THE MUSIC OF WAR: 1914–1918

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ABSTRACTS
KEYNOTE PAPER 1: RACHEL COWGILL (CARDIFF UNIVERSITY)


London’s West End was something of an irritant to the British establishment during the Great War. Its theatres, restaurants and bars offered temporary respite for the constant stream of servicemen heading out to the trenches or returning home on leave, but were seen to promote luxury and licentiousness at a time when the war effort demanded discipline and self-restraint. Just as the West End was a magnet for soldiers in search of diversion, they in turn attracted the attention of a criminal underclass offering all varieties of ephemeral pleasure in exchange for soldiers’ cash, some absconding with kit and, it was feared, military intelligence in the process. Tales of the intoxication, deception and blackmail of military personnel whilst on leave in the capital circulated widely and the moral health of the nation’s fighting men was hotly debated in the press.

At the centre of this perceived threat was the ‘nightclub evil’, as it was termed in the House of Lords, and among the most prominent of the clubs scrutinised as part of a crackdown by civil and military authorities was Ciro’s Club, which had opened its doors on Orange Street, to the south of Leicester Square, in 1915. At the high end of the social spectrum – frequented by senior officers in the army and admiralty as well as socialites, diplomats and politicians – Ciro’s was seemingly impervious to police and judicial interference. It was also one of the first London establishments to hire an African-American ragtime ensemble direct from New York’s Clef Club, which, when combined with the new improvisatory forms of social dancing from over the Atlantic, helped to define the club’s reputation for liberality and decadence.

This presentation explores attempts by the civil and military authorities, within the framework of the Defence of the Realm Act, to restrict the musical and social freedoms facilitated by the managers at Ciro’s. To each phase of legislation, the managers responded with inventive alternative forms of entertainment, but when officers were banned by the authorities from dancing in uniform (required to be worn at all times) and even court-martialled for doing so, even the most loyal of the club’s clientele drifted away. Control of the club, as discussed in the second part of the paper, was then ceded to the YMCA, who turned it into a flagship social experiment – a musical venue where soldiers could enjoy (non-alcoholic) refreshments with wives, sisters or girlfriends under the supervision of predominantly female, aristocratic YMCA volunteers. Ciro’s became not only a concert club for serious listening, but also a testing ground for social reformers, especially for those who had come to believe in the closing stages of the war that the ‘right kind of music’, defined on their terms, was what was required to effect the rehabilitation of the nation’s men from traumatised killers into responsible civilians.

The passage of Ciro’s Club through the war years is exceptionally well documented, and, as this presentation shows, offers deep insight into the significance attributed to music in British society during the second half of the Great War. The sources permit the longitudinal study of a single performance space in wartime conditions, not only revealing two extremes – music used first to liberate and then to control social space, interaction and masculine deportment – but also the transition effected from one to the other during the most socially volatile period of the conflict.

KEYNOTE PAPER 2: KATE MCLoughlin (BIRKBECK, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

‘The Rest is Silence’: Literary Veterans, The First World War and the Inception of Modernity

Since Homer’s Odyssey, home-coming war veterans have been associated with storytelling. In narrating tales of suffering and adventure, they hand on the lessons of their experiences. But, as Walter Benjamin explains in ‘The Storyteller’ (1936), a crisis occurs in storytelling in the twentieth century. According to Benjamin, men came home from the First World War ‘not richer but poorer in communicable experience’. With reference to Rebecca West’s 1918 novel, The Return of the Soldier and Virginia Woolf’s Mrs Dalloway (1925), this paper will explore how the First World War silenced the story, reflecting and contributing to the rupture in epistemology and aesthetics that has been seen as the hallmark of modernity.
Fabian Huss (University of Bristol): Frank Bridge, Impressionism and the Failure of Pastoral

In the early years of the First World War, Frank Bridge developed a style of consoling pastoral impressionism that relates to aspects of British nature mysticism, most notably the explicit references to the writings of Richard Jefferies in the Two Poems for Orchestra. Bridge's supposed pacifism does not make itself felt through urgent, anguished expression at this time; on the contrary, there are a number of quasi-propagandistic works. As the war progressed, however, Bridge's pastoral imagery becomes less comforting and comfortable, particularly in the experimental piano works - a miniature, personal genre whose role stands in opposition to the public orchestral works, highlighting the relevance of genre to the composer's modes of expression throughout this period. In this trend, we may identify the beginnings of a 'failure of pastoral' that made itself felt in varying degrees and forms in much wartime and post-war art; perhaps not surprisingly, this trend reaches its apogee in Bridge's only work to confront explicitly the aftermath of the Great War, Oration. This aftermath includes the revelation of the ultimate impotence of pastoral mysticism to provide healing and resolution, alerting us to the aesthetic dimension of the war's after-effects. This dimension is much more obviously present in Bridge's music than the direct engagement with the war that has often been posited in its reception. My paper will further comment on the relationship of this process in Bridge's music to much wider trends in the arts, along with developments in musical modernism and issues such as morality, expressiveness, nationalism and national identity in music.

Philip Lancaster: Establishing the War Composer in a World of War Poets

Culturally speaking, the First World War is seen principally as a literary war. The idea of the War Poet arose during the years of that war, and in the century that has followed it has become firmly established as one of the most commonly known literary genres. Furthermore, the poetical works written during that war, and in its immediate aftermath, have become the voice of that war and the means by which many now know something of the deeds of that war. Some of this poetry has become the dissenting voice for all war. Curiously, the musical equivalent – the War Composer – appears never to have been coined. The names of many War Composers are almost entirely unknown, and the war works by even those who are well-known are not necessarily seen for what they are. In Britain mention of First World War composers often elicits the name of George Butterworth, who strictly speaking was not a War Composer in the truest sense, but one who was silenced by war. In this paper I shall explore the idea of the War Composer in parallel with that of the War Poet, looking at the various facets of the musical responses to the war, the difficulties of defining the genre, and arguing the case for a comparative study.

Eric Saylor (Drake University): A Martyr to the Cause: George Butterworth, the Great War, and the Construction of Reception

The life and tragic death of George Butterworth (1885–1916) death fits the popular wartime mythos of the “noble sacrifice” so perfectly that it could have been specially commissioned as a template for the genre. Not only was he brave and selfless in his military service on the Somme, he possessed a respectable social background, a top-flight educational pedigree, and was on the cusp of widespread success in a field where such achievement had long eluded Englishmen. As a result, British music historiography has traditionally positioned Butterworth as the figure who most powerfully embodies the Great War’s appalling cost. However, his small body of works, lack of musical academic credentials, and comparatively short professional career would seem to argue against the odds of his being raised to such a position, particularly when compared to other, more established English composers and musicians who were killed in action.

Three factors, largely divorced from considerations related to Butterworth’s actual music, appear to have helped facilitate posterity’s estimation of him among the leading rank of British musicians killed in the Great War: his social and professional connections with some of the most prominent figures in English music, the publication by his father of a posthumous memoir of his life, and the widely disseminated and frequently repeated press accounts of Butterworth’s military service.
and untimely death in conjunction with concert notices of his music. This paper will examine the public portrayals of and reactions to the legacy of George Butterworth in the years immediately following his death, with particular consideration given to the ways in which such portrayals helped further both his long-term reputation and the prestige of English music more generally.

THE BODY Eliot Room, 11.30

Jillian Rogers (University of California): “La Plus Grande Consolatrice”: Music as Therapeutic Corporeal Practice in World War I-era France

In her memoirs, the Parisian socialite Misia Sert recounts playing the piano for the French fighter pilot Roland Garros when he was on leave during World War I. After dinner, she recalls, he would lay under the piano as she played music for him. Sert’s anecdote suggests that music making was useful for French citizens not only for its ability to raise morale or distract—the most often cited rationales for wartime musical performances—but also due to its capacity to soothe or repair injured bodies and troubled minds through embodied sound. While many scholars have demonstrated that music offered a space for the negotiation of political and national identity in World War I-era France, the many concerts organized to entertain wounded soldiers, as well as archival sources detailing French musicians’ and soldiers’ music making experiences, warrant a reevaluation of the terms of music’s therapeutic function during the war.

In this paper, I show that after 1914 many French musicians considered music making a therapeutic vibrational bodily practice. Through examining soldiers’ accounts of making music in their correspondence, diaries, and the Gazette des Classes du Conservatoire, I demonstrate that enlisted musicians were frequently concerned with music’s non-symbolic capacities to act as a “consolatrice.” Moreover, in their method books and memoirs French musicians like Marguerite Long, Émile Vuillermoz, and Constantin Piron describe the piano as a transformative bodily prosthesis. In situating these accounts of music’s healing powers in relation first to the palpability of sonic vibrations resulting from trench warfare, second to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century vibrational and electricity-based medical treatments, and third to arguments for music’s health benefits posited by Émile Jaques-Dalcroze and military hospital personnel, this paper sheds light on the development of music therapy in France during World War I.

Michelle Meinhart (Martin Methodist College): Singing Tommies and “Their Stourhead Mother”: Forging Familial Bonds Through Music in the English Country House During the First World War

English country houses teemed with music through the nineteenth century, but the Great War and loss of many heirs muted this tradition. At Stourhead, the Wiltshire home of Sir Henry Hugh and Lady Alda Hoare, this music was not silenced, but rather, took on new forms after their son, Harry, enlisted in the army. Prior to the war, Lady Alda and Harry, a talented baritone, often together played and sang Edwardian drawing room ballads. Indeed, shared musical experience was an important bond in their relationship, ultimately enshrined in the poignant, commemorative annotations of him she inscribed on their sheet music three weeks after he was killed on a battlefield in Egypt in late 1917. But during Harry’s absence, up until his death, Lady Alda filled this void by continuing to immerse Stourhead in song, now accompanying other singers in his place: the soldiers training and convalescing in nearby Mere.

This paper examines this impromptu music-making at Stourhead during 1916-7. Drawing on correspondence from these Tommies to Lady Alda, along with her annotated sheet music collection and diaries, such war-time musical activities, I show, cultivated surrogate mother-son relationships between these soldiers and Lady Alda, whom they affectionately deemed “our Stourhead mother.” In focusing on the private space of the country house and home front activities, this paper highlights an aspect of music and the First World War not addressed in previous musicological inquiry: the personal, familial-type bonds music could foster between soldiers and civilians, when estranged from real family members.
Erin Brooks (University of Wisconsin-Madison): Sarah Bernhardt, Les Cathédrales, and Performing the Wounded Nation

When Sarah Bernhardt had her right leg amputated in February 1915, her wound was explicitly likened to the mutilated French poilus. Nine months later, Bernhardt reopened her Parisian theater with Les Cathédrales, a one-act play by Eugène Morand. The allegorical poem constructed a patriotic message through a dense web of nationalist symbols, configuring Bernhardt and six other actresses as France’s cathedrals—links to the past, defenders of the faith, mothers of murdered soldiers, Marian intercessors, and martyrs. Les Cathédrales also featured incidental music by Gabriel Pierné, who deployed wartime musical topos and techniques to enhance Bernhardt’s stirring voice.

The triumphant premiere prompted an emotional response from Parisian audiences, and Bernhardt herself—particularly her wounded body and incantatory voice—elicited images of victim, mater dolorosa, and indomitable warrior. René Gignoux commented that her voice “mourns our ruins and our dead, then crackles like a flame to condemn and curse… the vision of an invincible Fury and the great voice of Patrie maternelle who avenges her children.” In spring 1916, Bernhardt took her wartime plays to London and the French front, then embarked for the United States where she negotiated a tricky line as fundraising French patriot in a still-neutral country.

Building on previously undiscovered archival materials and recent scholarship linking the body, performativity, and mourning, I examine how Les Cathédrales occupied complex terrain as lieu de mémoire, propaganda, and international fundraising project. I demonstrate how music and theater played a vital role in forging communities of mourners and witnesses, not just in France but also through transnational theatrical networks. Finally, I theorize the link between the physical body of Bernhardt and the metaphorical body of France and her wounded soldiers, between the voice of the individual and the collective voice of the imagined nation.

WAR AS CATALYST Auditorium, 14.00

Marianne Betz (Hochschule für Musik und Theater Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy): How World War I Changed Perspectives: American Composer G.W. Chadwick’s Reaction to the War

In 1917, when the United States officially entered the Great War, this new political situation affected Boston’s hitherto German-affiliated musical life enormously: not only did the programming of music by Beethoven, Brahms and other German composers become a diplomatic challenge, but the conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Swiss-German Karl Muck, was interred as “enemy alien.”

Beyond that, Boston composers, like George Whitefield Chadwick (1854-1931), whose two sons now became members of the US military forces, reacted on diverse levels. Chadwick had studied in Germany from 1877-1879. Now, apparently influenced by the new anxieties for his own family, he started compiling his numerous personal writings into Memoirs. The annotations to these daily entries, which went back to his childhood and adolescence, reveal how much his former German-friendly recollections were now embittered by growing anti-German sentiments. Furthermore, Chadwick also responded musically to the impressions of the war. He wrote several patriotic choral works, of which some like the four-part “patriotic hymn” Land of our Hearts (1917) became very popular and were performed on official occasions. Further, his commemorative tone poem Angel of Death, inspired by a sculpture of Daniel Chester French and written during the war, though premiered in 1919, has to be regarded as a reflection of the experience of the military conflicts.

This paper will explore Chadwick’s music that related to a war that took place on a different continent, but which was nonetheless closely connected to his attempts to establish his voice as an American composer. It will also analyze his changing attitude towards Germany, against the background of the significant changes taking place in Boston’s musical landscape.
Geoffrey Chew (Royal Holloway, London): Putting an End to Violence: The Codas to Janáček’s Wartime Symphonic Poems

Leoš Janáček commemorated the First World War twice, in the symphonic poems *Taras Bulba*, begun in 1915 when it seemed that the Russian army might secure a quick victory over the Habsburgs, and *The Ballad of Blaník*, written probably in 1919, shortly after the inauguration of the new postwar Czechoslovak Republic. Both pieces end with ecstatic extended codas, which seem diametrically opposed in attitude. That of *Taras* (a powerful “cathartic slow waltz”, to use John Tyrrell’s well-known term), though popular with concert audiences, has usually seemed puzzling or offensive by critics in its apparent glorification of indiscriminate carnage; that of *Blaník* (a quiet, quasi-Mahlerian lyrical climax), more understated, apparently celebrates a glorious pacifist future for the new republic.

Yet neither of these works represents a straightforward translation of its literary model into music. This should in any case not have been expected. *The Ballad of Blaník*, for example, draws not only on Jaroslav Vrchlický’s poem of that name, forecasting the “resurrection” of the nation, but also has a secondary programme in *The Czech Question*, a political essay by T.G. Masaryk, the new Czechoslovak President (the piece was performed at a 70th-birthday celebration for the president, for which Janáček prepared a speech). Moreover, it has not generally been noticed that, different as they are, the codas of the two pieces both quote the same Czech folk-song, first published in 1913. This laments the departure of young men for war; though strictly irrelevant to either of the two literary models, as a parting shot it adds a poignant level of allusion to both works for those able to recognize the quotation. So the works pile up contradictory allusions, and become ambiguous – and humane – as responses to war; and they offer a unique key to understanding Janáček’s approach to programme music more generally.

Erik Christian Peterson: War as a Catalyst for Creativity: Hindemith’s Assimilation of Wartime Experiences

As a young composer, Hindemith was torn between his passion for the Romantic ideal of music and his antagonism towards traditions and audiences. Hindemith found outlet for his contempt of tradition through manic experimentation and exploration of sundry musical styles and genres.

Hindemith’s experimentation began in earnest while serving in the German Army during World War I. In 1917, Hindemith was conscripted and ultimately joined an infantry regiment as a drummer in the military band. He also managed to find time to compose; it was at this time that Hindemith began seriously experimenting with extended techniques and various musical forms.

While stationed at Alsace, Hindemith’s primary duty (besides that of regimental drummer) was reading string quartets amidst the cacophony of the war for the enjoyment of troops and officers; Hindemith writes, “The place sounds like a pipery. Music coming out of our ears. Practicing all day long. The curious tonal mixtures that can be heard there. Tuba, piccolo, viola, flugelhorn, clarinet.” These unusual sonorities drove Hindemith’s compositions into the realms of Dada.

This paper will examine the context of Hindemith’s musical wartime experiences and illustrate how these experiences allowed the composer to think creatively, freeing him from what he perceived to be the shackles of tradition. It will also illustrate how Hindemith synthesized his wartime experiences with his compositional aesthetic. Ultimately, the paper will show how war can serve as an unlikely catalyst for creativity and new creation.

Andrew Frayn (De Montfort University): ‘Music horrible and unreal’: Music, its Language, and First World War Fiction

Narratives about the First World War often claimed that the physical experience of warfare was incommunicable to those who had not fought. Indeed, in the decade after the war much paper and ink was devoted to this aporia. In this paper I argue that, in the apparent absence of a language with which to describe extreme or otherwise taboo experiences, music, sound, and its terminology are used to
represent viscerally the unspeakable. However, this symbolic rendering of events did not save from censure two key texts which criticised the war. *Despised and Rejected* (1918), written by Rose Laure Allatini and published under the pseudonym A. T. Fitzroy, discusses the activities of a group of pacifists and anti-war activists. It was banned almost five months after publication for hindering the war effort. The pacifist group comprises people who are othered in multiple ways, particularly due to their homosexuality and intermediacy. Pacifism and homosexuality challenge the violence of idealised masculinity, and so cannot be spoken directly in wartime, particularly in mid-1918 when flagging morale needed to be bolstered. The protagonist, a composer called Dennis, uses music to communicate with Alan, the object of his affections; during the war his compositions also shift from harmony to a modern, dissonant clamour. Richard Aldington’s *Death of a Hero* (1929), published at the height of the War Books Boom, was expurgated in order not to be banned, particularly for its satire on the Victorians. Aldington heads each section of the novel with musical terminology for pace, suggesting a symphonic progression and punning on military vocabulary in moving from the march tempo of *allegro* to *adagio* – at ease. In contrast to the slowing pace, the novel increases in volume to a barely tolerable cacophony, the vibrations of the sound offering a sense of war’s physicality. These texts, published a decade apart, demonstrate the enduring efficacy of music as a device for representing experiences which push at the limits of verbal, linguistic representation.

**Rebekah Lockyer (University of Birmingham): A Haunted Composition: Examining the connection between music and prose in Ford Madox Ford’s Great War tetralogy, *Parade’s End***

On Friday, 22nd February 2013, in the Memorial Hall of Manchester Grammar School, the Quatuor Danel premièred a newly completed string quartet by the composer Philip Grange. The complex and technically demanding work *Ghosts of Great Violence* was written following Grange’s pilgrimages to the Somme battlefields, and has a further, particular inspiration: the composer’s fascination with the interior monologue form employed by Ford Madox Ford in his extensive tetralogy of novels, *Parade’s End*. This paper examines the ways Grange reflects Ford’s intensely personal and subjective space in the scoring of his work and the way in which Ford’s own conspicuously musical background haunted his prose style in *Parade’s End*. In exploring the connection of works of different genres conceived nearly a hundred years apart, I contend that the Great War provides a stimulus for artistic expression which surpasses lexical frontiers, and finds its fundamental outlet in a musical form.

In his exploration of the impact of the Great War, historian Modris Eksteins claims that the twentieth century ‘is one in which life and art have blended, in which existence has become aestheticised’, and this is nowhere more apparent than in the sonic exploration of the Western Front. The land ‘imbued with a deep sadness’ Grange encountered at the battlefields of Flanders is often considered in terms of the interactions of noise and silence within the soundscape of the trenches. The suggestion of a binary opposition between sound and silence, however, is complicated by the very nature of music as composed of both, and the connection of language with music is no less intricate. Examining the narrative of *Parade’s End* as musical prose, and relating this to theories of traumatic experience, I propose that it is only by an intersection or combination of artistic forms that the experience of the Great War can be rendered.

**Nathan Waddell (University of Nottingham): ‘All the great artists have been immoral’: Beethoven, J. W. N. Sullivan, and H. G. Wells**

During the First World War classical music endured different strains and pressures. Among other things, such music became entangled in the Anglo-German tensions of the period, often functioning as an index of deep-rooted ideological oppositions. Works of art deemed ‘beyond’ politics, for instance, were caught in the moment, and names like Bach and Beethoven acquired meanings that

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2 Programme notes to *Ghosts of Great Violence* by Philip Grange, February 2013, provided by The Martin Harris Centre for Music and Drama in association with The University of Manchester and Manchester Grammar School.
intensified emerging as well as long-established rivalries. Musical periodicals published responses to these transitions, but literary writers were comparably sensitive to the War’s effects upon music and to how those effects were symptomatic of more fundamental anxieties. Early modernist novels like Dorothy Richardson’s *Pointed Roofs* (1915) and even Virginia Woolf’s *The Voyage Out* (1915) tell us a great deal about these issues. Yet the foregrounding of modernism in studies of the First World War is problematic, not least because modernism is but one literary mode among many that appraised the period’s stitching together of music, politics, and national difference. Looking elsewhere for our case studies adds nuance to literary histories of the time, and lets us appreciate anew how sensitively different writers viewed music as a discourse through which politics can advance. Consequently, in this paper I want to explore these issues using two obscure fictions as my focus: J. W. N. Sullivan’s *An Attempt at Life* (1917) and H. G. Wells’s *The Soul of a Bishop* (1917). Reading these books alongside Ernest Belfort Bax’s *German Culture Past and Present* (1915) and William Paterson’s edited collection *German Culture: The Contribution of the Germans to Knowledge, Literature, Art and Life* (1915), I will shed new light on Beethoven’s representation in non-modernist fiction of the time and on the political problems faced by performance venues, such as the Bechstein Hall, where his music was often performed. In sum, my goal will be to examine how Sullivan and Wells used the example of Beethoven to question easy assumptions regarding the ‘enemy’ status of German classical music in the face of widespread, reductive nationalist sentiments.

**JAZZ AND VAUDEVILLE**

*Brontë Room, 16.00*

**Laurent Cugny (Université Paris-Sorbonne): Elsie Janis, James Reese Europe and the Harlem Hellfighters: American Entertainers in France, 1918**

Jazz is supposed to have been introduced in France by the American Expeditionary Forces, through entertainers and military bands. Among the former were Afro-American orchestras, the most famous being the 369th Regimental band under the direction of James Reese Europe, better known as the Harlem Hellfighters. His members, both soldiers and musicians, fought in the trenches and played concerts for soldiers, officials and French population. Other entertainers were recruited and supported within the Y.M.C.A. structures and played and sang for soldiers. Elsie Janis was one of these professional entertainers whose career, at this point, encountered war. Through these two examples, we can consider some crucial matters such as race relations inside U.S. and French armies, relations with the local populations, the influence on the development of jazz in Europe and the Transatlantic exchanges.

**David Monod (Wilfrid Laurier University): Mark Time: The American March to European War**

Historians have long argued over the extent of public support for American participation in WWI. The middle ground of preparedness and patriotism which President Wilson promoted after 1915, and which was once seen as reflective of the popular mood, is no longer believed to have won enthusiastic support. Instead, recent studies have tended to emphasize popular antiwar sentiment, even in purportedly militaristic areas like the South. Today, WWI is seen by many America historians as “at most a modestly popular war”. This paper will address pre-war public sentiment towards the European conflict from the perspective of the vaudeville stage. Vaudeville was the most popular commercial amusement of the era and, because it was a participatory form of entertainment, it had a unique ability to excite as well as entertain. Although it is true that vaudeville presented mixed messages about the European war (pacifism particularly characterized its one-act plays), and that some theatres (like the Union Square in New York, which served an ethnically German neighborhood) were sympathetic to the Central Powers, much of the music performed on stage was colored by militarism. By early 1916, trade periodicals were asking rhetorically whether performers were finally “tired of using War Songs”, even as the flow of such musical material increased. Vaudeville’s participatory nature made patriotic song profoundly attractive to performers, as the emotionally charged events of war in Europe perfectly suited the needs of musicians, looking to “arouse all the feeling that’s in the audience”. Whatever middle ground of sentiment “Americanism”
may have offered neutralists, it took on a decidedly militaristic spin when rendered in march-time. The use of much British and French song material and the presence of performers from those countries, also ensured that feelings were encouraged in ways that were favorable to the Allied powers. Unlike the nation’s war-time poetry, which has been characterized as ambivalent, cynical and tragic, its popular music was overwhelmingly sentimental, moralistic and patriotic. Americans did move by degrees towards war, first debating neutrality then preparedness, then the legality of a draft and finally entry into war, but the theatre geared audiences to think of battle in heroic and moral terms. When the final steps were taken to fight, Americans were more willing to embrace the war effort, despite the gory stalemate on the western front, in part because of the militarism that had for years been ringing in their ears.

WOMEN IN FRANCE

Eliot Room, 16.00

David Mastin (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre la Défense: ‘Un talent mâle’? Genders and Music during World War I. The Case of French Écoles Nationales et Conservatoires de Musique

During World War I, the mobilization of male pupils and teachers originating from the French schools of Music involved a lot of problems and changes. On the one hand, the lack of masculine elements raised the question of the ability to open the schools and continue to provide professional young musicians for orchestras or musical education after the war. On the other hand, this lack could be an opportunity for young female pupils or female teachers to achieve positions which otherwise would have been beyond reach. If nobody seriously did consider the extinction of French fine musicians – composers, singers, instrumentalists (quite the contrary: who could think that the triumph of French armies wouldn’t correspond with that of the French Music?), some wondered whether the national musical qualities would not be perverted by the feminization of the musical world, especially as the war seemed to never end. The republican dogma of equality facing the “impôt du sang” also prevented the musician-soldiers’ return. Even if one could have praised women’s qualities such as “délicatesse, clarté, sobriété” as really French musical virtues, just the opposite of “la grosse et lourde boursoufflure” of the “Musikailleries boches”, in musical education there was a paradoxical (but not general) trend to promote a return to gender order.

Admittedly, everybody knew Lili Boulanger’s precedent who had reached the top of the official musical ladder by winning the Premier Grand Prix de Rome in 1913 and others cases of successful women’s careers, in teaching for example, but nevertheless, the progress had been slow, those careers were still brief, and some unthinkable anthropologic, social and political obstacles remained impassable. Could female musicians prove they were able to get or to show “un talent mâle”? In another way: could they be “virilized”?

My proposal focuses on the study of a wide panel of French écoles nationales including the Conservatoire de Paris to see how and why World War I led or didn’t lead to female musicians’ promotion during and after the war.

Laura Hamer (Liverpool Hope University): Directing the Home-Front Spirit: Marguerite Canal and the Orchestra of the Union des Femmes Professeurs et Compositeurs de Musique

The French Prime Minister René Viviani appealed directly to women shortly after the declaration of World War One. He called rural women to the land and urban proletarian women to the factories. Thus, the responsibility of feeding the nation lay with the excess of three million women who maintained French farms during the war. In urban areas, women not only replaced men in factories, but also served as train and tram drivers. Women comprised one third of the work force in armaments, munitions, and war industries. An increased number of women were also employed in white-collar professions, particularly nursing and teaching. It was not only within industries and professions which can be seen as having had a direct impact upon France’s War Effort – such as agriculture and munitions – that women were active, however. They also contributed to cultural activities and entertainments that were intended to boost public morale or raise money for the troops. Women musicians, along with actresses and other entertainers, were particularly active within this line.
It was within this context of contributing to cultural activities as part of the Home-Front spirit that the composer Marguerite Canal directed the Orchestra of the pro-suffrage feminist group the Union des Femmes Professeurs et Compositeurs de Musique (founded in Paris in 1904 to protect the rights of women musicians). From February to May 1917, Canal directed the orchestra at a series of concerts at the Trocadéro, and throughout the autumn of 1917 and into 1918 she conducted a series of *Matinées françaises* at the Palais de Glace. This paper will consider the unique conditions of the war that allowed a woman to take on a previously male-dominated rôle: orchestral conducting.

**PARISIAN MUSICAL LIFE**

*Brontë Room, 17.00*

**Claire Paolacci (Univeristé Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne): Paris Opéra during the First World War**

On 31st July 1914, on the eve of the mobilization of the French Army, three days before the declaration of war between Germany and France, the French government forced the closure of all national theatres for an indefinite period. While the Comédie-Française and the Opéra-Comique soon reopened on 6th and 13th December 1914 respectively, the justification for reopening the Opéra de Paris was still highly contested. The majority of the Parliament as well as journalists and season-ticket holders were in favour of the theatre remaining closed for the duration of the conflict, given the high cost of running the building at a time when the staging of operas and ballets, synonymous for many with frivolity, was deemed inappropriate, especially considering how harsh conditions were for the infantrymen (“Poilus”) at the Front. The bankruptcy and consequent resignation of the directors Lémistin Broussan and André Messager on 10th July 1914 made it even harder to reopen the Opéra de Paris. However, their designated successor, Jacques Rouché, who was eager to take up his post, worked hard to get the Palais Garnier reopened, claiming that the Opéra de Paris symbolised the choreographic and musical excellence of France at both national and international level. In early 1915, he was given permission to organise four patriotic concerts at the Théâtre du Trocadéro with the artists from the Opéra. A few months later, the Palais Garnier reopened to the public and did not close again until the end of the hostilities. We aim here to study how Rouché managed to reopen the Opéra de Paris during the Great War and to what extent the artistic programmes he offered contributed to the war effort.

**Barbara Kelly (Keele University): World War I and the Parisian avant-garde: Musical Taste, Patriotism and Narratives of Rupture**

This paper focuses on avant-garde musical networks in Paris during the war. It looks at selective concert initiatives that promoted new music, for instance, the concerts at rue Huyghens, including the Lyre et Palette, and Jane Bathori’s concerts at the Vieux Colombier. It shows how musical experimentation shifted from the influential Société musicale indépendente to these smaller concerts, which often incorporated lectures, theatre and art. They relied on the commitment of prominent performers, who ensured the continued presence of new music during the war, including Jane Bathori, Marcelle Meyer, Hélène Jourdan-Morhange and Félix Délgrange. Strikingly in the programmes of the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier, new music brushed shoulders with traditional Christmas Carols and ‘Chants de la Révolution’. While the conditions of war did not paralyse musical activity, neither could organisers, such as Jane Bathori, ignore the war on their doorsteps.

The paper considers the extent to which new music in Paris was shaped by war. Certainly chamber music, often with voice, thrived, contributing to the vogue for stripped down textures and reduced forces. However, it is more difficult to account for the increasing fascination by contemporary composers for wind sonorities. With the majority of young (male) wind players on the fighting front, did their scarcity contribute to their perceived value? The existence of several societies for wind instruments may provide part of the answer. Finally, these avant-garde concerts succeeded in placing a younger generation alongside the still dominant generation of Ravel and his circle. The paper concludes by challenging the narrative that WWI caused irrevocable generational rupture.
FRENCH MUSICAL WORKS IN THE GREAT WAR Eliot Room, 17.00

Interdisciplinary research for the forthcoming Centennial exhibition Entendre la Guerre (« Listening to the War ») at the Historial de Péronne (Somme) allowed Cécile Quesney and Esteban Buch to identify some 150 musical works composed in France during 1914 and 1918. From patriotic pieces to funeral monuments, all the way through to sonic pictures of the battlefield and intimate artificial paradises, political readings of French music history and style connect with collective representations of the nation and its enemies, inviting to view war culture as an aesthetic culture, in two related papers: one, by Quesney, on Alfred Bruneau’s Les Quatre journées (see Quesney’s separate proposal); the other, by Buch, on a mélodie by Reynaldo Hahn (1874-1947) and a piano piece by Jacques Ibert (1890-1962).

Esteban Buch (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales): Listening to the Ruins and the Dead

A nos morts ignorés, composed by Hahn in Argonne en 1915, was dedicated to general Valdant, commander of the 10e Infantry Division into which the composer belonged, and whose main feat was the conquest of the Butte de Vauquois. We will argue that the many fallen soldiers without a grave are symbolically buried in this short piece, whose lyrics say: « Notre cœur est leur cimetière » (“Our heart is their cemetery”). Yet the modal ambiance of Hahn’s music diverges from the conventional patriotism of Louis Hennevé’s poetry, allowing for a musical critique of the war.

Also, Le vent dans les ruines, conceived as a “musical translation” of a devastated village near the frontline, was composed by Jacques Ibert in 1915, while serving at the Amiens hospital. We will argue that it implies a representation of the temporality of French history, which, far from the organic time dear to nationalists, puts forward the catastrophic discontinuity of war itself.

Cécile Quesney (Université Paris-Sorbonne/Université de Montréal): Alfred Bruneau’s Les Quatre journées: The Battlefield at the Opéra-Comique (1916)

This communication is part of a common research project with Esteban Buch, which focuses on French music during the Great War, and initiated while we were working on the exhibition “Entendre la guerre. Musique, sons et silences de la Première Guerre mondiale” (Historial de Péronne, 2014).

On December 1916, the Opéra-Comique gave the first performance of Les Quatre journées, a “conte lyrique” adapted by Alfred Bruneau and based on Émile Zola’s tale Les Quatre journées de Jean Gourdon, 1866. Bruneau’s “conte lyrique” takes place “in France, before, during and after the Great War”. Composed between 1908 and 1911, the first version of this opera updated Zola’s tale by situating the second act during the Franco-Prussian War. The presence of a German soldier saved by the hero, Jean, added a pacifist dimension to the tale; however, in the second version of 1916, pacifism is replaced by strong patriotism. Indeed, Frantz, the soldier saved by Jean, is no longer German: in this version, he is described as an Alsatian man conscripted in the enemy army, which enables the two characters to delve into a patriotic and warlike duet. Though the music was subjected to slight changes, the opera was not merely updated according to the naturalist principles: we argue indeed that it has been profoundly reworked, since the very meaning of the work is radically altered by the textual modifications of the second act.

Directed by Pierre-Barthélemy Gheusi, Head of the Opéra-Comique, this new opera is described in the press as “fervently patriotic”, and has benefited from magnificent décor realized from Henri Martin’s painting.

Relying both on manuscript musical scores, correspondence and Bruneau and Gheusi’s own writing, as well as on press reviews, this communication aims to analyse the reworking of Bruneau’s opera, placing it in the context of an ongoing study of the impacts the war culture had on the French musical creation.
Anna Katharina Windisch (Austrian Academy of Sciences): Scoring the eternal peace in 1918. Viennese music for the Danish silent film Pax Æterna

On March 18th 1918, the feature film Pax Æterna (DNK 1917, Holger Madsen) was screened as part of a benefit performance in the main concert hall of the Viennese Konzerthaus, an event organized by the women's committee of the Red Cross in order to raise funds for the tuberculosis relief. The music score for this performance was composed by relatively unknown Viennese Kapellmeister Franz Eber. Being shown in one of Vienna's most prestigious concert halls, the performance was undoubtedly staged as a social event and, after a successful tour through Scandinavia and other European countries, the film was warmly welcomed by the war-weary Viennese public. While Eber's score is clearly an original composition (likely due to copyright considerations), it nonetheless furnishes the peace-promoting images of the film with local musical traits, thus creating a testimony for music as an agent that can shape and confirm national identity.

The Viennese Konzerthaus holds a complete manuscript of the score and a version of the film was made available by the Danish Film Institute. By restoring the audio-visual unity of the images and the music, my paper will provide insight into the composer's approach to the film and illustrate issues such as the implementation of specific local repertoire and the treatment of sound effects. In order to put the screening in its cultural-historical perspective, I will briefly discuss the social and political circumstances surrounding the film's exhibition. I will further contextualize the performance by supplying documentation on the film's reception from newspapers and trade magazines.
BRITISH COMPOSERS (2) Auditorium, 9.30

Toby Thacker (Cardiff University): Between Conscience, Family, and Nation: Hubert Parry and the First World War

This paper will use Hubert Parry’s unpublished diary and personal papers to explore his complex reaction to the war. For an admirer of German culture, dedicated to ideals of aesthetic and ethical progress, the outbreak of war in 1914 came as a terrible shock, and Parry was pulled in conflicting directions over the next four years by his conscience, different members of his family, and his self-perceived duty to the nation as a public figure. Parry accepted in August 1914 that Britain had to oppose German militarism, but he challenged publicly prevailing views which branded all Germans as barbarians. He was pulled in the opposite direction by his son-in-law Arthur Ponsonby, the leader of the Union of Democratic Control, a radical grouping which opposed conscription and campaigned for a just, negotiated peace. Parry’s wife Maud was a leading supporter of women’s suffrage, and sometimes ‘violently anti-British’. In November 1915, Parry appeared on a Union of Democratic Control platform with his wife, his daughter, and Arthur Ponsonby, at a public meeting which was broken up by uniformed soldiers. Throughout the war, Parry was tortured by the fate of his students, including Vaughan-Williams, Howells, and Gurney, who felt enormous pressure to enlist, and he sought to counsel them. In March 1916 he was asked to write music for the patriotic ‘Fight for Right’ campaign. The resulting anthem, Jerusalem, quickly became a popular favourite, but in 1917 Parry withdrew from ‘Fight for Right’, dedicating Jerusalem instead to the Women’s Suffrage movement. In 1918, Parry called for moderation in the future treatment of a defeated Germany. He died before the war ended, the last years of his life epitomising the fate of a sensitive musician appalled by the violence unleashed in 1914.

Adèle Commins (Dundalk Institute of Technology): 'Per astra ad aspera': Stanford and the First World War

The composer Charles Villiers Stanford recognised the impact that the First World War had, not only on the economic, social and personal lives of people, but on the music and musicians of the period. Informed by his own experience, with many students away at war, he wrote that ‘the war of 1914 has brought a convulsion in the world of music’. At a time when his financial position was in threat due to the nature of his employment at the Royal College of Music, letters to The Times highlight his views on the cancellation of the Birmingham Festival, while his membership of the Music in War Time Committee of the Professional Classes War Relief Council demonstrates his concern for the welfare of musicians. On a personal level, Stanford was anxious for his children and children of friends due to their involvement in the activities of the war, while his own health also suffered at this time.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many of Stanford’s compositional choices at this time reflect the conditions he found himself in and bore the imprints of war. Some works sought to express the horrors of war, with some dedicated to those who lost their lives, while others were motivated by a need to create works that could and would be performed, thus generating an income during this difficult period.

This paper will consider the impact that the war had on various aspects of Stanford’s life, focusing in particular on his compositional output. His response to war in his music will be examined, and motifs and ideas, some of which include overt references to the turmoil of war will be highlighted. This will demonstrate that, while the war had a negative impact on many aspects of his lifestyle, that it provided a new source of inspiration to his compositional style.

Christopher Scheer (Utah State University): Dancing at the Rebirth of the World: Holst’s Hymn of Jesus and the First World War

Gustav Holst’s The Hymn of Jesus (1917), written directly after the tragedy of the Battle of the Somme is rarely referred to as a “war” piece. However, doing so can help to explain what some commentators have called the “mystical” elements of work. To accomplish this I will place the piece into two overlapping contexts. First the Hymn will be situated in period understanding of the Gnostic
thought (an early form of mystic Christianity) from which the text derives. This consideration provides rationale for reading the *Hymn* as a metaphorical network of examples with a pedagogical intention. Second, and more importantly, I will argue that Holst’s setting of *The Hymn of Jesus* is meant as the artistic evocation of a strain of thought that believed the war was an agent for the rebirth of humankind, and that the experience of collective suffering would usher in a new golden age of unity and peace. One of the principal proponents of this view, which was also shared widely by Theosophists and others who interpreted human experiences through what the scholar Alex Owen has called “enchantment,” was the Gnostic scholar, and former Theosophical Society member, G. R. S. Mead, a co-translator of the *Hymn of Jesus* text. Holst himself was part of the culture of enchantment, growing up in a Theosophical household, frequenting the Theosophical library in London’s Tavistock Square, and lecturing before Mead’s Quest Society.

What emerges from this contextualization of the text and music of the *Hymn of Jesus* is that the piece is no less than an admonition to all humankind to find joy in the shared suffering and sacrifice of war. This provides an important counterpoint to artistic evocations from wartime that is often interpreted as empty nationalism or laments for the meaninglessness and futility of the war.

**Sheet Music Auditorium, 11.30**


When War broke out in 1914, the bottom fell out of the music market and music publishing and record companies faced imminent bankruptcy if they could not replace their traditional fare with topical patriotic material to match the mood of the moment. In the UK and across the Empire, notably Australia and Canada, a plethora of popular patriotic ballads appeared and were at first focused on recruiting songs and later celebrated specific events or came from popular war-related stage shows of the day. At the beginning the best-known recruiting songs were often disseminated by newspapers and championed by leading singers of the day. Owing to the huge number of such songs that were published we have forgotten most of them, and in addition many were not printed and only survive as recordings.

Illustrated with a large number of sheet music covers and selected contemporary 78rpm recordings, this paper views a range of publications and examines the themes highlighted by this vivid tradition, and, viewing them chronologically across the period 1914-18, demonstrates how the character of this song repertoire, and its illustrators, reflects the changing mood of the war and the transition from the generally accepted government line of patriotic fervour to resignation and escapism.

*Paul Fraunfelter (Library of Congress): World War I Sheet Music at the Library of Congress: America’s War, as Viewed by Publishers and the Public*

In summer 2014, the Library of Congress Music Division will release online 14,000 pieces of World War I classified (M1646) sheet music. Principally confined to the years of the United States’ involvement in the war (1917-18), there are three types of material; commercially published songs, songs from vanity publishers and self-published songs in manuscript.

Included in this material one finds the anticipated body of home-and-hearth songs, patriotic songs and propaganda songs, - vilifying Germany and Kaiser Wilhelm, indicting unrestricted submarine warfare and instilling support for national policy, for President Woodrow Wilson and for America’s allies. There are also songs that uniquely represent American realities, including, the identity of a nation eager to assert itself as a new world power, the export of American culture, duplicitous characterizations of racial and ethnic groups (e.g., for every “Negro Yanks”, there’s a “When Sambo Meets the Hun”) and continued efforts to mend divisions of the American Civil War, fifty years after its end.
These topics remain consistent whether a given song was penned by a professional or an amateur songwriter. However, many other characteristics of the songs were strongly influenced by the professional/amateur divide. There are significant differences between, on the one hand, the commercially viable songs of Tin Pan Alley and the songs provided by authors who paid “pulpers” of the vanity press to provide tunes and publish, and, on the other hand, the songs in manuscript and self-published, many of which were written by women. To name one important difference: While publishers dispensed songs meant to instill a national consciousness, amateur songwriters, in many instances, produced songs of personal experience. It is these amateur songs, known only because they were submitted to the Library of Congress, which provide a window of understanding into how the American public perceived and experienced the war.

**OPERA Auditorium, 14.15**

Mark Fitzgerald (DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama): Arlecchino ‘the philosophic mocker and raiisonneur of the World War’: Busoni’s Wartime Opera

In Berlin in 1913 surrounded by an atmosphere of increasing militarism Busoni began sketching the libretto for his opera *Arlecchino*. In March 1914 he added some more material to the sketch but it was only with the outbreak of war that Busoni took up the libretto again, completing it in October 1914. The work was then temporarily laid aside as he began to write a second opera libretto, this time on the subject of Faust. The text of *Arlecchino*, a one-act comedy is set in a Bergamo populated by commedia dell’arte figures but while the central events are drawn from the stock tales of deceived husband and philandering hero (with as much lampooning of romantic opera as romantic notions of fidelity), Busoni also uses his characters to satirise nationalistic and militaristic ideas and ambitions.

By the time Busoni came to write the music, *Arlecchino* had taken on a much darker meaning, as Busoni himself realised when he re-read the text in 1915. Busoni’s sense of loss at the level of cultural destruction wrought by the war was brought to a head in 1916 with the death of his friend, the artist, Umberto Boccioni. When *Arlecchino* was premiered in 1917 Busoni was exiled not just from the Italy of his birth, but also from his adopted Germany where, with the harnessing of culture to propagandistic ends, Busoni found his work under attack, most notably by Hans Pfitzner.

This paper examines *Arlecchino* within its wartime context and the extent to which Busoni intended to make a political statement with this work will be evaluated.

Amanda Hsieh (University of Toronto): Between Opera and Psychoanalysis: Zemlinsky, Berg, Schreker, and the First World War

The conventional Schoenbergian historical trajectory has had an impact on the development of later compositional and scholarly discourses in North American institutions such as UCLA where Schoenberg and his followers held professorships; it has also influenced our understanding of the music that has appeared to be ‘lacking’ the essential qualities of Viennese Modernism. Yet, this paper argues, it will be equally legitimate to define Viennese Modernism as exhibiting a more diverse nature, in terms of characteristics of expressivity, accessibility, timbre, and melody – terms that would suggest a very different historical narrative.

Through examining Schoenberg’s contemporaries Alexander Zemlinsky, Franz Schreker, and Alban Berg who wrote in a more readily-gratifying style, I seek to turn the Schoenbergian paradigm around. By focusing on the era of World War I when the tensions of racial politics had not yet reached their pivotal point, I also allow space for a ‘Viennese Modernism’ outside of discourses on totalitarianism and World War II. I examine specifically operas that feature protagonists normally considered weak and unseemly, thus providing a timely antiwar reflection on ‘heroism’ – Zemlinsky’s *A Florentine Tragedy* (1917), Schreker’s *Die Gezeichneten* (1914), and Berg’s *Wozzeck* (1925) portray respectively a sadistic murderer, a deformed dwarf, and a mentally unstable soldier, each lacking the elements expected of a conventional hero. I draw on Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalytical theory in my investigation of their ‘lack’, and develop a vocabulary for musical affect and the socio-cultural environment. I borrow from Freud’s theory of the ‘Unconscious’ that gave unprecedented
emphasis to sound via the symptomatic voices of patients in ‘talking cures’, and to narrative via the form of the case study. I therefore explore Freudian psychoanalysis’s expressive potential to yield an anti-masculinist insight into the city’s musical achievements and the narrative dimensions of our construction of histories of the era.

Patricia Hall (University of Michigan): Wozzeck and World War I

Alban Berg enlisted in the Austrian army on August 15th, 1915, taking a copy of Büchner’s Woyzeck with him to basic training. He had begun his new opera the previous summer, sketching a few initial themes in a sketchbook he had used for the Three Orchestral Pieces, Opus 6. He did not complete any significant work on the opera until the summer of 1918, when he received a seven-week leave from military duty and was able to finish Act I, scene 2 (Wozzeck and Andres in the Field), and Act II, scene 2 (Wozzeck, the Captain and the Doctor). By this time, Berg completely identified with his protagonist, not only in the senselessness of his military duties, but in the treatment he had received from military doctors. He would soon experience dire poverty as well. Berg described his service in the Department of the War Ministry as “2 ½ years, daily service from 8 in the morning until 6-7 evenings…under a frightful superior (an idiotic drunk!) Humiliated during these years of suffering, not composing a note.” (Ironically, his superior also had the rank of Captain, or Hauptmann.) Particularly the scenes that Berg chose to compose first make direct reference to Berg’s experiences in the military, including Austrian military signals at the end of Act I, scene 2.

Drawing on archival material from the Austrian National Library, including Berg’s medical records during the war, sketches of trench warfare, unpublished correspondence and musical sketches, this paper traces Berg’s changing attitudes toward World War I and how they are projected in the music of Wozzeck.

PROPAGANDA AND PATRIOTISM Eliot Room, 14.15

Georgina Binns (University of Melbourne): For Auld Lang Syne! Australia Will Be There: Australian Popular Sheet Music as Propaganda and Motivator during WW1

This paper examines the use of music by and for Australians, for propaganda and motivation during WW1 and the concurrent rise of the patriotic song genre. At the outset of war in 1914, Australian popular music reflected a prevailing national spirit. Such spirit had been engendered by the federation of colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, and also reflected contemporary culture including music, decorative and fine arts, and literature. Understandably, national sentiment often required reconciliation with underlying patriotism associated with a nation fighting as part of the British Empire. This patriotism is examined by analysing the popular sheet music genre composed and published in Australia during WW1. The music, lyrics and images depicted on this music played a dual role of propaganda and motivator on the Australian home front. The popularisation of such sheet music, largely Australian composed, was propelled by the domestic music-making scene with fundraising concerts and pantomimes, singing at schools and homes around the piano, recruitment meetings and marches.

Marie Sophie Hingst (Trinity College Dublin): “Rosa, wir fahren nach Lodz”: Fritz Löhner-Beda and his Music of War

The conflict that began in August 1914 mobilized more than 65 million troops, destroyed three empires, caused more than 20 million military and civilian deaths and nearly the same number of wounded. World War I was, as the historiographer Fritz Stern put it, the first calamity of the twentieth century, the calamity from which all other calamities sprang. As so many Jewish authors, artists and musicians, the Austrian composer Fritz Löhner-Beda (1883 – 1942) was swept up by the initial enthusiasm for the war. The famous and popular author of many couplets, satiric songs and chansons fought for the war behind his desk of various military institutions. Till mid 1916 he published nearly every week a poem concerning the actual situation using all possible stereotypes to denounce the
enemy in the *Wiener Sonntags- und Montagszeitung*. But in the very same year 1916 it is Fritz Löhner-Beda who together with the composer Artur Marcell Werau (1887-1931) wrote the extraordinary Anti-War song *Rosa, wir fahren nach Lodz* (*Rosa, we are going to Lodz*) that became highly popular and was played, sung and understood as entertainment as well as a satiric weapon all over the Hapsburg Empire and beyond. Rosa, as the name might easily suggest was not a forgotten bride or lover at home but a highly modern cannon type used at the frontlines.

In my planned presentation I want to link the biography and impressive career of the nearly forgotten songwriter Fritz Löhner-Beda, who was one of the unchallenged stars of the 1920es and died in Auschwitz, with the history of the Anti-war song *Rosa, wir fahren nach Lodz*. Both the history of Löhner’s life and the complex history of the song are explanatory examples for the deep changes caused by the war, where music implied the search for identities as well as may be understood as a possible relief to be able to bear the cruelties of the war.

*Robert Burns (University of Otago): ‘When This Bloody War Is Over’: New Perspectives on the World War One Folk Music Canon*

Many traditional British folk songs contain lyrics concerning the subject of warfare. These songs often have interchangeable lyrics that can be varied depending on a particular war, a current monarch or an individual hero. While the Roud Index and The Full English Collection digital archives contain over nineteen thousand folk songs about wars waged by Britain and its allies, there are comparatively few composed specifically about World War One. Songs such as ‘The Somme’ and ‘When This Bloody War Is Over’ are well known in the folk canon, and the collection, ‘Tommy’s Tunes’ (1917) provides an insight into some of the songs (both ‘popular and ‘folk’) that were sung during the war. Many songs, however, had origins in popular music or were remnants of folk songs from previous wars. Equally, in the period following the war, few, if any, folk–orientated or popular songs referred to the subject, as if to draw a curtain over the human catastrophe that had just occurred.

To provide a new folk music perspective on the combination of patriotism and national identity, this paper explores songs about the Great War that have been composed, or rearranged, by singers and performers of the late twentieth and early twenty–first centuries. In particular, those by the folk trio Coope, Boyes and Simpson, which has released three albums of songs relating to the war – ‘Passchendaele Suite’ (1996), ‘Christmas Truce / Kerstbestand’ (1999) and ‘Private Peaceful: The Concert’ (2006). The trio released a further recording, ‘In Flanders Fields’ in 2014. By examining lyrics (which carry particular weight in folk-traditions) in newly composed folk songs on the topic, I propose that a contemporary viewpoint can be drawn, reflecting WWI’s ability to instil powerful emotion, nostalgia and patriotism, despite having occurred a century ago. This is particularly pertinent given that the war occurred at a time when music could be recorded and folk songs were being collected by scholars and enthusiasts. By studying the limited number of traditional folk songs sung during the First World War, I aim to establish how new folk–influenced songs draw on historical elements to create a new World War One folk canon.

*Erik Satie and WWI Brontë Room, 16.15*

*Caroline Potter (Kingston University): Erik Satie and Performance Spaces in Paris during World War I*

Performance spaces are a little-explored area of Satie scholarship, yet they are key to a full understanding of his music. As many of the major Paris venues were closed during the First World War, composers and other artists had to be imaginative in seeking out alternative venues for public presentation of their work. The use of these private or semi-private spaces – including artists’ studios, galleries and couture houses – exemplifies the adage that adversity can be a stimulus for new ideas. These small venues were ideally suited to the intimate quality of Satie’s music: his piano works are witty, allusive and often provide additional challenges to performers in the form of in-score texts. While these texts raise novel performance practice questions, his piano music completely lacks conventional virtuosic display qualities. Indeed, Satie does not always intend his music to be the focus
of attention. This paper will explore some of the many non-traditional spaces in which Satie’s music was performed, including the Galerie Barbazanges, in the 8th arrondissement, and 6 rue Huyghens in Montparnasse. I draw on little-known sources including the memoirs of the Swiss artist Emile Lejeune, owner of a studio at 6 rue Huyghens. Many authors, not least the historian of photography Billy Klüver, have shown that these locations facilitated interdisciplinary connections, bringing together composers, visual artists and writers. Klüver’s meticulous research on the floor plan of the Galerie Barbazanges opens up new lines of inquiry about the use of this space for concerts and multimedia events. The venues also served as meeting points for the artistic avant-garde and high society. Focusing on Satie’s musique d’ameublement (furniture music), I will propose that wartime performance spaces had a significant impact on the composer’s work.

Ann-Marie Hanlon: Erik Satie the Anti-Patriot: Issues of Wartime Concert Programming

In wartime Paris, concert-going life underwent quite radical change with the closure of most public concert halls and a return to a more private, salon-style concert culture, which was often motivated by charitable intent. Private salons became increasingly important to Erik Satie on account of the support they provided for contemporary music and it was in these venues that he met many of his future artistic collaborators and patrons. Satie was a controversial figure in this period: he refused to participate in the union sacrée of composers and his most significant wartime composition, Parade, a collaboration with Picasso, Massine and Cocteau, provoked critical ire in a period of heightened conservatism. Musical discourses were profoundly influenced by nationalist concerns and following the premiere of Parade, Satie was instantly cast as an anti-patriot. Accusations that his music was anti-French had significant implications for his reputation. In this paper I explore the sixteen extant wartime concert programmes that contained performances of Satie’s music and investigate how these programmes reflected contemporary concerns of nationalism, in addition to changing programming practices. Due to the lack of critical reviews of Satie’s music in the war years, these concert programmes provide a valuable insight into his musical activities at this time and reveal a great deal about the influence of nationalist ideologies on wartime concert life and Satie’s public reputation.

SOLDIER SONGS FROM THE CENTRAL POWERS Eliot Room, 16.15

Reinhard Johler (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen): “Westlich Langemarck”: The Significance and Collection of Battle Songs in the German Empire during the First World War

On 11 November 1914, the German High Command reported, "West of Langemarck, young regiments broke forward with the song 'Deutschland, Deutschland, überv alles' against the front line of enemy positions and took them." Despite the contradictory reality of heavy losses, this report was repeated on the front pages of newspapers across Germany as propaganda and this “victory” quickly became a myth of self-sacrificing German youth.

This same report also had a direct impact on war music. The German military command was quick to recognize the significance of battle songs for propaganda and patriotism. This is also reflected in the estimated 20 million plus song books that were distributed to German troops during WWI. The military command employed the Verband deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde [the League of German Societies for Folklore] to assist in the selection of songs, thus mobilizing a group of folk-song collectors, which had been a relatively small until then. War and its battlefields quickly became a site for field research for them. Were not battle songs – firmly rooted in the romantic tradition – revitalizing tradition? Or if not, then a new cultural creation – in which the military played a significant role in its creation? How do trench warfare and the high amount of causalities change the singing of soldiers? What was an "authentic" battle song and what was just a "Schlager" [one-time hit]? How did singing help ease the soldiers’ war-fatigue?

Apart from these questions, a fundamental assumption remains unchallenged: While French soldiers only sang operettas and their English comrades-in-arms popular ditties, maintaining "authentic” battle songs became a unique characteristic of the German military.
For these reasons, massive academic collections of "German folksongs" began in 1915 at the initiative of the *deutschen Volksliedarchiv* [German Folksong Archive]. As a result, numerous songs sung on the front were a main focus of the collection effort. They were to be published during the war, but to be mainly evaluated after the war. German's defeat in WWI prevented this goal from being achieved and as a result the collections have mostly just been stored in various archives without ever being evaluated. They share the same fate as the collection of battle songs from the Austro-Hungarian Army which began 1915. This collection lead to the founding of the Imperial and Royal Minister of War's Collection Agency for Musical History in 1916. Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodaly were two of the most prominent employees of the Collection Agency for the Hungarian territory.

That is why the focus here is on the significance and the collection of German (and Austrian) battle songs. However, this is done in comparison with Italy, France and Great Britain.

**Christian Liebl & Gerda Lechleitner (Austrian Academy of Sciences): Soldier Songs of the Austro-Hungarian Army – A Collection of the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv**

Late in 1915, the Austro-Hungarian ministry of war entrusted the *Phonogrammarchiv* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna, the world’s first sound archive (founded in 1899), with the systematic phonographic recording of soldier songs. The aim of this undertaking did not seem to have been the creation of acoustic sources for research purposes – otherwise the prime objective of the *Phonogrammarchiv*; rather, the mission was probably carried out in order to preserve ‘intangible cultural heritage’ and promote the idea of unity in view of the impending collapse of the multi-ethnic state.

The reserve regiments were chosen with a view of enabling the recording of preferably all the languages spoken on the territory of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and both the singers and the repertoire were selected in advance. Recording took place throughout Austria-Hungary between January and May 1916, resulting in a corpus of eighty items in twelve different languages – virtually a sonic representation of that multi-national past. Each language is represented by between two and nine examples, with a telling preponderance of recordings in German (19 in total), the tongue of the ruling classes. The songs, mostly marching songs – sung in four or three voices but also solo – are partly accompanied by e.g. the violin, guitar or even by a brass band. They are often patriotic and militant, full of propaganda and nationalist sentiments, but also quite melancholy and emotional at times.

The paper will focus on the idea why and how this collection of soldier songs was created. We will also discuss the role of this musical genre during wartime, its specific characteristics, as well as the similarities and differences (both linguistic and musical) exemplified by the songs in our corpus. Finally, an attempt will be made to assess the ‘meaning’ of that collection from today’s point of view.
PRISONERS OF WAR Auditorium, 10.30

Rainer Pöppinghege (Paderborn University): Chants in Camps – Prisoners of War and their Music

One of the most popular activities among Prisoners of War and civilian internees was any kind of music, either singing by themselves or performing „live acts“ on stage. Many camps were provided with a camp theatre or even camp orchestra consisting of more or less ambitious resp. professional musicians.

This paper on the basis of camp magazines, theatre programmes and unpublished sources looks at the various kinds of musical activities and tries to analyse in how far music served therapeutic purposes in order to overcome the so called barbed wire disease. Therefore the conditions under which musical activities could be pursued or were prohibited will be an object of interest, too. Even more difficult is the question of whether or how music contributed to strengthen nationalist feelings far from home in the hands of the enemy. In this context another question seems to be relevant: did the repertoire represent the contemporary musical taste of the home country or did the prisoners develop a particular „camp taste“? The paper will mostly deal with German Pows and civilian internees, while French and British Pow will be looked at alongside.

Jutta Raab Hansen: Music in Internment Camps for Germans on the Isle of Man during WWI

During World War One, the nations, involved in warfare, interned for the first time male civilians. Therefore those who just happened to be in the wrong country at the wrong time, were interned by the British authorities. At 22th of September 2014 the first 200 internees arrived already on the Isle of Man, but finally 26,000 fit for combat Germans, Austria-Hungarians and some Turks were brought to the Island situated in the Irish Sea. Accommodated in two huge camps, divided in 23 smaller compounds, guarded and surrounded with barbed wire, the internees were provided with the basics and charged to organize their daily life, spent in wooden huts, on their own. Not surprisingly boredom became the main problem for the interned civilians. A possibility of making the best out of being confined to the camp was singing, playing music or listening to it.

Records and record players were unavailable and the radio had not been invented yet. Thus concerts by symphony orchestras, brass bands and chamber music, solo Recitals or choirs were performed for entertainment. Even dancing at Vienna-style Café house music, operettas or music at theatre performances were available. For religious people Christian or Shabbat services, performed by professional and amateur musicians were covering the yearly circle of festivities. Homesick foreigners in GB could console themselves with patriotic songs and even celebrated their emperor’s birthday. Professional musicians composed and arranged music for certain ensembles and delivered instrumental parts for all kinds. By contrast at the same time people in Germany looked down at the internees for not mustering the courage it takes to fight for their country. Yet the irony of the story: Nearly all of the internees survived, were many agitated nationalist paid with their lives.

Carlo Perucchetti (read by Giovanni Varelli): Italian Musicians and Music Practice in Concentration Camps during the First World War: The case of Cellelager.

The presence of music practice in concentration camps is widely documented and numerous are the traces left by Italian musicians e.g. drawings, diaries, notebooks, photographs, letters and even, albeit less frequently, proper musical compositions. The largest part of the documentation dates to the period after the Caporetto battle (late October 1917), but we have traces of a significant musical activity for the preceding years too. Concentration camps in Mauthausen, Celle, Sigmundsherberg and Katzenau are among those centres providing the richest quantity of source material.

From late October 1917 some 2500 Italian Officers were deported to the Celle Lager, near Hannover. There, in the camp's four blocks, many compositions were performed. This was made possible since the spring of 1918 by the arrival of food supplies from their families, which ensured to the prisoners a decent living. We know from original documentation that in the Celle camp the majority of Italian musicians were amateurs, while only a few were professionals. The latter left relevant written records and were usually responsible for the organisation of musical events involving
orchestras, which presented considerably varied instrumental programmes. Musicians in the C Block performed under the maestro di banda (band conductor) Agenore Berardi, while the founder and main supporter of the group was the conductor, pianist and composer Capt. Giuseppe Denti. Beside his activity as a composer, Denti catalogues and reorders the volumes of the camp’s music library, rearranges various operas for the available instrumental ensembles, keeps detailed records of the performances and compiles the inventory of the instruments bought with the money raised by officers.

The paper will consist of three parts: the first is a general introduction on Italian musicians in concentration camps, the second will be about case of the Celle officers camp and the last will be focused on Capt. Giuseppe Denti as leading figure of the camp’s musical scene.

**AT THE FRONT**  
**Eliot Room, 10.30**

**Johanna de Schmidt (University of Heidelberg): ‘La seule chose qui me manque est un bon piano’: The Creation of Musical Instruments on the Western Front**

The sound of the Western Front during the First World War is usually associated with shotgun blast, the roar of artillery shell and, generally speaking, with an extreme sonority. Hence, the idea of instrumental music outside the official military bands in this very particular battlefield – characterized by the interminable trenches – might appear at first glance rather unlikely. But the presence of musical instruments, and especially self-made instrumental objects produced only with the material available on-side, was more widespread and varied than is widely assumed today. Therefore, it is the aim of this paper to illuminate the creation of musical instruments in the trenches of the Western Front.

Based on a wide selection of source material, including over a dozen of instruments created on the Front itself, diaries, notebooks and letters of soldiers as well as a large amount of photographs, I argue that musical instruments not only enabled soldiers to play music during their stay in the trenches, but that these objects were also critical components of soldiers’ lives. The paper focusses on a particular group of historical actors, French soldiers who used to be professional musicians in their civilian life, and discuss their relation to their instruments created in the trenches. Apparently, these musical instruments were not only highly valued by their possessors, but sometimes even seen as a comrade, a fellow sufferer in the pernicious environment of the Western Front. By finally using one particularly well documented cello as a case study, I’ll show the tight relationship between the soldiers and their respective instruments exemplarily.

**Thomas Greenshields: The Pipes at War 1914-1918**

The paper will examine the role and effectiveness of the pipes in the Highland regiments, in training at home and in theatre overseas, both on the battlefield and behind the lines. This subject was addressed in outline by Seton and Grant in 1920, but despite their appraisal much mythology persists. This paper will completely re-examine the issue through an exhaustive study of the large collection of original letters, diaries and recollections held in regimental museums, the Liddle Collection, the IWM and other collections.

The paper will start by examining the extent to which pipers and pipe-bands were retained in the war, including the efforts made to retain them in existing battalions and constitute them in the New Army.

It will demonstrate their uses during training at home, illustrating the continuance of peacetime practice. It will then consider how the pipes were used in theatre, comparing the mythology with the reality. It will show how the practice of using the pipes in battle was largely stopped but continued in some battalions or theatres. It will show how the pipes nevertheless played an important role behind the lines, for example in supporting long marches and in piping men to and from the trenches. It will show how also, as far as possible, the routine practices associated with training at home were continued behind the lines.

It will go on to examine from their own words what the pipes really meant to the officers and men and will relate these thoughts to a wider model of morale. In particular it will examine the extent to which the pipes contributed to building morale through reinforcing self-image and group identity. It
will conclude with a statement of the contribution made by the pipes to the effectiveness of the Highland soldier.

Rupert Marshall-Luck: ‘It seemed that out of battle I escaped’: Frederick Kelly’s ‘Gallipoli’ Sonata

Frederick Septimus Kelly was born in 1881 in Australia and first came to the United Kingdom when he began his schooling at Eton College. Although a notable rower – he won a Gold Medal for Britain in the 1908 London Olympic Games – he was also a highly gifted composer, mostly active in the genres of song, solo piano music and chamber music. His Violin Sonata in G minor was written for Jelly d’Aranyi, a violinist of Hungarian descent who also inspired such composers as Elgar and Vaughan Williams, and was composed in 1915 in Kelly’s tent at Gallipoli, hence the work’s appellation. Kelly wrote the Sonata not to express the horrors of war but rather to articulate his memories of the country in which he had spent his formative years and which had fostered his intellectual and creative development. Whilst his recollections may have been influenced by his privileged upbringing and the environments and social circles in which he moved, the work is nevertheless a powerful reminder of the means by which some of those on the front lines retained a sense of balance, enabling them to survive the psychological traumas inherent in warfare, if not to elude them completely. This paper will describe the history surrounding the ‘Gallipoli’ Sonata, from the circumstances that led to its composition and its dedication to the recent rediscovery of the manuscript in Florence and its housing in the National Library of Australia; and will explore some of the compositional techniques used by Kelly to express his idyllic remembrances and which enable listeners to the Sonata to engage with the imagery the composer sought to create. The discussion could, if desired, be illustrated with live performances of extracts from the score.

FRENCH PUBLICATIONS Auditorium, 12.15

Any Holland-Barry: La Gazette des Classes du Conservatoire National: Lili Boulanger and French Musical Identities during World War I

At the outbreak of the First World War, many French musicians from the Conservatoire de Musique were drafted to the front. Composer Lili Boulanger dedicated herself to the wartime effort by corresponding with these drafted colleagues, sending them care packages as well as editing their compositions. Boulanger’s individual project became wider in scope when, together with her sister Nadia, she created, edited, and published the La Gazette des classes du Conservatoire under the auspices of the Comité Franco-Américain. The Gazette (1915–1918) connected over three hundred Conservatoire musicians-turned-soldiers and established a resource for them to stay abreast of musical activity, share information about their lives and music, and receive moral encouragement.

Largely unexplored by historians or musicologists, the Gazette not only documents French musicians’ widely different experiences with music-making at the front, but also shows how the instability and horrors of World War I initiated and redefined volatile conceptions of French musical identities. Furthermore, Lili Boulanger’s role as editor mobilized the popular gendered wartime concept of the marraine de guerre (godmother of war) in a new, musical manifestation to give herself wartime agency as an influential member of the Comité. My analysis of Boulanger’s creation of and leadership in the Gazette calls for a new application of this historical and cultural phenomenon to the musical world.

Using primary source material I gathered at the Bibliothèque national de France, I will examine how soldiers understood music as vital to both French national memory and cultural identities and I will explore the gendered wartime implications of Boulanger’s position as editor. My arguments expand upon those posited by Jane Fulcher and Jann Pasler in their studies of musical institutional factions. I add critical nuance to their claims by examining lesser-known musicians’ and Boulanger’s contributions to defining French musical identities during the war.
Stéphan Etcharry (Université de Reims): Preparing a New Artistic World during the Great War: Music in the French Avant-Garde Art Magazine SIC (1916-1919)

The French Avant-Garde magazine *SIC* was founded, edited and directed by Pierre Albert-Birot (1876-1967) in Paris, between January 1916 and December 1919. Its title is an acronym for *Sons Idées Couleurs, Formes* (Sounds Ideas Colors, Forms) and, simultaneously, a reference to the Latin word “thus”. It was dedicated to writings and drawings dealing with Modernism, Futurism, Cubism, Surrealism and Dadaism. *SIC* can be considered as “a perfect instance of the interconnection of the various avant-garde movements” during World War I (catalogue *ars libri*, Princeton University). The Cubist poets (Apollinaire, Jacob, Salmon, Cendrars), nascent Dada and Surrealist artists (Aragon, Breton, Picabia, Reverdy, Soupault, Tristan Tzara), and Italian Futurists all claimed, as well as Pierre Albert-Birot: “Let us be modern; […] For each time, its own art” [« Soyons modernes; […] À chaque temps son art »] (« Banalités », *SIC*, n° 2, February 1916, back of cover). Apart from poetry, literature, theater, architecture, sculpture, painting, furniture and decoration, music plays a significant role in this magazine. Indeed, its presence appears through aphorisms, critics, announcements of concerts, and musical supplements (scores) in the various issues covering the last three years of the Great War (1916-1918). What is, precisely, the place dedicated to music in a magazine dealing, above all, with literature and plastic arts, but which also claims the sound dimension through the first initial letter of its acronym? Who writes about music and how? Did composers and musicians write themselves in this periodic publication? What musical aesthetics arise, and in what way? Did this review have an impact on the Parisian musical scene during World War I? The aim of this communication is to answer these different questions.

**CABARET** Eliot Room, 12.15

Vanessa Williams (University of Pennsylvania): 'There'll be trouble if you dare send me more patriotic songs': the First World War in London's music halls

At the turn of the twentieth century, variety theatre and music halls flourished in Britain. Brief sketches, bawdy humour, and social commentary were the order of the day, with celebrity artists and an ever-increasing respectability cemented by the first Royal Variety Performance in 1912. During the war, the music halls provided entertainment for civilians and troops alike, with the stock characters and musical tropes of the music hall sphere becoming pressed into service for the war effort. Perceptions of the music halls as bastions for superficial patriotism, jingoism and purely nationalistic sentiment are founded in analysis of many of the famous music hall songs from the era. Yet consideration of some of the main music hall institutions and the ways in which they were put to use during the war can lead to a complication of the politics of the music halls, through consideration of the ambiguities of representation of the dichotomies of public and private, soldier and civilian, actor and audience member, on their stages. In this paper I will survey some of the acts appearing on London’s music hall stages during the First World War, using press reports from the time to piece together a more detailed picture of the assemblage of opinions that surrounded this increasingly complicated style of entertainment.

Daniel Morat (Free University Berlin): Home-Front Entertainment: Popular Music and Patriotism in Berlin 1914-1918

In the years prior to the outbreak of the First World War, Berlin witnessed a remarkable boom of its entertainment industry and especially of popular music performed in operetta theatres and on cabaret stages, in dance halls and on public places. This upswing of popular music was closely tied to Berlin’s rise to the status of metropolis (“Welstadt”) and it was fostered by an intensive international exchange of musical styles, artists, and formats. At the same time, popular songs and *Gassenhauer* were often ironic in style and mocking towards the authorities. Both of this changed in the summer of 1914. During the first weeks of the war, most of popular music was silenced in favor of patriotic marches and hymns, then operetta theatres reopened with new patriotic and nationalistic programs.
Clearly, many popular music performances during the war were meant to lift spirits on the home-front and to keep the residents of the imperial capital supportive of the war. But can wartime performances of popular music in Berlin simply be subsumed to the war effort on the home-front? Did the popular songs and Gassenhauer really lose all of their wit and irony towards the state and the military? Or could they also be used to express dissent and a growing war-weariness? The paper will answer these questions by taking a closer look at wartime operettas and cabaret programs as well as popular music performances on public places and Gassenhauer sung on the streets. By following the course of the four war years, it will retrace the development from early war enthusiasm towards a growing war-weariness, which can also be found in the seemingly uplifting popular music of wartime Berlin.

COMMEMORATION AND AFTERLIVES Auditorium, 14.15

Beverly J. Evans (State University of New York at Geneseo): ‘Ah! C’est la guerre’: Life and Afterlife of French WW I Music

Whether patriotic ditty or dissident’s anthem, wartime music provides clear testimonial to the importance of melody and text in times of conflict. It also reminds us that no war, no matter how just, escapes the moral scrutiny of society. In the case of the Great War, which introduced the world to weapons of nightmarish capability, carefree popular ballads often stood shoulder to shoulder with somber lyrics that called attention to the tragedy unfolding in the trenches. In its initial phase, the proposed presentation will examine a sampling of French music and lyrics of the Great War in order to repertory recurrent themes, language, and styles. Commentary on songs such as “‘Ah! C’est la guerre’, ‘En avant les p’tits gars’, and ‘Chanson de Craonne’ will address the role that these widely disseminated works played as entertainment, propaganda, and emotional outlet for both poilus and civilians.

The presentation’s second phase will take up the role of music during wartime and explore why the Great War resurfaced as a theme of French popular music in the late 1950’s and continues to assert its presence to this day. A surprising number of contemporary artists have recorded World War I-themed songs, such as ‘La Guerre de 14-18’ (Brassens, 1962; Le Forestier, 2005), ‘Jaurès’ (Brel, 1977), ‘Verdun’ (Sardou, 1979; Joyet, 2005), ‘Le No Man’s Land’ (Bachelet, 1985), ‘Tranchée 1914’ (Misanthrope, 2000), and ‘La Chanson de Craonne’ (Les Amis de la Femme, 2005; Pierron, 2008). What social phenomena might account for this? The urge to memorialize? The need to fine-tune national identity? The desire to atone for guilt associated with more recent conflicts? The proposed presentation will speculate on why World War I, in particular, has maintained a remarkable hold on the themes of French popular song, thus resulting in a century-long afterlife.

John Francis Moss (Bangor University): Music within Wartime Anglican Liturgies: Identity Beyond Remembrance

On Sunday 2nd August 1914, just two days before the declaration of war, the Archbishop of Canterbury preached in Westminster Abbey, stating it was ‘just conceivable that for us in England the storm-cloud will roll by unbroken’. Nevertheless, at the same time he and other senior Anglican liturgists, as representatives of the state church, were preparing forms of intercession on behalf of His Majesty’s naval and military forces now engaged in war. Within a week, not only had these prayers been printed and widely used, two central foci of the nation’s spiritual identity, St Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, had used their own resources to produce liturgies in response to the outbreak of war – with many more to follow.

Alongside text, most liturgies comprise a number of enacted elements including a variety of musical forms, silence, and action, all of which may be interpreted in contexts far beyond their physical setting. In my paper, I consider the significance of these early wartime services by contrasting the intention of those responsible for their planning with detailed re-constructions of the liturgies, and with an analysis of how these widely-reported enactments were experienced and interpreted. Following this analysis, I consider how intention, form, experience, and context of these liturgies contributed to an expression of national identity during the First World War, with significant implications for how the war was later memorialised.
Alwyn W Turner (University of Chichester): *The Last Post: Britain’s Secular Anthem*

The Last Post remains perhaps the most emotionally charged piece of music in British public life. In an increasingly democratic and secular country, it is the closest thing we have to a sacred anthem, the mournful simplicity of the piece reaching beyond class, beyond religion, beyond patriotism to speak directly of the human consequences of warfare. Yet for centuries, it had been just another bugle call, the last of a couple of dozen such calls that would be heard every day in an army camp, regulating the routine lives of soldiers.

The transformation of the Last Post from that purely functional role into its modern incarnation started in the late-19th century, when it began to be used at funerals for former soldiers. In the aftermath of the Boer War, as the first memorials to the fallen were erected, it was incorporated into remembrance services, and within a few years, the Last Post was being heard in contexts far beyond its original military world, from the memorial services for Queen Victoria through to the funeral of Wallace Hartley, the bandmaster of the *Titanic*. But it was the First World War that completed the journey. From 1919 onwards, the call became inseparable from its associations with those who had died in battle.

This paper will trace that story and ask whether it is significant that the public recognises only the infantry Last Post, played on the humble bugle, rather than the aristocratic sound of the cavalry trumpet (for the cavalry had their own Last Post). Does this, like the absence at the heart of the Cenotaph and the tomb of the Unknown Warrior, represent the advent of a democratic cultural mood in the new century?

**ORGANISATIONS**

Eliot Room, 14.15

Katheryn Lawson (McGill University): “Why Don’t You Raise Your Girl to be a Girl Scout?”: World War I Contrapuncta in *The Rally*

While their brothers and fathers fought in France during World War I, the Girl Scouts of the USA waged war in the pages of their monthly magazine, *The Rally*. Rewriting the texts of such well-known tunes as “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to be a Soldier” and “Yankee Doodle,” their revisions ranged from singing scouts’ praises to positioning themselves as soldiers on the home front. Stressing their efforts “over here”—which included sewing bandages for soldiers and selling Liberty Loans—the contrapuncta that closed many of *The Rally*’s issues shifted the topic of conversation from doughboys to scouting girls, thereby legitimizing girls’ war efforts and shaping the organization’s historical and cultural identity. These contrapuncta articulate the Girl Scouts’ quest for an expanded and vital role in American society during the Great War.

This paper combines a close reading of war-related contrapuncta in *The Rally* with historical research of the Girl Scouts organization. The tune texts, which may have been penned by organizational leaders, local troop leaders, or girl themselves, play into contemporary issues of girls’ identity, at the intersection of childhood and womanhood. In one sense, the texts emulate and disseminate the rhetoric that government propaganda employed in urging youths to “do their bit” for their country. And in another, they also articulate conflicting messages of female identity, alternately promoting images of proper domestic war work and reframing Girl Scouts as empowered, militaristic soldiers off the battlefield. The Girl Scout contrapuncta reveal the ways that popular, often propagandistic music was used as a tool to articulate and endorse complicated social and cultural identities of the nation’s young female citizens via the Girl Scouts organization.

Emma Hanna (University of Greenwich): ‘Whatever cheers the warrior helps to win the war’: Music, Morale and the YMCA Music Department, 1914-18

At the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, the Young Men’s Christian Association turned its attention to providing support and education for the troops fighting for Britain and her Empire. YMCA huts were built to provide soldiers with food and a place to rest on the frontline or at home in military camps, the first at Salisbury Plain, and at numerous railway stations. The YMCA
was also instrumental in providing musical entertainment and education to British soldiers. Soon after the outbreak of war the organisation established its own Music Department with the motto that ‘Whatever cheers the warrior helps to win the war’. The YMCA Music Department performed a number of services such as organising lectures, the purchase of instruments, musical competitions and folk dancing. The department saw that the war had resulted in an awakening of interest in music both from the point of view of performance and appreciation, and its concerts proved to be incredibly popular with the troops. By 1919 it was estimated that YMCA performers had given 3000 concerts at the YMCA facilities at Salisbury Plain, and the groups led by the actress-manager Lena Ashwell gave thousands of performances on the Western Front, on troop ships in the Mediterranean and locations in the Middle East, as well as the London nightclub Ciro’s. This paper will discuss the work of the YMCA Music Department in the maintenance of military morale, including a discussion of the composers who worked for the department such as Henry Walford Davies, John Foulds and Gustav Holst, and hitherto neglected figures such as the folk dance instructor Daisy Daking.

John Williamson & Martin Cloonan (University of Glasgow): All Together Now? Organising Musicians during the First World War

All Together Now? Organising musicians during the First World War. This paper examines the role of musicians in the First World War from the under utilised perspective of musical labour. By examining musicians as workers and looking at the way in which such work was organised during wartime, we argue that a fresh insight can be achieved into the impact of war on the working lives of the musicians who remained at home.

We will do this by drawing extensively on material from the archives of the Amalgamated Musicians’ Union (AMU), which, in 1914, was the largest representative body of musicians in the country with nearly 9000 members. Doing so allows us to illustrate both the internal and external factors, which influenced the thinking of the Union throughout the period and how these played out in the places of entertainment around the country. Most significantly, we will show that while the Union's leadership attempted to foster notions of fraternalism and solidarity among working musicians, the onset of War served largely to pit both individual needs and those of particular groups of musicians against each other and against the greater good as it was perceived by AMU leaders and public opinion. The paper will further argue that rather than creating new tensions within the musical labour force, the War merely exacerbated existing fault lines within it. These included those between Union and non-Union; civilian and army; British and foreign; male and female, and those working in different genres across different parts of the country. While these have remained issues for the Union and its successor (the Musicians’ Union) we will use them here as a means of illustrating the conditions and pressures under which musicians were working during the War and how this resulted in dissemblance behind the outward proclamations of strength and unity by the Union's leaders.
CONFERENCE CONVENORS

JANE ANGELL completed her PhD at Royal Holloway University of London under the supervision of Professor Erik Levi, investigating British public discourse around art music in Britain during the First World War. She has recently published an article in the *Journal of Musicological Research*, ‘Music and Charity on the British Home Front during the First World War.’ Her Masters’ research was published in 2006 in the *Journal of Buddhist Studies*. In 2013, Jane co-convened a one-day conference at the Institute of Musical Research, ‘Expressions of Britishness.’ She has presented widely at conferences, including in Australia, in the USA and in the UK. Jane’s research interests, alongside music and the First World War, include the role of music in providing solace and claimed physical benefits, especially in connection with the First World War, early twentieth century musical historiography, early twentieth century music journals, Hubert Parry, and the English Musical Renaissance. She also has a particular interest in the teaching and learning of study skills, having designed and taught a course in this area in the music department at Royal Holloway.

RACHEL MOORE pursued doctoral studies in music at Royal Holloway, University of London with a thesis on music and propaganda in Paris during the First World War, supervised by Professor Katharine Ellis. She spent a year as Stipendiary Lecturer in Music at New College, Oxford, before taking up the post of Junior Research Fellow and Lecturer in Music at Worcester College. Rachel has broad research interests in French music and culture of the early twentieth century, with a particular focus on music during the First World War. She has written articles on music during WWI and is currently preparing her first monograph on the subject, entitled *Performing Propaganda: Musical Life and Culture in Paris, 1914–1918*. For the 2014 centenary of WWI, Rachel is giving talks on musical life during the conflict for the National Trust and has participated in radio broadcasts including Radio 4’s ‘1914–1918: The Cultural Front’, and Radio 2’s ‘Great War Ballads and La Belle Époque’. In October, she will take up the post of Leverhulme Early Career Fellow in Music at the University of Oxford, researching the role of cross-channel musical exchange between Paris and London in shaping concepts of ‘Allied’ identity during the First World War.

RUPERT RIDGEWELL is Curator of Printed Music at the British Library. He holds a PhD in music from Royal Holloway, University of London, and his research interests encompass subjects relating to Mozart, music publishing in eighteenth-century Vienna, and music-making by interned civilians at Alexandra Palace during WW1. In 2010 he was recipient of the Music Library Association’s Richard S. Hill Award for the book chapter ‘Artaria plate numbers and the publication process, 1778–87’ (in *Music and the Book Trade*, Oak Knoll Press, 2009) and he is currently working on a British Academy-funded project on the topic ‘Selling music on subscription: Mozart and the composer-publisher Franz Anton Hoffmeister’. He is Chair of the IAML Bibliography Commission (2011-17), editor of the Concert Programmes Online Database, and assistant editor of *Fontes Artis Musicae*. 