

# Round Table: A ‘Musical League of Nations’? Music Institutions and the Politics of Internationalism between the Wars

Introduction

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## Introduction

This round table grew out of two gatherings in 2018–19 that endeavoured to bring musicologists into dialogue with recent revisions in the history of international relations.<sup>1</sup> Our specific focus was

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<sup>1</sup> The conference took place at the Institute of Musical Research, Senate House, London on 29–30 June 2018; Giles Masters’s conference report can be found at <https://www.rma.ac.uk/2018/09/30/conference-report-a-musical-league-of-nations-music-institutions-and-the-politics-of-internationalism-london-29-30-june-2018/>. A two-day reading workshop was held in Oxford in January 2019. Publications discussed in the workshop included Guido Adler, ‘Internationalism in Music’, trans. Theodore Baker, *Musical Quarterly*, 11 (1925), 281–300; Annegret Fauser, ‘Some Challenges for Musicological Internationalism in the 1930s’, *The History of the IMS (1927–2017)*, ed. Dorothea Baumann and Dinko Fabris (Basel: Bärenreiter, 2017), 20–4; Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Anne C. Shreffler, ‘The International Society for Contemporary Music and its Political Context (Prague, 1935)’, *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht (New York: Berghahn, 2015), 58–92; Christiane Sibille, ‘The Politics of Music in International Organizations in the First Half of the Twentieth Century’, *New Global Studies*, 10/3 (2016), 253–81; Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); and Waqar Zaidi, ‘Liberal Internationalist Approaches to Science and Technology in Interwar Britain and the United States’, *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements between the Wars*, ed. Daniel Laqua (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 17–43. The research activities associated with this project were supported by the British Academy and Leverhulme Trust, with additional conference support from the Royal Musical Association and the Institute of Musical Research.

the interwar period, more often discussed in terms of nationalism – or perhaps at best transnationalism – than within the context of internationalism, a principle that lay behind the foundation of elite governmental organizations such as the League of Nations, the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization and others. As the historians Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin have shown, the construction of objects of global governance by these organizations ran alongside a broader sweep of non-governmental groupings that forwarded the interests of indigenous, working-class, anti-colonialist, anti-slavery and feminist causes.<sup>2</sup> What role or roles did music play in these contexts? The case studies that follow illustrate the far-reaching implications of internationalist policies for musical institutions, groups and individuals.

A few general observations might be made to frame the discussion. There are challenges of definition, and it is important to be alert to how interwar internationalism and the concept of ‘international society’ (as well as its manifestation in new intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations) are distinct in many ways from the related notions of cosmopolitanism, transnationalism and the global – a point that is discussed by a number of the contributors to this round table. It is also important to recognize the basis of internationalism in an ongoing commitment to national self-determination and national sovereignty. Equally, as is so often the case when using music as a lens through which to consider political movements, the aesthetic implications of internationalism across liberal, socialist, communist and fascist ideologies are inconsistent. It is erroneous to assume, for example, that conservative politics is by necessity linked with conservative stylistic outcomes in music, or progressive politics to progressive aesthetics. Finally, it is important to make a distinction between *discursive* and *institutional* internationalisms in music, not least because of the tensions between the political function of international music institutions, on the one hand, and claims about the apolitical nature of music (namely the idea that a shared sense of ‘feeling’ transcends political concerns), on the other.

Many of the musical institutions discussed in the round table were formed in the aftermath of the Great War to promote international musical exchange after the strictures and relative cultural isolation of the war period. The jazz pianist and composer Jean Wiéner described his thirst for ‘musical salad’, while for Ravel, openness to music from other traditions was essential for the health of national traditions.<sup>3</sup> This type of relationship between the international and the national was reflected at an institutional level by the close alignment between international and national musical societies. In the case of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), for example, a desire to participate on the international stage was a motivating factor for individual nations, such as Britain and France.

However, there was often a highly selective understanding of what internationalism meant during the interwar period. It was uncritically Eurocentric by our current standards, and even *within* a European context, there were fundamental tensions over what was meant by the idea of the ‘international’, as this round table shows. Guido Adler’s view of the natural dominance of Austro-German musical traditions was challenged by persisting wartime anti-German biases. This tension is evident in the diplomatic activities of figures like Edward Dent, Edwin Evans, Henry Prunières and others, who saw the military defeat of Germany as a cultural opportunity to redefine and challenge engrained hierarchies. The process of redefinition included not only

<sup>2</sup> For a good introduction to this type of historical revision, see *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, ed. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); and Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*.

<sup>3</sup> See Barbara L. Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913–1939* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 73; and M. Robert Rogers, ‘Jazz Influence on French Music’, *Musical Quarterly*, 21 (1935), 53–68, respectively.

institutional but also rhetorical shifts, such as in interwar debates about the nature and scope of 'contemporary music'.<sup>4</sup> The increasingly important place of the USA within various institutions and repertoires was another factor in the evolving conceptualization of the international during the interwar period. These changes were manifest at the level of institutional policy, but it is important also to recognize the role of personal friendships and affinities in shaping the agenda and scope of international musical organizations; the actors involved were often interconnected through multiple musical networks, as several of the round-table contributions illustrate.

While the focus of this round table is primarily historical and scholarly, it may be relevant to mention that the discussions from which it emerged took place under the shadow of two upheavals of 2016 that were widely perceived to represent direct threats to the future of international cooperation, namely the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum and the election of Donald Trump as president of the USA. These political events loomed large over many academic gatherings in ensuing years regardless of subject area, with logistical challenges surrounding visas to attend conferences in the UK, employment implications for EU nationals working in UK Higher Education institutions, and the future of access to EU research funding and partnerships all joining a broader sense of uncertainty and concern over the tendencies of populist movements globally. While it would be too much to claim that the following round-table contributions were devised in response to these two events, their shadow gave a new meaning and urgency to many of the themes raised in these discussions. Subsequent political upheavals, from the reassertion of Taliban rule in Afghanistan to the war in Ukraine, have only intensified that sense of history repeating itself, with many seeking refuge and long-standing research cooperations having been interrupted, if not dismantled altogether. How best to support academics at risk remains a major concern of organisations such as the International Musicological Society (IMS) and the RMA.

Masters's examination of the performance of international diplomacy in the General Assemblies of the ISCM; Boyd-Bennett's spotlight on the relationship between localism and internationalism in the working-class experience through proletariat song in Italy; Guérpin's study of the international standardization of the notion of European jazz in the interwar period; Pace's study of fascist international cooperation in the musical sphere between Nazi Germany and Italy, Bulgaria, Japan, Romania and elsewhere; and Bowan's revelations about the role of personal relationships in shaping transatlantic relations within the ISCM – these case studies all speak to an intensified scholarly desire to recover a more fine-grained account of the conflicted agenda at play in internationalisms historically.

The timing of the initial discussions surrounding this round table with respect to global political shifts, and its alignment with recent revisions in the field of the history of international relations, means that questions associated with the UK, EU and USA are more prominent in what follows than an engagement with parallel disciplinary concerns associated with the problematic legacy of internationalism. These disciplinary concerns include what Tamara Levitz has called the 'nationally-oriented model of internationalism' that shaped the origins of the discipline of musicology, and call for the interrogation of this model at a deeper structural level rather than imagining that the act of diversifying repertoire and curriculum alone will address it.<sup>5</sup> The round-table contributions use the assumptions and problems that have come to

<sup>4</sup> See Sarah Collins, 'What Was Contemporary Music? The New, the Modern and the Contemporary in the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM)', *The Routledge Research Companion to Modernism in Music*, ed. Björn Heile and Charles Wilson (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2019), 56–85.

<sup>5</sup> Tamara Levitz, 'The Musicological Elite', *Current Musicology*, 102 (2018), 9–80 (p. 14). Levitz debunks the idea that historical musicologists ignored non-Western and popular musics in the early

be associated with interwar internationalism – including its problematic link with colonial activities and with strategic consolidations of geopolitical power – as a starting point for their case studies; in other words, internationalism is their subject rather than their method.

## Performing Internationalism: The ISCM as a ‘Musical League of Nations’

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After the First World War, some musicians embraced ‘international’ identities in novel ways, requiring novel strategies.<sup>6</sup> During the 1920s, internationalist initiatives were launched in musicology, music education, folk music and more, joining a more general proliferation of institutions devoted to cultural internationalism.<sup>7</sup> In the domain of Western art music, the most high-profile internationalist organization of the era was the ISCM, founded in Salzburg in 1922.<sup>8</sup> The ISCM’s principal activity during the interwar period was to organize an annual contemporary music festival. This peripatetic event, hosted in a different European city each year, served two intertwined ambitions: to promote contemporary music and to further international cooperation. The latter aspiration gave rise to an unofficial nickname – the ‘musical League of Nations’ – encapsulating the ISCM’s perceived affinities with other, heftier internationalist endeavours.<sup>9</sup> A ‘musical League of Nations’ was, however, an ambivalent and

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history of the American discipline and locates racialized power instead in the way in which the discipline organized itself over the course of the twentieth century, casting a range of decisions and manoeuvres at the level of professional bureaucracy as an instantiation of just the type of interwar European internationalism that will be examined in this round table. These manoeuvres served not only to exclude certain figures from participating in the discipline on the basis of status and character, but also to ‘subjugate or objectify peoples of the global south’, according to Levitz. Internationalism is cast in this way as an original sin of the American Musicological Society, an organization founded in 1934, seven years after the IMS.

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Heather Wiebe, Roger Parker, Flora Willson and the editors of the round table for their feedback on this article. I would also like to thank Melita Milin for sharing her expertise on Ljubica Marić, and Henry Balme and Sasha Ockenden for their advice on translations.

<sup>7</sup> Sibille, ‘The Politics of Music in International Organisations in the First Half of the Twentieth Century’; Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, 51–90. The harbinger of the initiatives of the 1920s was the Internationale Musikgesellschaft (1899–1914), the predecessor of the IMS (1927–).

<sup>8</sup> As Anne C. Shreffler notes, ‘In spite of the fact that the ISCM had no real authority and few resources of its own [...] there was no other institution of comparable legitimacy and scope’; Shreffler, ‘The International Society for Contemporary Music and Its Political Context’, 61.

<sup>9</sup> For an extended riff on this trope, see Paul Stefan, ‘Ein Völkerbund der Musik’, *Atti del primo Congresso internazionale di musica, Firenze, 30 aprile–4 maggio 1933* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1935), 233–9. The League of Nations itself made some tentative steps into the musical sphere through its International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC): meetings were organized, proposals drafted and questionnaires circulated, but little was achieved in the way of practical action. See Christiane Sibille, ‘La musique à la Société des Nations’, *Relations Internationales*, 155 (2013), 89–102, and Sibille, ‘The Politics of Music in International Organisations in the First Half of the Twentieth Century’, 265–72.

precarious project: the moniker recognized, through analogy, a necessary proximity to the era's chief prototype of an international structure; but it clung, by way of its adjective, to a degree of detachment from the treacherous waters of politics and diplomacy.

What was the 'I' in the ISCM? It was certainly not equivalent to *global*, a term usually more associated with late twentieth- and twenty-first-century patterns of globalization (often depicted teleologically), and thus implying the emergence of an increasingly interconnected human community on the terrestrial scale.<sup>10</sup> Internationalism, by contrast, typically involves imagining oneself as belonging to a common framework of national units – that is, a 'league of nations' – whose geographical horizons might be more circumscribed.<sup>11</sup> The early twentieth-century activities discussed here were conceived within a fundamentally colonial paradigm in which Europe was assumed to be both the default location of culture and the primary arena of international affairs.<sup>12</sup> Other internationalisms, such as pan-Africanism or pan-Americanism, involve quite different geographies and visions of modernity.<sup>13</sup>

Nor was 'international' a synonym for *transnational* or *cosmopolitan*. The ISCM might be described as a transnational network, in that it involved border-crossing circulations, linkages and affiliations, outside the workings of official diplomacy.<sup>14</sup> What distinguishes it as an internationalist project is, first, the formality of its institutional structure – as a federation of national sections – and, second, the way in which that structure was imbued with a particular form of idealism: a self-conscious aspiration, in the spirit of a tradition of liberal internationalism that enjoyed widespread public enthusiasm after the First World War, to extend and deepen cooperation between nations in the name of peace and mutual understanding. To label oneself 'international', in 1922, signified a moral-political commitment (an *internationalism*) and an associated subject position (as an *internationalist*) that were closely related to, and perhaps ultimately derived from, the ethics of cosmopolitanism (the belief in a single human community). But whereas the cosmopolitan world view foregrounds the rights and responsibilities of 'world citizens', the liberal internationalist one upheld the principle of national sovereignty. Working primarily towards inter-national reconciliation, early twentieth-century musical internationalists, like their contemporaries in other fields, tended to channel their efforts into institutional arrangements that elevated their participants into national representatives. Consequently, those arrangements had a character quite distinct from that of the much older tradition of musical cosmopolitanism

<sup>10</sup> The relationship between music and globalization has been an important topic of research in ethnomusicology. For an overview, see Martin Stokes, 'Music and the Global Order', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 33 (2004), 47–72.

<sup>11</sup> Liisa Malkki, 'Citizens of Humanity: Internationalism and the Imagined Community of Nations', *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 3/1 (1994), 41–68. See also Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*.

<sup>12</sup> The League of Nations was directly embroiled in colonial governance through its mandates system; see Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). A draft of the ISCM's original statutes reportedly defined 'contemporary' music as that 'of all European countries written within the last fifteen years' (emphasis added). After an outcry from American musicians, the word 'European' was removed. See Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 290–1. In her contribution to this round table, Kate Bowan explores Anglo-American links relating to the ISCM and outlines the history of the organization's American Section.

<sup>13</sup> Some of the intersections between music and these movements are discussed in Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 14/4 (2005), 421–39.

(more often discussed in relation to free-floating individuals or urban culture), which has recently attracted scholarly attention.<sup>15</sup>

For those who participated in ISCM festivals, international cooperation was always, at least in part, a means to an end. As proponents of what Martin Guerpin refers to later in this round table as a 'minority internationalism' – or an 'internationalism by necessity' – these musicians sought to further the cause of a loosely defined aesthetic movement ('new' or 'contemporary' music) which they believed to be unfairly marginalized by mainstream concert institutions in their local contexts.<sup>16</sup> In this article, however, I focus on one strategy by which ISCM adherents attempted to go beyond – or at least to legitimize – this agenda and constitute their collective endeavours as international in a fuller sense: by appropriating the conventionalized behaviours of diplomats. I suggest that shifting norms within diplomacy, and the mediation of those norms in the public sphere, informed how musicians undertook their internationalist activities and projected them to the outside world, as they sought to forge an institutional framework in which they would be recognized as valid international actors. In other words, I describe how one group of musicians in interwar Europe *performed* their internationalism: how they adopted and displayed a certain repertoire of collective behaviours to inhabit an identity that was novel to the musical field.

Those behaviours vividly demonstrate one of the central challenges faced by early twentieth-century musical internationalists: how to position themselves in relation to statespersons and diplomats, the emblematic protagonists of the international sphere. The conundrum was how to become 'international' without being drawn into the geopolitical arena that, to a large degree, defined the field to which the term referred. The ISCM could never fully resolve this problem: at its heart was the paradox, highlighted by Anton Haefeli in his 1982 history of the ISCM, of an organization that embraced the politics of internationalism yet still claimed to be 'non-political'.<sup>17</sup> Yet what Haefeli seems to have viewed as hypocrisy can also be described, more generously, as a delicate balancing act. The ISCM's adherents sought to serve new music and internationalism from a position at the margins of international politics, without relinquishing the possibilities associated with that marginality: not only prestige and relative independence (commonplace rewards for artists who assert their detachment from politics), but also the opportunity to pursue avenues of international cooperation unworkable at the level of interstate relations.<sup>18</sup>

My emphasis on internationalism's performative aspect allows me to describe how that balancing act, and the pressures to which it was subject, played out at the level of institutional structures and conventions. The first section of my article introduces the ISCM's General

<sup>15</sup> On pre-First World War musical cosmopolitanism, see Dana Gooley (convenor), 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848–1914', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 66/2 (Summer 2013), 523–49.

<sup>16</sup> The idea of internationalism as a response to marginalization emerges clearly from Rudolph Réti's recollections of the ISCM's founding: Réti, 'Die Entstehung der IGNM', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 12/3 (1957), 113–17.

<sup>17</sup> Anton Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM): Ihre Geschichte von 1922 bis zur Gegenwart* (Zurich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1982), 190–232; Haefeli, 'Politische Implikationen einer "unpolitischen" Organisation: Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik zwischen 1933 und 1939', *Musik im Exil: Die Schweiz und das Ausland 1918–1945*, ed. Chris Walton and Antonio Baldassarre (Berne: Peter Lang, 2005), 103–19. On the conceptual complications attendant on the ISCM's pairing of the 'international' and the 'contemporary', see Collins, 'What Was Contemporary Music?'

<sup>18</sup> Germany, for example, was a key player in the ISCM from its foundation in 1922 (until 1933), even though it only became a member state of the League of Nations in 1926.



Assembly, an annual conference of national representatives. At this meeting, ritualized mimicry of political behaviour, emptied of much of the content and stakes of actual politics, helped to paper over the paradox of a 'non-political' internationalism. The second section homes in on a specific sequence of incidents from autumn 1935 to assess how the habitual practices of musical internationalism were disrupted by the political crises of the mid-1930s. With its liberal, democratic values under threat, the ISCM would be compelled to decide whether to move beyond imitation and intervene more directly in diplomatic affairs. For those who insisted on a firm boundary between artistic and political activities, the prospect was deeply unsettling. But for others, it was a logical consequence of the new geopolitical edge that the enactment of internationalism had lent to musical culture in interwar Europe.

We do not have to look far to find evidence that diplomacy framed how the ISCM was understood: the discourse about the organization was saturated with it. Its founding, recalled Alfredo Casella in his memoirs, 'was truly a peace treaty between musicians'.<sup>19</sup> In Weimar Germany, the ISCM's national Section was described as a musical 'foreign office' undertaking 'foreign propaganda'.<sup>20</sup> Edward J. Dent, the Cambridge-based musicologist who served as the ISCM's president from its foundation until 1938, was regularly praised for his 'talent for diplomacy'.<sup>21</sup> In the run-up to his eventual departure, one proposal was that Dent should continue to serve as the 'foreign minister' to his successor's 'state secretary'.<sup>22</sup> The ISCM's General Assembly demonstrates that these analogies provided more than a convenient language for explaining what the organization did; they also inflected its structure and practices. Alongside the concerts and receptions, the General Assembly meeting was a fixture of the annual festival. Chaired by Dent until his departure, it was attended by delegates representing the ISCM's national sections, who voted on decisions such as electing the committee of jurors to choose the music for the following year's festival. As the ultimate seat of institutional sovereignty, it was fundamental to the ISCM's democratic and international legitimacy.

We are granted a striking glimpse of the General Assembly in [Figure 1](#), which shows the 1931 meeting, hosted in Oxford. The men in the photograph – they are indeed all men – are gathered collegially around tables much laden with papers.<sup>23</sup> The tableau could come from almost any of the multitude of international conferences held in interwar Europe. Since at least

<sup>19</sup> Alfredo Casella, *Music in my Time: The Memoirs of Alfredo Casella*, trans. and ed. Spencer Norton (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955; originally published as *I segreti della giara* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1941)), 165.

<sup>20</sup> Martin Thrun, "'Feste und Proteste": Über das nationale Prinzip der Organisation der "Internationalen Gesellschaft für Neue Musik" nach 1922', *Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert: Kompositorische und soziokulturelle Aspekte der Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa: Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2002*, ed. Helmut Loos and Stefan Keym (Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 2004), 457–70 (p. 469).

<sup>21</sup> Basil Maine, *Behold These Daniels: Being Studies of Contemporary Music Critics* (London: H. & W. Brown, 1928), 28. After the death of his successor, Edwin Evans, in 1945, Dent would take up the post again until 1947. For an overview of Dent's internationalist outlook and activities, see Annegret Fauser, 'The Scholar behind the Medal: Edward J. Dent (1876–1957) and the Politics of Music History', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 139 (2014), 235–60.

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Egon Wellesz to Dent, 9 May 1937, Archive Centre, King's College, Cambridge, The Papers of Edward Joseph Dent, EJD/4/446.

<sup>23</sup> In other fields, especially humanitarian ones, contemporaneous internationalist institutions provided opportunities for women to attain positions of influence; but this was not the case with the ISCM. Women did participate in its festival as performers and sometimes as composers. But national sections tended to send composers, conductors, critics or musicologists as their representatives at the



Figure 1 The 1931 meeting of the ISCM General Assembly, Rhodes House, Oxford, 25 July 1931 (photographer unknown). Heinz-Tiessen-Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, 2342. Dent is sitting in the middle of the back row, with Edwin Evans on his right (with the beard) and Alfredo Casella on his left. Alois Hába, representing Czechoslovakia, is in the inner circle, fourth from the front.

the end of the nineteenth century, such gatherings had served as one of the core components of the ‘mechanics of internationalism’.<sup>24</sup> As a group of historical geographers has highlighted (with the aim of resituating internationalism’s seemingly abstract ideals in particular historical sites) ‘conferencing the international’ was crucial to how internationalism was envisaged and experienced after the First World War.<sup>25</sup> Conferences not only proliferated across humanitarian, political and technical domains, but also became more central to the conduct and public

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meetings, and these professions were dominated by men. One impressive exception was Pauline Hall, who founded the Norwegian Section of the ISCM in 1938 and led it until 1961. See Astrid Kvalbein, ‘Musikalsk modernisering: Pauline Hall (1890–1969) som komponist, teatermenneske og Ny Musikk-leiar’ (Ph.D. dissertation, Norwegian Academy of Music, 2013), 274–376.

<sup>24</sup> Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann, ‘Introduction: The Mechanics of Internationalism’, *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War*, ed. Geyer and Paulmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1–25.

<sup>25</sup> I refer to the AHRC-funded research project ‘Conferencing the International: A Cultural and Historical Geography of the Origins of Internationalism (1919–1939)’, led by the historical geographer Stephen Legg at the University of Nottingham between 2015 and 2020 (<https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/research/groups/interwarconf/home.aspx>, accessed September 2019).



profile of international diplomacy. ISCM festival participants could hardly have failed to notice the parallels between diplomatic summits and their own endeavours. At the same time as those delegates were photographed in Oxford on 25 July 1931, for instance, the newspapers were speculating as to the consequences of the recently concluded seven-power conference on the German economic emergency.<sup>26</sup> In its subject matter and framing, the image restages the conventionalized visual language of internationalist and diplomatic conferencing in all its starchy earnestness.

The greater prominence of conferences in international affairs after the First World War was a symptom of the so-called 'new diplomacy'. This development has been little discussed in the growing literature on music and diplomacy, which, in common with research on cultural diplomacy more generally, has focused above all on the USA, especially during the cold war period.<sup>27</sup> Yet in the standard literature on international relations, post-First World War Europe is depicted as the site of an epoch-defining paradigm shift. Before the war, the usual narrative runs, European stability had been largely reliant on secretive negotiations between the 'great powers'; however, the reputation of this system was severely damaged by its self-evident failure to preserve peace in 1914. The new aspiration, encouraged especially by Woodrow Wilson, was for a diplomacy based on transparency, national self-determination and collective security – principles that would, in theory, be embodied and safeguarded by the newly founded League of Nations.<sup>28</sup>

As the 1931 photograph indicates, the musicians involved in the ISCM developed habits, in their efforts to build and legitimize their novel project, that echoed the practices of the new diplomacy. The ISCM's General Assembly paralleled that of the League of Nations, likewise a gathering of national representatives who convened on an annual basis.<sup>29</sup> (In 1929, those present at the ISCM festival would have experienced this connection especially vividly, since that year's event, hosted in Geneva, included a tour of the League of Nations' headquarters.<sup>30</sup>) This kind of imitation is far from unique: research on the 'unofficial diplomacy' of 'state-like non-state' bodies has demonstrated how extensively mimicry of official diplomats' practices has been employed by those attempting to gain recognition as – and thus, in effect, to become –

<sup>26</sup> 'Conference and After: New Steps; Expert Inquiries on Foot; Mr. Stimson's Mission', *The Times*, 25 July 1931, 13.

<sup>27</sup> Two landmark monographs are: Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2004); and Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015). On the US State Department's post-9/11 musical diplomacy, see Mark Katz, *Build: The Power of Hip Hop Diplomacy in a Divided World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Henry Kissinger, 'The New Face of Diplomacy: Wilson and the Treaty of Versailles', *Diplomacy* (New York: Touchstone, 1995), 218–45; and Corneliu Bjola and Markus Kornprobst, 'The New Diplomacy after World War I', *Understanding International Diplomacy: Theory, Practice and Ethics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 28–43.

<sup>29</sup> One crucial difference was that the League of Nations also had the Council, its executive body, which ensured a privileged position for the 'great powers' – initially Britain, France, Italy and Japan – that formed its core of permanent members.

<sup>30</sup> *VII<sup>me</sup> festival de la Société internationale de musique contemporaine: Genève 6–10 avril 1929* (Geneva: ISCM, 1929), 10.

legitimate international actors.<sup>31</sup> The pursuit of international credentials could also serve more localized ends. By invoking the basic template set down by the League of Nations, the ISCM's General Assembly putatively established musicians associated with the modernist tendencies favoured by the organization as *the* representatives of a nation's music-making, a cultural-political move working to the advantage of both specific individuals and the broader movement of 'contemporary music' they supported.

The ISCM's General Assembly positioned the diplomatic conference as an aspirational model for musicians, as the organization sought to appeal to the moral authority of League of Nations-style internationalism in the post-First World War climate. Yet the emulation was also a repudiation, involving as it did an insistence that politics could be superseded by the transcendence of the musical. 'Will it be the mission of artists to redeem the institution of international conferences from the discredit which statesmen have brought upon it?' asked Edwin Evans, the chairman of the ISCM's British Section, in 1923.<sup>32</sup> Mimicry allowed musicians to have their cake and eat it: to declare that their activities were at once ethically valuable and supra-politically neutral. The sacrifice – and the boundary to be carefully policed – was forgoing the possibility either of accruing more worldly forms of political power, or of using the General Assembly as a platform for campaigning or any other directly political action. The payoffs included opportunities for enhanced prestige, and, more selflessly, the hope of serving music and internationalism in a deeper and more lasting sense, albeit a less tangible one.

For mimicry to sustain the paradox of a 'non-political' internationalism, musicians needed to be kept at arm's length from the activities of official diplomats. By the mid-1930s, when economic and political crises presented a profound threat to internationalist projects in Europe, those who sought to sustain this separation faced formidable difficulties. In 1935, the ISCM was led as never before to a reckoning with the increasingly troubled state of international politics. That year's festival in Prague has been described, most notably in Anne C. Shreffler's meticulous account, as a pivotal test of the organization's 'non-political' mandate.<sup>33</sup> It thus seems an apt starting point for considering the related (but more specific) question of how the pressures of the 1930s recast the ISCM's practice of enacting internationalism through allusion to diplomacy. At this difficult crossroads, the habits of detachment formed under the conditions of the previous decade encountered political upheavals whose impacts on the lives of individual musicians were becoming increasingly stark.

The ISCM festival in Prague was dominated by efforts to negotiate a 'neutral' path between political extremes. On the one hand, delegates had to consider how to respond to the recently founded Permanent Council for the International Cooperation of Composers (Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten), which was perceived as a direct challenge by Nazi Germany to the ISCM's previously unassailed position in European musical life.<sup>34</sup> On the other, they were presented with an offer of support from the Soviet Union. Just

<sup>31</sup> Fiona McConnell, Terri Moreau and Jason Dittmer, 'Mimicking State Diplomacy: The Legitimizing Strategies of Unofficial Diplomacies', *Geoforum*, 43 (2012), 804–14 (p. 806).

<sup>32</sup> Edwin Evans, 'The International Conference', *The Chesterian*, 29 (February 1923), 139–41 (p. 139).

<sup>33</sup> Shreffler, 'The ISCM and Its Political Context'. The events of 1935 are also described in Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*, 196–9, 228–31, 236–43.

<sup>34</sup> Shreffler, 'The ISCM and Its Political Context', 66–71. For further discussion of the Permanent Council's founding and its activities in 1934–5, see Benjamin G. Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2016), 17–26, 32–43. See also Ian Pace's essay in this round table.

weeks before the Prague festival, the Communist International (Comintern) had officially committed itself to Popular Front internationalism – a broad-based coalition of anti-fascist politics and activism – and there were hopes in its affiliated International Music Bureau (IMB) that the ISCM might be brought into the fold. The IMB's chairman was the composer Hanns Eisler, an itinerant exile from Germany since 1933. He and his colleague Herman Reichenbach, another German émigré, came to the ISCM gathering in Prague to convey overtures from the USSR, including an offer to host the 1936 festival. Acting under instructions from Moscow, they attended the General Assembly as observers.<sup>35</sup> For some delegates, Eisler's and Reichenbach's roles as go-betweens and intelligence gatherers pushed uncomfortably beyond the 'non-political' imitation of diplomacy. Their presence was welcomed by the Czechoslovakian hosts, especially the left-leaning Alois Hába. But according to Paul Sacher, president of the Swiss Section, everyone else 'was somewhat astonished by this strange "Russian" delegation' – not least because, as Dent drily observed, neither of them could speak Russian.<sup>36</sup>

Ultimately, Eisler and Reichenbach failed to bring the ISCM into the Popular Front. After three days of fractious meetings, the General Assembly agreed to issue a declaration, yet another gesture revealing how the delegates modelled their actions on the conventions of diplomatic summitry. This text affirmed the ISCM's commitment to intellectual and spiritual freedom, and decreed that suitable composers would never be excluded from its festival programmes on the basis of nationality, race or religion.<sup>37</sup> In its emphasis on the freedom of the individual artist, the resolution represented an attempt to renounce both Nazi Germany's extreme nationalism and Soviet Russia's restrictive understanding of the artist's social responsibilities.<sup>38</sup> This affirmation of a purportedly apolitical centre, argues Shreffler, anticipated the basic ideological divide of the cultural cold war, between socially committed communist art and the high modernist ideals of the West.<sup>39</sup>

The ISCM was also rocked by other vectors of conflict – ones related to the ideological schism Shreffler describes, but not reducible to it. A further subplot from September 1935 exemplifies the split between socially committed leftist musicians and those who claimed non-political neutrality. During the Prague festival, news spread that three young Serbian-Yugoslavian composers – Dragutin Čolić, Ljubica Marić and Vojislav Vučković – had been arrested and tortured by the Yugoslavian police. As was typical for modernist-inclined Yugoslavian musicians of their generation, all three had previously studied at the Prague Conservatoire, where their tuition had included Hába's quarter-tone composition class. Influenced by the politics

<sup>35</sup> Shreffler, 'The ISCM and Its Political Context', 71–6. Eisler and Reichenbach could not appear as official delegates in the General Assembly because the Soviet Union had not had an ISCM section since the dissolution of the Moscow-based Association for Contemporary Music (ASM) in 1932. This situation emerged as something of a sticking point in the negotiations and was never resolved.

<sup>36</sup> 'Ich glaube, dass in Prag, ausser den Tschechen, jedermann etwas über diese merkwürdige "russische" Delegation erstaunt war'. Letter from Sacher to Werner Reinhart, 18 December 1935, Briefwechsel Werner Reinhart, Musikkollegium Winterthur, deposited in Stadtbibliothek Winterthur, Dep MK 339/27. Translations from German- and French-language sources are my own. Dent's remark is recalled in Ernst Krenek, *Im Atem der Zeit: Erinnerungen an die Moderne*, trans. Friedrich Saathen, rev. trans. Sabine Schulte (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1998), 909.

<sup>37</sup> The full text of this proclamation is provided in Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*, 197.

<sup>38</sup> Shreffler, 'The ISCM and Its Political Context', 77.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 80–2.

advocated by Hába and others in Prague, they returned to Yugoslavia as young radicals in both the aesthetic and the political sense. As the events of 1935 would prove, their overt support for the Left in a politically unstable country where the Communist Party had been banned since 1920 involved considerable personal risk.<sup>40</sup>

These musicians endured real political violence, a situation that divided the ISCM's General Assembly. Some called for immediate action. Shortly after the 1935 festival, Hába sent the ISCM's national sections a draft appeal protesting the 'arrest, imprisonment and inhumane torture' of his former students.<sup>41</sup> He asked each national section to sign a copy of this declaration and send it to Dent, as well as requesting Dent to contact the justice minister in Belgrade and the Yugoslavian embassy in London on behalf of the ISCM.<sup>42</sup> Dent responded that he was 'very surprised and appalled by the grim news from Belgrade', and contacted a diplomat he knew 'to get more precise information'. But he did not write to Belgrade or the embassy; nor did he sanction the publication of the resolution.<sup>43</sup>

Hába was motivated by a combination of personal ties, political sympathies and humanitarian concerns; but what ultimately convinced him to act, despite some initial hesitation, was insistent pressure from Eisler. According to his and Reichenbach's report on the 1935 festival, it was Eisler who dictated a first version of the appeal, and who instructed Hába to circulate it.<sup>44</sup> The attempt to persuade the ISCM to campaign on behalf of the Serbian composers must therefore be understood in the context of efforts to pivot the organization towards the USSR.<sup>45</sup> This complicates the question of how we should assess the appeal: the concern for the welfare of like-minded colleagues was genuine; but it also dovetailed conveniently with the desire for a gesture that would, as Reichenbach reported to Hába in October 1935, make 'an excellent impression' in Moscow.<sup>46</sup> This political agenda was obscured in the text of the appeal itself, which, in a nod to the ISCM's recent resolution on artistic freedom, made its demands 'in the

<sup>40</sup> Before long, the dangers would become graver still: in 1942, Vučković, forced into hiding in German-occupied Belgrade, was tracked down and murdered by the Gestapo. On the place of Vučković and his contemporaries in the cultural politics of Yugoslavia in the 1930s, see Melita Milin, 'Continuities and Discontinuities in Serbian Music, 1930–1950', *Musicology Today: Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest*, 27 (2016), 229–38.

<sup>41</sup> 'Verhaftung, Einsperrung und unmenschlichen Martern'. 'Appell der Mitglieder der IGNM zur Befreiung der jugoslawischen Komponisten' (September 1935), in Vlasta Reittererová and Hubert Reitterer, 'Musik und Politik – Musikpolitik: Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik im Spiegel des brieflichen Nachlasses von Alois Hába 1931–1938', *Miscellanea musicologica*, 36 (1999), 129–310 (p. 215).

<sup>42</sup> Hába to ISCM national sections, [September 1935], in Reittererová and Reitterer, 'Musik und Politik – Musikpolitik', 216.

<sup>43</sup> 'Ich war ganz überrascht und entsetzt über die grauenhafte[n] Nachrichten aus Beograd. Ich habe sofort an einen mir bekannten Diplomaten geschrieben, um genauere Informationen über Alles zu haben'. Letter from Dent to Hába, 16 September 1935, in Reittererová and Reitterer, 'Musik und Politik – Musikpolitik', 212.

<sup>44</sup> Hanns Eisler and Herman Reichenbach, 'Bericht über die Verhandlungen der IRTB mit der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Zeitgenössische Musik anlässlich des Festivals in Prag' (1935), printed in Eisler, *Gesammelte Schriften 1921–1935*, ed. Tobias Faßhauer and Günter Mayer (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007), 287–306 (pp. 304–5).

<sup>45</sup> The cause was also taken up enthusiastically by leftist musicians elsewhere. The American composer Marc Blitzstein even began sketching a song, 'Marić and Colić', protesting their imprisonment ('We the musicians of America say no!' the text proclaimed). See Howard Pollack, *Marc Blitzstein: His Life, his Work, his World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 146.

<sup>46</sup> 'Besonders Deine Resolution in der jugoslawischen Sache machte hier [Moscow] einen ausgezeichneten Eindruck'. Letter from Reichenbach to Hába, 13 October 1935, in Reittererová and Reitterer, 'Musik und Politik – Musikpolitik', 219.

name of humanity and freedom of artistic creativity'.<sup>47</sup> Further underlining the moral urgency, it also asserted norms of interpersonal responsibility – on a scale ostensibly remote from geopolitics – by invoking an explicitly gendered obligation for 'the delegates of the national sections [to] protest as men out of gentlemanly feelings' against the brutal torture of the pregnant Marić.<sup>48</sup>

If this way of putting the case was intended to persuade Dent, it did not prove effective. After Prague, he was wary of efforts to pull the organization towards Moscow, and especially suspicious of Hába, with whom he had clashed repeatedly. Citing the failure of a comparable appeal in 1934 (this time to the Austrian government on behalf of David Josef Bach), he dismissed the Czech composer's actions as posturing: the only answers they were likely to get would be 'polite and evasive' ones, telling them 'that we foreigners have no right to get upset about it'.<sup>49</sup> Dent's justification of his refusal to act implied a mixture of principle and pragmatism. The plight of the musicians in Yugoslavia, however terrible, was beyond the ISCM's remit as he understood it: an internationalist organization might promote friendship between nations, but should exercise caution about intervening in the affairs of sovereign states. And in any case, what was the appeal expected to achieve? To Dent, the gesture appeared futile: it seemed unlikely that the declaration would help the musicians (it could even have made things worse), but it was certainly liable to draw the ISCM into political controversy and thus, in an already challenging year, undermine its capacity to facilitate international cooperation. To put all this another way, the ISCM might have borrowed patterns of behaviour from diplomacy to structure its internationalist gatherings, but Hába and Eisler were mistaken to think that it could therefore become empowered to act as a political entity. Dent felt able to write to a diplomat in a personal capacity, but not as the holder of an office that was somehow equivalent. During the 1930s, as Annegret Fauser has observed, Dent's internationalist activities involved a tension between his antipathy to fascism – expressed with increasing clarity in the anti-Nazi tenor of his scholarship – and his propensity to prioritize mediation and conciliation when faced with potential conflict.<sup>50</sup> In this instance, he chose discretion. But from another perspective, Dent's appeal to pragmatism could not explain away a basic question of integrity: what kind of association, as Eisler pressed Hába, 'does not protest against the torture of its delegates'?<sup>51</sup>

To be clear: although Dent was wary of Moscow, he was not opposed to the Left; his own politics broadly aligned with Fabianism. But he had long positioned himself strongly against the ISCM's involvement in politics as such. Accordingly, he interpreted the General Assembly's resolution on artistic freedom in quite different terms from those implied by Hába and Eisler's

<sup>47</sup> 'Im Namen der Menschlichkeit und Freiheit des künstlerischen Schaffens'. 'Appell der Mitglieder der IGNM zur Befreiung der jugoslawischen Komponisten'.

<sup>48</sup> The appeal claimed that Marić had 'been abused in brutal ways, such that her sexual organs have been injured' ('... ist besonders die Komponistin Frau Ljuba Marićova [Ljubica Marić] in grausamer Weise misshandelt worden, wobei ihre Geschlechtsorgane verletzt worden sind [...] protestieren die Delegierten der Staatssektionen schon als Herren aus Gentlemansgefühlen'). *Ibid.* In July 1935, Marić was admitted to hospital; it is thought that she had an abortion (Melita Milin, personal communication to the author). Marić's detainment is also discussed in Milin, *Ljubica Marić: Komponovanje kao graditeljski čin* (*Ljubica Marić: Composition as a Creative Act*) (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2018), 89–92.

<sup>49</sup> 'Man bekommt nur höfliche und ausweichende Antwort[e] [...] dass wir Ausländer kein Recht haben, uns darüber aufzuregen'. Letter from Dent to Hába, 16 September 1935, in Reittererová and Reitterer, 'Musik und Politik – Musikpolitik', 212. Bach had suffered financially after Vienna's *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was banned in February 1934. See *Ibid.*, 151–3.

<sup>50</sup> Fauser, 'The Scholar behind the Medal', 242.

<sup>51</sup> 'Gegen die Marterung ihrer Delegierten nicht protestiert'. Eisler and Reichenbach, 'Bericht über die Verhandlungen der IRTB', 305.

appeal. ‘Our proclamation in Prague’, he told Hába, ‘explicitly emphasizes that we want to remain distant from all politics.’<sup>52</sup> (In fact, the resolution did not *explicitly* mention politics at all.) Dent had long maintained a divide between his personal commitments, which during the 1930s included significant efforts to help refugee musicians, and the more limited duties of the ISCM. Back in 1923, he had declared: ‘The International Society for Contemporary Music has neither political nor financial interests. It concerns itself with music, and only with music. It does not even want to come to the aid of composers.’<sup>53</sup> As Eisler’s outrage demonstrates, this narrow commitment to the perceived needs of an abstracted art form was coming under growing pressure in the 1930s, when the lives of an increasing number of its human creators became disrupted and imperilled.

Dent’s continued upholding of the distinction between music and politics – even in the face of torture – evinced an anxious defensiveness about the whole project of a musical internationalism. From the moment of the ISCM’s founding, conservative nationalists, especially in Germany, lambasted the organization as encapsulating a pernicious symbiosis between cosmopolitanism and modernism; for these critics, a ‘musical League of Nations’ was, by definition, complicit with the anti-German conspiracy of the Versailles settlement.<sup>54</sup> Such accusations targeted the foundational disjunction of an organization that claimed to be international but not political. They had a lasting impact on Dent. ‘[W]e do not want to give the impression that the International Society is linked to any particular political movement,’ he told Hába; ‘otherwise everyone will immediately say that our music is only a fig leaf for political agitation.’<sup>55</sup> While Shreffler is right to stress the significance of Prague as a turning point for the ISCM, Dent’s efforts amid the turbulence of the mid-1930s to steer the organization away from public controversy were consistent with his established approach to the hostile Right.

Entangled in the more overtly ideological confrontations of 1935 were unresolved conundrums about what exactly an institution of musical internationalism should be, and how the agents of internationalism that such an institution had come to produce – male musicians as would-be diplomats – ought to act. Dent, abidingly anxious about how the ISCM might be perceived, sought to preserve a stage for the performance of multilateral diplomacy, set apart from the domain of governments and embassies. The boundary between ‘performed’ and ‘real’ diplomacy was, however, becoming uncomfortably ambiguous. Invoking the cosmopolitan ethics of humanitarianism, Eisler and Hába’s appeal urged the ISCM to draw on its unique status in European musical life – accrued, in part, through its miniaturized restaging of League

<sup>52</sup> ‘Unsere Proklamation in Prag betont ausdrücklich, dass wir von aller Politik fern bleiben wollen’. Letter from Dent to Hába, 16 September 1935, in Reittererová and Reitterer, ‘Musik und Politik – Musikpolitik’, 212.

<sup>53</sup> ‘La Société Internationale pour la Musique Contemporaine n’a ni intérêts politiques ni intérêts financiers. Elle s’occupe de musique, et ne s’occupe que de musique. Elle ne veut même pas venir en aide aux compositeurs’. Dent, ‘Internationalisme et Musique’, *La revue musicale*, 4/10 (August 1923), 58–60 (p. 60).

<sup>54</sup> Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*, 77–80. The cultural-political context for such sentiments, which were steeped in antisemitism, is surveyed in Eckhard John, *Musikbolschewismus: Die Politisierung der Musik in Deutschland 1918–1938* (Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1994); and Nicholas Attfield, *Challenging the Modern: Conservative Revolution in German Music 1918–33* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2017).

<sup>55</sup> ‘Wir wollen nicht den Anschein geben, dass die I. G. mit irgend einer bestimmten politischen Bewegung in Zusammenhang steht; sonst sagen alle Leute sofort, dass unsere Musik nur ein Deckmantel für politische Agitation sei’. Letter from Dent to Hába, 16 September 1935, in Reittererová and Reitterer, ‘Musik und Politik – Musikpolitik’, 212.



of Nations-style summitry – to become an actor in international affairs, a diplomatic agent in its own right with the authority to converse with nation states on behalf of musicians as a transnational collective.

In the short term, Dent succeeded in resisting Hába and Eisler's campaign: Čolić, Marić and Vučković were released, putting an end to the dispute, without the ISCM issuing a statement.<sup>56</sup> Yet in hindsight, the episode hints that his era of musical internationalism would soon be drawing to a close. In the 1920s, it had been crucial to the ISCM's 'non-political' internationalism that it could emulate the etiquette of statecraft while remaining semi-independent of states themselves.<sup>57</sup> But this independence looked increasingly fragile. Political agents were intervening more directly in the ISCM's internal affairs, as exemplified by the 'strange "Russian" delegation' in Prague. And as a result, the organization was being pushed to move beyond the mere performance of diplomacy and intervene more directly in the affairs of states. There are premonitions here of the years after 1945, the period of the ISCM's so-called 'stagnation'.<sup>58</sup> At mid-century, its multilateral conferences of unofficial musician-diplomats would become largely overshadowed by the activities of governments, which significantly extended their patronage of the arts and, in the cold war context, developed more organized programmes of cultural diplomacy.<sup>59</sup> Situated in the *longue durée*, the ISCM's General Assembly – enacting League of Nations-style internationalism through ambivalent imitation – represents one unstable configuration, distinctive to interwar Europe, of the possibilities emerging from the rapidly transforming relationship between artists and the state.

## Worker Internationalism, Local Song and the Politics of Urban Space

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At the height of the strikes and factory occupations that marked Turin's *biennio rosso* ('two red years', 1919–20) a series of songs circulated among the workers. I will focus on two of these songs – *La guardia rossa* and *Miseria, miseria* – to listen to the particular stories they tell about

<sup>56</sup> Marić was released in October 1935; Vučković was probably freed before the appeal was even circulated (Melita Milin, personal communication to the author).

<sup>57</sup> Direct support from private patrons was crucial to the organization in its early years. During the 1920s, the Swiss patron Werner Reinhart covered many of the expenses of the central office and of the jury meetings. See Ulrike Thiele, 'Musikleben und Mäzenatentum im 20. Jahrhundert: Werner Reinhart (1884–1951)' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Zurich, 2016), 22–9.

<sup>58</sup> Haefeli, *IGNM*, 286–344.

<sup>59</sup> Some have recently called into question the narrative that European high-modernist composers were funded by US intelligence agencies during the cold war. See Ian Pace, 'Modernist Fantasias: The Recuperation of a Concept', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 144/2 (2019), 473–93 (pp. 475–6). But I refer here to the many other cultural activities of the US State Department and other governments, as discussed in the work of Fosler-Lussier and Von Eschen (cited above) or, for example, in Kiril Tomoff, *Virtuosi Abroad: Soviet Music and Imperial Competition during the Early Cold War, 1945–1958* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2015).

the experiences of the city's labouring classes: the ways in which the songs functioned as vehicles of political expression and solidarity, and as loci of memories of past labour and strife. Both songs survived in the memories of workers and their families long after the *biennio rosso*, as oral and written testaments to a moment when it seemed that revolution might be possible. The crucial point, however, is that while both were expressions of a local political milieu and neighbourhood-specific, working-class sentiment, they also gestured to a broader network of internationalist solidarity. It is the tensions and convergences between localism and internationalism that I want to explore further – a 'local internationalism', perhaps, that prompts us to pay attention to the broader political potential of small-scale communities, as well as to the situatedness of political ideologies during a period often framed in terms of national retrenchment and transnational exchange.<sup>60</sup>

I use the term 'internationalism' here in tandem with transnationalism. While I am interested in the traversal of people and ideas beyond and through nation states – often seen as the preserve of the transnational – I am also concerned with the specificities of and interactions between national 'delegations' of worker solidarity.<sup>61</sup> Moving beyond the endlessly rehashed slogan of workers of the world uniting, I will construct a more intricate and nuanced picture of a somewhat unofficial and overlooked interwar cultural effort at international collaboration that played out in a particular local context.<sup>62</sup> Internationalist solidarity here was something very different from the 'peace and security' of the League of Nations' founding covenant; rather, this somewhat Marxian solidarity was about the disruptive collectivity of worker activism.

The purpose of this article is to offer contrary shades to the more commonly espoused narratives of internationalism in the interwar years. The story told in workers' songs is one of a leftist Italy on the cusp of the country's political move to the far right – and also a sidelining of nation at the moment when Italy was supposedly obsessed with nationhood;<sup>63</sup> of an internationalism that looked East, to the Soviet Union, rather than to Western Europe and the USA, as was the focus of organizations such as the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) considered elsewhere in this round table; of a vernacular music a world away from the Austro-German, art music repertoire dominating the ISCM festival programmes; and of ad hoc, small-scale and local institutions (workers' clubs and leagues) that also shared larger transnational and international ideals and aspirations. In other words, my focus here is on the local-internationalist tensions played out away from the official banners of a 'musical League of Nations', instead existing in precisely the kind of marginalized activity overlooked by state-sponsored organizations.<sup>64</sup> Homing in on local

<sup>60</sup> This idea of 'local internationalism' chimes with the notion of a 'transnational regional studies' focused on the 'contribution of transnationalism to the rise of regional organisations and identities' that Patricia Clavin forecast as an important area of future work in 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 14/4 (2005), 421–39 (p. 432).

<sup>61</sup> Whereas in Italy these worker organizations operated at a remove from state sanction, their Soviet counterparts were part of the official state apparatus, thus fostering a lingering sense of nation; for more on these differentiations between internationalism and transnationalism, see *ibid.*, 425.

<sup>62</sup> For more on the idea of internationalist cultural endeavours, see Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*.

<sup>63</sup> The story of Italy told here is also an alternative one to that of the country as a popular destination for the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) festivals, and of Italy as a long-standing member of the League of Nations.

<sup>64</sup> A 'musical League of Nations' was the unofficial slogan given to the ISCM; see Giles Masters, 'Performing Internationalism: The ISCM as a "musical League of Nations"', earlier in this round table.

clubs and leagues in one provincial city also sidesteps the usual institutional touchstones in histories of the Left and their musical manifestations – the work of the Comintern's International Music Bureau, socialist festivals and musical olympiads.<sup>65</sup> What I reclaim here is an often-overlooked form of internationalist sensibility, but one seemingly crucial to the lived experience of the interwar years.

Arguing for localism in the spaces and sentiments of proletarian song goes against the usual foregrounding of internationalism in histories of the Left. Conversely, an emphasis on the local has often been seen as reactionary, a gesture to an idealized past in which communities were supposedly fixed and homogeneous, devoid of outsiders. However, as geographer Doreen Massey has noted, “place” and “community” have only rarely been coterminous’, nor has the latter been homogeneous; similarly, the point in what follows is that the local spaces of musical interaction were sites of encounter and exchange, fixed and fluid points in much larger networks.<sup>66</sup> The performance of a song in a particular club or tavern gave a local frame that in no sense denied that the moment might also engage with international political affinities. In other words, I pit the lived, sonic experience of daily political life in one city, Turin, against the more abstract, shared sense of political solidarity across regional and national borders. Ad hoc forms of both local and international sociability – what I call a ‘street sociability’ – were cultivated by this music-making.<sup>67</sup> The workers were themselves a heterogeneous, ever-shifting body and the city spaces they occupied were constantly changing to accommodate them. Place is always a process.<sup>68</sup>

One branch of Turin's local music culture was anchored in socialist-supported workers' clubs and leagues.<sup>69</sup> Such organizations housed choirs and bands comprised of workers, groups that were grounded in the everyday experiences of a northern Italian industrial city while also fostering a more abstract and international sense of socialist and worker solidarity. Their musical activity spilled out onto the city's streets, with songs sung in *piazze*, in taverns and during strikes. The body of song from which our examples are taken subsequently came to be dubbed ‘social song’ (*canto sociale*), expressive vehicles for this experience of solidarity.<sup>70</sup> The genre tended to focus both on the hardships of daily life and on moments of insurrection – strikes, demonstrations and labour disputes – that marked the emergence of Italian worker activism, often with reference to proletarian internationalism. Attending to these songs opens up the working-class spaces in which these hardships and insurrections were experienced and shared: factories, streets and neighbourhoods, as well as spaces developed for newly increased

<sup>65</sup> In this sense I am also taking a different tack from the much older notion of a nineteenth-century internationalism as espoused by the official organs of Marxian political movements; see Sluga and Clavin, ‘Rethinking the History of Internationalism’, *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, 3–16.

<sup>66</sup> Doreen B. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 147.

<sup>67</sup> The importance of street life for the experience of the city has a long history in urban studies; see, for example, Jane Jacobs's seminal study *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

<sup>68</sup> A similar point is made by Massey in *Space, Place, and Gender*, 155–6.

<sup>69</sup> These contexts for performance give reason in part for the leftist nature of these songs. Focusing on these repertoires of the Left is not to suggest that there were no worker affiliations with the Right: the *biennio rosso* also bore witness to a growing support for the emerging fascists among the working classes.

<sup>70</sup> Gianni Bosio defines ‘social songs’ (*canti sociali*) as ‘the songs of protest, of denouncement, of political and ideological affirmation, of resistance ... today they function precisely for the interests of the working classes’, Bosio, *L'intellettuale rovesciato* (Milan: Bella Ciao, 1975), 53.

leisure time – the *osterie* (taverns), *piùle* (roughly equivalent to the British pub), workers' clubs and leagues.<sup>71</sup> The late 1910s and early 1920s were a time when the *corsi* (paths) and *piazze* of Turin's public spaces were still inhabited: they were social and political spaces, not just those for passing through.<sup>72</sup> Places for leisure pursuits were seen as facilitating the birth of a modern, industrial proletariat, allowing for communal drinking, dancing and singing, as well as the sharing of political sentiments. Such was the importance of these meeting places that there came to be a known (even causal) connection at the time between the tavern and the strike, between wine and politics.<sup>73</sup>

The street and the drinking table were stages for the performance and fostering of affinity among the relative strangers who inhabited the recently industrialized city. This was still a time when people lived, worked and pursued leisure within the confines of a single neighbourhood.<sup>74</sup> As Franco Castelli notes, 'In the common perception of its inhabitants, every workers' neighbourhood [*borgo*] comes to be seen as a country, a world of personalized relationships, a "little community" whose memory is often idyllically tinged, both for the characters of a suburban landscape still steeped in rural nature, and for the characteristic solidarity of the collective life in the proletarian neighbourhoods.'<sup>75</sup> The *borgo* became the local realm, the lived experience of the city and a community, even if in reality its population was ever-shifting and its physical boundaries porous. It was the power of the idea of the self-contained district that encouraged sociability, the demarcations of neighbourhoods and social spaces facilitating intimate interaction and solidarity.<sup>76</sup>

Where do *La guardia rossa* and *Miseria, miseria* fit into this Turin sonic panorama? Both songs were recorded some decades later by members of Cantacronache, a Turin group of left-wing song collectors, musicians and intellectuals active in the late 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>77</sup> There were two (interconnected) sides to Cantacronache's activities. One was their consolidation of a new type of song which, in its political engagement, distanced itself from the commercial *canzonette* emerging from the Festival di Sanremo and, in its social activism, from the contemporary avant-garde; the other was their recuperation of workers' songs (mainly of a socialist and anarchist inclination) from earlier in the century: reviving old songs was a way of reconnecting with past politics – of solidarity through oral history. These recuperated songs

<sup>71</sup> In addition to the fight for the right to work was the fight for the right to leisure, primarily through the curtailing of the working day.

<sup>72</sup> Richard Sennett argues that the 'fall of public man' is in part due to the emergence in the mid-twentieth century of the idea of city streets as spaces to move through (especially with the rise of the car), rather than spaces to inhabit; Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977; repr. London: Penguin, 2002), 14.

<sup>73</sup> Franco Castelli, in Emilio Jona, Sergio Liberovici, Franco Castelli and Alberto Lovatto, *Le ciminiere non fanno più fumo: Canti e memorie degli operai torinesi* (Rome: Donzelli, 2008), 192.

<sup>74</sup> The relatively late industrialization of Turin meant that workers' experience of the city in the early twentieth century chimed more with nineteenth-century Paris and London; see David Pinckney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), 17.

<sup>75</sup> Castelli, in Jona *et al.*, *Le ciminiere non fanno più fumo*, 166.

<sup>76</sup> As Sennett notes, 'People are more sociable, the more they have some tangible barriers between them'; *The Fall of Public Man*, 15.

<sup>77</sup> Thereafter the group splintered, merging into the newly formed Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano. The core members of Cantacronache were Fausto Amodei, Michele L. Straniero, Sergio Liberovici, Giorgio De Maria, Duilio del Prete, Mario Pogliotti, Lionello Gennero, Emilio Jona, Franca Di Rienzo, Adriano Amedei and Margherita Galante Garrone; they also collaborated with many leading cultural figures of the period, including – among others – Italo Calvino, Umberto Eco, Giulio Einaudi, Franco Fortini, Giacomo Manzoni, Massimo Mila and Piero Santi.

were not 'destined only for the archive', as they put it, but rather were central to a programme of creativity and productivity.<sup>78</sup> Soon after its formation, members of the group set about interviewing and recording people who had been involved in the singing of proletarian song in Turin in the decades around the turn of the century.<sup>79</sup>

The shoemaker Carlo Sacchetti recalled one such song, *La guardia rossa* ('Ecco s'avanza uno strano soldato'), for two of the central members of Cantacronache, musician Sergio Liberovici and lawyer Emilio Jona.<sup>80</sup> They recorded that the song was written in 1919 by Spartacus Picens (a pseudonym for Raffaele Offidani), a well-known, Turin-based author of more than 100 political songs that circulated widely in workers' culture between the end of the First World War and the aftermath of the Second. According to Sacchetti, the words of the 1919 version are as follows (the song exists in numerous other incarnations):

Ecco s'avanza uno strano soldato  
vien dall'Oriente non monta destrier  
ha man callose il volto abbronzato  
è il più glorioso di tutti i guerrier

Non ha pennacchi né galloni dorati  
ma sul berretto e scolpita nel cuor  
porta una falce e un martello incrociati  
son gli emblemi del lavor

Viva il lavor!

È la guardia rossa  
che la marcia alla riscossa  
che scuoterà la fossa  
la schiava umanità

Giacque vilmente la plebe in catene  
sotto il tallone del ricco padrone  
dopo millenni di strazi e di pene  
l'asino infine si cangia in leon

E sbrana furente il succhion coronato  
toglie al nababbo l'or che rubò  
e lo condanna al lavoro forzato  
perché mai non lavorò  
non lavorò!

È a guardia rossa ...

Here comes a strange soldier  
he comes from the East, not on mounted steed  
he has calloused hands and a tanned face  
he is the most glorious of all warriors!

He has no feather hat or golden stripes,  
but on his cap and carved in his heart  
he bears a hammer and sickle.  
They are the emblems of labour

Long live labour!

He is the red guard  
who marches to the rescue  
and frees from the grave  
enslaved humanity

The people lay in chains  
under the heel of their rich master,  
but after millennia of torture and pain  
the donkey finally changes into a lion

He tears into the crowned parasite,  
he strips the nabob of the gold he stole  
and condemns him to hard labour  
because he has never worked,  
never worked!

He is the red guard ...

<sup>78</sup> Emilio Jona, in *Canti degli operai torinesi: Dalla fine dell'800 agli anni del fascismo*, ed. Emilio Jona and Sergio Liberovici (Milan: Ricordi, 1990), x.

<sup>79</sup> This work continued up until the early 1970s; see *ibid.* and *Le ciminiere non fanno più fumo*, ed. Jona *et al.*

<sup>80</sup> Sacchetti was interviewed several times by Liberovici and Jona between 1959 and 1960, and in June 1968, in his shoemaker's workshop in Turin. His testimony is recorded *ibid.*, 350–3. The English translation of the song is my own.

The 'red guard' here refers to two things. First, it suggests the Bolshevik paramilitary volunteer groups that comprised primarily factory workers and peasants, and who helped establish Soviet control in the period between the October Revolution in 1917 and the consolidation of the Red Army in 1918.<sup>81</sup> Second, the term refers to the Italian proletarian protest groups (*guardie rosse*) who led strikes and occupations during the *biennio rosso* in Turin; in 1921 these groups were subsumed into the militant anti-fascist Arditi del Popolo. The song's lyrics thus gesture to both international and local contexts via a utopian story of socialist salvation: the red-guard soldier, hardened by war and toil, has arrived to rescue the 'enslaved' worker.

Using the age-old technique of contrafactum (setting new texts to pre-existing melodies), the text was originally set to a well-known French waltz, *Valse brune*. According to the ethnomusicologist Roberto Leydi, this version was sung by Italian representatives at the First Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in 1919.<sup>82</sup> On hearing the anthem, Lenin supposedly professed surprise at the idea of red guards marching to a waltz. What is noteworthy here is the migration the song had undertaken in such a short time: from the workers' culture of Turin to a Russian congress attended by Lenin himself. The version sung by Sacchetti, however, was set to a different melody, by an unknown composer, and was the setting that became most widely known.<sup>83</sup> In this form, it was to become the official anthem of the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI) and an enduring anthem of the Left. From Liberovici and Jona's transcription, it is evident that the lyrics' triumphalism is matched by its musical setting as a political anthem. The simplicity, march-like rhythms and melodic repetition emphasize the music's subservience to its political message and its capacity to be collectively sung – an envoicing of shared political dissent. Indeed, Sacchetti reports that he learnt the song from his father, also a shoemaker, who most likely encountered it through his participation in socialist (later communist) artisan leagues and taverns, or during his imprisonment in the 1930s for anti-fascist activities. In terms of the geographies of its performance, then, the song migrated between informal spaces, such as the shoemaker's workshop and prison cells, to the relatively formal spaces of Turin's socialist leagues and workers' clubs as the song increasingly became an anthem for the Italian Left.

Information about *Miseria, miseria* was recounted to Liberovici and Jona by Felice Carando.<sup>84</sup> Carando was a worker and political militant who belonged to the Turin club Circolo Socialista Oltre Po' and had signed up with the Arditi del Popolo in the early 1920s to fight against the fascists. In contrast to *La guardia rossa*, *Miseria, miseria* is in Piedmontese dialect and, unusually for the repertoire collected by Cantacronache, was found only in Turin. According to Carando's testimony, the song was widespread in the city during the *biennio rosso*. The text is richly complex

<sup>81</sup> The 'hammer and sickle' refers to the symbol of proletarian solidarity – between peasantry (sickle) and the working class (hammer) – that became ubiquitous during the Russian Revolution and which was quickly taken up by other communist movements.

<sup>82</sup> Leydi's sleeve note to the vinyl EP *Canti comunisti italiani* (1962), I Dischi del Sole, DS 5, according to sleeve notes for vinyl LP *Sventolerai lassù: Antologia della canzone comunista in Italia 2* (1977), I Dischi del Sole, DS 1078/80.

<sup>83</sup> However, a score from 1946 for voice, mandolin and accordion attributes it to a G. Biggini.

<sup>84</sup> Liberovici and Jona interviewed Carando in Turin in February 1959; Jona *et al.*, *Le ciminiere non fanno più fumo*, 390–3. Although both songs here were recounted by men, that is not to say that they were not sung by women: there is much evidence that *La guardia rossa* in particular was sung by women. Moreover, a significant portion of the songs recorded by Cantacronache had been recalled by women whose testimony suggests that both men and women were involved in the musical activities of the clubs and leagues. Earlier in the century, when song was still commonly sung to accompany work, there was a clearer gender demarcation – the substantial repertoire of songs by female rice weeders being a notable example; see *Senti le rane che cantano: Canzoni e vissuti popolari della risaia*, ed. Franco Castelli, Emilio Jona and Alberto Lovatto (Rome: Donzelli, 2005).



and again exists in numerous versions;<sup>85</sup> Carando recorded the version he was familiar with as follows:<sup>86</sup>

Misèria, misèria la dote ünica che i duma ai nòstri fiöi a piöu fa frèid a fiòca nui misèri a l'uma niènte ch'an cuàta	Poverty, poverty the unique gift we give to our children; it's raining, it's cold, it's snowing, we poor have nothing to cover ourselves
La misèria a j'è pür sèmpre ch'an guida fin a la mòrt	Poverty is always there it guides us through to death
Mal nütrì da lunga data sucialismu vöi salvène tüti quant iscrit an lega capital fuma müri	We the long-term malnourished, socialism wants to save us, with everyone enrolled in the league capital we may destroy!
La culpa l'è nòstra a l'è nui che s'lu vuruma l'è nui chi travajuma par manten-i al lüssu a lur	It's our fault we are the ones who want it it is we who work to maintain the luxury for them.
Diśimpiegà sensa 'n tòc 'd pan anduma anduma l'idea an guida cumbate 'l prèivi e 'l capital	Unemployed without a piece of bread let's go let's go the idea guides us, to fight the priest and capital
L'an fam l'an fam e i cit a ciamu 'dco lur al pan 'dco lur al pan	They are hungry, the children ask for bread, they ask for bread
Carlu Marx Carlu Marx a l'à dilu a l'à dilu al mund inter uverié uverié ünivi la vitòria av suridrà	Karl Marx, Karl Marx said it, he said it to the whole world, workers, workers unite! and victory will smile upon you

<sup>85</sup> A two-verse segment is recorded by Roberto Leydi in 'Osservazioni sulle canzoni della Resistenza Italiana nel quadro della nostra musica popolare', *Canti della Resistenza Italiana*, ed. Tito Romano and Giorgio Solza (Milan: Collana del Gallo Grande, 1960), 7–78 (p. 43). Leydi also notes that it was 'un canzone operaia cantata', circulating in Turin between 1919 and 1922. There is also intertextuality: Liberovici and Jona record that the first verse, 'Misèria misèria', is also present in a version of the song *Guarda là 'n pianüra* recalled to by Angelo Giorcelli in *Le ciminiere non fanno più fumo*.

<sup>86</sup> Italian translation: 'Misèria, miseria / la dote unica che diamo ai nostri figli / piove, fa freddo, nevica / noi miseri non abbiamo niente per coprirci. // La miseria c'è pur sempre / che ci guida fino alla morte. // Malnutriti da lunga data / socialismo vuole salvarci / tutti quanti iscritti in lega / capitale facciamo morire. // La colpa è nostra / siamo noi che ce lo vogliamo / siamo noi che lavoriamo / per mantenere il lusso a loro. // Disoccupati senza un pezzo di pane / andiamo andiamo / l'idea ci guida / combattere il prete e il capitale. // Hanno fame / i bambini chiedono anche loro il pane. // Carlo Marx / l'ha detto al mondo intero / operai unitevi / la vittoria vi sorriderà. // Evviva. / Andiamo, andiamo / l'idea ci guida / combattere il prete e il capitale.' The English translation is my own.

Eviva  
anduma anduma  
l'idea an guida  
cumbate 'l prèivi e 'l capital

Hurray!  
Let's go, let's go  
the idea guides us  
to fight the priest and capital

The lyrics interweave the miserable plight of the workers with a Marxian dialectic on capital, an explicit reference that Liberovici and Jona note as new in the repertoire.<sup>87</sup> They identified *Miseria*, *misèria* as belonging to a corpus of songs they called 'cantate operaie' – a phrase hard to capture adequately in translation; in one sense it means something like 'workers' cantatas', but probably here means something more like 'workers' singalongs'. They recognized this subgenre as a Turin phenomenon: a form of song forged by the city's working classes to give expression to their political experiences in the tumultuous early decades of the century. Melodies were borrowed from a wide range of repertoire, transposing and rearranging snippets of Neapolitan song, operetta, Risorgimento song, political anthem, folk music and even nineteenth-century opera – in some cases, that is, musical cultures far removed from the radical Left and the working classes – as a satirical or parodic accompaniment to socialist and communist content.<sup>88</sup> These songs formed a diverse and fragmented repertoire, but one united in its use of choral forms and in its commitment to ideals of internationalism, workers' pride and solidarity.

We find these features in *Miseria*, *misèria*. The repetitive refrains suggest the possibility of an alternation of soloist and chorus, a pattern also suggested by Carando's mode of performance and the accompanying transcription. In Liberovici and Jona's recording, Carando delivers the verses in a free-flowing, aria-like manner, while the refrains are more fixed and chorale-like.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, his trained voice, with subtle vibrato and even operatic inflections, suggests that he probably belonged to a workers' choir. The song seems geared for performance at cultural events hosted by workers' clubs, although Carando's claim for the song's ubiquity in Turin suggests it was potentially heard beyond the club. Most clubs had their own choirs and often their own political anthems (normally written by workers). The potential for group singing fostered a sense of camaraderie, but also offered a means of self-expression and possibilities for political action: *Miseria*, *misèria* is reflexive, while also suggesting a path forward.

We have, then, two contrasting songs: one has continued to be well known up to the present, the other has enjoyed sporadic resurgence; one is in Italian, the other in dialect; one is more straightforwardly a political anthem, the other a complex assortment of genres. But they share common features: both songs contain suggestions of a route out of worker desperation, a sense of political activism; and both enshrine their political climates for posterity. Building on the anthropologist Ernesto de Martino's notion of 'progressive folklore', that is, of cultural activity among the lower classes energizing them against the political elite (through strikes, occupations

<sup>87</sup> Italy developed its own idiosyncratic Marxism in part because Marx was relatively unknown until the twentieth century: the first translation of *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), for example, had been published as late as 1891. Marx was thus not necessarily the go-to theorist for the radical Left.

<sup>88</sup> Jona et al., *Le ciminiere non fanno più fumo*, 83.

<sup>89</sup> CD contained in *ibid.*

and so on), Liberovici and Jona viewed these songs not as mere decorations of daily life, but rather as crucial instruments of expression and action.<sup>90</sup>

Central to the instilling of political expression and activism in those who sang and listened to these songs was the forging of a collectivity among workers, the recognition of themselves as a political force. In this sense, the shared aesthetic experience of singing and listening to *La guardia rossa* at the tavern table or *Miseria, miseria* in a workers' club was a musical counterpart to the factory occupations taking place simultaneously. In February 1919, metalworkers – organized and supported by the Federazione Italiana Operai Metallurgici (FIOM) – had successfully gone on strike for an eight-hour working day. The moment of victory was also marked by the Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI) winning its largest ever share of the vote in the general election that year, sending the Liberal government into crisis. The electoral success suggested not only an increasingly powerful working class demanding change, but also demonstrated the ways the PSI had infiltrated worker culture. Unionism was crucial, with most workers belonging to syndicates (*camere del lavoro*) that were controlled by the socialists.<sup>91</sup>

While many on the Left tried to harness the unrest of the *biennio rosso* and to galvanize the workers into more organized units, divisions among the newly empowered socialists thwarted progress. Indeed, the grassroots militancy of these years served only to exacerbate these divisions.<sup>92</sup> Since its founding in 1892, the PSI had been ambivalent about popular militancy. Under the leadership of Filippo Turati and his reformist wing, the party had originally defined itself against the Bakuninian anarchism that was a growing feature of Italian proletarian activity in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The PSI, in a way that rendered it idiosyncratic compared with many other European socialist parties at the time, had parliamentary ambitions, with an attitude of integrationism rather than antagonism towards the Liberal government.<sup>93</sup> The outcome was to create a schism between the party and its worker base, most of the latter supporting the more revolutionary and anarchist factions of the party. These divisions came to a head in the *biennio rosso*, with popular militancy not supported or co-opted by the official leadership of the PSI. The result was an inward-looking party, more preoccupied with its own fractious politics than with trying to forge international connections or combat an emergent fascist threat.

Our two songs register this hesitancy between workers and socialism, between the realities of local conflict and party politics.<sup>94</sup> *La guardia rossa* celebrates the local paramilitary groups crucial to the occupations, putting itself at odds with the official PSI line. *Miseria, miseria*, conversely, may be in dialect, but it adopts a more pedagogic and elitist tone in its musical and

<sup>90</sup> Ernesto de Martino, 'Il folklore progressivo emiliano', *Emilia*, 3/21 (1951), 251–4, discussed in Castelli, Jona and Lovatto, *Senti le rane che cantano*, 237.

<sup>91</sup> The *camere del lavoro* were labour institutions that hosted local unions, leagues and savings banks for workers. They were often divided into specific crafts and were established at the end of the nineteenth century following the French syndicalist model. They predominantly used strikes as their weapons against the government and industrialists.

<sup>92</sup> The major outcomes of 1920 were that the maximalist Giacinto Serrati emerged as the leader of the PSI, and the Partito Comunista d'Italia (later renamed the Partito Comunista Italiano, or PCI) was formed in January 1921, out of the Congress of Livorno and under the impetus of Amadeo Bordiga.

<sup>93</sup> This attitude was reciprocated by the prime minister, Giovanni Giolitti, who wanted to incorporate the socialist movement into the parliamentary system and thus, he believed, strengthen the state.

<sup>94</sup> Gavin Williams makes a similar point, noting that whereas Cantacronache tended 'to stress the productive affinities between socialist politics and workers' emancipation, it is equally possible to hear rehearsed in these recordings the cracks and the divisions in the relationship between politicians and workers'; review of Jona *et. al.*, *Le ciminiere non fanno più fumo*, *Opera Quarterly*, 29 (2013), 80–5 (p. 83).

textual complexity: the impression is of urban socialist intellectuals adopting the patois of workers who still bore their rural origins. But both songs are ‘sound documents’, to borrow Andrea F. Bohlman’s term: aural and written traces of using music to voice dissent against the political status quo.<sup>95</sup> The communal listening and singing thus fostered were an affirmative sounding of collectivity, of social and political solidarity among a certain sector of the public; but they were also thoroughly local affirmations that could open up as many divisions within that sector as they sought to overcome.

This localism was also marked by Turin’s idiosyncratic socialism. Partly as a consequence of the PSI’s failure to build on the workers’ momentum, local factions began to take shape, away from the party’s Milanese headquarters. In Turin, a group emerged that clustered around the journal *L’ordine nuovo*, launched in May 1919 with Antonio Gramsci as its figurehead.<sup>96</sup> The group also responded to the particular exigencies of the Turin proletariat, centred on the Fiat plant and metalworking factories.<sup>97</sup> The Ordine nuovo (as they became known) pushed for the creation of factory councils: inspired by the Soviet model, these were populated through worker elections, with the belief that they could become the building blocks of larger political structures.<sup>98</sup> Gramsci believed that the revolution needed to come from the workers themselves, that they needed to unite to realize their own autonomy and potential – and that factory councils afforded a means of organizing this potential. To come to this realization, the people had to be on side, not simply dictated to from above; revolution had to start from the point of production, in the factories and in other workers’ spaces. Furthermore, Gramsci argued, cultural activity was also needed to raise worker consciousness, to lift discontent on the factory floor and in the *borgo* into the political arena. Yet Gramsci seemingly overlooked the significance of song, which had emerged as a crucial mode of activist expression and political awareness.<sup>99</sup>

Thus, if the PSI displayed certain idiosyncrasies in the international arena in its pursuit of compromise and political power, the Turin-based Ordine nuovo bore an individuality in relation to the central Milanese arm of the party. The unstable nexus between party, workers, unions and locally organized councils came to a head in April 1920: half a million Turin workers went on general strike over rights to form factory councils and control of the production process. The government supported the employers, with thousands of troops deployed in the city streets. The strike was quickly quashed, in large part because the PSI

<sup>95</sup> Andrea F. Bohlman, ‘Solidarity, Song, and the Sound Document’, *Journal of Musicology*, 33 (2016), 232–69.

<sup>96</sup> The Turin movement was founded by Angelo Tasca in 1909 and was quickly joined by Palmiro Togliatti, Umberto Terracini and Antonio Gramsci. It regrouped after the First World War.

<sup>97</sup> Fiat factories, based on Henry Ford’s Detroit model, were opened in 1900, and led to an unprecedented expansion of Turin’s proletariat. Around the turn of the century, Italian factory environments were especially harsh within Europe, with long days and poor conditions, and with the workers possessing few rights; Castelli, in *Le ciminiere non fanno più fumo*, ed. Jona et al., 180. The PSI rode the crest of a rising humanitarianism: a growing political awareness of these conditions and the need for change.

<sup>98</sup> Gramsci, ‘Democrazia operaia’ (‘Workers’ Democracy’), *L’ordine nuovo*, 1/7 (21 June 1919) 47–8. The first factory council was instigated at Fiat in September 1919. The idea quickly caught on in Turin and the surrounding regions, but met with hostility from trade unions as well as the party. The leaders of FIOM espoused legal trade unionism and negotiation, rather than anarcho-revolutionary tendencies, and were wary of the factory council’s support of worker democracy, thereby giving voice to the proletarian masses beyond an official organization.

<sup>99</sup> This is an oversight that Giorgina Levi argues is all the stranger as Gramsci repeatedly reiterated the importance of political energy coming from proletarian creative activity; Levi, *Cultura e associazioni operaie in Piemonte: 1890–1975* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1985), 69.

failed to intervene in support of the workers. The PSI and the trade unions had by this point abandoned the factory councils, something that resulted in further hostility between the party and the Turin group. The disjuncture or antagonism between local, national and international concerns registered in song was thus mirrored in socialist politics of the time.

Continued strike action in Turin in September of that year only served to exacerbate these tensions. The outcome was a series of failed compromises: the government's encouragement of the PSI and union leaders to negotiate a compromise horrified the industrialists, furthering their move to the Right. The PSI met in Milan during the occupations to consider pursuing revolution – a notion that was rejected. The workers' revolutionary ideals were quashed;<sup>100</sup> by early 1922 the Left had been almost entirely eradicated from the political landscape, when only a few years previously it had been the central protagonist. Our songs, as they were sung a few years earlier, are yet to witness this moment of disillusionment for the Turin workers, instead being full of the possibility of revolution. They are nestled at the heart of the insurrectionary moment, an embodiment of the political culture of the Italian labour movement during the high point of the *biennio rosso*. In the political tensions sounded, however, they foretell what was to come, serving as nodes in a larger political flow.<sup>101</sup>

More important still, song served as a popular urban mode of communication on the eve of the dominance of mass communication networks: the late story of 'popular' music before mass media. It was this sense of song as a means of political communication across spaces, creating a sense of worker solidarity and awareness of themselves as a political class, that led Liberovici and Jona to assume that the songs seemingly instilled in their singers and listeners the recipe for a socialist state. They drew a point of comparison between the 'cantata operaia' as a newly formal way of giving musical expression to the workers' plight and socialism's work to manage the proletarian uprisings of these years. However, as one listens to the way local inflections take shape in these songs, the localism of these political expressions starts to suggest a more complex picture, one in which the relationship between song, socialism and workers' culture is more uneasy and unsettled.

The versions of *La guardia rossa* and *Miseria, miseria* echoing in Turin's proletarian neighbourhoods during the *biennio rosso* thus encompassed a wide field of cultural reference, but gestured in specific directions: to the growing self-awareness of the labouring masses and their position in northern Italian industrial society; to issues of internal strife within the various factions of the Italian Left; to ideas of international worker solidarity via the Bolshevik Revolution and Marx. The impression that emerges from the songs and the working-class culture they formed a part of is one of linguistic variation, Russian-inspired politics and localism. Focusing on the singularity of the Turin proletariat's musical mediation of interwar politics is not to rehearse the oft-invoked clichés of Italian exceptionalism and regionalism. Rather, every case is both typical and exceptional: an emphasis on the specifics of place is not to close off a nation or region as fixed and homogeneous. The point is instead that these songs are both self-consciously local *and* international, as are the places in which they were sung. Localities, after all, should always be set within larger contexts. The street sociability contained in workers' music-making demonstrates a late,

<sup>100</sup> Historians have subsequently asked whether this really was a revolutionary moment, or whether in fact the turmoil constituted something more 'modest'. See, for example, Paolo Spriano, *The Occupation of the Factories: Italy 1920*, trans. Gwyn A. Williams (London: Pluto Press, 1975), 22; originally published as *L'occupazione delle fabbriche. Settembre 1920* (Turin: Einaudi, 1964).

<sup>101</sup> Lovatto captures this sense of multidirectional flow when he calls Turin 'a network of paths, a place of encounter of music and text, a space traversed by song'; Jona *et al.*, *Le ciminiere non fanno più fumo*, 110.

overlooked flourishing of public life in workers' culture, but also a localized sphere of encounter that could lead to more internationalist political affinities.

This case study of music and political action, on the cusp of fascism and the dominance of mass media, complicates narratives of an inherent rapport between workers' songs and socialism, the Left and international allegiance.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, the songs share affinities with proletarian protests that are at some remove from – perhaps even at odds with – the primary political organizations of the Left.<sup>103</sup> Examining one 'moment' of subaltern song allows us to anchor the sonorous flow and political fidelities of the interwar period, while simultaneously exposing the internationalist ramifications – a moment of song, limited by its sonic duration, floats into the ether but still connects with those uttered elsewhere.

## From the History of Jazz in Europe towards a European History of Jazz: The International Federation of Hot Clubs (1935–6) and 'Jazz Internationalism'

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'Hot clubs' proliferated all over Europe and the United States during the 1930s. For a brief period (1935–6), they joined forces in an International Federation of Hot Clubs (IFHC), the main purpose of which was to link together devotees in search of American hot jazz recordings at a time when they were difficult to find and buy in Europe, since that sub-genre was less popular and commercially successful than what was then called 'straight' jazz. The expression 'hot jazz' was coined by jazz musicians at the end of the 1920s and referred to a style based on performance and improvisation rather than on the composition and performance of written parts. A founder of the Hot Club de France (HCF) in 1932, the French jazz critic Hugues Panassié was the first to establish a hierarchy between these two styles:

*Straight* means [...] playing the text as written [...] This formula is most often employed in large ensembles led by Paul Whiteman, Jack Hylton and Ray Starita, etc. [...] This formula [...] is also the least representative of the true physiognomy of jazz. On the contrary, *hot jazz*, which is much less well-known in France, is the true form of jazz. *Hot jazz* consists in performing a tune with fantasy, without paying too much respect to its original melody.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>102</sup> The fascists also recognized the importance of song as a means of propaganda. 'Social song' of a more leftist bent was banned by the regime, with people being arrested for singing subversive material; Mussolini announced the closure of 25,000 taverns in May 1927. See Giacomo De Marzi, *I canti del Fascismo* (Genoa: Frilli, 2004), 28–9.

<sup>103</sup> Leydi and Bosio propose that social song might offer a 'counterpoint' to the public history of the proletarian political organizations. See Roberto Leydi, *Canti sociali italiani*, i (Milan: Edizioni Avanti!, 1963), 10–11.

<sup>104</sup> '*Straight* signifie [...] jouer le texte musical tel qu'il a été écrit [...] C'est la formule qu'emploient le plus souvent les grands orchestres de Paul Whiteman, Jack Hylton, Ray Starita, etc. [...] C'est aussi [...] celle qui représente le moins bien la véritable physionomie du jazz. Au contraire, le jazz *hot*, beaucoup moins connu en France, est la forme du vrai jazz. Le jazz *hot* consiste en une interprétation fantaisiste qui s'écarte entièrement de la ligne primitive du morceau.' Hugues Panassié, *Le jazz hot* (Paris: Corrêa, 1934), 25. Author's translation.



The distinction between 'hot' and 'straight' jazz may sound peculiar, as the characteristics of hot jazz broadly correspond to the definition of jazz in general, as we commonly refer to it nowadays. However, in the 1920s and early 1930s, the term applied to only one part of the repertoires that were regarded and categorized as 'jazz'. Some of the most popular jazz musicians, combos and orchestras (including Paul Whiteman, Jack Hylton and Ray Starita) fell into Panassié's 'straight jazz' category. Initiated by Panassié and the American jazz critic Marshall Stearns, the IFHC helped to promote the leading figures of hot jazz (Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington and Bix Beiderbecke, among others), who were then little known to a European audience. The IFHC also fostered exchanges between national hot clubs, especially in Europe. Tracing the history of this organization is of particular interest for the study of international institutions and internationalism in music. That such an institution was short-lived raises three overarching questions about internationalism in music during the interwar period. To what extent was it based solely on shared ideals and passion for this music? Was it homogeneous – were all countries involved put on an equal footing in international music institutions? Was it reciprocal – did all countries take similar advantages of exchanges fostered by international music institutions or, in the case of jazz, were European countries only following initiatives coming from the United States?

In addition to questioning the ideals of music internationalism, this article also has a historiographical ambition – to try to break down the national compartmentalization of previous and current historiography of interwar jazz in Europe.<sup>105</sup> The IFHC is an ideal case study for exploring the implications of going beyond this nation-centred historiography by illustrating the tensions between internationalism as a topic and internationalism as an approach. There are many challenges to undertaking such a wide-ranging history, of which dealing with a plurality of languages is only one. In order to emphasize the polyphonic dimension of internationalism both as a topic and a method of investigation, this article will draw on research and archival materials from American, Belgian, Dutch, English, French and Spanish sources. The American perspective on the IFHC will be taken into account as well. In addition to examining this federation from its inception in 1935 to its silent dissolution from 1936 onwards, the article will discuss what I term 'jazz internationalism' as an initial step towards a deeper understanding of European jazz.

### **Asymmetry, networking and international commonality: three aspects of jazz internationalism before the creation of the IFHC**

Jazz internationalism was asymmetrical in terms of its power relations even before the creation of the IFHC. Jazz from European countries was most often seen as subordinate or derivative in relation to jazz from the USA; this imbalance can be seen in the commercial arrangements of jazz sheet music and record companies, as much as in the categories and rhetoric deployed by jazz periodicals. American record firms established local branches in European countries, or they sold the rights to sell American sheet music or recordings to European publishers. For example, the Columbia label was introduced into Europe in 1900,<sup>106</sup> and during the 1920s, the founder of the

<sup>105</sup> This tendency can be viewed in two modern publications: *History of European Jazz*, ed. Francesco Martinelli (Sheffield: Equinox, 2017), and *The Oxford History of Jazz in Europe*, ed. Walter van de Leur (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

<sup>106</sup> David Patmore, 'Selling Sounds: Recordings and the Record Business', *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 120–39 (p. 137).

Belgian ‘International Music Company’, Félix-Robert Faecq, was in constant touch with American and European editors in order to acquire the right to market their catalogues in Belgium.<sup>107</sup> During the interwar years, this asymmetry coincided with the respective status of US and European jazz within international jazz discourse and categorizations.<sup>108</sup> In Faecq’s jazz journal *Music* (1924–39), for instance, monthly lists of hits were divided into an ‘international’ category and various national categories. Without exception, the ‘international’ category exclusively consisted of US tunes, whereas national sections were mostly devoted to European countries. Thus, despite ideals of mutual cooperation (especially after the First World War),<sup>109</sup> ‘internationalism’ more often referred to forms of hegemony, revealing very unequal power relations between the countries in question. This also explains why the first histories of jazz almost exclusively dealt with the USA without specifying the name of this country in their title.<sup>110</sup>

Prior to the creation of the IFHC, jazz internationalism was also shaped by European journals, which – much more than their American equivalents – gathered an international network of jazz critics and musicians. Sections were devoted to news for different countries, which included America of course, but also European countries. As a consequence, journals such as the French *Jazz-Tango* and *Jazz Hot*, the British *Rhythm*, *Melody Maker* and *Tune Times*, the Belgian *Music*, the Dutch *Jazzwereld* and the Spanish *Musica viva* and *Jazz Magazine* regularly translated or reproduced interviews and articles by foreign specialists. Many European jazz journals contained a large number of articles on American jazz, reflecting its dominance. The reverse was not true, as European jazz and European critics were almost completely absent from American journals such as *Downbeat*.

There was also an intra-European dimension to this discourse, since a good share of the international sections of the aforementioned journals were devoted to other European countries. Such transatlantic and intra-European internationalism is found in *Jazz Hot*, a journal launched by Panassié in March 1935. It was entirely bilingual (French and English) and could be bought in Belgian, Swiss, British, Dutch and Spanish shops.<sup>111</sup>

*Jazz Hot* employed an important network of contributors (see Table 1), two thirds of whom were European, and one third American. European jazz life was, therefore, regularly covered. Panassié began to build this close-knit network between 1930 and 1935, when he worked for the French journal *Jazz-Tango*. It was based on reciprocal exchange, with European collaborators regularly inviting one another to contribute to their respective journals. This is how the French jazz critic and record collector Charles Delaunay’s reviews of the Parisian jazz scene came to be published in the Spanish *Jazz Magazine*.<sup>112</sup> By the same token, a series of articles

<sup>107</sup> ‘Félix-Robert Faecq International Music Company – Correspondance (1922–1939)’, box in the Archives Robert Pernet, Musée des Instruments de Musique, Brussels.

<sup>108</sup> Martin Guerpin, ‘Catégoriser le jazz: Le disque, les critiques et l’émergence d’un genre musical autonome en France (1918–1936)’, *Musique, disque et radio (1900–1950)*, ed. Michel Duchesneau and Federico Lazzaro (Montreal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, forthcoming).

<sup>109</sup> Lloyd Ambrosius, *Woodrow Wilson and American Internationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 2.

<sup>110</sup> See, for instance, Gunther Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), and Gunther Schuller, *Swing Era: The Development of Jazz, 1930–1945* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). For more recent examples, see Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>111</sup> Anonymous advertisement, ‘Achetez Jazz-Hot chez ...’, *Jazz Hot*, 1/1, March 1935.

<sup>112</sup> Charles Delaunay, ‘Carta de París’, *Jazz Magazine: Órgano oficial del ‘Hot Club’ de Barcelona*, 2 (September–October 1935), 9.

TABLE 1  
CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FIRST ISSUE OF *JAZZ HOT*.

Contributor	Nationality	Number of contributors
Henri Bernard, Charles Delaunay, André Ekyan, Madeleine Gautier, Pierre Gazères, Georges Herment, Georges Hilaire, Stéphane Mougin, Hugues Panassié, Michel Prunières, Léo Vauchant	France	Europe 11
Jeff R. Aldam, Stanley Dance	United Kingdom	13
Michel Andrico	Romania	
Dietrich Schulz, Perrin Strikes	Germany	
Henk Nielsen Jr, Jaap Sajet, Joost Van Praag	The Netherlands	
Ezio Levi	Italy	
Alexander Landau	Poland	
M. Philipott, N. Suris	Spain	
P.-E. Beha	Switzerland	
Bernard Addison, Louis Armstrong, Bennie Carter, Garnet Clark, George Frazier, Ad. de Haas, John Hammond, Wilder Hobson, Preston Jackson	USA	13

written by the British pianist Billy Mayerl for the *Keith Prowse Courier* was featured in *Music*.<sup>113</sup> As early as 1926, translating texts about jazz in order to foster their international circulation in European journals was common practice. The last major aspect of jazz institutional internationalism before the creation of the IFHC lies in the increasing number of national hot clubs from 1932 to 1935, both in liberal democracies and in fascist and Nazi regimes, where a jazz culture still existed in the 1930s.<sup>114</sup> These clubs played a key role in the production and dissemination of hot jazz records in America and Europe, but their second major goal was the gathering together of local fans. Between early 1932 and late 1935, clubs did not actively seek to develop links with one another. In wother words, before the creation of the IFHC, the jazz world was an international one by happenstance; internationalism as a self-conscious political strategy had no place in it.

The chronological coincidences displayed in Table 2 raise the question of the connection between the creation of the various hot clubs. Did they result from similar contexts and needs in different countries, or from the imitation of the French and/or Belgian model in European countries and in the USA? In the case of European hot clubs, both answers are valid. The

<sup>113</sup> Billy Mayerl, 'La musique syncope pour le piano', *Music*, 2/7–8, 2/10–11, 3/1 and 3/3 (May–December 1926).

<sup>114</sup> Fabio Presutti, 'The Saxophone and the Pastoral: Italian Jazz in the Age of Fascist Modernity', *Italica*, 85/2–3 (2008), 273–94; Michael Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

TABLE 2  
HOT CLUBS AND THEIR ESTABLISHMENT,  
AS RECORDED BY EUROPEAN JAZZ JOURNALS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Official name</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>First director(s)</i>
October 1932	Jazz Club de Belgique	Belgium	Robert Goffin and Félix-Robert Faecq
	Hot Club de France	France	Hugues Panassié
June 1933	Rhythm Club n° 1	UK	Bill Elliott
1933	Hot Club	Italy	Alfredo Antonino
	Nederlandse Hot Club	Netherlands	Eddy Crommelin
1934	Swing Club	Germany	Dietrich Schulz
Early 1935	Yale Hot Club	USA	Marshall Stearns
	Gramoklub	Czechoslovakia	Emmanuel Ugge and Jan Sima
March 1935	British Rhythm Club Federation	UK	W. Elliott
May 1935	Hot Club de Barcelona	Spain	Pere Casadeval and Juan Durán Alemany
October 1935	United Hot Clubs of America (UHCA) <sup>115</sup>	USA	John Hammond and Marshall Stearns
1935	Jazz Club de France	France	Stéphane Mougin
1936	Circolo Jazz Hot (Milano)	Italy	Ezio Levi, Gian carlo Testoni and Marcello Marchesi
April 1939	Hot Club de Belgique	Belgium	Willy de Cort, Carlos de Radzitzky and Albert Bettonville

creation of these institutions was a consequence of a common context in the early 1930s: the discovery of a new style of jazz by a small group of fans, through American records; and the difficulty of accessing these records in Europe. Besides this European commonality, French and Belgian hot clubs served as a model that was rapidly known and emulated in other countries, thanks to the aforementioned international networks. For instance, it was Stearns who, in 1935, asked Panassié if he would let him found his own organization (the Yale Hot Club), after the model of the HCF, which he noticed was efficient in giving hot jazz more visibility.<sup>116</sup>

The case of hot clubs is thus particularly interesting in that the model for such clubs was created in Europe and then adopted in the USA, which reverses the asymmetric transmitter–receiver pattern of jazz internationalism until then. This is one of the reasons why Europe was seen by American musicians and critics as one of the first places where jazz was first recognized

<sup>115</sup> The UHCA was established to federate US local hot clubs which developed in the wake of the Yale Hot Club. It initially comprised seven clubs (Birmingham (Alabama), Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, New York, Yale).

<sup>116</sup> Letter from Marshall Stearns to Hugues Panassié, 1935. Pierre Nourry Archive, Dieppe (no shelfmark).

as art music.<sup>117</sup> As the multiplication of jazz journals gave birth to an international network of jazz critics, the flourishing of jazz clubs soon posed the question of their connections, hence the idea of an international federation.

### **Beyond wishful thinking: the IFHC, international cooperation and standardization**

Rather than being the result of cooperation between hot clubs from every country, the IFHC was born out of French and American initiatives. The HCF provided the first impetus, the fourth article of its statutes calling for an 'international association of regional Hot Clubs'. It was published in the February 1933 issue of *Jazz-Tango*:

The club [the HCF] proposes to extend the network of its local clubs to foreign countries, and to encourage the creation of similar clubs, in order to give an international scope to its actions.<sup>118</sup>

A similar concern was expressed by Stearns, founder of the Yale Hot Club in 1935. A few weeks before the creation of the IFHC, he advocated the creation of an 'International Hot Club' to gather individuals from all countries, proposing that 'New York will be the centre of activity, and meetings will be held at the Brunswick studios'.<sup>119</sup> These statements, as well as international connections already established between jazz critics, led to the foundation of the IFHC, placed under the direction of Panassié (president) and Stearns (secretary). The Yale Hot Club became the headquarters of the organization, and *Jazz Hot* its official organ. In the next few months, hot clubs from France, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain and the USA joined the federation, and information about the creation of the IFHC was circulated in all existing jazz journals.

The creation of the IFHC, the first of its kind in the history of jazz, was fuelled by the existence of shared interests across national boundaries, all of which were expressed in its objectives:<sup>120</sup>

1. Having special hot records made with a picked personnel chosen by an international committee.
2. Issuing rare old classics – a project now well under way by the Yale Hot Club, the central organization of the UHCA.
3. Staging concerts all over the world under its auspices, by obtaining orchestras freely offered by the record companies.

As acknowledged in a 1935 article in the English magazine *Melody Maker*,<sup>121</sup> recordings played a central role in the creation of the IFHC and the promotion of hot jazz all over the world. This

<sup>117</sup> 'We found it hard to believe, but the Europeans treated us with as much respect as they did their own symphonic orchestras [...] That would never have happened back here in the States.' Chris Albertson, 'An Interview with Sam Wooding', *Official Souvenir Program of Spoleto Festival U.S.A. – 1978* (Charleston, SC: David L. Rawle Associates, 1978), 39. See also Marshall Stearns, 'Sentimentality Drains Vitality of Jazz: Yale Authority Predicts Its Decline', *Melody News*, 1 March 1935, 1–4.

<sup>118</sup> Elwyn Dirats, 'Hot Club – Le mouvement', *Jazz-Tango-Dancing. Revue internationale de la musique de danse*, 4/29, February 1933, 10.

<sup>119</sup> Warren Scholl, 'U.S. Launches Rhythm Club with International Aims', *Melody Maker*, 13 July 1935, 7.

<sup>120</sup> Marshall Stearns, 'Fondation de la Fédération Internationale des Hot Clubs', *Jazz Hot*, 5 September 1935, 3.

<sup>121</sup> Warren Scholl, 'U.S. Launches Rhythm Club', 7.

is easily understandable, since the recording industry had functioned on an international basis since the early 1900s and had become the main vehicle for the dissemination of music across borders. The IFHC thus aimed to pool discographic resources by a constant exchange of information – which most effectively took place in *Jazz Hot* – and by encouraging the music industry to put more hot jazz records in their domestic and international catalogues, which is reflected in the numerous letters and articles in which members of the federation urge record labels to reissue characteristic hot jazz records.

Another goal of the IFHC was to establish international standards to foster discussions on jazz and avoid misunderstandings between jazz devotees from different countries. As in the field of business and industry, the musical internationalism of the IFHC entailed setting a body of rules and technical terms which every hot club would endorse. The federation sought to:

Establish definitely the meaning, use and spelling of general technical terms characteristic of the music which Hot-Clubs intend to study and spread. For the sake of unity, which we deem indispensable, we urge all Hot-Clubs members and all jazz amateurs to observe the principles presented in this study [...] The undersigned hereby declare that they agree with the terminology adopted by the authors of this study: Hugues Panassié, Henk Niesen Jr, John Hammond.<sup>122</sup>

In that regard, the development of the IFHC can be seen as part of a more global trend in favour of international standards which developed after the First World War, under the auspices of the International Federation of the National Standardizing Associations (1926–39).<sup>123</sup> Finding common ground on the very definition of hot jazz was a means of joining forces in order to battle more effectively for its recognition.

## The IFHC and ‘minorities internationalism’

The IFHC’s preoccupation with international standards was closely linked to its mission: to campaign for the international recognition of hot jazz and to avoid confusion with other forms of jazz. Members of the federation regarded international exchanges and cooperation as highly necessary, especially since they saw themselves as a minority (a numerically small group in comparison to the global jazz audience) advocating another minority (hot jazz musicians, and especially African American musicians). Thus, IFHC internationalism stands as an example of what I call ‘minorities internationalism’.

The IFHC was determined to bring international exposure and recognition to hot jazz musicians. Panassié argued that the obscurity of hot jazz musicians was to be denounced as ignorance of a ‘new form of art’: the ‘negro style’ of jazz.<sup>124</sup> His advocacy of hot jazz was a further manifestation of French negrophilia<sup>125</sup> and primitivism.<sup>126</sup> As such, it reinforced racial stereotypes shared by left-wing artists and critics (Darius Milhaud and Michel Leiris, for instance) as well as by those of the right wing. In the name of these stereotypes, however, Panassié criticized the music industry that privileged white musicians. A regular reader of the far-right newspaper *Action française*, Panassié certainly belonged to that group. His

<sup>122</sup> Joost Van Praag, ‘Étude sur la musique de jazz’, *Jazz Hot* (6 November 1935).

<sup>123</sup> JoAnne Yates and Craig N. Murphy, *Engineering Rules: Global Standard Setting since 1880* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), 81–4.

<sup>124</sup> Hugues Panassié, ‘Le jazz hot’, *L’édition musicale vivante*, 3/25 (February 1930), 9.

<sup>125</sup> Petrine Archer-Straw, *Negrophilia: Avant-Garde Paris and Black Culture in the 1920s* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000).

<sup>126</sup> Tom Perchard, ‘Tradition, Modernity and the Supernatural Swing: Re-Reading “Primitivism” in Hugues Panassié’s Writing on Jazz’, *Popular Music*, 30/1 (2011), 25–45.



fascination with hot jazz was partly based on the neo-Thomist Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain's 1922 book *Antimoderne*.<sup>127</sup> the spontaneity of musicians whom Panassié called 'black musicians', as well as the liberties they took with the aesthetic norms of art music and 'good taste', reflected what he considered to be the vitality and natural creativity of human nature in its universal dimension, irrespective of culture and skin colour. To his mind, modernity had corrupted this universal human nature in developed countries. On the contrary, hot jazz was one of the purest expressions, and a means by which anyone could get back to a more natural form of shared human nature.<sup>128</sup> As overblown as Panassié's understanding of the cultural meaning of hot jazz may be, the fact that he defined it as a 'negro style' of music did not necessarily mean that stylistic differences were to be explained by racial differences; rather they stemmed from culturally incorporated habits. This is the reason why Panassié's hot jazz canon included ethnically diverse musicians: Armstrong, Ellington, Earl Hines and Sam Wooding belonged to it, alongside Beiderbecke, Bennie Goodman, Frankie Trumbauer and Tommy Dorsey, to give only a few examples.<sup>129</sup> Stearns also campaigned for the recognition of hot jazz and its African American origins, promoting a diverse canon. However, his support of hot jazz was grounded in a very different political agenda, since it was based on heavy criticism of racism in the US music industry and society, in keeping with the leftist cultural front during the Depression.<sup>130</sup>

The dimension of the IFHC which concerned 'minorities internationalism' was one of scale. Persuaded that they defended the only form of jazz worthy of being considered art, IFHC members saw themselves as a minority amid the wider jazz audience. Being a small group encouraged them to establish connections across boundaries to defend their cause – hence the quasi-religious dimension of hot jazz internationalism. Members of the federation expressed their goal as a mission: to spread the 'truth' about jazz among a wider audience whom, according to them, the music industry had misled by promoting less authentic and more commercial jazz repertoires. IFHC members thus regarded themselves as missionaries battling heresies. Such a parallel with hot jazz internationalism and evangelization can not only be drawn from the goals of the IFHC, but can also be substantiated by similarities in the vocabulary used in the journals of IFHC-affiliated hot clubs. The first Italian book on jazz, written by two of the founders of the Circolo del Jazz de Milano, was entitled *Introduzione alla vera musica jazz*<sup>131</sup> and contrasted 'true' ('pure') jazz with 'pseudo' ('false') jazz, with the intention of persuading readers to dismiss straight jazz and listen to hot jazz musicians. In Spain, the journal of the Hot Club de Barcelona assumed an 'educative and proselytizing function'.<sup>132</sup> One of its contributors, the jazz critic Baltasar Samper, regarded the arrival of jazz

<sup>127</sup> Ludovic Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine: Histoire du jazz en France* (Paris, Payard, 1999), 38–40; Perchard, 'Tradition, Modernity and the Supernatural Swing', 32–3; Andy Fry, *Paris Blues: African American Music and French Popular Culture, 1920–1960* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 116–17; and Philippe Gumplowicz, 'Le jazz serait-il de la musique? Identification d'un art, 1930–1934', *Musique et politique: Les répertoires de l'identité*, ed. Alain Darré (Rennes: PUR, 2015), 109–10.

<sup>128</sup> Martin Guerpin, *Adieu New York, bonjour Paris! Le jazz dans le monde de la musique classique en France (1900–1939)* (Paris: Vrin, forthcoming), 356–9.

<sup>129</sup> Hugues Panassié, 'Le jazz hot', *L'édition musicale vivante*, 3/25 (February 1930), 10.

<sup>130</sup> Mario Dunkel, 'Marshall Winslow Stearns and the Politics of Jazz Historiography', *American Music*, 30/4 (2012), 468–504 (pp. 470, 480).

<sup>131</sup> Gian Carlo Testoni and Ezio Levi, *Introduzione alla vera musica jazz* (Milan: Magazzino Musicale, 1938).

<sup>132</sup> Iván Iglesias, 'El jazz a finales de la Segunda República española: el Hot Club de Barcelona (1935–1936)', *Jazz-hit*, 3 (2020), 14.

in Spain as a ‘revelation’ which had to be disseminated.<sup>133</sup> Similarly, Panassié, whose writings on jazz were influenced by Maritain, likened his discovery of what he called ‘hot jazz’ to an epiphany.<sup>134</sup> He and other members of the IFHC often presented themselves as devoted believers fighting the ‘general misunderstanding from which hot jazz suffer[ed]’,<sup>135</sup> and striving for ‘the triumph of true jazz’.<sup>136</sup> The creation of the federation was also motivated by explicit intentions to proselytize:

Such an organization will have tremendous power, and justly so, for there is much that needs to be done [...] The aims of this federation are many, but they may be summarized by the motto: ‘Dedicated to the universal progress of swing music.’<sup>137</sup>

Stearns’s ‘motto’ for the IFHC also shows that the internationalism of the organization was motivated by one precise cause, for which its promoters militated irrespective (in principle) of their nationality, genre and ethnic origins. Yet the plea for ‘universalism’ did not mean that the IFHC membership contrasted with the then predominantly male and white world of music criticism, even if *Jazz Hot* had two female (Helen Oakley and Madeleine Gautier) and five African American contributors (see Table 1). That the latter figure was higher than it was for many other music journals in the 1930s may be explained by the IFHC’s ambition to give more exposure to African American musicians.<sup>138</sup> Such internationalism corresponded neither to socialist nor to liberal internationalism (the latter model having been adopted by the music industry in its promotion of what hot club members deemed commercial jazz), but had more in common with a secular form of the religious international paradigm which, according to Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene, is based on ‘religiously inflected voluntarism’ and calls for ‘mobilization’.<sup>139</sup>

Not only did IFHC members aim to disseminate a new discourse on jazz, they also sought to impose a major change in the taste of the public and the recording industry. This was why action was taken to lobby record labels and to inform the wider audience. In September 1933, for instance, Panassié convinced the Compagnie Française du Gramophone to let him select, categorize and comment on the jazz records that would be promoted in the label’s catalogue. Such action shows that IFHC members also aimed to provoke the music industry into circulating and promoting more hot jazz records. Although different as a model, the IFHC internationalism was thus connected with the more ostensibly capitalist internationalism model of the music industry.

The case of the IFHC shows that the sense of belonging to a minority can stimulate internationalism.<sup>140</sup> Being small in number in America and Europe, the first hot jazz fans felt the need to join forces beyond national boundaries. For this reason, the IFHC and *Jazz Hot* kept nationalist and protectionist claims at bay, at a time when such claims were strongly

<sup>133</sup> Anon., ‘La conferencia del Maestro Samper,’ *Jazz Magazine*, 1 (August 1935), 4.

<sup>134</sup> Pierre Fargeton, *Hugues Panassié–André Hodeir: Correspondance de deux frères ennemis (1940–1948)* (Paris: Outre Mesure, 2020), 386–9.

<sup>135</sup> Alex Landau, ‘Bulletin de la Fédération Internationale des Hot Clubs: Pologne,’ *Jazz Hot*, 7 (April 1936), 22.

<sup>136</sup> Ezio Levi, ‘Jazz Hot en Italie,’ *Jazz Hot*, 8 (May 1936), 17.

<sup>137</sup> Marshall Stearns, ‘Fédération Internationale des Hot Clubs,’ *Jazz Hot* 5 (September–October 1935), 1.

<sup>138</sup> Marshall Stearns, ‘Bulletin de la Fédération Internationale des Hot Clubs,’ *Jazz Hot*, 7 (April 1936), 20.

<sup>139</sup> *Religious Internationalism in the Modern World Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750*, ed. Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 2.

<sup>140</sup> The idea that internationalism could be deployed as a defensive posture for a group that considered itself to be under threat is also made by Giles Masters in his contribution to this round table.

supported by many American and European jazz musicians – in particular, those affiliated with musicians' unions such as the French Syndicat des Artistes Musiciens, the British Musician's Union or the Belgian Union des Artistes, for instance. These unions opposed capitalist internationalism, in which they saw a tool to use foreign workers in order to lower existing salaries in one given country; their internationalism implied more protectionism, and consisted of improving terms of conditions for workers in every country, so that employers would be prevented from exploiting national differences in social and labour legislation.<sup>141</sup> The IFHC, meanwhile, advocated a third kind of internationalism (a more liberal one) already set out by songwriter Eddie Pola. Born of Hungarian parents in New York and active in England, Pola stated that:

There is room for everyone, but only the best talents are chosen, and those who agitate for the removal of 'alien' writers are merely grouchers whose own work would only be accepted in the event of there being no others against whom they must compete.<sup>142</sup>

Another dimension of the IFHC's 'minorities internationalism' was its twofold elitism. On the one hand, IFHC members were persuaded to advocate a form of jazz that for them had more artistic value than other jazz repertoires acclaimed by the wider public.<sup>143</sup> On the other hand, they considered only musicians whom they deemed to be the best, irrespective of the colour of their skin. This elitist taste went hand in hand with sociocultural elitism, as it mainly involved students and members of the upper class. In 1932, the HCF initiators Elwyn Dirats and Jacques Auxenfans were students at a private high school in Saint-Cloud, a wealthy town in the western suburbs of Paris. Panassié, meanwhile, was born into a wealthy industrial family. To take a few other examples, the Belgian jazz critic Robert Goffin was a lawyer, and Stearns's Yale Hot Club gathered students from Yale University, including John Hammond, who belonged to the rich Vanderbilt family. Likewise, Dietrich Schulz's Swing Club mostly attracted students from the University of Königsberg. Although tinted with Bourdieusian distinction, the sociocultural elitism of hot jazz internationalism was not a matter of social stratification of musical taste. Indeed, a large part of the European and American elite kept relishing straight jazz. Hot jazz internationalism was also linked to more practical and pecuniary considerations: establishing international connections entailed spending money – buying rare records or having them imported, travelling to other countries to meet with foreign hot club members. As universalist, disinterested and selfless as it may seem, however, the internationalism of the IFHC was also a matter of power. This can explain why the federation was a short-lived institution.

## Geographies of internationalism: questioning the failure of the IFHC

The first reason for the IFHC's failure lies in members' disagreements over the establishment of international standards for jazz lexicon and discourse. In spite of the efforts of Van Praag,

<sup>141</sup> The sometimes paradoxical claims for protectionism by internationalist unionists in the field of jazz have been studied in Martin Guerin, 'Entre repli corporatiste et ouverture musicale: Les jazzmen français face à leurs homologues étrangers à Paris (1919–1939)', *Migration artistique et identité: Paris, 1870–1950*, ed. Federico Lazzaro and Steven Huebner (Berne: Peter Lang, 2020), 351–66.

<sup>142</sup> Eddie Pola, 'People in Glass Houses: An Appeal for Internationalism', *Tunes Times*, 1/6 (February 1934), 279.

<sup>143</sup> Marshall W. Stearns, 'Members of the "Hot Clubs" Have the "Feel"; That's Why Swing Music Exists – They Don't Like Schmaltzy Tunes Grooved or True Round Tones Wasted on Corney Licks', *Boston Herald*, 6 February 1936, 3.

Hammond, Niesen and Panassié, most IFHC members kept asserting their own stances on what 'real jazz' was. It should be noted here that such disagreements seem consubstantial with jazz criticism and institutions. Before the creation of the IFHC, they had already caused the first endeavours to federate the Jazz Club de Belgique and the Nederlandse Hot Club to be failures.<sup>144</sup>

National and personal rivalries also caused the IFHC to become an empty shell, contrary to most national and local hot clubs founded in the 1930s, which remained active throughout the decade and outlived the Second World War. In a letter written in 1936 to his fellow leader of the IFHC and of the UHCA, Stearns, Panassié regretted that the federation 'has not yet shown much activity'.<sup>145</sup> It seems unlikely that Stearns was really concerned about this organization, as historian Jeffrey Jackson recalls in an anecdote that Dan Morgenstern, the director of the Institute of Jazz Studies founded in 1952 by Stearns himself, 'knew nothing of the International Federation of Hot Clubs'.<sup>146</sup> Stearns was much more involved in the direction of Yale Hot Club and the UHCA, both organizations in which he did not have to share power with Panassié. As early as the creation of the IFHC, the two jazz devotees competed for its control. Moreover, Panassié clearly tried to use the federation as a means to make *Jazz Hot* prevail over all other jazz journals, and above all against *Melody Maker*, the organ of the British Federation of Rhythm Clubs.<sup>147</sup>

Personal ambitions were also linked with institutional rivalries. In this regard, the absence of Belgian representatives from the IFHC and *Jazz Hot* is particularly interesting. As early as 1931, Faecq and the already well-known Belgian jazz specialist Robert Goffin had clear intentions of encouraging international cooperation. To this end, Faecq's *Music*, the official organ of the Jazz Club de Belgique, had been transformed into a 'Franco-Belgian jazz journal' in January 1931, and then into an 'international jazz journal' in April of that year. *Music* also formed an alliance with the French *Jazz-Tango*, to which Panassié still contributed in early 1935. It thus appears that when he quit *Jazz-Tango* to found *Jazz Hot* and form the IFHC, Panassié tried to overtake Goffin, Faecq and *Music* and stand as the only European critic of international calibre. As a response to what was seen as Panassié's treachery to serve his own ambitions, *Jazz-Tango* and *Music* reinforced their alliance in March 1935, the very same month when *Jazz Hot* was launched. And then, instead of joining the IFHC, the Jazz Club de Belgique chose to develop international relations on its own. In December 1935, it proudly announced that it 'had established tight connections with every jazz club in the world' and that it would collaborate directly with Stearns's UHCA, the statutes of which were published in *Music*, instead of with the IFHC.<sup>148</sup>

In light of this context, one can understand that when *Jazz Hot* presented the IFHC as an organization in which power was equally distributed between Europe and America, it only expressed a French perspective (Panassié's), which other organizations did not necessarily share. The American and English take on the IFHC was indeed slightly different. It was formulated by

<sup>144</sup> *De Jazzwereld*, 3/5 (May 1933), 2, and *De Jazzwereld*, 4/3 (March 1934), 2, quoted in Walter van de Leur, "'Pure Jazz' and 'Charlatanry': A History of *De Jazzwereld* Magazine, 1931–1940", *Current Research in Jazz*, 4 (2012), <<http://crj-online.org/v4/CRJ-Jazzwereld.php>> (accessed 20 October 2022).

<sup>145</sup> 'HP 1936–1974' folder, 'Correspondance'. Marshall Winslo Stearns Collection, Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University, Newark, NJ.

<sup>146</sup> Jeffrey Jackson, *Making Jazz French* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 250.

<sup>147</sup> Letter from Panassié to Pierre Nourry and Charles Delaunay, July 1935. Pierre Nourry Archive, Dieppe (no shelfmark).

<sup>148</sup> Anon., 'Jazz Club News', *Music*, 13/5 (December 1935), 14.

Warren Scholl, secretary of the New York Hot Club, in the British journal *Melody Maker*. Whereas Panassié presented himself and the HCF as a centre of the federation, Scholl explained that the IFHC would gather clubs 'all acting as branches of the Yale Club'; Panassié was only mentioned as the head of the 'French division of this Federation'.<sup>149</sup>

The IFHC was thus downgraded to the level of one of the local branches of the UHCA.<sup>150</sup> This clearly indicated that the internationalism of the IFHC was not egalitarian. Rather than being put on an equal footing, each member was institutionally and symbolically placed at one or another level of a threefold hierarchy. At the top of it stood the USA, then there was France – because of Panassié's activism – and then the rest of Europe. In other words, the case of the IFHC shows that internationalism does not at all mean the absence of power relations and hierarchies; it still has its centres and peripheries. Following the failure of the IFHC, jazz multilateralism was replaced by multidimensional and kaleidoscopic international relations – consisting of a multitude of various bilateral or trilateral initiatives taken by national hot clubs and their journals. For instance, the collaboration between the HCF and the Hot Club de Barcelona took the form of regular information exchange and international concerts. In January 1936, one of these concerts gathered Bennie Carter, the Quintet of the HCF and the Orquestra del Hot Club de Barcelona.<sup>151</sup> Another major axis of post-IFHC jazz internationalism was formed by the Belgian and Dutch hot clubs. In addition to intense exchanges between *Music* and *De Jazzwereld*, representatives and musicians from these two organizations regularly met during Dutch-Belgian jazz tournaments.<sup>152</sup> More generally, each European national hot club developed its own international network, in which some countries were privileged and others marginalized; in other words, each country had its own particular *geography* of jazz internationalism, with its own centres, peripheries and blind spots. While the HCF paid attention to jazz in Spain and Italy, the Jazz Club de Belgique was much more centred on the Netherlands and England; meanwhile, English hot clubs interacted with Denmark, a country that did not appear on the French map of international jazz.

## Conclusion

In 1947, Delaunay referred to the IFHC (which was suspended in 1936) as an institution which should be revitalized, as it could 'bring about peace and understanding between men of good will' through hot jazz.<sup>153</sup> By hinting at one of the main dimensions of internationalism, peace, as a philosophy and ideology. Delaunay was certainly more influenced by the pacifist *air du temps* of the post-war years than by the actual preoccupations and achievements of the IFHC.<sup>154</sup> On the one hand, the failure of the IFHC exemplifies the difficulties of organizing and running international institutions based on a supranational model. As grand as their name can sound, such institutions can easily become empty shells used by actors to assert their credibility and visibility at the international scale; they are also constantly undermined by

<sup>149</sup> Warren Scholl, 'International Hot Club launched in the US', *Melody Maker*, 3 (August 1935), 3.

<sup>150</sup> Warren Scholl, 'Bulletin de la Fédération Internationale des Hot Clubs – Union des H.C. d'Amérique', *Jazz Hot*, 6 (November 1935–March 1936), n.p.

<sup>151</sup> N.S.P., 'Hot Club de Barcelona', *Jazz Magazine*, 2/5 (February 1936), 2.

<sup>152</sup> 'Les prochains tournois hollando-belges pour orchestres amateurs', *Music*, 12/11 (June 1935), 3.

<sup>153</sup> Charles Delaunay, 'As I See It', *Jazz Record* (May 1947), 14.

<sup>154</sup> This notion regarding peace is at the core of the first fundamental definition of internationalism. See Immanuel Kant's essay *Zum ewigen Frieden: Ein philosophischer Entwurf* ('Perpetual Peace. A Philosophical Sketch') (Königsberg: Friedrich Nicolovius, 1795).

personal and national power relations. On the other hand, such pacifist ideals were never a preoccupation of the organization during the 1930s. The jazz internationalism of the IFHC was a pragmatic one – an internationalism by necessity – aiming to promote hot jazz. This explains why Panassié, who was ideologically close to the nationalist *Action française*, could simultaneously be a fervent promoter of jazz internationalism.

Jazz internationalism during the interwar years therefore had an intra-European dimension. By exchanging information between European groups – that is, without systematically involving their American counterparts – and organizing international concerts and tournaments without engaging American musicians, European hot clubs contributed to the development of a European jazz world which did not totally depend upon the US scene. The blossoming of European hot clubs and the fact that they could feel united by having to confront similar issues concerning their relationship with their American counterparts contributed to the emergence of a shared European consciousness. This would eventually lead to claims for a European identity of jazz in the late 1960s. This study of hot clubs during the interwar years, therefore, is the first step of a research project aiming to go beyond a history of jazz in European countries and propose a *European* history of jazz.

## Music and Internationalism in Nazi Germany: Provenance and Post-War Consequences

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### Introduction – *Nachholbedarf* as corrective to anti-internationalism?

In October 1945, five months after the end of the Second World War in Europe, German critic Edmund Nick wrote the following in the American-sponsored Munich newspaper *Neue Zeitung*:

For we had, so to speak, been kicked and kicked on the ground for twelve years. Our concerts rarely had any value other than as an acoustic museum of older music. Now there is much with which to catch up. Our ears need tutoring to become open again for new music. We have to hold on, so that we can return to a better place among the leading musical nations.<sup>155</sup>

Nick made these comments in a review of the second concert in a new series organized by Karl Amadeus Hartmann, which would later come to be called *Musica viva*. It was an orchestral concert given by the Bayerisches Staatsorchester, conducted by Bertil Wetzelsberger, with soprano Maud Cunita, featuring Mahler's Fourth Symphony (1899–1900), Hartmann's violin concerto *Musik der Trauer* (1939), Stravinsky's Piano Sonata (1924) and Janáček's very early

<sup>155</sup> 'Denn wir waren ja sozusagen auch musikalisch zwölf Jahre lang auf der Stelle getreten und getreten worden. Nur selten waren unsere Konzerte über den Wert eines akustischen Museums älterer Musik hinausgeraten. Nun gilt es viel nachzuholen. Unsere Ohren bedürfen der Schulung, um wieder reifzu werden für die neue Musik. Wir müssen gleichsam nachsitzen, damit wir wieder auf einen besseren Platz unter den führenden Musiknationen kommen.' Edmund Nick, 'Über neue Musik', *Neue Zeitung*, 28 October 1945. All translations by author unless otherwise indicated.



Suite for string orchestra (1891). German audiences had had almost no exposure to the music of Mahler for the last 12 years (on account of his Jewish heritage), nor of that of Hartmann, who had been prominent in the later part of the Weimar Republic but then had essentially withdrawn from the musical life of Nazi Germany.

Nick's rhetoric was commonplace among critics and promoters immediately after the war's end, providing an ideology which came to be labelled *Nachholbedarf* (very loosely translatable as 'the need to catch up'). In a speech to mark the establishment of the Freie Gruppe of artists in Heidelberg in January 1946, artistic director Bernhard Klein stressed the need to catch up with the work of other countries, despite the fact that the most prominent new piece of music at the event was the 1945 Serenade for flute, oboe and bassoon by Wolfgang Fortner,<sup>156</sup> a former Nazi party (NSDAP) member who had conducted the city's Hitlerjugend-Kammerorchester.<sup>157</sup> A few months later, in the *Wiesbadener Kurier*, critic Ernst Krause (another former NSDAP member, though only from 1941)<sup>158</sup> wrote scathingly about the effect of Joseph Goebbels, the Reichsmusikkammer, the racial laws and the Entartete Musik exhibition on musical life, concluding, 'We have much with which to catch up!' ('Wir haben viel nachzuholen!').<sup>159</sup>

In the programme for the Zeitgenössische Musikwoche in Bad Nauheim in July 1946, the first of a highly prominent series of festivals organized by Radio Frankfurt, which relocated to Frankfurt the following year and became known as the Woche für neue Musik, German-born US control officer and head of music for the radio station Holger E. Hagen wrote, 'For the first time since the armistice, an attempt is being made to present to the musical public the latest works of contemporary composers from all over the world in a united form.' Other prefaces by the artistic director Heinz Schröter and others expressed similar sentiments.<sup>160</sup> One critic wrote of how the newest works presented at the event would form a 'sonic bridge over the abysses of the last years'.<sup>161</sup> There was some truth in this, as works of Hindemith and Schoenberg featured prominently,<sup>162</sup> as well as those of the American composers William Schuman and Quincy Porter, practically unknown in Germany before 1945. However, although the festival featured

<sup>156</sup> S.W., "Die Freie Gruppe" (Heidelberg): Moderne Musik – Bildende Kunst – Dichter-Abend. Wolfgang Fortner – Dr. Hartlaub – Ernst Glaeser', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, 19 January 1946; Birgit Pape, *Kultureller Neubeginn in Heidelberg und Mannheim 1945–1949* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2000), 81.

<sup>157</sup> On Fortner's activities during this period, see Ian Pace, 'The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music during the Early Allied Occupation (1945–46), and its roots in the Weimar Republic and Third Reich (1918–45)' (Ph.D. dissertation, Cardiff University, 2018), 70–6.

<sup>158</sup> Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker 1933–1945* [CD-ROM] (Kiel: Prieberg, 2004), 3934.

<sup>159</sup> Ernst Krause, 'Wie darf komponiert werden?', *Wiesbadener Kurier*, 19 June 1946.

<sup>160</sup> Hessische Hauptstaatsarchiv Darmstadt O21 (Bergsträsser) No. 26/6. The copy of the full programme is kept in this file. I am very grateful to Eva Haberkorn for locating this for me.

<sup>161</sup> 'Das neueste Schaffen der zeitgenössischen Komponisten aus aller Welt soll eine tönende Brücke bilden über die Abgründe der vergangenen Jahre.' M., 'Musikwoche in Bad-Nauheim', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 5 July 1946.

<sup>162</sup> As is now well established, there were Nazi functionaries who sought to integrate Hindemith and his work into the life of the regime in its early days (especially following his retreat from some of his more radical work of the 1920s), and he took a position in the Reichsmusikkammer in February 1934. However, all of this came to an end with the furore which followed the premiere in Berlin on 12 March 1934 of the *Mathis-Symphonie* and the subsequent machinations by his enemies which ultimately led to the composer's emigration in 1937. See Michael Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 31–56.

the likes of Fortner, Ernst Pepping and Heinrich Sutermeister (all prominent in Nazi Germany), other music by Bartók, Malipiero or even Prokofiev was far from unknown, at least in pre-war Nazi Germany.<sup>163</sup> Wolfgang Steinecke's introductory text for the first Ferienkurse für internationale neue Musik at Darmstadt in August–September 1946 was another prime example of *Nachholbedarf* rhetoric:

Behind us is a period during which almost all the vital forces of new music were cut off from German musical life. For twelve years, names such as those of Hindemith and Stravinsky, Schoenberg and Krenek, Milhaud and Honegger, Shostakovich and Prokofiev, Bartók, Weill and many others were disdained. For twelve years, a criminal cultural politics robbed German musical life of its leading personalities and its interconnections with the world.<sup>164</sup>

In some, but not all, cases this could have been justified, but then (as in the case of Stravinsky) only for part of the duration of the Reich, as Steinecke would have known well.

The message was consistent and clear: Germany had been cut off from international and modernist developments in music for 12 years, creating an imperative to mount new festivals and concert series, and include new music in more mainstream programming. Yet, as I will show, this was at most only a partially true assumption, albeit one convenient for post-war promoters and advocates.

Myths of domination of Wagner and military music, and total prohibitions on jazz and atonal music, have been addressed elsewhere,<sup>165</sup> but less sustained attention has been paid to the profile of international music within Nazi Germany. A perspective which maintains that the ideology of Nazism isolated Germany from all other countries is echoed in various studies of culture in Nazi Germany which consider the process of 'Germanization' in terms of the pathological fanatical exclusion, from the very beginning of the regime, of the work of Jewish artists. But the role of non-German, non-Jewish artists and art, especially from countries allied to the Third Reich is not considered.<sup>166</sup> Fascism was and is an international phenomenon,

<sup>163</sup> Josef Linssen, in 'Die Frankfurter Woche für neue Musik. Ein Vorbericht', *Melos*, 14/7–8 (1947), 207, looked back on the Bad Nauheim festival as an attempt to reconnect with a 'musical world-spirit'. Similar sentiments could be found in reviews of Neue Musik Donaueschingen 1946; see Werner Zintgraf, *Neue Musik 1921–1950. Donaueschingen, Baden-Baden, Berlin, Pfullingen, Mann-heim* (Horb am Neckar: Geiger-Verlag, 1987), 113, and Herbert Urban, 'Moderne Musik in Donaueschingen. Wieder internationales Musikfest – neue europäische Komponisten', *Die Welt*, 9 August 1946.

<sup>164</sup> The full text is reproduced in *Im Zenit der Moderne. Die internationalen Ferienkurse für neue Musik Darmstadt*, vol. 1, ed. Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser (Freiburg: Rombach, 1997), 24–5; my modified translation is based on that in Martin Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt: Nono, Stockhausen, Cage, and Boulez* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 24 (I change Iddon's translation of *verpönt* as 'proscribed' to 'disdained', importantly).

<sup>165</sup> See for example Pamela M. Potter, 'Music in the Third Reich: The Complex Task of "Germanization"', *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, ed. Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2009), 86–90; and Werner Schmidt-Faber, 'Atonalität im Dritten Reich', *Herausforderung Schönberg. Was die Musik des Jahrhunderts veränderte*, ed. Ulrich Dibelius (Munich: Hanser, 1982), 110–36.

<sup>166</sup> Even the major book by, Michael H. Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2019), does not really engage with internationalism in Nazi culture. The most significant recent text which does is Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, though the focus here is primarily on German–Italian relations. Pamela M. Potter, in *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), while drawing upon a range of scholarship arguing that Nazi control of artistic life was less powerful than earlier imagined, and also drawing various comparisons between cultural life in Nazi Germany

whose origins have been argued to have begun in France, Italy or even the United States,<sup>167</sup> and various such movements with common ideological traits sprang up soon in Europe, the first to take power being Mussolini's Partito Nazionale Fascista in Italy in October 1922. The assumption of power by the NSDAP in Germany in January 1933 was followed by other regimes that have been considered fascist, in Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Croatia and Japan,<sup>168</sup> not to mention collaborative movements in occupied countries, also helped by friendly if nominally 'neutral' regimes in Spain and Portugal. The international character of the fascist movement became clearest when a congress of delegates from far-right movements in 13 countries met in Montreux in December 1934.<sup>169</sup> It is possible to accept Stanley Payne's view of fascism as 'a form of revolutionary ultra-nationalism', and still recognize how multiple movements manifesting this quality in different nations can find, and have found, common purpose.<sup>170</sup>

A comparative study of aesthetic ideologies and practical actions relating to music in multiple fascist countries is beyond the scope of this article, in which I will restrict myself to engagements within Nazi Germany with the music and musicians of other nations. Several prominent figures in Nazi musical life espoused an ideology which promoted 'strong' nationalism characterized by exclusivity – even purity – but respected the right of different nations each to espouse such a thing. This was reflected in a range of societies, organizations and exchange programmes which linked Nazi Germany to other 'friendly' nations, while three different festival organizations responded to this changed political climate in various ways, as I shall detail below. But in some ways the process went further, stressing cultural commonalities and interactions, not least with other 'Nordic' nations.

## Nationalisms in multiple nations

The cosmopolitan musical culture of Weimar Germany had had its critics from the beginning, expressed most obviously in the polemics between Paul Bekker and Hans Pfitzner,<sup>171</sup> which led

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and other fascist countries, does not really consider other than in passing the role of non-German artists in Nazi Germany.

<sup>167</sup> The view of Action Française as the first fascist organization was first put forward in Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Française. Italian Fascism. National Socialism*, trans. Leila Vennewitz (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1965; originally published as *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* (Munich: Piper-Verlag, 1963)) and has been influential, though Roger Eatwell, in *Fascism: A History* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 24–5, sees it as a precursor rather than a fully fledged fascist movement. The possibility that fascism began with the Ku Klux Klan is entertained by Robert O. Paxton in his *Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 49.

<sup>168</sup> Beyond the example of Japan, which Stanley Payne is disinclined to link too closely to European fascism (see his *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 328–37), theorists of fascism have generally been sceptical about drawing too close links between European and extra-European movements; see Payne, *A History of Fascism*, 337–54, or Alistair Hennessy, 'Fascism and Populism in Latin America', *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*, ed. Laqueur (London: Penguin, 1979), 248–99; for another view, see Laqueur, *Fascism: Past, Present, Future* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 147–8.

<sup>169</sup> Roger Griffin, 'Introduction', in *International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the New Consensus*, ed. Roger Griffin (London: Arnold, 1998), 1.

<sup>170</sup> Payne, *A History of Fascism*, 3–19.

<sup>171</sup> Paul Bekker, 'Neue Musik' (1919), in *Neue Musik. Gesammelte Schriften III* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1923), 85–118; Hans Pfitzner, *Die neue Aesthetik der musikalischen Impotenz. Ein Verwesungssymptom?* (Munich: Verlag der Süddeutschen Monatshefte, 1920).

to a plethora of writings on *neue Musik* in the first half of the 1920s.<sup>172</sup> In *Die neue Aesthetik der musikalischen Impotenz* (1920), Pfitzner associated Bekker with an 'international Jewish tendency', and attempts with 'Russian-Jewish criminals at revolutionary cultural upheaval'.<sup>173</sup> In the preface to the third edition published in 1926, he wrote of *völkerfeindliche Internationalismus* ('anti-Volk internationalism') in music, linked to related tendencies.<sup>174</sup>

Such sentiments were echoed in traditional music journals such as the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, *Zeitschrift für Musik* and *Signale für die musikalische Welt*. Alfred Heuss, editor of the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, wrote in 1921 that Franz Schreker's opera *Der Schatzgräber* and its supporters, including Bekker [whom Heuss compared to Wagner's Alberich] embodied a 'crime against the German soul'.<sup>175</sup> Three years later Heuss wrote of the country 'dealing with a test of strength between Germanness and – now let it be said openly – a specifically Jewish musical spirit'.<sup>176</sup> This type of view undoubtedly entailed a quite fanatical antisemitism and anti-communism,<sup>177</sup> and a wider hatred for a type of cultural miscegenation, but not necessarily a rejection of multiple national musics – nor even acceptance of non-German musics defined in fundamentally racial terms. In the years leading up to the Nazi takeover, musical ultra-nationalism reached its apex with the publication of Richard Eichenauer's *Musik und Rasse*, which updated Wagner's *Das Judenthum in der Musik* in light of new racial theories in order to criticize composers such as Mahler and Schoenberg for what were portrayed as their attempts to sound German and supposedly corrosive effect upon German music.<sup>178</sup> To the likes of Eichenauer, such composers' actual nationality and upbringing was immaterial; the fact of their being Jewish placed them outside any national affiliation viewed as acceptable.

From early on during the Nazi regime, there were certainly xenophobic views on music expressed publicly,<sup>179</sup> but some other Nazi ideologues found ways of embracing multiple nationalisms. This relatively non-antagonistic attitude, difficult to imagine in a post-1945 world in which nationalism is frequently equated with extreme racial or tribal ideologies, does not look so strange if situated within a longer history going back at least as far as the Enlightenment. In early writings, Johann Gottfried Herder celebrated many nations (including

<sup>172</sup> For an overview, see Pace, 'The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music', 17–20, and for more detail, Christoph von Blumröder, *Der Begriff "neue Musik" im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich and Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzschler, 1981), 52–78.

<sup>173</sup> Pfitzner, *Die neue Aesthetik*, 109, 123–4, 126–7.

<sup>174</sup> Hans Pfitzner, 'Vorwort zur dritten Auflage', in *Gesammelte Schriften, Band II* (Augsburg: Benno Filser-Verlag, 1926), 109–10.

<sup>175</sup> See Christopher Hailey, *Franz Schreker 1878–1934: A Cultural biography* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 144–8. This led to a response by rival Leipzig critic Adolf Aber (1893–1960) in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Der Fall Heuss*, to which Heuss replied at the end of the year questioning the qualifications and integrity of Aber, and drawing attention to Aber's Jewishness (*ibid.*, 172–3). An imagined link between Jewish people and internationalism was of course a personal obsession of Hitler himself. See Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936: Hubris* (London: Allen Lane, 1998), 104, 192, 289, 304–5, 330.

<sup>176</sup> Cited in Matthew Boyden, *Richard Strauss* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 283.

<sup>177</sup> See Potter, 'Music in the Third Reich', 96–100, on the 'Dejewification' of musical life.

<sup>178</sup> Richard Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse* (Munich: Lehmanns, 1932).

<sup>179</sup> See for example Hermann Unger, 'Die Zerstörung der Deutschen Musik', *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, 21 March 1933, reproduced in *Die Musik*, 25/11 (1933), 870–1; or the view of Rolf Cunz in 1937 of how the *Deutsches Musikjahrbuch*, which he had founded in 1922, had published several special volumes in opposition to 'Marxist internationalism', finding that 'true champions of German blood' had successfully fought for 'a clear and clean divorce from the music of world nations'. See Rolf Cunz, introduction to *Deutsches Musikjahrbuch 1937* (Berlin: Dorn-Verlag, 1937), 4, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 926.

those in Peru, the Caribbean or the North Pacific islands), defined separately above all in terms of their 'tribal language' and poetic and other cultural traditions emanating from that language while recognizing the dangers of mutual enmity which could then follow.<sup>180</sup> While later also recognizing geographical factors,<sup>181</sup> Herder's view was unequivocal: 'The most natural state is thus also a single people, with a single national character,' and to this end he found 'unnatural' the mixing of peoples and enlargement of states.<sup>182</sup> While this can superficially be read as an argument against cosmopolitanism and miscegenation, equally it can be interpreted as being in opposition to imperialism and expansionism.<sup>183</sup> Immanuel Kant's cosmopolitan ideals and construction of patriotism in terms of a state – a political entity, not defined in cultural or ethnic terms nor representing a 'people'<sup>184</sup> – are sharply distinct from and in some ways fundamentally opposed to the ideas of Herder, but as Pheng Cheah argues cogently, Kant's opposition was to the principle of absolute statism rather than nations per se.<sup>185</sup> Cheah notes further how Kant's ideals were found to be adaptable in support of the early nationalistic writings of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and many of the nationalist movements (Greek, Belgian, Polish) which arose in early post-Napoleonic Europe,<sup>186</sup> while a 'nationalist cosmopolitics' can be traced through the course of the nineteenth century. Daniel S. Malachuk does so using examples such as Giuseppe Mazzini and Walt Whitman, who viewed nationalism and cosmopolitanism as allied ideologies in the name of a universalist vision.<sup>187</sup>

The late nineteenth century of course saw a shift from 'civic', 'voluntarist' or simply 'territorial' nationalisms to their 'ethnic' variant,<sup>188</sup> while the series of European wars from the 1860s through to 1918 undoubtedly delivered a major blow to cosmopolitan ideals. The ultra-nationalism of Nazi Germany was clearly incompatible with any type of meaningful cosmopolitanism, but the regime was not *isolationist*, and actively sought allies and international influence. As such, extreme German nationalism had to be combined with some at least limited recognition of other cultures, while the general paranoia of post-1918 German nationalists regarding transnationalism (by which I mean a phenomenon perceived as standing

<sup>180</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder, 'Treatise on the Origin of Language' (1772), in *Philosophical Writings*, trans. and ed. Michael N. Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 146–54.

<sup>181</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, in Herder, Werke, vol. vi, ed. Martin Bollacher (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989), 40–50.

<sup>182</sup> 'Der natürlichste Staat ist also auch *Ein Volk*, mit Einem Nationalcharakter'. *Ibid.*, 369–70.

<sup>183</sup> See in particular Vicki A. Spencer, 'Kant and Herder on Colonialism, Indigenous Peoples, and Minority Nations', *International Theory*, 7/2 (2015), 360–92.

<sup>184</sup> Pauline Kleingeld, *Kant and Cosmopolitanism: The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 20–2. Kleingeld also considers the ideas of Christoph Martin Wieland in a similar fashion.

<sup>185</sup> Pheng Cheah, 'Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical – Today', *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis, MN, and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 22–5.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 25–6. Cheah is keen to observe that 'nationalist politics is not necessarily a form of identity politics' (p. 26). For a wide-ranging exploration of multiple revisionist perspectives on cosmopolitanism and their consequences for music, see Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities', *Musical Quarterly*, 99/2 (2016), 139–65.

<sup>187</sup> See Daniel S. Malachuk, 'Nationalist Cosmopolitics in the Nineteenth Century', *Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future*, ed. Diane Morgan and Gary Banham (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 139–62.

<sup>188</sup> See Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 42–6, for a good, brief overview of these categories which does not ignore the ways in which the older forms of nationalism could still produce 'illiberal, xenophobic policies' (p. 44).



outside or even subsuming national traditions), including in music, meant that this acceptance of multiple nationalism, tempered by strong inclinations towards German domination and supremacy, was the only meaningful way forward. A clear articulation of this position for music was provided by Nazi critic Hermann Killer (later an editor of the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*)<sup>189</sup> in an article written in advance of the Internationales Musikfest in Hamburg in June 1935. This event was organized by the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein (ADMV) in association with the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten (see Figure 2). In the article, Killer clearly distinguished 'Marxist-inspired political internationalism', which he claimed blurred all boundaries of nations and peoples, from international cultural exchange, which (naturally enough) ought in Killer's view to take place in Germany as a 'natural cultural centre of Europe'.<sup>190</sup> Killer was more ready than some to acknowledge the receptiveness of German culture to foreign influences, though he insisted nonetheless that art must be intimately bound together with race, nationality and nation. Killer's anti-transnationalism was clear through his condemnation of 'all-world-artistry' ('Allerweltsartistentum'), arguing that modern music had crowded out nationality, and for this reason Germany was in the process of eliminating foreign musical influences, thus abandoning the internationalism he had briefly entertained. At the Hamburg festival there would be a celebration of music of 'all the countries of the world', in a spirit of internationalism and friendly cooperation, but with national musics to the fore.<sup>191</sup>

On paper this did not look so different from the ideology of the ISCM (in terms of its development with no strong aesthetic agenda, as distinct from early desires on the part of German, Austrian and Czechoslovakian representatives for an avant-garde focus),<sup>192</sup> or indeed of a good deal of international festivals and events in the first decades after 1945. But in reality, the programme featured a clear majority of German works, many more than from any other single nation, and contemporary works by a relatively conservative selection of composers such as Edward Elgar, Gustav Holst, Albert Roussel, Heinrich Kaminski, Manuel de Falla, Ture Rangström, Jean Sibelius, Jyri Kilpinen, Zoltán Kodály and Ludomir Różycki (thus no composers from outside Europe), but no Maurice Ravel, Béla Bartók, Igor Stravinsky, Sergey Prokofiev, Edgard Varèse, Darius Milhaud, Alois Hába or Gian Francesco Malipiero.<sup>193</sup> Even this was not enough to satisfy Nazi critic Herbert Gerigk, who found the event 'oppressive' and indeed unrepresentative, blaming a lack of care over the programming, which was insufficiently open to younger figures and national socialist organizations.<sup>194</sup>

If Killer espoused a mild internationalism, the complex figure of Peter Raabe went further in the direction of a moderate variety of the same. Raabe was a dedicated follower of Hitler who succeeded Richard Strauss in 1935 as president of the Reichsmusikkammer but whose wider aesthetic sympathies are evidenced in the fact that he had conducted works of Schoenberg, Hindemith, Erdmann, Tiessen, Scriabin and others who would now be categorized as modernist (and who were marginalized in the Reich) while Generalmusikdirektor in Aachen

<sup>189</sup> Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 3650.

<sup>190</sup> Hermann Killer, 'Musik und Internationalität', *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 642.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 642–3.

<sup>192</sup> Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*, 56, 479–91; Anton Haefeli and Reinhard Oehlschlägel, 'International Society for Contemporary Music', *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13859>>.

<sup>193</sup> Full programme for 'Internationales Musikfest in Hamburg vom 1. bis 7. Juni 1935' in *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 644. See Figure 2.

<sup>194</sup> Herbert Gerigk, 'Vergreisung oder "Fort schreitende Entwicklung"? Bemerkungen zum Hamburger Musikfest 1935', *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 722–7.



from 1918 to 1929; Rabbe had also been impressed upon hearing Berg's *Wozzeck*.<sup>195</sup> In an article published in 1926, Raabe had advocated restrictions on 'internationalism', as this was causing a decline in German music, which needed protecting.<sup>196</sup> However, at a speech given nine years later at the Hamburg festival, Raabe denied that music need choose between nationalism and internationalism. He acknowledged the difficulty of rooting art in folk culture, and the complexities for composers and artists who were born to parents of multiple nationalities or who received nationally varied education or other cultural influences. Raabe came close to nationalist cosmopolitics in a passage from this speech in which he argued that one could reconcile the Goethean idea of 'world-citizenship' ('Weltbürgertum') with national allegiances and roots; he cited Goethe, Schiller, Kleist and others in support of this argument. However, while these classic thinkers could reconcile their art with an interest in foreign *political* ideas, there was not an equivalent for composers. Music, by contrast to literature, dealt not with some 'universal language' which transcended boundaries, as many had claimed, but rather with feeling, which stood above political concerns.<sup>197</sup>

Other Nazi writers found different ways of interpreting the relationship between German and other musics. Ernst Bücken attempted to write a history of plural musical developments starting from the 'Orient' and moving through the classical world via various interactions or even battles between different national styles during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, until – like a miracle (after a period of uncertainty and blurring of styles) – Germanic 'national taste' is represented through the Mannheim School and the First Viennese School. This point is reached less than halfway through the book and the remainder is heavily dominated by Germanic composers battling for supremacy with other traditions, which are recognized but placed in a decidedly secondary position.<sup>198</sup> In a much more explicitly racially focused book from 1944, Hans Engel attempted to sublimate the German–Italian opposition that features strongly in Bücken by claiming racial commonalities between southern Germany and northern Italy, then contrasting an underlying biological unity with different musical manifestations owing to the cultural properties of distinct regions – unsurprisingly favouring the Germanic, in which 'Nordic' qualities were said to remain more unsullied by encounters with other races.<sup>199</sup>

Despite some internationalist leanings, for most Nazi writers, music involving or associated with Jewish people was wholly off-limits. Robert Pessenlehner attempted in 1937 to claim that in Schoenberg's work there is the beginning of 'a shift in music, *not towards internationalism*, but towards a non-European musical formation, in which non-Aryan linguistic rules find expression' emphasis added.<sup>200</sup> A different and more common antisemitic formation can be

<sup>195</sup> Nina Okrassa, *Peter Raabe. Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer (1872–1945)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 92–4, 101. However, Raabe also viewed African American dance bands and American films as a major threat to German culture; see Potter, *Art of Suppression*, 22–3.

<sup>196</sup> Peter Raabe, 'Deutsches Musikwesen und deutsche Art', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 53 (1 October 1926), 737–8, cited in Okrassa, *Peter Raabe*, 106–7.

<sup>197</sup> Peter Raabe, 'Nationalism, Internationalismus und Musik', *Die Musik*, 27/11 (August 1935), 801–3.

<sup>198</sup> Ernst Bücken, *Der Musik der Nationen* (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1937); the quotation regarding the miracle of German 'national taste' can be found on page 6.

<sup>199</sup> Hans Engel, *Deutschland und Italien in ihren musikgeschichtlichen Beziehungen* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1944); for a summary, see Mauro Fosco Bertola, 'Beyond Germanness? Music's History as "Entangled History" in German Musicology from the End of the Nineteenth Century to the Second World War', *Nazi Germany and Southern Europe, 1933–45: Science, Culture and Politics*, ed. Fernando Clara and Cláudia Ninhos (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 32–4.

<sup>200</sup> 'In ihm beginnt eine Wende der Musik, nicht zum Internationalismus, wohl aber zu einer außer-europäischen Musikgestaltung, in der nichtarische Sprachgesetze ihren Ausdruck finden.' Robert

# Internationales Musikfest in Hamburg

vom 1. bis 7. Juni 1935

**65. Tonkünstlerfest** des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins, das gemeinsam mit dem Ständigen Rat für die Internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten durchgeführt wird.

## 1. TAG:

Sonabend, den 1. Juni, 19 Uhr, Musikhalle, gr. Saal.

### I. ORCHESTERKONZERT

Franz Liszt: Eine Symphonie zu Dantes Divina Commedia für großes Orchester, Sopran und Altchor. Solistin: Helene Fahrni (Sopran). Mitwirkend: Frauenchor der Hamburger Singakademie. Leitung: Siegmund v. Hausegger.  
Max Trapp: Ouvertüre aus dem „Concert für Orchester“ Leitung: Der Komponist.  
Ludomir v. Kozycki: Konzert für Klavier und Orchester, op. 43. Solist: Rudolf Hauschild. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.  
Edward Elgar: Cockaigne.  
Ennio Porrino: Sardegna, Poema sinfonico. Leitung: Maestro Adriano Lualdi.

## 2. TAG:

Sonntag, den 2. Juni, 11 Uhr, Musikhalle, kl. Saal.

### I. KAMMERMUSIKKONZERT

Yrjö Kilpinen: Lieder um den Tod. Solist: Gerhard Hüsch (Bariton). Am Flügel: Hanns Udo Müller.  
Georg Schumann: Variationen über ein Thema von Beethoven für zwei Klaviere. Solisten: Der Komponist und Richard Laugs.  
Ture Rangström: Solistin: Henny Wolf (Sopran). Am Flügel: Richard Richter.  
Zoltan Kodály: Sonate, op. 4 für Violoncello und Klavier. Solisten: Gaspar Cassado (Cello), Willi Hammer (Klavier).  
Georg Vollertshun: Vier Lieder aus Niederdeutschland. Nach Texten von Hermann Allmers. Solist: Gerhard Hüsch (Bariton). Am Flügel: Hanns Udo Müller.  
Vitezslav Novák: Streichquartett D-dur, op. 35. Ausführende: Peter-Quartett (Krefeld). Fritz Peter — Robert Haas — Gustav Peter — Karl Drebert.

Sonntag, den 2. Juni, 20 Uhr.

### Opernabend in der Hamburgischen Staatsoper

Stanislaw Moniuszko:

### HALKA

Musikalische Leitung: Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt. Inszenierung: Heinrich K. Strohm. Bühnenbild: Wilhelm Reinking. Tanzleitung: Helga Swedlund. Chöre: Max Thurn.

## 3. TAG:

Montag, den 3. Juni, 20 Uhr. Conventgarten, gr. Saal.

### II. ORCHESTERKONZERT

Jean Blockx: Triptyque Symphonique. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.  
Gustave Samazeuilh: Nuit. . . Poème pour Orchestre. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.  
Paul Graener: Vorspiel, Intermezzo und Arie, op. 84. Solisten: Helene Fahrni (Sopran), Rudolf Metzmacher (Gambe). Leitung: Der Komponist.  
Giulio Cesare Sonzogno: Tango per Orchestra.  
Jakov Gotsvac: Kolo-Symphonie.  
Gustav Theodore Holst: Ballett aus „Perfect fool“. Leitung: Maestro Adriano Lualdi.  
Eric Westberg: Symfoni Nr. 2. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

## 4. TAG:

Dienstag, den 4. Juni, 11 Uhr, Musikhalle, kl. Saal.

### II. KAMMERMUSIKKONZERT

Ewald Strässer: Klavierquintett in fis-moll, op. 18. Ausführende: Meta Hagedorn-Chevalley (Klavier) und das Schmalmack-Quartett. Werner Schmalmack — Fritz Köhnen — Hans von Holt — Kurt Friedrich.  
Jon Leifs: Isländische Lieder. Aus den Kirchenliedern, op. 12a. Solistin: Adelheid Armhold (Sopran). Am Flügel: Werner Schröter.  
Heinrich Kaminski: Musik für zwei Violinen und Cembalo. Ausführende: Wilfried Hanke und Rudolf Prick (Violinen), Eigel Krutge (Cembalo).  
Othmar Schoeck: Notturno, op. 47. Ausführende: Felix Loeffel (Baß) und das Fehse-Quartett (Berlin). Richard Fehse — Fritz Laur — Heinz Herbert Scholz — Peter Herbert Lehmann.  
Gabriel Pierné: Sonata da camera für Flöte, Cello und Klavier, op. 48. Ausführende: Hans Brinckmann (Flöte), Rudolf Metzmacher (Cello), Werner Schröter (Klavier).  
Wilhelm Kienzl: Lieder. Solist: Karl Oskar Dittmer (Bari-

ton). Am Flügel: Werner Schröter.

Paul Juon: Quintett für Flöte, Oboen, Klarinette, Horn und Fagott, op. 48. Ausführende: Bläservereinigung des Philharmonischen Staatsorchesters. Hans Brinckmann — Albert Reinhardt — Richard Gräfe — Albert Düscher — Christian Weber.

Dienstag, den 4. Juni, 20 Uhr.

### Opernabend in der Hamburgischen Staatsoper

Hans Pfitzner:

### DER ARME HEINRICH

Musikalische Leitung: Der Komponist. Inszenierung: Rudolf Zindler. Bühnenbild: Wilhelm Reinking.

## 5. TAG:

Mittwoch, den 5. Juni, 20 Uhr.

### TANZABEND

#### In der Hamburgischen Staatsoper

Musikalische Leitung: Richard Richter. Inszenierung und Choreographie: Helga Swedlund. Bühnenbild: Gerd Richter.

Zoltan Kodály: Zigeunerweisen aus Ungarn (Tänze aus Galanta und Maroszeke-Tänze)

Julius Weismann: Sommerliche Tänze (Tanz-Fantasie).

Manuel de Falla: Der Dreispitz.

## 6. TAG:

Donnerstag, den 6. Juni, 11 Uhr, Musikhalle, kl. Saal.

### III. KAMMERMUSIKKONZERT

Jens Laurson Emborg: Fünftes Quartett, op. 53 für zwei Violinen, Viola, Violoncell. Ausführende: Hamann-Quartett (Hamburg). Bernhard Hamann — Helmut Vogt — Ernst Dohertiz — Arthur Froster.  
Gustave Samazeuilh: „Stundenkreis“ (Le Cercle des Heures). Albert Ch. Paul Roussel: Lieder. Solistin: Mme. Balguerie. Nationaloper Paris. Am Flügel: Ferry Gebhardt.  
Joseph Marx: Trio-Phantasie für Klavier, Violine u. Violoncello. Ausführende: Max Strub (Violine), Paul Grümmer (Violoncello), Friedrich Wühler (Klavier).  
Edvard Verheyden: Lieder. Solistin: Adelheid Holz (Sopran). Am Flügel: Ferry Gebhardt.  
Ernst von Dohnanyi: Humoresken, op. 17. Solist: Ferry Gebhardt (Klavier).  
M. de Jong: Streichquartett in vier alten Tonarten. Ausführende: Hanke-Quartett. Wilfried Hanke — Rudolf Prick — Kurt Forst — Rudolf Metzmacher.

Donnerstag, den 6. Juni, 17 Uhr, in der St. Michaelskirche

### KIRCHENKONZERT

Franz Schmidt: Toccata für die Orgel. Solist: Friedrich Brinkmann.

Max Reger: Kantate: „O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden“. Solisten: Lore Fischer (Alt), Hans Hoffmann (Tenor). Mitwirkend: Chor der Singakademie, verstärkt durch den Hamburger Lehrergesangsverein.

Richard Wetz: Adagio aus der 3. Sinfonie B-dur, Werk 48.  
Josef Bohuslav Foerster: Mortuis fratribus (Den toten Brüdern). Solisten: Anne-Marie Sottmann (Sopran), Lore Fischer (Alt), Hans Hoffmann (Tenor). Karl Oskar Dittmer (Bariton). Mitwirkend: Chor der Singakademie, verstärkt durch den Lehrergesangsverein. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

## 7. TAG:

Freitag, den 7. Juni, 20 Uhr, Conventgarten, gr. Saal.

### III. ORCHESTERKONZERT

Franco Alfano: Seconda Sinfonia. Leitung: Maestro Adriano Lualdi.

Friedrich Bayer: Konzert b-moll für Klavier mit Orchesterbegleitung. Solistin: Isolda Ahlgrimm (Wien).

Louis Glass: Sinfonia svastica, op. 57.

Jean Sibelius: Karelia-Suite für Orchester, op. 11.

Max von Schillings: Das Erntefest aus „Moloch“. Mitwirkend: Der Chor der Hamburger Singakademie, verstärkt durch den Lehrergesangsverein. Leitung: Eugen Jochum.

Das Festorchester wird gebildet aus dem Philharmonischen Staatsorchester und dem Sinfonie-Orchester des Reichsenders Hamburg.

Festdirigent: Hbg. Generalmusikdirektor Eugen Jochum.  
Gastdirigenten: Maestro Adriano Lualdi, Paul Graener, Siegmund von Hausegger, Max Trapp.

Figure 2 Full programme for the Internationales Musikfest, Hamburg, 1935.

From *Die Musik*, 27/9 (June 1935), 644.

found in the work of Walther Wünsch, who in a favourable 1938 article about south Slavic folk music portrayed the Balkans as a 'mighty bridge from the Orient to the Occident'.<sup>201</sup> However, in a follow-up article, he claimed this tradition to have been undermined by Jewish city dwellers involved in commerce, and for this reason he celebrated its antisemitic songs.<sup>202</sup> Those who could celebrate a plural range of European musics had consistently to view Jewish traditions as alien to these.

## Societies, organizations and exchange programmes<sup>203</sup>

In contrast to the view presented by the advocates of *Nachholbedarf*, there were many cultural and indeed musical interactions and exchanges between Nazi Germany and other countries. But this process was far from unlimited; in general, the other nations in question fell into one of three categories: (a) 'racial' allies, viewed as fellow 'Aryans', including the Scandinavian countries (including Iceland) and Finland, the Netherlands and, to some extent, Belgium; (b) political allies, most notably Italy and Hungary from an earlier stage, then Japan, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and even Russia during the period of the Nazi–Soviet Pact; (c) other European nations with which there were more mixed relations, notably Britain, France, Poland and the Soviet Union from 1933, the majority of which would later become hostile.<sup>204</sup>

I will first consider category (b). A range of exchange and friendship societies between Germany and other nations were created both before and during the Third Reich, which to varying degrees (some of them beginning as trading organizations) promoted academic, intellectual, cultural and some political relationships, organized cultural events and supported visiting foreign artists and scholars.<sup>205</sup> Societies pairing Germany with Greece, Bulgaria, Finland, Sweden, France, Portugal,

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Pessenlehner, *Vom Wesen der deutschen Musik* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1937), 176–7, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 6288.

<sup>201</sup> Walther Wünsch, 'Südslawische Volksmusik als Ausdruck südslawischer Volksgeschichte', *Die Musik*, 30/7 (April 1938), 450–5 (p. 450).

<sup>202</sup> Walther Wünsch, 'Der Jude im balkanslawischen Volkstum und Volksliede', *Die Musik*, 30/9 (June 1938), 595–8. There were three other related articles by Wünsch published soon afterwards in the same journal: 'Südslawische Musikinstrumente und Lieder', *Die Musik*, 30/12 (September 1938), 796–800; 'Vorchristliche Restbestände im balkanischen Volkstum. Ihre Beziehung zur Volksmusik der Slawen in Südosteuropa', *Die Musik*, 31/4 (January 1939), 242–6; 'Goethe und das südslawische Volkslied', *Die Musik*, 31/6 (March 1939), 363–5.

<sup>203</sup> For reasons of space, I have assembled a highly detailed downloadable chronology of important international musical events between 1933 and 1945, together with overviews of various institutions which featured international music, and details of principal musical and cultural exchange programmes between Nazi Germany and Italy, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Japan, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and Poland, Czechoslovakia, multiple 'Nordic' countries, Belgium and the Netherlands. See Ian Pace, *Timeline and Data Sources for article on 'Music and Internationalism in Nazi Germany: Provenance and Post-War Consequences'* (hereafter *Timeline and Data Sources*) at <<https://ianpace.wordpress.com/2022/08/01/musical-internationalism-in-nazi-germany-table-of-events/>> (accessed 18 October 2022). I will summarize the findings here; most of the data sources (especially journals and newspapers from the time) are provided there.

<sup>204</sup> See Pace, *Timeline and Data Sources*, section 3, for detailed consideration of German musical interactions with each of these countries, from which I draw summaries here.

<sup>205</sup> Johannes Dafinger, 'Treason? What Treason? German–Foreign Friendship Societies and Transnational Relations between Right-Wing Intellectuals during the Nazi Period', *Intellectual Collaboration with the Third Reich: Treason or Reason?*, ed. Maria Björkman, Patrik Lundell and Sven Widmalm (ebook; London: Routledge, 2019), chapter 4.

Yugoslavia, Japan, Hungary, Spain, Italy (with the support of Mussolini) and Britain (Deutsch–Griechische Gesellschaft, Deutsch–Bulgarische Gesellschaft and so on) were formed between 1914 and 1932,<sup>206</sup> and these became variously stronger or weaker after 1933 in a manner generally mirroring wider political allegiances or antagonisms between Germany and the other countries in question. Further such societies were formed after the Nazi assumption of power, usually with clearer ideological motivations: with Norway in 1934, with England in 1935 (founded directly by Joachim von Ribbentrop and used to try to cement better relations with England), with the Netherlands in 1936, somewhat more atypically with Poland in 1938, with Belgium in 1938, then with Slovakia in January 1939, around six weeks before the creation of the fascist Slovak Republic following the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. During the Second World War there followed societies with Hungary in April 1940, Denmark in autumn 1940 (following the occupation, on the model of the Norwegian society), Romania in 1943 (somewhat late considering Ion Antonescu's signing of the Tripartite Pact in 1940 and participation of Romanian forces in Operation Barbarossa in 1941) and Croatia in 1944 (the last of its type, narrowing the earlier partnership with Yugoslavia in light of the redrawing of borders and subsequent installation of satellite fascist regimes).

While some of these organizations were based in multiple German cities (the Deutsch–Griechische Gesellschaft, for example, had branches in Munich, Hamburg and Berlin), they were nonetheless – as Johannes Dafinger has noted – were generally small and highly elite.<sup>207</sup> By 1940, the largest in Berlin were those with Greece, Italy, the Netherlands and Japan, but a further 26 organizations existed.<sup>208</sup> Some fragmentary documents show that in the summer of that year Goebbels and von Ribbentrop even urged Albert Speer to construct a large building in Berlin to house all these types of associations to which they were sympathetic (representing nations allied to Greater Germany), and thus bring them into a type of centralized arrangement.<sup>209</sup> While this never came to fruition (because of other priorities), it shows how importantly they viewed such activities.

All of this proceeded in parallel with concentrations of representation of composers and performers from these various other nations.<sup>210</sup> These began with concerts featuring music and musicians from Nazi Germany's most obvious ally, fascist Italy, intensifying after the declaration of the Rome–Berlin Axis in November 1936 and leading to various events celebrating the friendship between the two nations. Hungary was also an early key ally, having moved to the political right from 1932 onwards under prime ministers Gyula Gömbös and Kálmán Darányi, and many music events followed the foundation of the Deutsch–Ungarisches Kulturabkommen in May 1936, at the behest of Goebbels and others. As other countries became more closely aligned with Germany, concerts and exchange concerts were sponsored or promoted by

<sup>206</sup> See the section on 'Societies Pairing Germany with Other Nations', in Pace, *Timeline and Data Sources*, for full dates and references.

<sup>207</sup> Dafinger, 'Treason? What Treason?'

<sup>208</sup> Bernd Sösemann, 'Philhellenen in der "Volksgemeinschaft". Die "Deutsch–Griechische Gesellschaft" in Berlin als Mitglied der nationalsozialistischen "Vereinigung zwischenstaatlicher Verbände"', *Internationale Dilemmata und europäische Visionen*, ed. Martin Sieg and Heiner Timmermann (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010), 202–3.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 201–2.

<sup>210</sup> See section 1 of *Timeline and Data Sources* for plentiful evidence of this. Such events were mirrored in many concert tours by German musicians to occupied or ideologically allied nations. To detail these would be beyond the scope of this article, but see for example the numerous foreign trips of the Berlin Philharmonic, detailed in Peter Muck, *Ein hundred Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, vol. 3 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982), 256–314.



Figure 3 Advert for an Internationales Austauschkonzert: Rumänien, organized by the Singakademie Berlin, 6 February 1941. *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins*, 21/20 (1941), 5.

the appropriate international societies, with considerable help from the German Foreign Ministry under the control of Hans Sellschopp from 1939.<sup>211</sup> Spanish music became more prevalent in Germany from early in the civil war, and especially after Franco's victory; prominent events featuring Greek music followed the coming to power of the authoritarian regime of Ioannis Metaxas in Greece in August 1936, as did Bulgarian music after King Boris III took direct rule in 1935 and gradually moved towards alignment with the Axis (after which came a major Deutsch-Bulgarisches Konzert in Breslau in late 1941 to celebrate the two nations' friendship).

Following the outbreak of war, in December 1939 Killer argued that 'German art, and in particular music, is placed in the front line of the spiritual defence of the country', but that this was also a reason for the continuation of international musical exchange events.<sup>212</sup> In 1940, a review in *Die Musik* on musical life in Munich pointed out how 'cultural exchange with friendly nations was very important', and went on to mention exchanges with Italy, Bulgaria and Japan.<sup>213</sup> Exchanges also increased with Romania (especially featuring conductor George Georgescu, who had appeared with the Berlin Philharmonic since 1935) after Ion Antonescu took power in September 1940 and the two nations signed both the Tripartite and Anti-Comintern Pacts (see Figure 3); and similarly with Croatia after Ante Pavelić and the Ustaše took power in April 1941. The Berlin Philharmonic presented a series of government-ordered concerts in 1940–1 with guest conductors from Spain, Italy, Japan and Croatia.<sup>214</sup> Many articles in the Nazi-controlled music press presented sympathetic views of the art and folk musics of these other nations.

<sup>211</sup> Waldemar Rosen, 'Deutschland im europäischen Musikaustausch', *Jahrbuch der deutschen Musik* 1943, ed. Hellmuth von Hase (Leipzig and Berlin: Breitkopf & Härtel and Max Hesses Verlag, 1943), 65–6; Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 6560.

<sup>212</sup> 'So reiht sich auch die deutsche Kunst und im besonderen die Musik in die innere Front der geistigen Landesverteidigung,' Hermann Killer, 'Berliner Konzerte', *Die Musik*, 32/3 (December 1939), 100–1.

<sup>213</sup> Karl Blessinger, 'München', *Die Musik*, 32/10 (July 1940), 356.

<sup>214</sup> Misha Aster, *The Reich's Orchestra* (London: Souvenir Press, 2010), 124–5; Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, vol. iii, 298. The conductors were José Cubiles, Franco Ferrara, Hidermaro Konoye and Lovro von Matačić respectively.



Despite the obvious ethnic distances between central Europeans and East Asians, the Japanese were even referred to by Hitler as ‘honorary Aryans’,<sup>215</sup> and there was a wide range of German–Japanese musical interactions during the Reich. Japanese conductors Hidemaro Konoye and Kōichi Kishi conducted the Berlin Philharmonic from early in the regime (Konoye was described to Staatssekretär Hans Heinrich Lammers by Staatskommissar Hans Hinkel as ‘the Japanese Furtwängler’ as early as October 1933);<sup>216</sup> and after the signing of the Anti-Comintern pact in November 1936, the Deutsch–Japanische Gesellschaft increased its cultural activities for propagandistic reasons.<sup>217</sup> A concert Konoye conducted in Leipzig two days after the signing of the pact included some traditional Japanese court music; it was greatly admired by Kurt Herbst in *Die Musik*, not least for Konoye’s exactitude and sharp rhythms, from which he concluded that ‘the Japanese interpret the music of our cultural circles very well’.<sup>218</sup> A review by Fritz Stege of a concert by the Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Konoye, featuring Kilpinen’s *Fjeld-Lieder*, suggested that Konoye’s more distant geographic origins were appropriate for conducting Finnish music, but also gave high praise to his interpretations of Schubert and Brahms.<sup>219</sup> Richard Ohlekopf portrayed Konoye as one ‘who has grasped the spirit of German music in such a way that he is able to be its authoritative advocate in his country’.<sup>220</sup> Other articles from around this time also celebrated Japanese traditional music, comparing it to the culture of ancient Greece.<sup>221</sup> Konoye recorded with the Berlin Philharmonic, including one 78rpm release in 1938 comprising the German national anthem, the *Horst-Wessel-Lied* and the Japanese national anthem in Konoye’s own arrangement.<sup>222</sup> During the war, his press releases spoke of ‘comradeship with German artists’<sup>223</sup> and he eventually gave concerts to boost the morale of soldiers and civilians (see Figure 4). After a successful concert in December 1942, violinist Nejiko Suwa was presented with a Stradivari violin by Goebbels in the presence of the Japanese ambassador Hiroshi Ōshima, whose speech claimed that this

<sup>215</sup> Ricky W. Law, *Transnational Nazism: Ideology and Culture in German–Japanese Relations, 1919–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 284.

<sup>216</sup> Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh: Rowohlt, 1963), 94. Hinkel also went on to describe Konoye as ‘the greatest non-German interpreter of Richard Strauss’ (*ibid.*). This followed a concert which Konoye conducted with the Berlin Philharmonic on 3 October, with works of Schubert (arranged by Konoye), Strauss, Reger and traditional Japanese music. See Muck, *Einbundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, vol. iii, 257. This was reviewed extremely positively by Fritz Ohrmann in ‘Hidemaro Konoye, Philharm. Orch’, *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, 91/41 (1933), 681–2.

<sup>217</sup> Kyungboon Lee, ‘Japanese Musicians between Music and Politics during WWII Japanese Propaganda in the Third Reich’, *Itinerario*, 38/2 (2014), 121–38 (p. 124).

<sup>218</sup> Kurt Herbst, ‘Funkmusikalische Auslese’, *Die Musik*, 29/4 (January 1937), 282. Konoye had conducted in Germany much earlier than this, making his debut with the Berlin Philharmonic back in 1924. See Eric Charles Black, *Wars, Dictators and the Gramophone, 1898–1945* (York: William Sessions, 2004), 117.

<sup>219</sup> Fritz Stege, ‘Berliner Musik’, *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 104/2 (February 1937), 184.

<sup>220</sup> ‘Hidemaro Konoye, der den Geist der deutschen Musik so erfaßt hat, daß er befähigt ist in seinem Lande der berufene Verkünder der deutschen Musik zu sein’. Richard Ohlekopf, ‘Hidemaro Konoye, Gerh. Hüsch’, *Signale für die musikalische Welt*, 95/1 (6 January 1937), 5.

<sup>221</sup> Albrecht Urach-Württemberg, ‘Aus 40 Jahren moderner japanischer Musikentwicklung. August Junker, der Pionier deutscher Musik in Japan’, *Die Musik*, 29/10 (July 1937), 675–7.

<sup>222</sup> All re-released as *Konoye: The Complete Berlin Philharmonic Recordings*, Pristine Audio PASC288 (2011). See also ‘Neuaufnahmen in Auslese’, *Die Musik*, 32/2 (November 1939), 66.

<sup>223</sup> Karl Blessinger, ‘München’, *Die Musik*, 32/10 (July 1940), 356; Erwin Völsing, ‘Berliner Konzerte’, *Die Musik*, 33/5 (February 1941), 181.





Figures 4 Hidemaro Konoye conducting the Berlin Philharmonic, 1942. Stills from 'Hidemaro Konoye conducts ...', <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d9MK9QA5s2c>> (accessed 29 July 2022).

symbolized the close cultural relationship between the two countries.<sup>224</sup> Konoye's score of *Etenraku* (1930), based on the traditional gagaku melody, was played widely throughout the Third Reich and its allies.<sup>225</sup>

Ideologies of pan-Germanic or pan-Nordic racial purity – the latter of which had informed the creation of the Richard Wagner Gesellschaft für germanische Kunst und Kultur back in

<sup>224</sup> 'Zeitgeschichte', *Die Musik*, 35/6 (1943), 194.

<sup>225</sup> Lee, 'Japanese Musicians', 126, 128–30.



Figure 5 Advert in *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins* for a Deutsch–Dänisches Konzert given by the Berlin Philharmonic, 5 April 1934, in association with the Nordische Gesellschaft.

1913 and were reflected in such books as Eichenauer's *Musik und Rasse* (1932), constructing a 'Nordic' musical identity and incorporating canonical Germanic composers based on both a proclivity for polyphony and an aptitude for battle<sup>226</sup> – underlay other musical events from early in the regime. A Nordische Gesellschaft, originally set up in Lübeck to promote trade and cultural exchange, became a vehicle for fanatical racial ideologies from 1934, counting Heinrich Himmler and Alfred Rosenberg among its members.<sup>227</sup> The society promoted a wide range of events (especially in Lübeck) celebrating Nordic music to the extent that it could be linked to that from Germany, albeit not in a relationship of equals. (For an example of a Nordische Gesellschaft concert see Figure 5.) In 1933, an article in *Die Musik* held up Grieg and Sibelius as shining examples of *Blut und Boden* in contrast to the 'worthless drivel' of atonality, the product of a 'Jewish-inclined clique'.<sup>228</sup> Others who featured regularly in performances promoted by the Nordische Gesellschaft included Swedish composer Kurt Atterberg, whose opera *Fanal* was presented in Braunschweig in February 1934 then produced

<sup>226</sup> See Albrecht Dümmling, 'The Target of Racial Purity: The "Degenerate Music" Exhibition in Düsseldorf, 1938', *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich*, ed. Richard A. Etlin (Chicago, IL, and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 48–50; Eichenauer, *Musik und Rasse*, 157–81, 205–9.

<sup>227</sup> Wolf Stegemann, 'Die Nordische Gesellschaft – eine ideologisch völkisch-rassische Organisation der NSDAP mit Rothenburgs bürgerlicher Hautevolée', *Rothenburg unterm Hakenkreuz*, 20 January 2014 <<http://www.rothenburg-unterm-hakenkreuz.de/die-nordische-gesellschaft-eine-ideologisch-voelkisch-rassische-organisation-der-nsdap-mit-rothenburgs-buergerlicher-hautevolée/>> (accessed 20 September 2019). For a thorough investigation of this organization, see Erika L. Briesacher, 'Cultural Currency: *Notgeld*, *Nordische Woche*, and the *Nordische Gesellschaft*, 1921–1945' (Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 2012), 140–218. For an earlier study of these themes, see Hans-Jürgen Luthhöft, *Der nordische Gedanke in Deutschland 1920–1940* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1971).

<sup>228</sup> Henning Rechnitzer-Möller, 'Nordische Musik', *Die Musik*, 26/1 (October 1933), 69–71; see also Helmut Schmidt-Garre, 'Der rassische Stil der nordischen Musik', *Volksparole*, 24 October 1934, reprinted in *Die Musik*, 27/2 (November 1934), 154–5.

in a range of other cities, and the Finnish composer Kilpinen, who was used by Nazi critic Stege as an example of the links between Finnish and German music.<sup>229</sup>

Dutch music appeared prominently at various points, especially as part of a Holländisches Musikfest in Wiesbaden in May 1935, while works of Henk Badings were performed in various contexts. But after the occupation of the Low Countries in 1940, more active attempts were made to propagandize for common Germanic musical roots. Franck was presented as an essentially Germanic composer,<sup>230</sup> while an article in *Die Musik* paired together 'Jewish and Francophile interest groups' in opposition to Flemish music (in line with Hitler's instructions to the invaders of Belgium to 'favour the Flemish' over the Walloons and stoke antagonisms between the two primary groups).<sup>231</sup>

There were events in the 1930s featuring music of nations that would turn hostile (Britain, France and Poland) sometimes involving their own exchange societies. The Deutsch-Französische Gesellschaft in particular supported the 1938 Baden-Baden festival (see below) and presented some other events. But following a communiqué from Raabe on 1 October 1939, confirmed on 1 February 1940 and further on 4 November 1941, Polish, British and French music (with the specific exceptions of the music of Chopin and Bizet's *Carmen*) were essentially prohibited.<sup>232</sup> Russian music had continued to be heard in the 1930s, including a number of Stravinsky performances, but received a boost during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact between August 1939 and July 1941.<sup>233</sup> Radio Munich cancelled a talk scheduled for 25 August 1939 entitled 'I Accuse Moscow – the Comintern Plan for World Dictatorship' and replaced it with 30 minutes of Russian music.<sup>234</sup> Prominent concerts of Russian or Slavic music were heard in Berlin (including a number of Prokofiev performances by the Berlin Philharmonic), Cologne, Osnabrück, Kiel and Baden-Baden, while Walter Giesecking revised his repertoire to add Russian music.<sup>235</sup> After the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Baden-Baden orchestra under Gotthold Ephraim Lessing still programmed works of Tchaikovsky and Borodin in two concerts,<sup>236</sup> but then Raabe banned performances of all Russian music from 15 July 1941.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>229</sup> Fritz Stege, 'Yrjö Kilpinen', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 106/9 (September 1939), 921–30.

<sup>230</sup> 'Caesar Franck – ein Deutscher! Zum 50. Todestag des Meisters am 9. November 1940', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 107/9 (September 1940), 517–29. But see also Reinhold Zimmermann, 'War Casar Franck ein "urfranzösischer" Musiker?', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 108/3 (March 1941), 187–9.

<sup>231</sup> Werner Warmbrunn, *The German Occupation of Belgium 1940–1944* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 127, 130–1. For further examples of such sentiments applied to music, see Nicholas Spanuth, 'Deutsche Musik im besetzten Gebiet. Erstaufführungen in Belgien', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 108/7 (July 1941), 459–60; and Walter Weyler, 'Zur Erneuerung der flämischen Musik. Vom Volkslied zur Polyphonie', *Die Musik*, 34/5 (February 1942), 162–5.

<sup>232</sup> Directive from Raabe, 4 November 1941, in Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 5645. There were some exceptions, as when for example the Berlin Philharmonic and Clemens Krauss performed Ravel's *Boléro* on 19 and 20 November 1944 at the Staatsoper, demonstrating that the prohibition was not rigidly enforced. See Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonische Orchester*, vol. iii, 311 and 313.

<sup>233</sup> Joan Evans, 'Stravinsky's Music in Hitler's Germany', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56/3 (Fall 2003), 525–94 (pp 581–4).

<sup>234</sup> Terry Charman, *Outbreak 1939: The World Goes to War* (London: Virgin, 2009), 57.

<sup>235</sup> David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945–1953* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 157.

<sup>236</sup> Advert in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 108/9 (1941), 621.

<sup>237</sup> Directive from Raabe, 12 July 1941, reproduced in Prieberg, *Handbuch deutsche Musiker*, 5644.

However, one should be wary of attributing too many developments to wider artistic policy. Much of the most internationally oriented programming, like that which continued to feature some more advanced forms of modernism, was as much the result of particular individuals' work as of any wider artistic policy: Gerhard Frommel and Hans Rosbaud in Frankfurt, Carl Schuricht in Wiesbaden, Fritz Zaun in Berlin, Fritz Büchtger and Adolf Mennerich in Munich, Johannes Schüler and Albert Bittner in Essen, Ewald Lindemann in Braunschweig, Adalbert Kalix in Nuremberg. Some other institutions did also play a crucial role, especially the Berliner Singakademie, under the directorship of Georg Schumann (which continued to organize many foreign exchanges, as it had done since the beginning of the century), and the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin (which organized many international exchange concerts from 1937 onwards). What is most significant is that all of these were able to proceed with these activities generally without interference and sometimes with encouragement.

### **Festival Organizations with international programming: the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten**

There was a range of one-off festivals or themed concert series in Nazi Germany showcasing international music, such as the Dresden Philharmonic's series of concerts of *Meistern des Auslands* in winter 1936–7, or the Internationales Orchester-Musikfest in Wiesbaden in May 1939, which brought together orchestras and musicians from France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. More central to musical life during this period were three principal recurrent festivals which each featured a degree of international music. The ADMV, founded by Franz Liszt and Franz Brendel in 1861,<sup>238</sup> was at its outset dedicated to the promotion of the latest German music, though always featured a certain amount of music from elsewhere. For a period in the 1920s, the festival incorporated Germanic composers associated by conservatives with a type of internationalist modernism (including Schoenberg, Hindemith, Schulhoff and others) and also a few works by foreign composers such as Stravinsky and Bartók. However, the ADMV became much more conservative after Siegmund von Hausegger assumed the presidency in 1926, and continued in this vein until it was thoroughly Nazified by 1934.<sup>239</sup> After Raabe took over the presidency in 1935, from which time dates the Hamburg festival mentioned earlier, there was included some slightly more advanced music (including *Elektromusik* in the 1936 Berlin festival), though generally by Germans but after others schemed against Raabe,<sup>240</sup> the ADMV was replaced by the Reichsmusikkammer in 1937. One event to note, which coincided with the Frankfurt/Darmstadt ADMV in 1937, was the exhibition *Schöpferes Musikleben des Auslands*, which featured composers from 17 European countries, including Ravel, Dallapiccola, Szymanowski, Hába and Bartók.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>238</sup> The most comprehensive resource on this remains the archived version of James Deaville, 'Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein', at <<https://web.archive.org/web/20050307085106/http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca:80/~admvm/admv.htm>> (accessed 1 July 2019).

<sup>239</sup> See Friedrich W. Herzog, 'Erstes Deutsches Tonkünstlerfest im Dritten Reich. Der Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein in Wiesbaden', *Die Musik*, 26/10 (July 1934), 748–54.

<sup>240</sup> See Raabe, 'Rede zur Eröffnung der 67. Tonkünsterversammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins in Weimar am 13. Juni 1936', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103/7 (July 1936), 813; and for Goebbels's distrust, having been briefed by Hans Severus Ziegler, see his diary entry of 16 June 1936, in *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: sämtliche Fragmente. Teil I: Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941. Band 2* (Munich: Saur, 1987), 108.

<sup>241</sup> Eva Hanau, *Musikinstitutionen in Frankfurt am Main 1933–1945* (Cologne: Studio, 1994), 141–2.

The second internationally oriented festival was the Internationales Zeitgenössisches Musikfest, which ran in Baden-Baden from 1936 to 1939 and has been written about in detail by Joan Evans.<sup>242</sup> This featured music from 17 mostly western European countries and was described positively by Friedrich Herzog in *Die Musik* as an 'international music festival with national emphasis', entailing an 'amicable cultural competition among nations', in contrast with events that had taken place in Donaueschingen and Baden-Baden in the 1920s.<sup>243</sup>

But the example that best exemplifies an ideology promulgating multiple nationalisms, albeit with a clear German domination, was that embodied in the festivals organized by the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten, formed by Strauss during his time as president of the Reichsmusikkammer. This organization, originally designed to protect composers' international rights and to organize exchange concerts between nations, was active from 1934 to 1939, with representatives from 20 other European countries and largely directed by Austrian-Czech composer Emil von Reznicek.<sup>244</sup> It was nonetheless highly German-dominated, not least because most of the non-German representatives had studied in Germany.<sup>245</sup> Seven festivals took place (see Figure 6),<sup>246</sup> as well as a range of exchange concerts,<sup>247</sup> while further festivals were planned but did not materialize.<sup>248</sup>

Much of the founding ideology of the organization came out of an extended and ranting article by Gerigk about the 1934 Venice Biennale. Interestingly, Gerigk actually blamed Italian fascism, with its avant-gardist elements, for severing Italian music's connection with to *Blut und Boden* it, so that 'helpless Dadaist and unequivocally bolshevist artistic trends' were welcome, and what Gerigk recognized as true German music did not receive its due<sup>249</sup> (thus pre-empting the aesthetic disjunction in this respect between the two nations which came to a head

<sup>242</sup> Joan Evans, "'International with National Emphasis': The Internationales Zeitgenössisches Musikfest in Baden-Baden, 1936–1939", *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny, 1933–1945* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), ed. Michael Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller, 102–13.

<sup>243</sup> 'Ein internationales Musikfest mit nationalen Tendenzen'. Friedrich W. Herzog, 'Musik der Völker in Baden-Baden', *Die Musik*, 28/10 (July 1936), 781–4 (p. 781); also cited in Evans, "'International with National Emphasis'", 103. Herzog went on to talk about an 'amicable cultural competition among nations' ('friedliche kulturelle Wettstreit der Nationen') in place of the 'routine Jewish-influenced concerts disguised as international' ('international getarnten Allerweltskonzerts unter jüdischem Einfluß') of the Weimar era festivals. Herzog, 'Musik der Völker', 781. See also his similar comments in Herzog, 'Europäische Musik in Bande. Das II. Internationale zeitgenössische Musikfest in Baden-Baden', *Die Musik*, 29/7 (April 1937), 495.

<sup>244</sup> 'Amtliche Mitteilung über die Gründung des "Ständigen Rats für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten"', *Die Musik*, 26/10 (July 1934), 765–6; Petra Garberding, 'Strauss und der Ständige Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten', *Richard Strauss Handbuch*, ed. Walter Werbeck (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2014), 42–7 (p. 42).

<sup>245</sup> Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 88.

<sup>246</sup> These were in Hamburg (June 1935), Vichy (September 1935), Stockholm (February 1936), Dresden (May 1937), Stuttgart (May 1938), Brussels (November 1938) and Frankfurt (July 1939).

<sup>247</sup> 'Gesellschaften und Vereine', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103/4 (April 1936), 507; 'Konzertpodium', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 103/10 (October 1936), 1276.

<sup>248</sup> These were to have taken place in Athens, Berlin, Copenhagen, Helsinki, London, Naples, Reykjavik and Vienna. See Garberding, 'Strauss und der Ständige Rat', 43–4; 'Aus der Arbeit des "Ständigen Rates"', *Die Musik*, 32/3 (December 1939), 106.

<sup>249</sup> Herbert Gerigk, 'Musikfestdämmerung. Das dritte internationale Musikfest in Venedig und die erste Arbeitstagung des "Ständigen Rats für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten"', *Die Musik*, 27/1 (October 1934), 45–51.





Figure 6 Cover of the brochure for the Internationales Musikfest, Dresden, 1937, organized by the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten.

following the *Ausstellung Italienischer Kunst* in Berlin in November–December 1937).<sup>250</sup> On the validity of festivals in general, Gerigk wrote:

<sup>250</sup> This was an exhibition of Italian art from 1800 to the present organized by the Preußische Akademie der Künste in Berlin, whose organizing committee included both Goebbels and Hermann Goering. It included four rooms dedicated to twentieth-century art, including a reasonable amount of Futurist painting and other work associated with different varieties of modernism. Despite also including a wide range of relatively traditionalist twentieth-century Italian art, not to mention a range of nineteenth-century work, the exhibition was despised by Hitler, who attended on 10 December,



This question must be answered in the negative. There is no longer today any justification for renouncing the *Volks*. Here there are only alien [*volksfremde*] elements which have found their way from the intellect into the founding of new directions for art. This has continued as long as government agencies have been found which think in the same way. As long as funds have been available, such funds have been taken away from real art.<sup>251</sup>

As such, the concerts of the Ständiger Rat stood in direct opposition to the perceived emphasis on transnational modernism thought to be represented by the ISCM.<sup>252</sup> The Hamburg festival was certainly of an international nature, including leading composers such as Holst, Falla, Kodály, Dohnányi, Sibelius and Kilpinen. The festival held in Vichy in September 1935 coincided exactly with the ISCM in Prague, and has been analysed in some detail by Anne Shreffler, who argues that the programme committee 'had made little attempt to focus on contemporary music', since all

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and was described as a 'fiasco' by Mussolini after he had read a report of the exhibition. It is likely that Hitler's wrath was provoked by such featured artists (to take a selection in the order they appear in the catalogue) as Pieraccini Leonetta Cecchi, Ettore di Giorgio, Primo Sinopico, Mimi Quilici Buzzacchi, Francesco dal Pozzo, Pietro Marussig, Felice Casorati, Celestino Celestini, Lino S. Lipinsky, Luigi Bartolini, Carlo Alberto Petrucci, Giorgio Morandi, Ardengo Soffici, Domenico Valinotti, Mario Sironi, Achille Funi, Giuseppe Capogrossi, Gianfilippo Usellini, Giovanni Colacicchi, Antonio Donghi, Eugenio da Venezia, Mario Broglio, Michele Guerrisi, Romano Dazzi, Arturo Checchi, Ugo Ortona, Mirko Basaldella, Alessandro Cervellati, Orfeo Tamburi, Cipriano Efisio Oppo, Contardo Barbieri, Virgilio Guidi, Cagnaccio di San Pietro, Carlo Carrà, Gino Severini, Ugo Carà, Enrico Paulucci, Luigi Spazzapan, Guglielmo Sansoni Tato, Enrico Prampolini, Umberto Boccioni, Mino Rosso and Ernesto Thayaht, whose work embodied varying degrees of distortion of vision, caricature, abstraction, *faux naïveté*, sexuality and unsettling subject matter, and in some cases mirrored the work of Weimar era artists. See *Ausstellung italienischer Kunst von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart: November–Dezember 1937* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1937) and Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 76, 80–81. On the events leading up to the exhibition and its reception, see Benedetta Garzarelli, *Parleremo al mondo intero: La propaganda del fascismo all'estero* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004), 209–24. In light of Hitler's successive Nuremberg speeches denouncing a range of modernist tendencies in art – see Adolf Hitler's speech at the NSDAP Congress on Culture (3 September 1933), in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, ed. Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 113–20 (pp. 116, 118); 'Art and Its Commitment to Truth' (September 1934), *ibid.*, 489–90; Max Domarus, *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations 1932–1945. Volume Two: The Years 1935 to 1938*, trans. Chris Wilcox and Mary Fran Gilbert (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1992), 695–6; *Offizieller Bericht über den Verlauf des Reichsparteitages mit sämtlichen Kongressreden: Der Parteitag Grossdeutschlands, vom 5. bis 12. Sept. 1938* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1938), 85 – there was little chance of his arriving at any agreement with the more benevolent and appropriative view of particular modernist tendencies advocated by other Nazis, including Goebbels. See Joseph Goebbels, Lecture on 'Die deutsche Kultur vor neuen Aufgaben', given in Berlin, Großer Saal der Philharmonie, 15 November 1933, *Goebbels-Reden. Band 1: 1932–1939*, ed. Helmut Heiber (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1971), 137; Peter Longerich, *Goebbels: A Biography*, trans. Alan Bance, Jeremy Noakes and Lesley Sharpe (London: Vintage, 2015), 33–5; Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 88. But the exhibition can be viewed as consolidating such a divide.

<sup>251</sup> Gerigk, 'Musikfestdämmerung', 50.

<sup>252</sup> The opposing festivals of the ISCM in Prague and the Ständiger Rat in Vichy, both in 1935, are contrasted by Anne C. Shreffler in 'The International Society for Contemporary Music and Its Political Context (Prague, 1935)', in *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2015), 58–90. Shreffler presents especially interesting material on the debates between Ernst Krenek and Edward J. Dent. Krenek despised what he called the 'Blubo-Internationale' (an amalgamation of *Blut und Boden*) (Austriacus [Ernst Krenek]), 'Die Blubo-Internationale', in *23: Eine Wiener Musikzeitschrift*, 17–19 (1934), pp. 19–25) and argued to Dent that the ISCM should directly oppose everything it represented, but that it was unable to do so because of too great an embracing of 'entertainment music' from the West and of 'folklore' from the East in place of international new music.

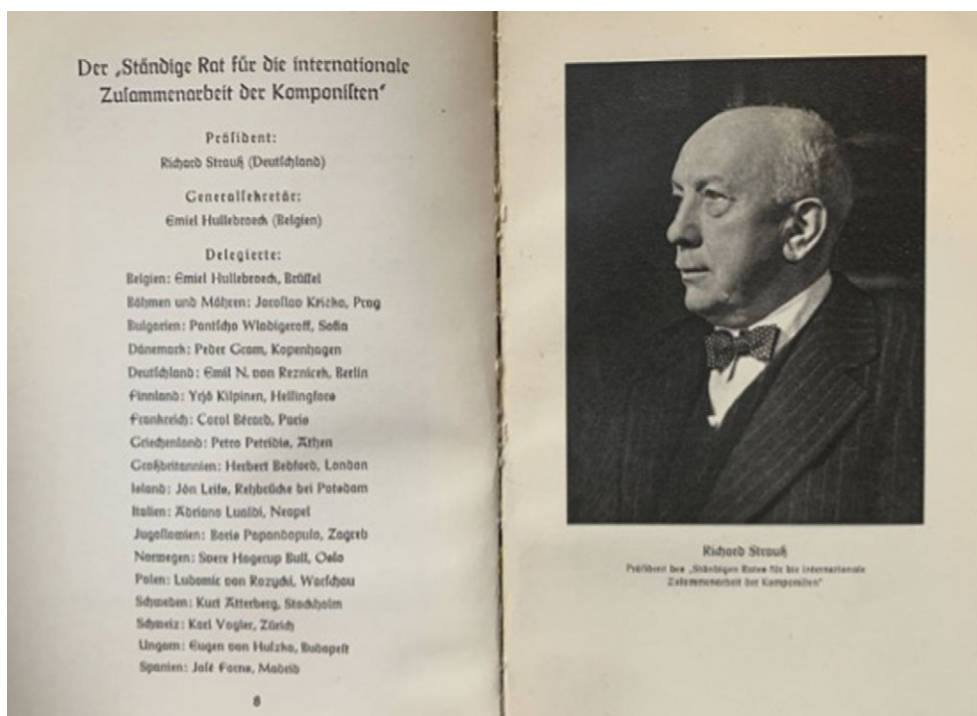


Figure 7 List of members of the council of the Ständiger Rat, from the programme booklet for its Frankfurt festival in 1939.

works were at least five years old.<sup>253</sup> But this is a minor point, as five years was not that long a time in terms of new music history, and many works which would have been more shocking were written back in the 1920s. The festival was again strikingly multinational, if somewhat conservative in its choice of composers, a pattern which continued in subsequent years.

In February 1936, Reznicek oversaw the passing of a resolution affirming that a primary task of the council was ‘the promotion of musical exchange among the Nations with particular consideration for the representative, national works of living composers, *without regard to any particular [stylistic] orientation or one-sided tendencies*’ (emphasis original). This managed to portray the organization as open in nature in comparison to the ISCM. A further resolution said that works from a particular country could only be performed at the institution’s concerts if they had been nominated or agreed by a delegate from the composer’s country.<sup>254</sup> After Reznicek developed links with and support from Hinkel and the Reichskulturkammer, Jewish composers were mostly removed. Gerigk made barbed comments at the 1938 festival about how the council was *judenfrei* (see Figure 7), while on the other hand Jewish people played a significant role in Belgian musical life.<sup>255</sup> After 1942, the organization was renamed the

<sup>253</sup> Shreffler, ‘The International Society for Contemporary Music’, 66–71.

<sup>254</sup> Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 82–5.

<sup>255</sup> Herbert Gerigk, ‘Das Internationale Musikfest in Belgien’, *Die Musik*, 31/3 (December 1938), 200–1.

Internationale Komponisten-Verband, affirming a 'supranational' (*übernational*), rather than an international, view of music.<sup>256</sup>

The three principal festivals present different models of nationalism and programming: the ADMV was national with an occasionally internationalist flavour; the Baden-Baden festival was indeed more truly multinational and cosmopolitical, without any strong domination of any one country; whereas the Ständiger Rat's festivals were ones of multiple, often aggressive nationalisms (combined with German domination) – in pointed opposition to, above all, transnational modernism – which were associated (through a very narrow reading) with the ISCM. None of the festivals, however, made any serious moves to extend internationalism beyond the boundaries of Europe.

## Conclusion: Post-war implications

Despite the large number of internationally focused musical events through the history of Nazi Germany, one should not overestimate the proportion of musical life in general which they represent. Events such as the Berliner Kunstwochen in April–June 1935, May–June 1936 and subsequently were almost exclusively dominated by German music,<sup>257</sup> as was the programming of most orchestras, while the eight series of concerts presented by the Berliner Konzertgemeinde in 1938–9 included scarcely any non-German artists.<sup>258</sup> Nineteenth- and some early twentieth-century Italian opera continued to be prominent in most German opera houses, but still no more so than German works. Surveys published in *Die Musik* and the *Zeitschrift für Musik* of various types of programming between 1940 and 1943 showed an overwhelming majority of German music despite some representation of that of other countries.<sup>259</sup>

Nonetheless, the data I have collated shows how the rhetoric of *Nachholbedarf* was in many ways misleading and one-sided. It is true that certain music was systematically excluded, most obviously that of Jewish composers, but not necessarily all other varieties of international or even modernist music. Without this ideology, though, a wide range of promoters might not have gained the traction required to secure support and sometimes funding for a whole range of new music festivals. This was certainly not the only factor, as one must also take into account the aims of the various occupying powers to promote the music from their own countries.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>256</sup> 'Zeitgeschichte', *Die Musik*, 34/10 (July 1942), 342; Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order*, 213–21. As Martin points out (*ibid.*, 89), this view was shared by Ralph Vaughan Williams, who argued in 1932 that 'the composer who tries to be cosmopolitan from the outset will fail, not only with the world at large, but with his own people as well'; Vaughan Williams, 'Should Music Be National?', in *National Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934).

<sup>257</sup> *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins*, 15/28 (May 1935), 2–3; 16/24 (April 1936), 2–3; 18/28 (April 1938), 1.

<sup>258</sup> Advert for Berlin Konzertgemeinde, *Führer durch die Konzertsäle Berlins*, 19/1 (August 1938), 12.

<sup>259</sup> Anton M. Topitz, 'Was brachte die Spielzeit 1940/41 im Konzertsaal?', *Die Musik*, 33/12 (September 1941), 423–6; Wilhelm Altmann, 'Statistischer Überblick über die im Winter 1941/42 stattfindenden Reihenkonzerte (Orchester- und Chorwerke mit Orchester)', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 109/2 (February 1942), 54–61; *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 109/3 (March 1942), 102–10; and 'Statistischer Überblick über die im Winter 1942/43 stattfindenden Reihenkonzerte (Orchester- und Chorwerke mit Orchester)', *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 110/2 (February 1943), 59–68. See section 5 of *Timeline and Data Sources* for a breakdown of these.

<sup>260</sup> See Pace, 'The Reconstruction of Post-War West German New Music', 103–310, for a detailed investigation of the policies of the three Western occupying powers and their implementation in terms of general concert life, the direction of radio stations and the creation of specialist new music events in Germany. Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Tradition in Cold War*

Post-war programming in West Germany and elsewhere in Europe in the 1940s and 1950s maintained a degree of internationalism at first focused upon distinct national traditions – mirroring the programming of the ISCM – then moving away from this. This allowed for forms of modernism which did not appear to have obvious or explicit national roots, as in the Weimar era, but these did not attain any type of prominence, let alone domination, until the 1960s at the earliest (and even then only in certain institutions). Many German concert series, festivals, radio programmes and critical writings continued for some time to group compositions by nation state, with internationalist modernism (represented in the 1950s by serialism and various forms of electronic music; and towards the end of the decade by the textural composition of Xenakis, Penderecki and Ligeti and the emergence of a new type of experimental music theatre) remaining on the relative periphery.<sup>261</sup> In many ways, the consolidation of an internationalist or transnationalist outlook was slower in the post-war era than it had been in Weimar Germany. Nonetheless, the ideological conditions that allowed this gradual trajectory to occur were firmly rooted in responses to an at least partially imaginary immediate past.

## Reconstructing a ‘Special Relationship’ from Scattered Archives: America, Britain, Europe and the ISCM, 1922–45

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In an account of the early history of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) for a 1946 BBC broadcast, president of the ISCM Edward Dent recounted the ‘two main reasons’ why London was proposed as the society’s initial headquarters at that first meeting in 1922 in Salzburg. Firstly, he maintained, ‘it stood apart from all the quarrels and jealousies of the Continent’, and secondly, and most importantly for the purposes of this article, he outlined a triangulated relationship: ‘[London] was regarded as a link between Europe and America.’ ‘American music’, he continued, ‘really needed that link in those days; and the general feeling of

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*Berlin* (Leiden, Brill & Biggleswade: Extenza Turpin, 2005); Important earlier studies of post-war West German musical organization and programming include David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945–1953* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Amy C. Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2006); Toby Thacker, *Music after Hitler, 1945–1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Ferdinand Kösters, *Als Orpheus wieder sang ... Der Wiederbeginn des Opernlebens in Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Münster: Edition Octopus, 2009); and Andreas Linsenmann, *Musik als politischer Faktor. Konzepte, Intentionen und Praxis französischer Umerziehungs- und Kulturpolitik in Deutschland 1945–1949/50* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2010).

<sup>261</sup> A key transitional book in this respect is Ulrich Dibelius, *Moderne Musik 1945–1965* (Munich: Piper, 1966), which continues to include a substantial section on groups of composers from different nation states (270–332). For a critique of arguments asserting modernist/serialist dominance in Germany in the 1950s, see my paper ‘The Cold War in Germany as Ideological Weapon for Anti-Modernists’ (presented at the Radical Music History Conference, Helsinki, 8 December 2011), at <http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/6482/> (accessed 20 September 2019).

the European musicians was that they would provide the music and England the money to pay for it.' But then (again using 'the Continent' and 'Europe' interchangeably) he signalled a profound shift: 'Today the situation has changed. It is Europe now which needs the link with America, for America has become a great music-producing country, while it will take the Continent some little time to recover its creative energy.'<sup>262</sup> Tantalizing though Dent's references to 'links' may be, obtaining clarity on what these transatlantic connections were and how they operated has proved elusive. The telling of an international and transnational history by way of searches of nationally bounded archival collections has raised certain methodological challenges.<sup>263</sup> Rising to meet them, however, has uncovered some interesting threads which in turn offer an alternative dimension to a story that is often told from a Eurocentric perspective; one, as already noted by the editors of this round table, which places the Austro-Germanic modernist tradition at its centre.<sup>264</sup> Moreover, Dent's framework of a transatlantic musical internationalism that triangulated England, Europe and America as three distinct entities with a set of different and fluid musical relationships and roles has obvious resonances today as Britain, the USA and Europe are once again struggling to rearticulate their positions in respect of each other in a rapidly shifting world order.

This article explores certain Anglo-American 'links' related to the ISCM during a period in which the USA not only emerged as the major world power but was also undergoing a cultural transformation that included a musical coming of age. It is no accident that at either end of the interwar period the first two British ISCM presidents and active 'agents of internationalism' – Dent and the London music critic Edwin Evans – turned their gaze westwards away from the Channel and across the Atlantic.<sup>265</sup> And they were not alone. Other Britons who engaged directly with the modern music scene in America included the young composers and ISCM participants Arthur Bliss and Eugene Goossens. The chronology of what amounted to an infatuation with the USA suggests differing motivations that will be explored below. Dent's words also remind us of the American involvement in the ISCM from its outset. An examination of the early period of the ISCM United States Section (US Section) from its shaky beginnings to its hosting of the wartime festivals of 1941 and 1942 and its difficult relationships with other American new music societies, such as the International Composers' Guild and the League of Composers, provides valuable context for a better understanding of these connections between Britain and the USA. This article considers how these 'links' worked (or not) against the wider backdrop of power shifts in the aftermath of the Great War which saw the emergence of the United States as a major world power in stark contrast to a bankrupt, war-torn Europe. In order to do this it takes into account aspects of formal US foreign policy with specific reference to Britain; the path of post-First World War American internationalism and

<sup>262</sup> Edward J. Dent, 'International Society for Contemporary Music', 30 June 1946, (typed transcript), 1–3 (p. 3), Archive Centre, King's College, Cambridge, The Papers of Edward Joseph Dent (hereafter Dent Papers), EJD/1/4/5.

<sup>263</sup> I distinguish here between the international and the transnational in the following way: the international retains a sense of the discrete bounded nation and describes relations *between* nation states, whereas the transnational suggests movement, for example flows of people, ideas and material objects *across* state borders. For discussion of transnational history, see *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective*, ed. Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2005) and Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

<sup>264</sup> See the Introduction to this round table, by Sarah Collins, Barbara L. Kelly and Laura Tunbridge.

<sup>265</sup> See Jessica Reinisch, 'Introduction: Agents of Internationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 25 (2016), 195–205.



some of the musical consequences of the mass population shifts caused by the rise of European totalitarianism.

This case study aims both to extend our understanding of the ISCM beyond ‘the Continent’ and to reveal almost uncanny similarities between major global political and economic transformations and those in the world of modern music. The exploration of transatlantic movement and exchange undertaken here argues for the importance of an informal transnational sociability. This was a sociability fostered by members of a musical elite who recognized kindred spirits across national borders, which reminds us that Anthony Pagden’s observation – albeit made of a much older Europe – that ‘the literate, intellectual elites [...] had far more in common with similar groups from other nations’ holds true in this context.<sup>266</sup> The retracing of these transnational networks, often created through personal friendship and close association, reveals the formation of an international community that was fundamental to the production of international modern musical culture. The central role of key individuals which emerges below supports Benjamin Auberer’s argument for an ‘actor-centred’ approach when writing transnational and international histories, for it is at the granular level – through an assemblage of detailed episodes – that lived experience can be brought into contact with and animate more abstract patterns of international relations.<sup>267</sup> But this need for detailed transnational stories takes us beyond the bounds of the nation state, which in turn presents methodological challenges.

Glenda Sluga has identified ‘the archives of international organizations’ as ‘an extraordinary fertile, undervalued, underutilized, and endangered source of historical research of the transnational kind’.<sup>268</sup> This is undoubtedly true, but I remember my sense of dismay on realizing that in the case of the ISCM for the period before 1953 such an archive does not exist.<sup>269</sup> An explanation for the scattered archives lies in part in the federated nature of the organization, which has determined where the material is housed. When they drew up the constitution in early 1923, Dent and Evans decided that the ISCM should be a federation of already existing national societies. They cited as examples the newly established London Contemporary Music Centre (LCMC) and Vienna’s Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen. Societies like these would act as ‘autonomous national sections’ headed by a chosen representative (for example, Evans was the first head of the British Section). Scholars interested in telling the interwar stories of the ISCM and interwar musical internationalism more generally must therefore effectively construct the international archive through its component parts. The challenge is not only to find them, but to bring them into dialogue. This demands a wide-ranging approach which identifies key individuals and national societies; more than usual it requires a transnational researcher. It should be noted also that the many little magazines devoted to new music – often

<sup>266</sup> Anthony Pagden, ‘Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent’, *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 33–54 (p. 45).

<sup>267</sup> Benjamin Auberer, ‘Editor’s Note: Situating Internationalism 1919–1940s’, *New Global Studies*, 10 (2017), 1–8 (p. 2).

<sup>268</sup> Glenda Sluga, ‘Editorial – the Transnational History of International Institutions’, *Journal of Global History*, 6 (2011), 219–22 (p. 220).

<sup>269</sup> The ISCM deposited its archive with the Royal Library of Denmark in 2000. The contents date from the early 1950s when the presidency returned to continental Europe. Interestingly, the archive is arranged around the collections of three main figures in the organization from this time. The earlier period is represented through the private archive of Anton Haefeli – currently stored at Det Kongelige Bibliotek (The Royal Library) in Copenhagen – and comprises copies of printed material used for his major study of the society. See Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*.



aligned with these national societies – that appeared from the early 1920s provide an invaluable resource. Their reports cover ISCM work at local and national levels as well as at international ones.

Further explanation for the dearth of ISCM records before the 1950s can be found in the relatively ad hoc administrative structures that were in place. Giles Masters has skilfully shown how the ISCM adopted the stagecraft of major international organizations such as the League of Nations; but these trappings could neither offset the relatively small scale of the society nor mitigate its scant resources.<sup>270</sup> Archival records relating to the ISCM are scattered across the personal papers of key actors and only in a very few cases are found in the collections of national societies. The first three ISCM presidents until 1953 – Dent, Evans and Edward Clark (all British) – had to squeeze their ISCM work into days filled with many other responsibilities. As a consequence ISCM material is interspersed throughout their collections.<sup>271</sup> The relatively small scale of the ISCM and the paucity of organizational archives for the interwar period brings individual relationships into central focus and renders personal papers an invaluable collection type. By definition, collections such as these reflect the idiosyncrasies of an individual life and do not fit easily within the categories of the national or international.

This case study connects archives on either side of the Atlantic, but they in no way tell the entire story. Nevertheless, a granular approach to the study of these archives is illuminating. They constitute pieces of a larger jigsaw puzzle of dispersed archives that stand ready to reveal many stories of interwar modern music-making across national borders.

In his reminiscences of the foundation of the ISCM, 'Looking Backward', Dent recalled that it was 'the Americans' who proposed that he be chosen as ISCM president and the head office be located in London. 'The Americans', he stressed, 'were very properly determined to make Europe realize that America [...] was a musical continent, and they felt that London was the most convenient link between the two worlds.'<sup>272</sup> It is difficult to undervalue the significance of this comment for what it reveals of early American influence within the society. With the understandable exception of the ISCM's progenitor, the Serbian-cum-Austrian theorist and composer Rudolph Réti, the proposal was 'agreed to unanimously.'<sup>273</sup> This raises the question, then, of just who 'the Americans' were in Salzburg in 1922. The answer is surprising. The sole American at the preliminary meeting was the critic César Saerchinger (although Leo Sowerby did attend to perform his Violin Sonata). Born in France in 1884, Saerchinger became an American citizen in 1910 and from 1919 returned to Europe as critic for the *New York Post*. This example not only reminds us of the very small scale on which the ISCM operated, requiring it to rely so heavily on interpersonal relations, but also calls attention to the thorny questions of nationality and citizenship that were to detain the US Section throughout the interwar period examined in more detail below.

<sup>270</sup> Masters also reminds us of Anne C. Shreffler's observation that the ISCM had 'no real authority and few resources of its own'. See above, n. 8.

<sup>271</sup> Sadly, no organizational archive survives (or none that I have yet found) for the LCMC/ISCM British Section until 1953, when it became the Music Division of the Institute of Contemporary Arts. The ICA Archives are held at the Tate Archive in London.

<sup>272</sup> Edward Dent, 'Looking Backward', *Music Today: Journal of the International Society for Contemporary Music*, 1 (1949), 6–25 (p. 10). It should also be noted here that this banding together of the Anglosphere was in part driven by a desire to weaken the Austro-Germanic hegemony within the society. This was not only an emotional hangover from the recent hostilities, but also stemmed from a desire to open the ISCM to include more peripheral players. I am grateful here to Sarah Collins for this observation.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

The American desire to use Britain as a link to Europe is not so surprising given their long, shared history. Although their relationship was admittedly complex and not always amicable, their deep bonds, expressed symbolically as ‘hands across the sea’ or ‘Pax anglo-americana’, were based on a common language and a sense of ‘shared inheritance’.<sup>274</sup> From the early twentieth century, it was clear that these feelings were, as C. J. Lowe and M. L. Dockrill suggest, ‘much stronger at the British end’.<sup>275</sup> In 1921 a cardinal feature of British foreign policy was ‘to cultivate the closest relations with the United States’,<sup>276</sup> but as Jeffrey Legro observes, ‘There was a puzzling absence of any type of nascent Atlantic Alliance or Anglo-American cooperation to deal with the post-World War I power vacuum.’<sup>277</sup> This period saw the rapid expansion of American power when Britain was considerably diminished by the war and experiencing challenges from within its empire.

Despite the growing imbalance in economic and political power, in the area of musical culture, America and Britain shared an anxious and ambivalent relationship to continental Europe which was coloured by feelings of insecurity and inferiority. This shared lack of confidence initially drew them together. However, timing was critical. Saerchinger’s request for British mediation and support ironically coincided with America’s post-war economic and political transformation; this in turn imbued its culture with a new-found confidence that quickly recalibrated the Anglo-American musical relationship.

America’s embrace of isolationism after the Great War was redolent of the ‘splendid isolation’ that characterized late nineteenth-century British foreign policy. Long leery of entanglement in the political affairs of other nations, the USA emerged after 1918 utterly disillusioned with its role in the First World War. The majority of Americans (in 1937 the figure was still 70 per cent) saw it as a terrible mistake for which they blamed President Woodrow Wilson.<sup>278</sup> As part of their recriminations, they rejected his internationalist platform; thus, the architect of the League of Nations was unable to convince his own congress to join. This formal turning inwards, however, paints only part of the picture. Scholars such as Frank A. Ninkovich, Katharina Rietzler and Bear F. Braumoeller have shown that American internationalists did not disappear, but redirected their energies into non-official, private avenues. Cultural diplomacy became the province of major New York-based philanthropic foundations such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Rockefeller Foundation. These groups worked informally but closely with the League of Nations, attaining, in effect, ‘quasi-membership’.<sup>279</sup> Other forms of soft power that used ‘banks not tanks’ included the American Library Association, which developed cultural programmes across Europe, and the American University at Fontainebleu, established in 1921.<sup>280</sup> (The founding composition teacher at Fontainebleu, Nadia Boulanger, went on to teach generations of American composers.) The same internationalist zeal of the philanthropic institutions was felt

<sup>274</sup> C. J. Lowe and M. L. Dockrill, *The Mirage of Power*, 3 vols. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), i: *British Foreign Policy 1902–14*, 96.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>276</sup> See ‘Report of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Committee’, 21 January 1921 in Lowe and Dockrill, *The Mirage of Power*, iii: *The Documents: British Foreign Policy, 1902–22*, 647.

<sup>277</sup> Jeffrey W. Legro, ‘Whence American Internationalism’, *International Organization*, 54 (2000), 253–89 (p. 277).

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 272.

<sup>279</sup> Katharina Rietzler, ‘Before the Cultural Cold Wars: American Philanthropy and Cultural Diplomacy in the Inter-War Years’, *Historical Research*, 84 (2011), 148–64 (p. 160).

<sup>280</sup> Bear F. Braumoeller, ‘The Myth of American Isolationism’, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 6 (2010), 349–71 (p. 367).

in the new modern music societies that appeared in New York in the 1920s. And as American critic Paul Rosenfeld proclaimed, 1918 was the year that New York 'became central'.<sup>281</sup> While bankrupted European centres struggled to recover, New York emerged as a global cultural capital and by the 1920s had, as Carol Oja shows, become an 'international bazaar for modernist music'.<sup>282</sup>

Evans had become aware of the extraordinary musical transformation taking place across the Atlantic. He was captivated by the idea of New York, and before the ISCM was founded he had already established American contacts. The beginnings were informal and piecemeal. In 1920 he was having coffee with 'Americans' at London's Pagani's Restaurant; the following year, Emerson Whithorne, who represented America in the earliest festivals and was to be on the board of the US Section, sent him scores, and, writing later in 1923 from the Hotel Algonquin, agitated for 'some reciprocal action between the modern groups here and in London'.<sup>283</sup> In late 1923, determined to have a direct experience of the New York, Evans embarked upon what became a humiliating venture. He had become convinced – in part, it seems, through wishful thinking – that he had won an appointment as music critic with the *New York Times*. Long-time critic for *The Times*, Percy Scholes, who was at that time on exchange with the *New York Times*, was forced to tell Evans that he had not only been unsuccessful, but that Adolf Ochs, the newspaper's owner, was instead 'in pursuit' of another of London's foremost critics, Ernest Newman.<sup>284</sup> Ochs did telegram Evans directly, expressing regret over the 'misunderstanding', but no offer eventuated despite Newman turning down the proposition.<sup>285</sup> Unfortunately, Evans found out only after he had informed many friends and colleagues both in Britain and America; the letters that flowed in, initially of congratulation and then of disappointment, attest to his American connections. George Eastman of the Kodak Company happily expected Evans's imminent arrival, but his enthusiasm did not match that of American critic Lawrence Gilman, who wrote fulsomely on behalf of 'all of us in New York who have followed your splendidly pioneering work for many years'.<sup>286</sup> Convinced of his arrival, Dorothy Lawton, music librarian of the New York Public Library and secretary and treasurer of the US Section, had busily been organizing speaking events for him on suggested topics such as 'Contemporary Music from a European's angle', or the 'Salzburg Festival'.<sup>287</sup> Her letter suggests a warm friendship, one she shared also with Dent. Her disappointment was real: it was, she lamented, 'a

<sup>281</sup> See Paul Rosenfeld, 'When New York Became Central', *Modern Music*, 20 (1945), 83–9 (p. 83).

<sup>282</sup> Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 182.

<sup>283</sup> Letter from Emerson Whithorne to Edwin Evans, 11 October 1921, Westminster Archives, Westminster City Council, Evans Correspondence (hereafter Evans Correspondence), CML/489. Other correspondence includes an interesting exchange with Ezra Pound, who was enthusiastically promoting Anthel's music from Paris, and a detailed account of modern British music sent to the American critic, Irving Scherke, also working in the French capital. See letter from Ezra Pound to Edwin Evans, 29 March 1923, Evans Correspondence, CML/355.

<sup>284</sup> Letter from Percy Scholes to Edwin Evans, 5 November 1923, Evans Correspondence, CML/45; letter from Scholes to Evans, 14 December 1923, Evans Correspondence, CML/46. For Ernest Newman, see Paul Watt, *Ernest Newman: A Critical Biography* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017).

<sup>285</sup> Letter from Adolf Ochs to Edwin Evans, 4 January 1924, Evans Correspondence, CML/334.

<sup>286</sup> Letter from George Eastman to Edwin Evans, 22 December 1923, Evans Correspondence, CML/89; letter from Lawrence Gilman to Edwin Evans, 13 November 1923, Evans Correspondence, CML/127.

<sup>287</sup> Lawton was also active in musicological circles; for her involvement in the establishment of the American Society for Comparative Musicology, see Tamara Levitz, 'The Musicological Elite', *Current Musicology*, 102 (2018), 9–80 (p. 21).

deprivation to us all'. She went on to reveal her Anglophile tendencies by stepping in for Evans with her own lecture on 'Modern British Composers'.<sup>288</sup>

Evans persisted, undeterred, approaching such prominent figures as the journalist and cultural critic H. L. Mencken for support. Mencken's cautiously positive response captures the temper of the times: 'I surely hope that arrangements may be made that will bring you to the United States. You will find it, at worst, a very amusing show. Two-thirds of the money in the world is now accumulated here, and spending it makes a colossal spectacle.'<sup>289</sup> Evans's close friend Goossens was in the States throughout the 1920s where he agitated on Evans's behalf, purportedly 'ramming' his name 'down people's throats', determined to procure him a place at one of the big newspapers.<sup>290</sup> Despite the embarrassing episode, Evans maintained a long-distance engagement with his American colleagues, seen, for example, by his position on the board of New York's important new music journal *Modern Music* and his articles on modern British music written expressly for its early issues.<sup>291</sup>

Around the same time as Evans was desperately trying to get to America, Saerchinger had returned home, and as 'temporary representative' for the ISCM in the United States, he was required immediately to organize a local committee for the US Section. He undertook the responsibility with great seriousness and canvassed many different groups in an effort to be open and democratic.<sup>292</sup> He saw it as an opportunity to improve the reputation of American music internationally, but from the outset it was fraught with difficulty. Of immediate concern was the ISCM constitution's definition of contemporary music, which restricted it to 'music of all *European* countries written within the last fifteen years' (emphasis added). In dismay, Saerchinger complained to London with immediate results: 'European' was removed and the definition expanded.<sup>293</sup> This example of Eurocentrism, however, fuelled the ongoing concern that the Europeans did not take American music seriously. Certainly, early selections for ISCM festivals represented a particular kind of American music that expressed an 'American Outlook', or music inflected with popular music and jazz indicative of America's peculiar brand of modernity. The composers involved in the early festivals include lesser-known figures such as Sowerby, Whithorne, Marion Bauer and Louis Gruenberg – the transitional generation characterized by Oja as 'the forgotten vanguard'.<sup>294</sup> They wanted to be equal players and resented what they saw as European condescension. Oja noticed a marked psychological shift in this exchange, claiming, 'The country that had led the way to victory in an international conflict was no longer content simply to worship European

<sup>288</sup> See letter from Dorothy Lawton to Edwin Evans, 20 November 1923, Evans Correspondence, CML/279; letter from Lawton to Evans, 21 February 1924, Evans Correspondence, CML/280.

<sup>289</sup> Letter from M. L. Mencken to Edwin Evans, 14 January [1924], Evans Correspondence, CML/317.

<sup>290</sup> Letter from Eugene Goossens to Edwin Evans, 14 December 1925, Evans Correspondence, CML/131.

<sup>291</sup> The first issues of this influential journal appeared under the title *League of Composers' Review* until April 1925. See, for example, Edwin Evans, 'The New Spirit in English Music', *League of Composers' Review*, 1 (1924), 20–3; Evans, 'Who Is Next?', *League of Composers' Review*, 1 (1924), 3–6; and Evans, 'Half-Time in England', *Modern Music*, 3 (1926), 10–15. His ongoing fascination with New York musical culture is documented in his meticulously maintained and voluminous clippings collection at the Westminster Archives, London, and which cover all aspects of musical life there.

<sup>292</sup> See Anon., 'To Form Section of New Music Society', *Musical America*, 37/11 (6 January 1923), Quoted in David Gresham, 'The International Society for Contemporary Music, United States Section: 1923–1961' (DMA thesis, Juilliard School, New York, 1999), 37.

<sup>293</sup> Gresham, 'The International Society for Contemporary Music', 41, 39.

<sup>294</sup> Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 162, 159.

cultural heroes.' It wanted 'parity'.<sup>295</sup> Henry F. Gilbert took particular issue with the European response to his symphonic poem *Dance at Place Congo*, performed at the 1927 Frankfurt festival. His lengthy account of the festival rehearsed many of the anxieties and concerns felt by young American composers struggling with questions of national identity and how to respond to the pressure of a European heritage.<sup>296</sup> Aaron Copland, one of the most famous products of the 'Boulangerie' and an active transatlantic figure, was fresh back from Fontainebleau in 1924. He became an influential voice in this debate, producing articles such as 'What Europe Means to the Aspiring Composer' and 'America's Young Men of Promise' in which he delved into these difficult questions. His conclusion, which had far-reaching effects, was to forgo the 'pale internationalism' he saw around him.<sup>297</sup> 'What's needed', he said sternly to his friend Minna Lederman, editor of *Modern Music*, 'is more about the *Here* as well as the *Now*' (emphasis added).<sup>298</sup>

Another difficulty felt acutely by the US Section, because it represented a nation of immigrants, was the question of what constituted being American – Saerchinger was himself a case in point. Sowerby was the only 'native-born' American represented at Salzburg in 1922. Of immediate concern at this point was how to deal with the influx of Russian refugees arriving after 1917. In order to exclude these recent arrivals from membership, the section instituted by-laws mandating citizenship; however, this issue only became increasingly urgent, and the by-laws required further amendment in the 1930s as waves of European exiles and refugees sought haven in the States.

Saerchinger's British 'links' did not seem to help the US Section in the early years. Whereas positioning London and Dent and Evans at the heart of the ISCM did encourage the wider dissemination of British music,<sup>299</sup> American music suffered from under-representation on ISCM concert programmes. Indeed, there were several years in the interwar period when no American work was selected for performance at the festivals, much to the chagrin of the US Section (although it is notable that the 1931 Oxford festival saw the best representation of American music to that point). Often, too, their selections were ignored in favour of those made by the international jury. Salt was rubbed in the wound when early offers to host a festival in America were rejected.

Some explanation for the failure of the US Section to find firm footing in the ISCM in this early period can be found in the contemporaneous appearance of the two major modern music societies operating outside the auspices of the ISCM: Varèse's International Composers' Guild (ICG) and wealthy philanthropist Claire Reis's League of Composers. Together these societies offered home-grown alternatives to the ISCM despite the rivalry that characterized their own relationship from the outset. The League of Composers was formed from a breakaway group of

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>296</sup> Whereas Gilbert saw Europe as being 'at the summit of centuries of development of the art of music', America was 'practically at the beginning of the development of her own native musical culture'. He saw the development of a 'native musical culture' as critically important and was wary of being 'too imitative of Europe'. Henry Gilbert, 'Notes on a Trip to Frankfurt in the Summer of 1927', *Musical Quarterly*, 16 (1930), 21–37 (p. 27).

<sup>297</sup> Aaron Copland, 'What Europe Means to the Aspiring Composer', *Musical America*, 41/11 (3 January 1925), 15, 27; 'America's Young Men of Promise', *Modern Music*, 3 (1926), 13–18.

<sup>298</sup> Minna Lederman, 'Copland – Then and Now: A close-up', typewritten draft, 1970, 1–11 (p. 11), Library of Congress, Washington DC, Minna Lederman Daniel Collection, Box 6 [Copland], Folder 2. *Modern Music* was the journal of the League of Composers and chief among the many new music journals of this period.

<sup>299</sup> See my forthcoming book chapter, 'British "Internationalmindedness" and the Early Years of the International Society for Contemporary Music', *A Great Divide? Music, Britain and the First World War*, ed. Michelle Meinhardt (London and New York: Routledge, forthcoming).

the ICG just three weeks after the ISCM US Section constitutional meeting of March 1923. Both were based in New York and their internationalist platforms had much in common with that of the ISCM. The ICG, first formed in 1919, was the realization of Varèse's vision for a 'League of Nations in Art', and the League of Composers' debt to the League of Nations is self-evident in its name. The League of Composers' mission, to 'present contemporary music of all nationalities and all trends' and to 'effect co-operation between composers of all nations' bore a strong resemblance to that of the ISCM. After the demise of the ICG in 1928, the League of Composers went on to become *the* major force in American modern music.<sup>300</sup> The success of these two New York-based societies reflects the force of the personalities that directed them – Varèse and Reis. The US Section was not shaped by charismatic authority or well-connected patronage; rather, it was run in a bureaucratic manner that worked against it in the New York scene. Although the ISCM had succeeded in federating a wide range of European music societies, it did not gain a similar purchase in the USA. The dominance of the ICG and the League of Composers in New York's new music scene to a large extent rendered the local US Section redundant. And neither was willing to take on the dual role as the ISCM US Section. Indeed, Reis dismissed it as a subsidiary to the league and was successful in actively resisting its merger with her society until 1954.<sup>301</sup>

The League of Composers went so far as to bypass the US Section to work directly with the European sections of the ISCM thereby further undermining its position. 'By 1921–22 we were benefitting from reports from Europe about International festivals for contemporary music,' remembered Reis.<sup>302</sup> Not only did the league's first seasons draw directly upon repertoire presented at the Salzburg festivals, including Bliss's *Rhapsody* and Lord Berners's *Valses bourgeoises*, but also musicians. Reis recalled that in 1923, 'A young British composer Arthur Bliss [...] had arrived in the United States just in time to add international prestige to our first board of directors.' He was invited to conduct a programme of his own music to 'thunderous applause', followed by a reception in his honour. Bliss's subsequent correspondence with Reis spans three decades and documents an increasingly familiar relationship.<sup>303</sup>

Both the ICG and the League of Composers had been hosting European musicians and disseminating European modernist music from 1923. This included interactions with British composers other than Bliss. Goossens was a frequent guest conductor in the USA from the early 1920s. He took the opportunity to visit New York and conduct several of the ICG's Sunday-night concerts that featured his own music, and he was invited on to the board alongside fellow Briton Bernard van Dieren. After the demise of the ICG, Goossens became an enthusiastic supporter of the League of Composers, as seen in a 1943 letter to Reis in which he explicitly referenced the society's interest in music beyond American borders: 'Now, more than ever,' he wrote, 'at a time when *this country is keeping alive the flame of international musical culture*, it is necessary that the League should be supported and encouraged in its vital work (emphasis added)'.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>300</sup> Claire Reis, 'Introduction to an Era in Contemporary Music', typewritten draft, n.d., New York Public Library, League of Composers/ISCM Records, JPB11-5, Series 1 'Reis Collection' (hereafter League of Composers/ISCM Records), Box 3, folder 3.4 'Biographical Information – II'.

<sup>301</sup> Despite the attempt to marginalize the US Section, there was significant overlap in personnel. Key ISCM figures including Whithorne, Gruenberg and Bauer, for example, were also deeply involved in the League of Composers.

<sup>302</sup> Reis, 'Introduction to an Era in Contemporary Music'.

<sup>303</sup> Claire Reis, *Composers, Conductors and Critics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 32–3. See also League of Composers/ISCM Records, Box 5, folder 5.20 '[League of Composers] Bliss, Arthur'.

<sup>304</sup> Letter from Eugene Goossens to Claire Reis, 15 September 1943, League of Composers/ISCM Records, Box 6, folder 6.13 '[League of Composers] Goossens, Eugene'.



Unlike Goossens and Bliss, Dent has almost no presence in the carefully curated papers of Reis or Lederman, but it is clear from his own collection that at some point in the mid-1930s this great connoisseur of European culture with his close-knit networks across the Continent became besotted with the USA. From around 1936 his writings, both public and private, reveal an increasingly enthusiastic embrace of America. As he wrote to Clive Carey in 1940, 'I become more and more devoted to the US every time I go there.'<sup>305</sup> From 1936 he undertook several trips to the US, touring the country and lecturing at Harvard in 1936 and Cornell in 1938. These were made possible by his 'great friend', the American composer Randall Thompson, who was also closely involved in the ISCM. (Dent described Thompson to Evans as 'very English and New England and Harvard'.<sup>306</sup>) In part, Dent's turn to America was a response to the devastating realization that Europe was spent; the Old World was being replaced by the New. Writing to Lawrence Haward in 1938 on board the SS *Manhattan*, he wondered if he would ever go to Germany or Italy again, concluding, 'Quite likely not'.<sup>307</sup> He realized with an ever-increasing conviction that, 'One must strike root in the US because the future of the world's culture lies with America.'<sup>308</sup> This was to become a recurring refrain in his correspondence. For Akira Iriye, an important scholar of cultural internationalism, this period saw the 'decline of European prestige'. It was, Iriye contends, a time when 'Europeans felt themselves to be on the defensive, no longer the unquestioned center of civilization nor the foundation of wisdom'. Like Dent before him, Iriye identified the shift towards the States. 'Europe', he suggests, 'had little to offer the world as it sought to reconstruct itself', and saw 'that the task of defining the peace – not only geopolitically but economically and culturally – would have to be entrusted to others, above all the United States'.<sup>309</sup> Dent intuitively understood this. Moreover, his visits to America coincided with the mass exodus of Europeans, for the 1930s ushered in, as Edward Said has reminded us, the 'age of the refugee, of the displaced person'.<sup>310</sup> It is ironic to think that as America tightened its policy of isolationism through the Neutrality Acts of 1935–7, the arrival of European refugees was transforming its social and cultural fabric. This unprecedented dislocation of peoples included many of the interwar community of musical modernism, who effectively became a modernist musical diaspora.

Although Dent's European circles comprised composers, performers and critics as well as scholars, it seems that in the States he moved mostly in academic circles and, despite remaining the ISCM president until 1938, did not gain a footing in societies such as the League of Composers. One important contact was Lawton, a central figure in the US Section. Her relationship with Dent was similar to that with Evans; she was a staunch ally and personal friend

<sup>305</sup> Letter from Edward Dent to Clive Carey, 5 March 1940, Archive Centre, King's College, Cambridge, The Papers of Francis Clive Savill ('Clive') Carey, GBR/0272/PP/FCSC (hereafter Clive Papers), Dent Letters to Clive Carey 1918–1923, FCSC/1/1/8.

<sup>306</sup> Letter from Edward Dent to Edwin Evans, 23 December 1940, Evans Correspondence, CML/73.

<sup>307</sup> Letter from Edward Dent to Lawrence Haward, 4 January 1938, Dent Papers, Dent–Howard 1935–1940, EJD/4/111/10/9.

<sup>308</sup> Letter from Dent to Haward, 27 February 1938, Dent Papers, Dent–Howard 1935–1940, EJD/4/111/10/9.

<sup>309</sup> Akira Iriye, *The New Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 115, 116.

<sup>310</sup> Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 174. Quoted in Brigid Cohen, 'Musical Modernism beyond the Nation: The Case of Stefan Wolpe', *Crosscurrents: American and European Music in Interaction, 1900–2000*, ed. Felix Meyer, Carol J. Oja, Wolfgang Rathert and Anne C. Shreffler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 197–209 (p. 201).

of Dent and visited him in Britain on various occasions. One such occasion was in May 1939, when over dinner in London, Dent gave Lawton the disappointing news that the delegates council in Warsaw had turned down the American offer to host the 1939 festival, opting instead for Budapest. Distance was given as the reason, as it had been for earlier unsuccessful attempts beginning in the mid-1920s. By September, however, Europe was at war and that very same distance was now *why* the next two ISCM festivals of 1941 and 1942 were held in the USA. The first was in New York and the second shared between New York and Berkeley, California, as a way of disseminating the work of the society across the nation. The choice of James G. McDonald to open the 1941 New York Festival speaks to the shared ideals of the ISCM and League of Nations: McDonald was the former chairman of the Foreign Policy Association, previously known as the League of Free Nations Association, which had been founded in 1918 to support President Wilson. His speech made clear the close relationship with Britain, although he must have ruffled some Austro-Germanic feathers when he revised the origin myth of the ISCM back beyond the 1922 Salzburg meeting to a 1921 arts conference in London.

Delighted though Lawton was to be able finally to host the festivals, it was a task made impossibly difficult because of wartime conditions, not to mention that union action brought the 1941 festival to the brink of financial collapse.<sup>311</sup> Showing a remarkable enterprise born of desperation, Lawton called upon the generosity of major conductors such as Serge Koussevitsky and Eugene Ormandy to include selected works in their programmes and, perhaps with the 1938 London Festival's use of BBC broadcasting in mind as a precedent, took advantage of the new innovation that was broadcast radio. Both of the festivals were presented 'nation-wide' and many of the concerts were broadcast by either NBC or CBS. Lawton even endeavoured, albeit unsuccessfully, to extend the reach by asking the BBC to have the concerts sent by short-wave radio to Europe and South America.

Of course, the mass migrations under way during this period had immediate and fundamental effects on the shape of the festivals. A report on the 1942 festival unequivocally demonstrates this: 'In this Nineteenth Festival [...] the second to be held in the United States, thirteen nations were represented on the regular program by thirty-four composers, seven of whom are native Americans. Four are now listed as being in Europe; one in Canada; six in Latin America, while twenty-three are now living in the United States.' Again the question of citizenship arose. Whereas in 1941, when America was still neutral, musicians from the Axis were classified on ISCM programmes as 'Independents', by 1942, after Pearl Harbour and the American entry into the war, European refugee-composers were given dual assignments: Krenek, to take one example, was from 'Austria-USA'.<sup>312</sup>

Despite Lawton's Herculean efforts, the festivals were seen by many as anomalous and not entirely successful. After the war they again crossed the Atlantic, with London hosting the 1946 festival. Dent's BBC broadcast that articulated the shift in power between Europe and the United States was part of the lead-up to this event, and he made the reversal of fortune clear in his acknowledgement that 'a meeting in London would be the best way of encouraging the European sections to revive their activities'.<sup>313</sup> Lawton's passionate commitment to the ISCM was undeniable, as were her valiant efforts to develop and maintain the US Section's

<sup>311</sup> See Dorothy Lawton, 'The Eighteenth I.S.C.M. Festival', *The Music Review*, 2 (1941), 185–9.

<sup>312</sup> 'Nineteenth I.S.C.M. Festival Held in Berkeley', newspaper cutting, League of Composers/ISCM Records, Box 9, folder 9.22.

<sup>313</sup> Dent, 'International Society for Contemporary Music', 1.

relationship with Britain through friendships such as those with Dent and Evans; but as a music librarian she did not wield the power and influence of a society patron like Reis.

Dent's triangular formation, with Europe set up as an undifferentiated entity alongside Britain and the USA, demands further consideration. As the mediator of constant squabbles between various European sections, Dent was well aware of the inherently fractious nature of the 'International', but in his 1946 broadcast he chose to invoke a single Europe (notably one that did not include Britain). As Pagden rightly suggests, Europe has always been 'a highly unstable term'.<sup>314</sup> As a society for modern art music, the ISCM offered a version of Europe that was arguably considerably expansive and geographically diverse. Concert music at this time traversed all of Europe, and went well beyond what Jessica Reinisch describes as 'the Western-centric map of "Europe" or the European north-west'. It extended to the fringes of Europe including Scandinavia, central and eastern Europe and, until 1933, the Soviet Union; the areas that have been, as Reinisch again reminds us, 'so often written out of the histories of Europe'.<sup>315</sup> And, as Dent's remarks from 1946 also show, the ISCM from the outset looked beyond both Europe and Britain for member states.<sup>316</sup> Can it be argued, then, that the peculiarities of Western art music meant that interwar musical internationalism operated differently from other forms of international society? Did a shared musical culture based on a common notational system and common performance conventions, repertoires and practices make the transference of ideas and people across national borders easier? Arguably, all were brought together by the lingua franca of staff notation. This ability to bypass linguistic barriers was noted by one critic at the first Salzburg festival in 1922. It was, he ventured, 'a hopeful thing to see how ... German, French, English, and Dutch musicians' came together as an 'amicable ensemble' for a performance of Bliss's *Rout*.<sup>317</sup> It is important to keep in mind here, however, that staff notation produced another bounded world that, despite its internationality, excluded musical traditions and practices that did not use this form of communication.

It is worth remembering too that Dent's articulation of a new balance of power in musical internationalism in June 1946 came only months after Churchill invoked the term 'special relationship' to describe his vision for post-war Anglo-American relations. The so-called 'special relationship' did not, however, last long in the musical sphere. Indeed, there is a certain irony in the fact that Saerchinger's request to have London as the necessary 'link' to America coincided with a geopolitical shift that rendered that 'link' unnecessary. In the first instance this was because of the USA's changing cultural status from the outset of the twentieth century, and in the second it was because by the end of the 1930s many of Europe's leading musicians had arrived on American shores. Andrew Rawnsley, writing for *The Guardian* in 2018 on Europe, Brexit and Theresa May's inability to influence Donald Trump, used strikingly similar language to Dent's when he remarked, 'It used to be the conceit of British prime ministers that they could be a transatlantic "bridge" between Europe and the US. This was often delusional, but occasionally bore some relation to the truth.'<sup>318</sup> Although the search undertaken here to understand how

<sup>314</sup> Pagden, 'Europe', 45.

<sup>315</sup> Reinisch, 'Introduction: Agents of Internationalism', 204.

<sup>316</sup> In addition to the USA, membership until 1946 included not only other anglophone countries such as Australia (from 1926), but also Argentina (1924), Cuba (1932), Israel (1932), Colombia (1933), Peru (1933), Japan (1935), Egypt (1938) and China (1946). See Haefeli, *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik*, 621.

<sup>317</sup> Scott Goddard, 'Music in Salzburg, August, 1922', *The Sackbut* (August 1922), 72–3 (p. 72).

<sup>318</sup> Andrew Rawnsley, 'Europe Is Fast Losing Interest in the Brexit Soap – It Has Bigger Worries', *The Guardian*, 17 June 2018.

Britain mediated the relationship between Europe and America may be equally problematic, it has shown that the efforts of the ISCM within a transatlantic context deserve a place in the historical record. The exploration of Britain's relations with its former colony through the lens of culture has also revealed many fascinating connections (even 'special relationships'). It is perhaps too easy to point out the resonances between then and now as once again Britain, Europe and America struggle to rearticulate their relationships in a seemingly ever-deepening state of disarray.