> Liane Curtis, "Rebecca Clarke and the British Musical Renaissance," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader*, ed. Liane Curtis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 35–40.

<sup>30</sup> The Ira Hirschmann Papers, JPB 86–10, series 2, f. 6, Music Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

<sup>31</sup> Ira Hirschmann, *Caution to the Winds* (New York: David McKay Company, 1962), 44.

wealth as formidable tools. He remarked in 1962 that

I believe there are times in everyone's life when a call for quick, positive, bold action is heard as clearly as Gabriel's horn. Answering this call requires instant forward movement without hesitation or time to consider the consequences. From such action the rewards have come in direct proportion to the risk involved, and only when I have thrown caution to the winds.<sup>32</sup>

Hirschmann was "an anti-Nazi crusader instrumental in obtaining the release of tens of thousands of Romanian concentration camp inmates in World War II" when he was sent on a secret mission to Turkey by President Roosevelt in 1943.<sup>33</sup> Hirschmann also was a trustee of the New School for Social Research ("the University in Exile," founded in 1919). According to Juliane Brand, Hirschmann wrote the affidavit for the Austrian-American composer Karl Weigl and his family, among many others.<sup>34</sup>

Claire Raphael Reis (1888-1978) was a music promoter and champion of the American classical music scene in New York City. She was a cofounder of League of Composers (established in 1923) and worked with the organization for 25 years. The League of Composers held many concerts at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) featuring musicians aided by the NCRM, which included "An Evening in Honor of European Composers now Living in United States" (11 February 1940), "Music of North and South America" (10 March 1940), and "An Evening Honoring Darius Milhaud" (20 December 1940) at MoMA, all which featured violinist Felix Galimir and violist Lotte

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<sup>32</sup> Hirschmann, *Caution to the Winds*, i.

<sup>33</sup> Glenn Fowler, "Ira Hirschmann Is Dead at 88; Executive and Leading Nazi Foe," *New York Times*, 10 October 1989, accessed 14 April 2015, [www.nytimes.com/1989/10/10/obituaries/ira-hirschmann-is-dead-at-88-executive-and-leading-nazi-foe.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1989/10/10/obituaries/ira-hirschmann-is-dead-at-88-executive-and-leading-nazi-foe.html).

<sup>34</sup> Juliane Brand, "Karl Weigl, A Biographical Overview," *Karl Weigl Foundation*, accessed 19 March 2015, [www.karlweigl.org/?page\\_id=101](http://www.karlweigl.org/?page_id=101).

Hammerschlag playing in the Galimir String Quartet.<sup>35</sup> Another concert, this time held at Manhattan's Town Hall venue on 19 March 1944 featured NCRM aided violinist Rudolph Kolisch and the Kolisch String Quartet performing Bela Bartok's Sixth Quartet, which was dedicated to the ensemble.<sup>36</sup>

The Advisory Board played a vital role in the NCRM. Board members sponsored exiles and through their professional and personal connections board members found additional sponsors to write affidavits. Board members used these same connections to coordinate and recommend job placement for many immigrants. Their names gave the Committee added legitimacy. Members of the advisory board personally hired exiled musicians to play at social functions, evidence of their dedication to this cause. Unfortunately, the supportive work contributed by these figures is not fully known due to a lack of existing documentation.

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<sup>35</sup> Programs from Seasons 22–23, League of Composers/ISCM records, JPB 11–5, box 9, f. 1–10, Music Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

<sup>36</sup> “Bartók Quartet Heard in Premiere,” *New York Times*, 21 January 1941, accessed 24 March 2015, [select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=FA0F1FF9355F167B93C3AB178AD85F458485F9](http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=FA0F1FF9355F167B93C3AB178AD85F458485F9).

## 5. MUSICIANS AIDED BY THE NCRM

As a “special Committee” of the National Refugee Service, the first preliminary planning meeting for the Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians occurred on 16 June 1938.<sup>1</sup> The primary purpose of this meeting was to begin building up connections with influential people who could help the Committee’s cause. In the first three months of the Committee’s existence, 156 refugee musicians registered with the organization; by 4 February 1939, nine months after the organization began, over 400 cases had been officially accepted, although unofficial aid was given to many more.<sup>2</sup> Numbers of immigrants who received aid can be seen on NCRM Monthly Reports, which were submitted to the National Refugee Service. The format of these reports changed after January 1941, and the total number of cases was no longer a required field. Because the format introduced new data fields, calculating an exact number is very difficult. The final report before this change, from 9 January 1941, records 825 closed cases, 376 immigrants who had received incidental aid, and 295 active cases; thus, it appears that 1,496 musicians had been helped by the beginning of January 1941. Based on this documentation, one could estimate that approximately 2,000 exiled musicians and their families were aided by the NCRM from 1938 until 1943, when its official operations ceased.

The NCRM aided refugees in two ways: first, it helped musicians and their families flee Nazi-occupied Europe by facilitating affidavit writing and visa acquisition.

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<sup>1</sup> Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, undated, series 3, box 1, Mark Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>2</sup> Memorandum on the relationship of our Committee’s work with that of the Musicians Emergency Aid Fund, Records of the NRS, RG 248, 923, YIVO.

Second, it assisted refugee musicians with their resettlement in the United States by providing loans and assistance with job placements. Musicians could be aided in both ways, but many received support only after they arrived in the United States independently of the Committee.<sup>3</sup>

In the NCRM's early years, most of the immigrants brought to the U.S. were colleagues, friends, or known to Committee members. Writing letters and affidavits to various consulates in Europe on behalf of endangered musicians was the first step of gaining visas for exiles, and was among the first of the Committee's activities. In the early years of the Committee, Brunswick wrote so many letters on behalf of Austrian musicians to the Viennese Consulate that he felt the officials became tired of seeing his name and that his "affidavits [were] not as good [in 1939] as [they] formerly [were]."<sup>4</sup> Thus, the Committee often appealed to influential non-Committee members who were willing to work on its behalf. Finding willing sponsors was difficult, since "wealthy sponsors sometimes refused to stand surety for refugees for fear that the revelation of their financial position would entail tax problems."<sup>5</sup> Fortunately, not all sponsors let this keep them from helping. Brunswick surprised Jahoda and wife Hedwig by sponsoring

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<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, not every person who received aid is mentioned in NCRM memoranda, letters, and reports. The memoranda highlight specific successes and use names, while the monthly reports only provide numbers of exiles aided, without names. Copies of these documents are housed in the YIVO and CCNY archives, but Committee memoranda after 1941 have not surfaced to date, leaving many questions about the NCRM's activities in its last two years of existence.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Brunswick to Schoenberg, 17 February 1939, Arnold Schoenberg Digital Archive, Arnold Schönberg Center, accessed 2 December 2012, [www.schoenberg.at](http://www.schoenberg.at).

<sup>5</sup> Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World: The American Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55.



and writing affidavits on their behalf in 1937.<sup>6</sup> Schoenberg wrote many affidavits from his home in Los Angeles and brought several cases to the NCRM's attention. In a letter from February 1939, Brunswick expressed in writing that Schoenberg's "affidavit [had] a better chance of success" directed to the British Consulate than his own would.<sup>7</sup> Because many affidavits were written by people outside of the Committee, there is not a comprehensive collection of copies of their letters. Schoenberg wrote letters on behalf of the NCRM, aiding Jalowetz, Otto Besag, and Rudolf Goehr (among many others). Significantly, Schoenberg even made a personal appeal to Brunswick to help his son, Georg, leave occupied Austria. Sabine Feisst explains that while Schoenberg was writing an affidavit on behalf of his student Goehr, Brunswick recommended a strategy for writing a successful affidavit:

Schoenberg needed to emphasize that his student was in danger because he was a 'very courageous upright man of strong democratic convictions'; he also suggested that Schoenberg 'might even go beyond the strict bounds of truth' in his assessment of his student's artistic promise.<sup>8</sup>

Not surprisingly given the latter's celebrity, Brunswick asked Schoenberg to become the first West Coast representative for the New York-based Committee, but Schoenberg declined in a letter on 2 February 1941, stating, "I would very much like to follow your suggestion, to become a member of your Committee." He continues that he wants to be careful about which Committees he joins, fearing that his reputation could be damaged, and he wanted to keep the "value of his signature." Schoenberg continues:

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<sup>6</sup> Fritz Jahoda, interview by Phillipp Haydn, "Oral Histories," *Center for Jewish History*, accessed 10 March 2015, [access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=329034#1](http://access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=329034#1)

<sup>7</sup> Brunswick to Schoenberg, 17 February 1939, Arnold Schoenberg Digital Archive, Arnold Schönberg Center, accessed 2 December 2012, [www.schoenberg.at](http://www.schoenberg.at).

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*, 55.

But, see, [Albert] Einstein has given an example, which I want to avoid. He has probably been proud to be asked for so many Committees that he did not care whether it was good or not. I think he damaged not only his reputation, and many think today he is a communist, but he reduced also the value of his signature: I was in the same danger, but I could avoid this. Let me help directly where I can—this is rather my way.<sup>9</sup>

Brunswick expressed his disappointment in Schoenberg's decision in a letter from 6 March 1941 and said that although he understood his choice, he had hoped that Schoenberg would make an exception, since the Committee was doing work that directly concerned Schoenberg as a composer.<sup>10</sup> Schoenberg did continue to aid the organization in his own way, and recommended Jalowetz and Kolisch for academic positions.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the work of unaffiliated but interested people, like Schoenberg, shows the value of those who worked behind the scenes, especially given the anti-Semitic, and later McCarthyist, climate in the U. S. Nevertheless, Schoenberg was a valuable asset to the Committee, and Brunswick and Schoenberg became close friends during this time in the U.S., even though Schoenberg chose to remain officially unaffiliated with the organization.<sup>12</sup>

The NCRM called on the Musician's Emergency Fund to help conduct auditions for prospective musicians in the United States who needed aid from the NCRM. At least

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<sup>9</sup> Letter from Schoenberg to Brunswick, 20 February 1941, Arnold Schoenberg Digital Archive, Arnold Schönberg Center, accessed 2 December 2012, [www.schoenberg.at](http://www.schoenberg.at). Schoenberg is most likely referring to Albert Einstein, not the musicologist Alfred Einstein. Albert was more active during the war with relief Committees, was instrumental in forming the International Rescue Committee, and was also affiliated with the American International Relief Association, the American Association of University Women Relief Committee, and the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists.

<sup>10</sup> Brunswick to Schoenberg, 6 March 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 939, YIVO.

<sup>11</sup> Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*, 55.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

one audition took place at Steinway Hall in New York City, although the location of auditions is not listed in most of the NCRM documentation.<sup>13</sup> In a letter dated 24 May 1940, Brunswick writes:

This Committee very carefully investigates the background and musical training of the newcomers. Each one receives an audition and an evaluation through the helpful cooperation of the Musicians Emergency Fund. Those whom we feel do not come up to the standard of American musicianship are advised by us to take up some other profession which means that any musician going from here to some other place not only knows his musical work thoroughly but is also an asset to that community.<sup>14</sup>

It is unknown how many musicians the NCRM turned away or referred to other Committees.

The NCRM provided loans to musicians and stipulated that they would be reimbursed once the recipients were financially stable and had the means to do so, although it is not clear whether this agreement was legally binding. We know that Manfred Kuttner was unable to repay his loan. Brunswick writes:

[The NCRM tries to] secure a loan for the musicians which helps them along for several months during which time they try to make the necessary contacts and make a living. This naturally depends also upon the personal help and personal interest of a few people in the community. This type of resettlement has always proven to be a success.<sup>15</sup>

Loans could cover the initial costs of opening a private music studio or cover the cost of purchase or repair for an instrument. Refugees also applied for financial assistance to

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<sup>13</sup> B.B. Rollnick to Mr. Hosicky regarding George Goldsmith, 2 October 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 923, YIVO.

<sup>14</sup> Brunswick to Rabbi William Ackerman, 12 February 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248; 917; YIVO.

<sup>15</sup> This type of aid was not always a success; see Brunswick to Rabbi William Ackerman, 12 February 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 917, YIVO.

cover flight costs to auditions held outside of New York City or to pay musician's union dues. According to NCRM documents, funding sources included the Oberlander Trust, the Musicians Emergency Fund, and private donations, which were sent to the National Coordinating Committee and earmarked for the NCRM's use.

The NCRM facilitated job placement for immigrants by networking with personal connections, informing musicians of upcoming auditions, and writing letters to major U.S. musical, academic, and religious institutions to investigate job opportunities. Most NCRM activities were centered in New York; however, Brunswick worked on placing musicians in positions around the United States.

Jobs ranged from academic teaching posts to private music teaching, professional orchestral positions to chamber music performances in private homes and concert halls. Not surprisingly, most often immigrants aided by the Committee lived in New York City when they initially arrived, and many stayed permanently. Others found jobs on the West coast, specifically Los Angeles, as did Polish concert pianist Jakob Gimpel.<sup>16</sup>

Other musicians found jobs outside of those two metropolises. Samuel Colove (violin) and Emmerich Gara (cello) joined the Pittsburgh Symphony; violinist Robert Simon was hired to play in the Indianapolis Symphony; and flutist Justus Gelfius performed with the Dallas Symphony Orchestra.<sup>17</sup> Kurt Frederick went on to conduct the New Mexico Symphony after a short stint as choir director at the Hampstead Long Island

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<sup>16</sup> See Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 68.

<sup>17</sup> NCRM Memoranda, Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians, undated (presumably August–Sept 1938) and 14 January 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

Synagogue.<sup>18</sup> In several cases, if one exile quit his/her job for another job, another exile would take his/her place. For example, Gunther Berent succeeded Kurt Frederick as choir leader at the Hampstead Long Island Synagogue after Frederick resigned.<sup>19</sup>

Brunswick wrote numerous letters to American symphony administrators and conductors from Atlanta to Albuquerque, inquiring about possible jobs for exiles, but many of these letters were answered with regrets.<sup>20</sup> Musicians sometimes found employment in professional symphonies, but were also hired by radio orchestras, including those of NBC and CBS (noted ensembles which performed at the highest level in the 1930s and 40s). An annotated memo dated 14 February 1939 documents that Austrian-born violinist Galimir was

Recommended to NBC—[and enjoyed] repeated employment as [a] substitute in various orchestral bodies—so far approximately 15 times, fees between \$10 and \$20 per work. Playing for [a] recording at \$5 per hour, so far \$60.<sup>21</sup>

Also aided by the NCRM, Galimir, who had studied with Carl Flesch in the 1920s, won a position in the Vienna Philharmonic in 1936. Galimir left Europe in 1938 and played with Bronislaw Huberman's Palestine Symphony Orchestra before making his way to New York City in 1938. With the help of the NCRM, he went on to have a permanent

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<sup>18</sup> NCRM Memoranda, Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians, undated (presumably August–Sept 1938) and 14 January 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY. In 1948, Frederick conducted the world premiere of Schoenberg's tribute to Holocaust victims, *Survivor from Warsaw*, with the New Mexico Symphony. See Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*, 105-108.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Carl Engel (G. Schirmer) to Mark Brunswick, 9 January 1941, Records of the NRS, RG 248, 928, YIVO.

<sup>21</sup> Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, 14 February 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

position as a violinist with the NBC Symphony Radio Orchestra from 1939-1956, continuing to play with the ensemble when it was called “Symphony of the Air.” He also taught at the Juilliard School (beginning in 1962), Curtis Institute of Music (beginning in 1972), and the Mannes College of Music (beginning in 1976).<sup>22</sup>

European Jewish Holocaust exiles hired by ensembles often won section leader positions, compared to lower positions they may have held in their more competitive home countries. Most exiled musicians relied on freelance performance work and private teaching as supplemental or primary income.<sup>23</sup> Some exiles also found non-performance jobs: Ernst Neubauer was hired as an independent piano tuner and repairman, Jack Blatt worked as a music copyist in addition to his violin performance jobs, and Fritz Rothschild was a copyist for composer Marcel Dick. Brunswick wrote a short letter entitled “About Another Refugee Musician” to the Music Editor of the *New York Times*, published on February of 1941:

A very able refugee musician who found a position in a small New England College through us at a more than modest salary has been called up for the draft and will probably be inducted into the Army in February. [He states] “Now refugee musicians start crowding the Americans out of the Army after having crowded them out of the teaching profession before.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Leon Botstein, “Preserving Memory: Felix Galimir in Memoriam (1910–1999),” *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 3 (1999): 295–300. See David Blum, “A Violinist Already a Legend But Still a Dynamo,” *New York Times*, 3 November 1996, accessed 10 March 2015, [www.nytimes.com/1996/11/03/arts/a-violinist-already-a-legend-but-still-a-dynamo.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1996/11/03/arts/a-violinist-already-a-legend-but-still-a-dynamo.html).

<sup>23</sup> Job placement information is detailed in Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, undated (presumably August–Sept 1938), series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>24</sup> Mark Brunswick, “Letter to the Music Editor: About Another Refugee Musician,” *New York Times*, 23 February 1941, series 8, box 2, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

Perhaps this unnamed immigrant was pianist and conductor Rudolf Goehr (1906-1981), brother of composer-conductor Walter Goehr, and the great-uncle of Lydia Goehr, now Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University. Rudolf Goehr spent time in a French internment camp and was able to flee to the U.S. in the summer of 1941 with the help of affidavits written by Schoenberg.<sup>25</sup> Goehr served in the U.S. Army during World War II.<sup>26</sup>

Brunswick often told musicians looking for jobs to “try the colleges.”<sup>27</sup> Universities known for hiring exiles from the NCRM included Black Mountain College in North Carolina, Kenyon College in Ohio, and in New York, the New School for Social Research, the City College of New York, and the Juilliard School.<sup>28</sup> But opportunities for refugee musicians and music educators were not limited to these institutes of higher education: P. E. Schwartz became the head of Bard College’s music department, where Guido Brand also found a position teaching violin. Walter Teutsch moved west following his organ work at Temple Israel in the Bronx to teach at Westminster College in Salt Lake City, Utah.

The Committee aided both women and men. Before the war, in 1926,

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<sup>25</sup> Feisst, *Schoenberg’s New World*, 55.

<sup>26</sup> “Rudolf Goehr,” Arnold Schönberg Center, accessed 10 March 2015, [schoenberg.at/index.php/en/?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=584%3Asatellite-collection5&Itemid=330&lang=en](http://schoenberg.at/index.php/en/?option=com_content&view=article&id=584%3Asatellite-collection5&Itemid=330&lang=en).

<sup>27</sup> Brunswick, “Refugee Musicians in America,” 51.

<sup>28</sup> Alvin Johnson and the New School sponsored 183 refugee scholars (1933—1945), which was more than any other American institution. “The University in Exile,” *New School for Social Research*, accessed 17 March 2015, [www.newschool.edu/nssr/subpage.aspx?id=28792](http://www.newschool.edu/nssr/subpage.aspx?id=28792).

[Austrian soprano Fritzi Jokl] became principal soprano in Munich at the Bavarian Staatsoper. She enjoyed a spectacular success at Monaco as Zerbinetta in *Ariadne auf Naxos* and also became a favorite at Salzburg. Guest appearances at the Vienna Staatsoper in the 1930s seemed about to lead to a substantial career but as a Jew she found her way blocked, and after a heroic period with the Jewish Theatre in Berlin left Europe for America. . . . A delicately clear and beautiful voice combined with remarkable agility and an imaginative style help to place her few recordings among the most delightful of the period.<sup>29</sup>

Jokl performed for several events coordinated by the NCRM, as outlined in a

memorandum from 14 January 1939:<sup>30</sup>

- One week's tryout engagement for stage show at Fay's Theater in Providence, Rhode Island (appear three times daily, each about 3 minutes), \$30/each, weekly plus fares.
- Individual engagements following WHN/Refugee Theater of the Air appearances, fees ranging from \$10-\$20.
- One week at Boston Nightclub- Ken Club. \$35/each
- Appearance for a movie show at Riviera Theatre in Brooklyn (4 day engagement). \$25/each.
- WHN appearance on February 27, 1939, \$5/each

Other notable women the Committee helped include Galimir String Quartet violist Lotte Hammerschlag, pianist Sophie Feuermann (the sister of cellist Emanuel Feuermann), singer Hilde Albers, and Russian mezzo-soprano Zina Alvers.

Brunswick developed relationships with rabbis in the Northeastern U.S. to facilitate placements as cantors and organists. In recommendation letters, Brunswick wrote short biographies of exiled musicians which were tailored to impress potential employers. In an effort to provide young exiles a chance to continue their musical

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<sup>29</sup> J.B. Steane, "Jokl, Fritzi." *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 28 January 2015, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O902441](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O902441).

<sup>30</sup> Enumeration of Activities, 14 January 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.



education, the NCRM provided, when possible, scholarships for musical studies.<sup>31</sup>

Scholarships were given by the Capitol Loan Committee, Chatham Square Music School and New York College of Music, among other organizations.<sup>32</sup>

The NCRM, in cooperation with its Women's Auxiliary Committee, the Musicians Emergency Fund, and schools in New York, held frequent school concerts to hire exiled musicians, so they could have a steady performance schedule.

The public school concerts seem the best field for this cooperation to take a precise form. Musicians Emergency Fund requires approximately \$5000 with which to finance this project for one year. This would give 25 refugee musicians a minimum of one weekly engagement at \$5. The administration and the supervision of these concerts would be undertaken by the Musicians Emergency Fund in full cooperation with our Committee and with the Greater New York Coordinating Committee's social service department. The idea has already been considered and approved by Mrs. Kiegler and Mr. Sulzberger. The Musicians Emergency Fund will in no way confine their efforts and activities on behalf of our refugee musicians to the school concerts. They simply used the \$5000 for this particular project to come from us in order to justify their further activities on behalf of the German and Austrian Refugee musicians.<sup>33</sup>

An NCRM memo states that since 14 February 1939, multiple school concerts had been held in New York at the Walden School in Manhattan, the Plandome Road School in Manhasset, the Hessian Hills School in Croton-on-Hudson, and the Fox Meadow School in Scarsdale.<sup>34</sup> Musicians received \$10 per performance. School programs were some of the most successful of the Committee's activities. A monthly report from 9 January 1941

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<sup>31</sup> Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, undated (presumably August–Sept 1938), series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>32</sup> Monthly report, 4 November 1940 Records of the NRS, RG 248, 919–921, YIVO.

<sup>33</sup> Memorandum on the relationship of our Committee's work with that of the Musicians Emergency Aid Fund, Records of the NRS, RG 248, 923, YIVO.

<sup>34</sup> Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, 14 February 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

shows that 81 people performed for 159 school concerts, with similar numbers seen in previous reports.<sup>35</sup> Based on the existing documentation, it is not clear if the NCRM hosted public school concerts.

## I. Musical Instruments

Once exiles and their families arrived in the U.S., the Committee aided musicians in acquiring and maintaining musical instruments. In New York City, the Committee also secured practice spaces, and venues for organ and piano performances in private homes, synagogues, and churches. The NCRM received assistance in instrument location, loan, and repair from individuals and larger organizations. The Committee collaborated with the Social Service department and other departments of the NCC and the National Council of Jewish Women by offering career counseling, providing financial support which helped pay union fees and other needs, as well as acquisition and repair of instruments. Irving Berlin used his affiliation with Carl Fischer Music to help exiled musicians receive musical instrument services and repair.<sup>36</sup>

Carl Fischer's assistance to the NCRM is one of the best-documented relationships in the Committee's files. Fischer loaned instruments to immigrants who needed them, including Manfred Kuttner, who was loaned a valuable cornet necessary for auditions.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, undated (presumably August–Sept 1938), series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>36</sup> Carl Fischer music was founded in 1872 as a musical instrument repair business, and later pursued the sale of musical instrument and music publishing.

<sup>37</sup> Enumeration of Activities, 14 January 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

Max Hamlich was given the opportunity to repair his accordion at Fischer's office, again thanks to their relationship with Irving Berlin.<sup>38</sup> In another documented case, music radio host Martin Goldsmith's father, flutist George Goldsmith needed a metal flute, as his wooden flute did not meet the demands of orchestral playing, and was "not acceptable to conductors of orchestras."<sup>39</sup> The Committee helped him secure the remaining balance of the flute's purchase price, and he went on buy a flute made by Boston instrument firm Haynes & Company.

These cases show how important instruments were to the livelihood of exiled musicians. Without them, these players could not have had the ability to begin their American musical careers.

## II. Cases in Point

Transplantation to a new country mid-career has wide-ranging implications for the subsequent careers and artistic production of the people mentioned here. For some, moving to the United States (even under the worst circumstances) led to wonderful musical opportunities. On the other spectrum, some musicians had trouble finding suitable employment and left the performance world altogether. From a personal standpoint, careers were but one facet of daily life, and living in America was far different professionally, socially, and culturally than living in one's home country.

Though this thesis was not designed to offer extensive commentary on the deep feelings

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<sup>38</sup> Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, 14 January 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>39</sup> B.B. Rollnick to Mr. Hosicksy regarding George Goldsmith, 2 October 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 923, YIVO.

and complex meanings associated with being an exile, the reader may consult other studies, such as Erik Levi and Florian Scheduling's book *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*, to better understand these important issues.<sup>40</sup> For the following cases in point, I purposely chose well-known artists to illustrate the most illustrious examples of the NCRM's success, and also addressed exiles who did not achieve the same level of fame. Many more cases of exiles aided by the NCRM deserve scholarly attention. In the cases of noteworthy composers, like Krenek's, perspectives differ on his experiences in the U. S. My interest here is to provide a brief overview of his post-emigration experiences from the U. S. perspective, and one that focuses solely on his interactions with the NCRM.<sup>41</sup> Hopefully, new scholarship will soon emerge that will help contextualize the Krenek's post-emigration career in ways comparable to those explored by Feisst's *Schoenberg's New World*.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> The field of migration studies encompasses diasporas, and various migrations due to war, genocide, famine, and even voluntary movements. Scholars have published extensively on this broad topic, but have also specialized in music, Judaism, and the Holocaust. Extensive literature contextualizing the lives of émigré composers may be found in Erik Levi and Florian Scheduling, eds., *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond* (Latham: Scarecrow, 2010); Reinhold Brinkmann "Reading A Letter," in *Driven into Paradise*, in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 3-20; Lydia Goehr, "Music and Musicians in Exile," in *Driven into Paradise*, 66-91; Dorothy Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Emigres and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009) and many other texts.

<sup>41</sup> For more on the author's views of exile resettlement, see the concluding chapter.

<sup>42</sup> Feisst, *Schoenberg's New World*.

### III. Ernst Krenek

Austrian-born composer Ernst Krenek was blacklisted in 1933 by the Nazi party for controversy surrounding his works. The Nazis disapproved of the African-American protagonist and jazz influence in his opera *Jonny spielt auf* (premiered in 1927). Though initially successful both in Europe and abroad, his opera was later labeled *entartet* (degenerate) by the rising Nazi movement. In the 1930s, officials criticized the work for its subject matter and atonality—also disliked by the Nazi party—and it was thus blacklisted. Krenek wrote his opera *Karl V* (1934) to be “explicitly anti-Nazi, pro-Austrian, and Catholic,” written utilizing the twelve-tone technique. Not surprisingly, the Viennese premiere of *Karl V* was cancelled due to the rising Nazi political climate.<sup>43</sup> Krenek’s artistic choices had consequences that eventually forced him to leave his home country, even though he was not ethnically targeted by the Nazis. After the *Anschluss*, Krenek was one of many composers, including “Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Hindemith, Berg, Schrecker, Eisler, and Weill [who were considered] ‘cultural Bolsheviks.’” Krenek felt as though

his world had collapsed. His friends were either dead, as [were] Kraus and Berg, scattered, as Adorno, Bach, Stefan, and Schnabel, or so withdrawn as to be virtually in hiding, as Winter, Webern, Erdmann, and Heinsheimer. He himself faced social and artistic isolation, poverty, even possible imprisonment.<sup>44</sup>

Krenak fled to the United States in 1938.

Within a matter of days he decided to immigrate to America and set about obtaining the necessary papers. In New York, Mark Brunswick, the American

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<sup>43</sup> Garrett Bowles. "Krenak, Ernst." Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed April 14, 2015, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15515](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15515).

<sup>44</sup> John L. Stewart, *Ernst Krenek: The Man and His Music* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 212.

composer who had been a member of the Vienna chapter of the ISCM, and Carl Engel, president of G. Schirmer, Inc., signed affidavits for him. In Vienna, his parents went to the police and were given papers saying that Krenek and his wife wished to travel in America and had no blemishes on their records. Apparently the police did not realize how [Krenek] stood with the Nazis. Then, by frantically writing as many as eight or ten letters a day, he managed to obtain a visa for America on May 12, and although Berta [Krenek] still did not have one, they bought passage to Montréal. Now they had to sustain themselves until mid-August, when they would sail.<sup>45</sup>

Once in the United States, the NCRM helped Krenek gain employment. A memo dated 14 February 1939, reads:

Ernst Krenek- [NCRM] assisted towards his appointment as head of [the] composition department of Vassar College, by recommending him directly and inducing Committee members and others to intervene on his behalf.<sup>46</sup> This position had been vacated by future NCRM Advisory Board member Quincy Porter, who left to become dean of the New England Conservatory.<sup>47</sup> On 8 February 1939, Krenek accepted an offer for a two-year appointment as full professor at Vassar College for \$4,000 annually, which was an excellent salary at the time.<sup>48</sup>

Krenek was one of the most famous composers that the NCRM aided. His story illustrates their non-discrimination when it came to exiles who were not Jewish. He went on to have a successful life as a composer and educator in the United States.<sup>49</sup> But of his

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<sup>45</sup> Stewart, *Ernst Krenek*, 211.

<sup>46</sup> Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, 14 February 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>47</sup> Stewart, *Ernst Krenek*, 221.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 223. The salary is equivalent to over \$50,000 in 2014 dollars.

<sup>49</sup> For more on Krenek's life, see Ernst Krenek, "A Composer's Influences." *Perspectives of New Music* 3, no.1 (1964): 36-41; Claudia Maurer-Zenck, *Ernst Krenek, ein Komponist im Exil* (Vienna: Lafite, 1980).

time in exile, Krenek said that, to him, being in exile was an “external condition; simply the condition of composing away from home.”<sup>50</sup>

#### IV. Max Hamlisch

Austrian-born and Jewish accordionist and bandleader Max Hamlisch (1907-1977) had a budding performance career in Europe until Hitler rose to power. He and his wife Lilly Schachter knew that, by 1935, it was necessary to leave Nazi-occupied Germany. The decision was bittersweet, a sentiment expressed in many exile testimonies.<sup>51</sup>

In his autobiography, Marvin Hamlisch tells the story of his father’s escape. Max began working at the Wald Hotel in Liechtenstein, across the border from his Austrian home.<sup>52</sup> Surprisingly, the hotel was a popular stop for Nazi SS Officers, but he was able to remain there, unnoticed, as a musician. Max played the flute, clarinet, saxophone, and accordion and commuted with the bulky instruments every day, sometimes even playing for train passengers. Since packing space was at a premium, his wife packed a grapefruit in the bell of his saxophone. During his commute one night, the train conductor warned Max that they were being rerouted to Germany and advised him to jump off the train when it slowed. Max was soon asked by an Austrian SS officer to show his papers and

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<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Lydia Goehr, “Music and Musicians in Exile,” in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 73.

<sup>51</sup> Marvin Hamlisch and Gerald Gardner, *The Way I Was* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 24.

<sup>52</sup> The year is not provided in the account, but the event occurred before their 1938 departure from Europe.

demanded that he open his apparently suspicious saxophone. Max's son recounted:

When my father opened the case, there was nothing there but a shiny saxophone. The officer looked humiliated. Not to let the incident pass, he seized the instrument, lifted it over his head, and shook it. A large grapefruit hit him square in the face.

The passengers burst out laughing ... The officer had lost his face to a Jew. He ordered my father into an empty compartment.

"I know you're lying," he shouted. "I know you are hiding something. Take off all of your clothes. I'm going to search you."

My father started to undress, when the train ... began to slow down. The officer went to see what was happening ... My father grabbed his clothes, leapt from the train, and ... [ran] for his life. When his friends in the compartment saw him, they opened the window and threw out his instruments ... Just then, a woman appeared on the road, pushing a baby carriage. My father loaded [some of] his instruments in the [bottom of the] baby carriage and the two walked towards Liechtenstein.<sup>53</sup>

After attempting to leave legally, Max's wife Lilly finally escaped by hiding under coats on the floor of a car headed to Liechtenstein. Once together, the couple received their visas through the Swiss Consulate. Max and Lilly Hamlich eventually arrived in the United States on the *S.S. Veendam* (from Boulogne-sur-Mer, France) on 12 November 1938.<sup>54</sup> The NCRM aided the couple immediately upon their arrival in the U.S.

Max's job acquisition and instrument repair assistance are clearly detailed in an NCRM memo dated 14 February 1939:

- Instruction in accordion playing, three times weekly, \$4/weekly

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<sup>53</sup> Hamlich and Gardner, *The Way I Was*, 24–28.

<sup>54</sup> In his autobiography, Marvin Hamlich states that his father arrived in 1937. See Hamlich and Gardner, *The Way I Was*, 28; "Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1938," *National Archives Microfilm Publication M237*, 675 rolls, *Records of the U.S. Customs Service Record Group 36*, *National Archives*, Washington, D.C., accessed 5 November 2012, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com).



- One week's tryout engagement for stage show at Fay's Theater in Providence, Rhode Island (appear three times daily, each about 3 minutes), \$30/each, weekly plus fares.
- Appearance for a movie show at Riviera Theatre in Brooklyn (4 day engagement). \$25/each.
- Trio performance playing Viennese and jazz music at Café Vienna, Hotel Park Plaza. \$22/week<sup>55</sup>

Max Hamlich was also given the opportunity to repair his accordion at Carl Fischer's repair department, thanks to Berlin. After the NCRM helped the Hamlich family settle in the United States, Max prospered and became Music Director of the Viennese Opera Ball of New York. The important role of his son, Marvin Hamlich (1944-2012), in the history of American musical theater and film extends beyond the scope of this thesis.

Nevertheless, this family's experience exemplifies the profound influence the NCRM would have on future musical generations.

#### V. Manfred Kuttner

Little is known about Manfred Kuttner, a trumpet player aided by the Committee. In one memorandum, Kuttner was given a cornet on loan from Carl Fischer Music to use in an audition.<sup>56</sup> Later, in a document from 26 December 1940, the reader learns that Kuttner was unable to repay the loan he received from the Committee. He was unable to

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<sup>55</sup> Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, 14 February 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>56</sup> Placement Committee for German and Austrian Musicians Memorandum, 14 January 1939, series 3, box 1, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

find regular work as a musician and settled for a job as a “helper in a hospital.”<sup>57</sup> Even with the Committee’s help, not every exile found success in the United States.

## VI. George and Rosemary Goldsmith

In the year 2000, National Public Radio and Sirius radio host Martin Goldsmith wrote the book *The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany* about his parents Günther and Rosemarie Goldschmidt (later anglicized to George and Rosemary Goldsmith). Martin recounts his parents’ experience as musicians in Jewish *Kulturbund* orchestras in Germany, and later, their successful relocation to the United States on 21 June 1941.<sup>58</sup> Goldsmith wrote that “the story of Günther and Rosemarie’s first months in America could fill another book.”<sup>59</sup> A National Refugee Service document written on 2 October 1941 shows that George and Rosemary Goldsmith registered with the NCRM on 2 July 1941, shortly after they arrived to the United States. The Goldsmiths

applied for and received financial aid through ... the Relief and Service department on July 15, 1941 ... Mr. Goldsmith managed to secure a job in a factory netting him \$10 a week thereby necessitating only supplementation.

Due to Mr. and Mrs. Goldsmith’s initiative they both obtained an engagement with the Kryl Orchestra which will pay them a salary of \$35 each. Mr. Goldsmith has in his possession a wooden flute which is not acceptable to conductors or orchestras. Mr. Goldsmith’s audition, held at Steinway last week, resulted in a first class rating.

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<sup>57</sup> Letter about Manfred Kuttner’s loans, Records of the NRS, RG 248, 923–924, YIVO.

<sup>58</sup> Martin Goldsmith, *The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2000), 288.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

The cost of a metal flute, as indicated in a statement received from the Wm. S. Haynes Studios, amounted to \$230. However, because of Mr. Goldsmith's desire not to burden the Committee unduly, he endeavored to secure a loan of \$100 through his own efforts--\$20 from Albert Einstein (who thinks very highly of Mr. Goldsmith) and \$80 from friends here and there. This left a balance of \$130 to be obtained.

The Goldsmiths impress one immediately with their sincerity and wish to be independent. They have been untiring in their efforts to secure employment in their own field ... When he secures the engagement with the Columbia Orchestra he certainly would use that as a means of repaying the Committee for the grant of the \$130 loan.<sup>60</sup>

Martin Goldsmith fills in the gaps. His father found employment at a zipper factory while his mother was employed as a maid.<sup>61</sup> When George determined he needed a new metal flute, the widow of a friend in Berlin reached out to Albert Einstein because he was known to be "interested in worthy causes."<sup>62</sup> After she spoke with Einstein, George received an envelope with a \$10 bill inside from him. The South Carolina orchestra was actually a summer music festival orchestra, the Columbia Music Festival.<sup>63</sup>

The couple performed for a short time with the Kryl Symphony, which was based in Chicago. Ultimately,

They played their first full season as orchestra musicians in America in 1942-1943 as members of the New Orleans Symphony. They spent the following season apart, as George performed with the Baltimore Symphony and Rosemary

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<sup>60</sup> B.B. Rollnick to Mr. Hosicksy regarding George Goldsmith, 2 October 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 923, YIVO.

<sup>61</sup> Goldsmith, *The Inextinguishable Symphony*, 305.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> The Capitol Loan Committee granted a portion of its \$4295 loan to resettle 4 refugee musicians at the Columbia Music Festival in SC. Loan documentation, 2 October 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 923, YIVO.

began a two-year association with the Pittsburgh Symphony and its renowned music director Fritz Reiner.<sup>64</sup>

The couple settled in St. Louis in 1946.<sup>65</sup> George “abandoned his flute for the world of retail sales” and worked for several retailers, although he later regretted choosing to end his professional music career.<sup>66</sup> Rosemary served as a violist in the St. Louis Symphony for 21 years, and spent 14 years playing with the Cleveland Symphony.<sup>67</sup> In 1952, the couple gave birth to their son Martin, who became a renowned classical music radio personality and author of two books about his family’s experiences in the Holocaust.

These cases in point show how the NCRM worked with a range of musicians and composers, from those who had a solid place in music history and went on to have successful and even famous careers, to those who are unknown today.

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<sup>64</sup> Goldsmith, *The Inextinguishable Symphony*, 308.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 326.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 327.

## 6. CONCLUSION: THE COMMITTEE AND ITS LEGACY

In this thesis I have told the fascinating history of Mark Brunswick's NCRM. To conclude, it is appropriate to consider the perspectives of exiled persons, especially those helped by the Committee. The life of a world-class musician in the twentieth century was, essentially, migratory.<sup>1</sup> Musicians' tours of the United States grew more numerous with the rise of convenient transportation. Long before World War II, many European performers toured and played with major U.S. orchestras, conservatories, and universities, to continue their careers. New York City's Carnegie Hall hosted the American debuts of musicians from all over Europe and Russia, including composer Pyotr Ilich Tchaikovsky (1891), composer Antonin Dvořák (1892), pianist Arthur Rubenstein (1906), violinist Jascha Heifetz (1917), composers Igor Stravinsky (1925), and Béla Bartók (1927), and pianist Vladimir Horowitz (1928).<sup>2</sup> With the Russian Revolution (1917) and the onset of World War II in the 1930s and continuing into the 1940s, musicians were forced to leave Europe and create a new life in the United States. Even if they did not plan on residing here permanently, many European musicians who moved to the U.S. ended up staying since they were unable to return home safely. Exiles acclimated to the culture of the United States to varying degrees. Schoenberg described his exile to the United States as being "driven into paradise."<sup>3</sup> The isolationists in the

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<sup>1</sup> Maurice R. Davie, *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 346.

<sup>2</sup> "History of the Hall," Carnegie Hall Timeline, accessed 22 February 2015, [www.carnegiehall.org/History/Timeline/Timeline.aspx?id=4294968758](http://www.carnegiehall.org/History/Timeline/Timeline.aspx?id=4294968758).

<sup>3</sup> 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, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 4.

United States may not have thought about the benefits of having new scholars, musicians, and scientists move to America. Charles H. Jordan of the National Refugee Service states that of the World War II refugees,

Many [are] rich in culture and tradition and [can] contribute a great deal to the development of our own [American] culture and our own tradition and above all . . . [many] have a real desire to become part of us, . . . they are happy here, . . . they love this country and want to become as good a citizen as you and I. If we can help them establish new homes here and become part of our communities in the traditional American way, we will do them and ourselves a real service. And more than that—we will perpetuate the spirit of the American democratic ideals.<sup>4</sup>

Other musicians, some with less-established careers, viewed the New World as a place of great opportunity where one could expand his or her career, even under the horrible circumstances of war. It could be a place to really make a contribution. Brunswick stated:

When Europeans think of America, they . . . think of its vast resources, its vast opportunities. If the European musician is not only able to be realistic and sensible as well, [he/she] may think: “I am not a star. I cannot startle the jaded ears of New Yorkers who hear so much and so critically that sometimes they perhaps do not hear at all. But surely the Midwest, in the South, the Southwest, the Far West, there must be an infinite number of places where I can function to the benefit of the local people and of myself.” It was difficult to bring these musicians down from the geographical sweep of their dreams to the actual musical situation.<sup>5</sup>

While New York City was host to the greatest number of performance opportunities in the United States, that sheer density of musical activity was not matched anywhere else in the country. Furthermore, even New York City could not approach the musical density of certain European cities with their multiple orchestras, opera, and ballet companies. The

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<sup>4</sup> Quoted in *300,000 New Americans: The Epic of a Modern Immigrant–Service* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 198.

<sup>5</sup> Mark Brunswick, “Refugee Musicians in America,” *Saturday Review of Literature* 19 (1946): 51.

less urban regions of the United States held many surprises for European émigrés.

Brunswick notes that

The refugee musician from Europe was bewildered when he found that apart from orchestras and the very limited field of music and private teaching, there were few normal careers available for him. He was expected to hit the jackpot by giving a Town Hall concert and become famous overnight, or to vanish into obscurity.<sup>6</sup>

Though these migrant musicians must have anticipated the various cultural problems associated with moving to a new country, adapting to musical life once in the United States was not always an easy transition. Brunswick admitted that, even though the exiles survived the war and found employment in the U.S.,

The usual quota of maladjusted dissatisfied individuals [appeared] in this group as in any other, but even they found their way eventually into our musical life better than might have been expected.<sup>7</sup>

Brunswick explains that

Reception of the refugee musician was mixed. On the one hand [there] was the extreme pro-foreign American group, and on the other, the extreme anti. In music, this situation is more acute, more revelatory of a real conflict, than in other branches of our cultural or economic life. This is largely due to the domination exercised over America's musical activities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by foreign music and musicians.<sup>8</sup>

Some American musicians were reluctant to accept the wave of new musicians to the job market, especially at their high performance levels. Brunswick further acknowledged that for American musicians, some felt that:

A name like James Brown or Mary Smith [would be a handicap for] a musician who must compete with Sashas, —owskys, and —ellis.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Brunswick, "Refugee Musicians in America," 51.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Audiences, on the other hand, were thrilled to have the opportunity to attend concerts featuring great musicians who immigrated to America. American ensembles were often devalued by European commentators and critics, and many of these musicians may initially have been hesitant to join such ensembles. Ernst Krenek observed that

The feeling of superiority of the ‘cultivated’ Old World relative to the only just ‘civilized’ New World was widespread among immigrants, especially in the realm of culture.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the stresses associated with finding musical employment, being forced to abandon one’s homeland often creates deep psychological wounds, especially when confronted with genocide. “It is one thing to know you should leave a place, and another to walk away from your home and friends and way of life,” said Marvin Hamlisch about his father’s decision to flee Germany.<sup>11</sup> Especially in the face of mass genocide, exiles of the Holocaust knew they might never see their friends and family again. Feelings of survivor’s guilt were common among exiles, since many knew their families, friends, and communities were most likely casualties of the war.

For many immigrants, escaping to America, making new friends and colleagues, and changing careers was also traumatic. The circumstances facing exiled musicians in the United States were varied. Those who were Jewish had to navigate the anti-Semitic landscape of the United States. According to Annegret Fauser,

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<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Reinhold Brinkmann “Reading A Letter,” in *Driven into Paradise*, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Marvin Hamlisch and Gerald Gardner, *The Way I Was* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 24.



This naming of oneself and one's origins was a powerful antidote to the loss of an identity often taken for granted before exile had destroyed its unselfconscious character.<sup>12</sup>

Jewish immigrants, in particular, had to decide (consciously or not) whether to assimilate or acculturate: to potentially give up certain aspects of their cultural traditions in order to fit into American life, or to try to keep parts of their culture, while learning a new language and blending the old with the new.<sup>13</sup>

Franz Neumann states

The exiled scholar may (and sometimes did) ... abandon his previous intellectual position and accept without qualification the new orientation. Or, he may (and sometimes did) retain completely his old thought structure and may either believe himself to have the mission of totally revamping the American pattern, or may withdraw (with disdain and contempt) into an island of his own. Or, he may, finally, attempt an integration of his new experience with old tradition.<sup>14</sup>

Compared to other refugees, musicians benefited from the fact that fluency in English, though practical for day-to-day living, was not essential for a performing musician in the United States.

For poets and authors, for actors, for journalists, the medium of professional expression, language, is nationally defined. Such artists are therefore not easily uprooted and moved to a new country with a different language ... Nevertheless, music itself, as a “seemingly universal language”—or better: Western music as a common language for members of the Western musical culture—does not require “translation”; thus, the active integration of the immigrant musician, of whatever caliber, into the professional life of classical music in the United States was—in

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<sup>12</sup> Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 178.

<sup>13</sup> The history of Jewish assimilation and identity is discussed at length in: Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); *Divided Passions: Jewish Intellectuals and the Experience of Modernity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in Peter Gay, “We Miss Our Jews: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany,” in *Driven into Paradise*, 27.

general—easier than for writers, actors, and others dependent on the spoken word.<sup>15</sup>

Symphony orchestras have typically been comprised of musicians from around the world, and reading music, understanding conductor's stylistic wants which are often communicated in hand gestures, vocalizations, and by example have allowed non-native speakers to perform in these orchestras. For those who gained employment at the university level, a command of the English language was necessary to lecture and work with students. Brunswick further states that:

Music is international and is a common meeting ground. If the musician does not speak the English language fluently, he at least expresses himself quite eloquently through his music.<sup>16</sup>

The NCRM understood that acclimation to American culture was often difficult, so the Committee provided personal and career counseling and resettlement assistance to exiles in the U.S. The NCRM also focused its attention on the future of American music and the inclusion of exiles into its culture, and offered scholarships to exiled children who arrived with their NCRM-supported parents to begin or continue their musical studies in the United States. And furthermore:

America's record was on the whole good. The newly arrived refugee found people and organizations ready to give help to him. Often made-work programs were adopted to tide the refugees over the bad initial period, enabling them to keep up the practice of their art. In New York, for instance, privately financed concerts were given in the public schools in which many refugee musicians participated. This gave them a feeling of renewed functioning and yet was in no way unfair to our indigenous musicians. Some foundations made grants for outstanding refugee musicians and musicologists, enabling educational institutions whose financial resources were limited to have them on their staffs.

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<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Brinkmann "Reading A Letter," *Driven into Paradise*, 6–7.

<sup>16</sup> Mark Brunswick to Rabbi William Ackerman Brunswick to Rabbi William Ackerman, 12 February 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 917, YIVO.

Sectarian and non-sectarian organizations administered financial relief in cases of extreme need until a self-supporting job could be found.<sup>17</sup>

In 1943, the NCRM was unable to continue rescuing musicians from war-torn, Nazi-occupied Europe, perhaps due to the difficulty in securing affidavits and rescue assistance. It remains unclear why the NCRM suspended its work given that the National Refugee Service continued their operations through 1946. It is doubtful that every musician who was registered with the Committee gained meaningful employment by 1943. But once the United States entered World War II in 1941, the U.S. State Department “practiced stricter immigration policies out of fear that refugees could be blackmailed into working as agents for Germany,” making successful rescue more challenging.<sup>18</sup> But the formal end of the Committee was not the end of Brunswick’s personal help with the exiled musicians in the U.S. Documents show that Brunswick continued to write letters of recommendation for former NCRM refugees far into the 1960s, thus showing that Brunswick had not ended his involvement with the musical exiles he had worked so hard to bring to and establish in the United States.

Many organizations worked towards the rescue, rehabilitation, and placement of Holocaust refugees during World War II. Some organizations were established before the war, but most were created to deal with the large number of displaced and exiled Europeans in the United States. These organizations operated within the law and attempted to work according to the established quota system. They were often able to find exceptions to the laws for potential victims of genocide. Until 1944, these

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<sup>17</sup> Brunswick, “Refugee Musicians in America,” 50.

<sup>18</sup> “United States Policy toward Jewish Refugees, 1941–1952,” Holocaust Encyclopedia, *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed 22 February 2015, [www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007094](http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007094).

organizations were independent; the United States Government had not budged on its restrictive quotas and had not established any organization to help the Jewish victims of the Holocaust.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt established the War Refugee Board (WRB) in 1944 after facing pressure from critical government officials, to “facilitate the rescue of imperiled refugees.” After the war, it was important to continue to aid the many exiles who found their new homes in the United States.

### I. A Legacy and a Future

In an era marked by war, genocide, and bureaucracy, the National Committee for Refugee Musicians successfully channeled humanitarian ideals to improve the lives of many immigrant artists. It called upon luminaries such as Schoenberg to write affidavits attesting to an emigrant’s abilities, which facilitated visa acquisition for many people. NCRM secured loans for adults and scholarships for young musicians. It helped many émigrés secure employment in houses of worship, colleges and universities, and in radio orchestras, in addition to less illustrious positions such as copyists. Though the NCRM helped as many refugees as possible, it also screened applicants and redirected less accomplished musicians to other professions in the U.S.

Modernist music, although banned by the Nazis, found a home in the United States, because many composers who wrote in this style ended up in exile, including Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Hindemith. NCRM-aided exiles included important modernist composers and performers, including Krenek, violinists Felix Galimir of the

Galimir Quartet and Rudolf Kolisch of the Kolisch Quartet were both aided by the NCRM. According to Theophil Antonicek,

The modernist movement was given impetus by two chamber music ensembles, the Kolisch Quartet, led by Rudolf Kolisch (Schoenberg's second brother in law), and the younger Galimir Quartet. The Kolisch Quartet gave premières of works by Berg, Webern, Bartók and Schoenberg (playing from memory), as did the Galimir ensemble (led by Felix Galimir with his sisters) which also championed the music of younger composers.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, modernists who took academic positions influenced the next generation of American composers. Other musicians, like Hamlisch, and George and Rosemary Goldsmith attest to the successful legacy of the NCRM's advocacy. In an unpublished manuscript, Brunswick discusses his thoughts after the Munich Agreement (1938) was reached.<sup>20</sup> He believed that from that point on,

The musical life of the United States will bear an ever increasing burden of responsibility as it becomes more and more the sole repository of a free European musical tradition and culture.<sup>21</sup>

His work with the NCRM shows his attempt to save this musical culture, and provide a place for it to continue in the U.S.

Brunswick's interest in the plight of the exile also included his interest in helping rebuild cultural life in Austria, a place he came to love after living in Vienna for over ten years. He wrote a proposal entitled "The Rehabilitation of Cultural Life In Austria" in which he outlined a "workable plan to restore the cultural life" as well as the educational

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<sup>19</sup> Theophil Antonicek, et al. "Vienna," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 8 March 2015, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29326](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29326).

<sup>20</sup> The Munich Agreement (1938) was when France and Great Britain agreed to give Nazi-Germany control of the *Sudetenland* (German-speaking Czechoslovakia).

<sup>21</sup> Brunswick, "Random Reflections After Munich," series 4, box 3, Mark Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

systems (beginning at the elementary and secondary levels) of European countries after World War II.<sup>22</sup> He believed that, first, countries should aim for the “restoration of the dynamic forces and the human beings at [their] roots,” and then work to physically restore the museums and libraries damaged during the war, in former Allied and Axis nations.<sup>23</sup> He felt this effort would heal the war-torn nation, help the morale of its citizens, and that cultural activity was the “antidote and substitute for the aggressive war-like activities.”<sup>24</sup> This detailed report was to be seriously considered by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), and that the “Cultural Life and Education Branch” would fall under the organization’s Special Services Division. Brunswick outlines specific considerations for this new cultural organization, suggested personnel, funding ideas, and plans to put into action. Brunswick aimed to chair this special project, continuing his philanthropic work in Austria. Unfortunately, it does not seem that like this plan ever became a reality.

Brunswick’s life and the history of the NCRM are only briefly mentioned in texts regarding exiled composers in the United States. Outside this thesis, neither Brunswick, nor the Committee are the subjects of currently available research to my knowledge. Brunswick’s life and the history of the NCRM are only briefly mentioned in some texts regarding exiled composers in the America. Neither Brunswick nor the Committee are the subject of any major literature currently available.

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<sup>22</sup> Brunswick, “The Rehabilitation of Cultural Life In Austria,” series 4, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

Hilda M. Schuster, longtime director of the Dalcroze School of Music in New York City [founded in 1915] wrote of Mark that “No matter how busy he was, he always took time to help a worthy cause.”<sup>25</sup> Brunswick’s generosity, passion for social causes, and compassion for students and colleagues impacted the music world in the United States in a remarkable way. He saw the need to aid exiles, but also saw how they would contribute to American musical life. Brunswick devoted his life to music, and to helping others. We will never know the full extent of honorable work until history reveals it.

Brunswick believed that

The defeat of freedom in Europe has given us the responsibility but also the opportunity to renew the universal European culture in our own country. If we can infuse our own youth and vitality into the great tradition given now into our keeping we will have fulfilled our mission and at the same time have created that true American music for which we all are searching.<sup>26</sup>

Those who worked closely with Brunswick speak fondly of his compassion, personality, and his extensive work as a scholar and teacher. At the age of thirty-six, Brunswick put his promising compositional career on hold and undertook a huge humanitarian effort in order to help as many immigrants as he could. In 1946, Brunswick wrote that

The experience of the refugee musicians [in America] in the last decade was, . . . living proof and affirmation of music’s universal human character.<sup>27</sup>

And, in requesting advocacy for displaced persons, he wrote:

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<sup>25</sup> Hilde M. Schuster to Fritz Jahoda, 10 December 1966, series 5, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>26</sup> Brunswick, “Random Reflections After Munich,” series 4, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.

<sup>27</sup> Brunswick, “Refugee Musicians in America,” 50.

If a musician finds a haven wherein he can earn his own livelihood, through your aid, he usually feels or has the impression that you were instrumental in saving his life.<sup>28</sup>

A contemporary and friend of Mark Brunswick, composer Milton Babbitt, asserted that as an individual and as chairman of the Committee,

[Mark Brunswick] was responsible for saving and transporting to this country a larger part of a musical culture than we ever shall be able to know.<sup>29</sup>

If the history of music is an attempt to extract meaning from musical experience, then his humanitarian legacy deserves scholarly attention.<sup>30</sup> In this thesis, I have begun to bring to light the fascinating and important story of Brunswick and his National Committee for Refugee Musicians.

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<sup>28</sup> Mark Brunswick to Rabbi William Ackerman Brunswick to Rabbi William Ackerman, 12 February 1941; Records of the NRS, RG 248, 917, YIVO.

<sup>29</sup> Milton Babbitt, "My Vienna Triangle at Washington Square Revisited and Dilated," in *Driven into Paradise*, 52.

<sup>30</sup> In 1985, the CCNY music school staff and library began an initiative to have the music library named in honor of Brunswick, see Barbara J. Dunlap to Bernard Harleston, series 5, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY.



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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jayne Michael Kurland completed her Master of Arts degree in music history and literature at Arizona State University in May 2015. Her thesis advisor is Kay Norton; committee member Sabine Feisst also guided her research. While at ASU, Kurland was awarded two teaching assistantships (2012–2013) and worked as the Assistant Art Coordinator for the ASU College of Public Programs. Kurland is currently Curatorial Research Fellow in Musical Instruments at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts. She is also a violist in the New England Philharmonic. Kurland is an active member of the American Musical Instrument Society (AMIS), from which she won the Frederick R. Selch Award for Best Student Paper at the 2011 AMIS annual meeting in Colonial Williamsburg. She also received AMIS's William E. Gribbon Award for Student Travel in 2010 and 2011. She is a member of the Society for American Music (2014), the New England Museum Association (2014), and serves on the Advisory Board for UCLA's World Musical Instrument Collection. In 2009, Kurland was a Curatorial Assistant at the Musical Instrument Museum (MIM) in Phoenix, Arizona. While there, she curated the exhibit on Belarus, and also worked as the Artist Coordinator for the museum's concert venue. At the University of Oregon, Kurland studied viola and earned her Bachelor of Music degree in music history and literature in 2009. She received the award for Outstanding Undergraduate Scholar in Music History (2009).

Musical comedies, or musicals, have become America's most significant contribution to world theatre. Musical comedy is a type of play that tells a story through a combination of dialogue, songs, and dances. Musical comedy developed in the United States during the late 1800s. It shared roots with both European and American popular forms of entertainment. Most major American musical comedies that have enchanted audiences throughout the world were first presented in New York City, normally on Broadway. One of the longest-running show in Broadway history was "Fiddler on the Roof" (1964) by Jerry Bock and Sheldon Harnik. The musical, based on Shalom Aleichem's stories was a fabulous success. It drew Broadway audiences for more than eight years. [Mark Brunswick] was responsible for saving and transporting to this country a larger part of musical culture than we ever shall be able to know. 1. Milton Babbitt The refugee musician is now a part of us. 1938-1941 further. 20 Mimi S. Daitz, "A Work in Progress: The National Committee for Refugee Musicians, Mark Brunswick, and the CCNY Music Department (1946-1961)," Unpublished research, 22 August 1993, series 4, box 3, Brunswick Collection, CCNY. 21 Ira Hirschmann, *Caution to the Winds* (New York: David McKay Company, 1962); Michael Freedland, *Irving Berlin* (New York: Stein and Day, 1974); and Edward Jablonski, *Irving Berlin: American Troubadour* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999).