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A concert is at once a social, cultural, aesthetic, and political event, but in times of war, it is politics that sets the tone. This is made clear in Lilian Mathieu's account of a concert held in Lyon on May 18, 1942. For Germany, the concert by the Berlin Philharmonic was intended to symbolize German superiority; for the Vichy regime, it was a question of toeing the line without sacrificing its dignity; and for the public at large, the event was an opportunity to show either their support or opposition for the Vichy regime.

The Berlin Philharmonic is one of the most prestigious orchestras in Europe, if not the world, and from the 1930s onwards, it regularly undertook hugely successful tours abroad. The concert it gave at the Salle Rameau in Lyon on May 18, 1942 was particularly significant because of the geopolitical circumstances; the concert was clearly about more than music. The war between France and Nazi Germany that started in September 1939 had ended in disaster for the French, and the defeat had been consolidated with a merciless armistice that brought an end to the Third Republic. Located in the southern zone, the city of Lyon was administered by Vichy, as it would be for a few months longer,[2] and the concert program was exclusively devoted to German music. Officially, the aim was to use the universal language of music to reconcile two peoples that had formerly been enemies. For the victors, however, the goal was above all to assert German cultural superiority in an art where this was disputed by those who had been defeated.[3]

The population was largely unenthusiastic, if not openly hostile toward the declared desire for artistic and political reconciliation. Their initial support for the French state and Marshal Pétain had been declining from 1941 onwards, when the first Resistance movements began to exert influence on public opinion.[4] Perceived as Nazi propaganda and supported by Vichy, the concert prompted threats of protests that concerned the authorities, who put in

(1) I would like to thank Julien Barnier for his statistical analysis of the data, as well as Laurent Douzou, Yves Grafmeyer, Régis Le Mer, and Tristan Vuillet for their contributions.

(2) The "northern zone" was placed under the authority of the occupying forces in July 1940. The distinction between the two zones lost much of its meaning after the invasion of the southern zone on November 11, 1942. But at the time of the concert, Lyon was not occupied and a French administration was in charge.

(3) On French musical life during the Second World War, see Myriam Chimènes, ed., *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (Bruxelles: Complexe/IHTP, 2001); Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon, ed. *La Musique à Paris sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Fayard/Cité de la Musique, 2013); Sara Iglesias, *Musicologie et Occupation. Science, musique et politique dans la France des "années noires,"* (Paris: Éditions de la MSH, 2014); Karine Le Bail, *La Musique au pas. Être musicien sous l'Occupation* (Paris: CNRS, 2016); Yannick Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009).

(4) Pierre Laborie, *L'Opinion française sous Vichy*, *Les Français et la crise d'identité nationale, 1936–1944* (Paris: Seuil, 2001).

place a large police force to deter potential disturbances. The concert for Lyon's music lovers in May 1942 was clearly dominated by politics. Rather than being only about the enjoyment of music, it was inevitably viewed in terms of people's political perceptions. Furthermore, it inspired overtly political behavior: protests by the outraged, and repression by the authorities. And the simple fact of attending it took on a political meaning.

Records of the way in which art was politicized under authoritarian rule constitute the main sources for this article. File 45W56 of the Rhône departmental archives contains several documents from the office of the prefect relating to the maintenance of order during the concert.[1] They concern the protection of the musicians, supervision of the concert to ensure it ran smoothly, and the dispersal of the demonstration that had been called for by the Resistance movements. One unusual document, a list of people who bought a ticket and whose details were recorded by the police, provides an insight into the cultural practices of the time. Statistical treatment of the document and comparison with another list containing the names of demonstrators questioned by police provide an understanding of the full range of attitudes and practices under Vichy.

A closely monitored concert

On the morning of May 18, the orchestra had traveled from Marseille, where they had also performed a concert; they would continue on to Paris for a further concert. The tour was part of a general plan to use art to seduce the French population, a plan drawn up by the Reichsminister for Propaganda Joseph Goebbels, part of a much broader plan to promote German culture.[2] On the French side, the plan to use culture to reconcile former enemies was part of Pétain's policy of collaboration. However, this could not prevent the victors from wishing to assert their superiority, in art as on the battlefield. The Marseilles concert provides evidence of the fact that contemporaries were perfectly aware of this situation, since members of the audience sought to prevent the musicians from playing by continuously applauding—and the police was reported to have used tear gas.[3]

The Lyon police were therefore particularly careful to take steps to prevent any disturbance. When the orchestra arrived, it was accompanied by a detachment from the gendarmerie "with the aim of preventing hostile demonstrations."[4] The orchestra's progress from Perrache station to the Salle Rameau was carefully guarded, as was its transfer to the Morateur restaurant, where a reception was held after the concert. The Morateur was not just any restaurant; it was next to the Carlton Hotel, where the German armistice commission was housed, and it was one of the main places in which the Nazi authorities socialized. Several roadblocks, police vehicles, and reinforcements were also positioned near the Salle Rameau and the restaurant.

(1) Unless otherwise indicated, all of the archives cited come from this source.

(2) On music, see in particular Manuela Schwartz, "La musique, outil majeur de la propagande culturelle des nazis," in Chimènes, ed., *La Vie musicale*, 89–105; Iglesias, *Musicologie et Occupation*; and on a more general level, Stéphanie Corcy, *La Vie culturelle sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Perrin, 2005).

(3) Sven Oliver Müller, "Political Pleasures with Old Emotions? Performances of the Berlin Philharmonic in the Second World War," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 43, no. 1 (2012): 35–52; Le Bail, *La Musique*, 178. The Resistance newssheet *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* (No. 4, October 1942) indicated that "in Marseille, tear gas was released and the Krauts had to evacuate the hall."

(4) Telegram from the Cabinet des voyages officiels, Police nationale, ministère de l'Intérieur, May 7, 1942.

Translator's note: This quotation is our translation. Unless otherwise stated, all translations of foreign language material cited in this article are our own.

These preventive measures were not altogether unfounded. In the preceding days, the Lyon police had got wind of plans to disrupt the concert, both inside and outside the hall. On May 15, the commander of the Lyon Communication Guard Group sent a report from one of his agents to the Rhône prefecture:

> It is my honor to report that at 15:30 on May 14, I overheard a conversation between young people (students apparently) in tram no. 7, relating to the following subject:
> They spoke about collecting money among their friends in order to pay for as many seats as possible for the concert of the BERLIN Philharmonic at the Grand Théâtre de LYON, but not to attend the concert so that the hall would be as empty as possible when it took place.

On May 16, the president of the Lyon Telephone Control Commission reported a conversation between two men in their thirties to the prefecture. They had been overheard in a tram the day before by one of his spies. Their strategy to disrupt the concert was different:

> A – This concert is a provocation.
> B – Yes, but we will respond to it: We will fill the hall, we don't want there to be any hostile demonstrations, but there shouldn't be any applause. We need an icy silence. Berlin must be shown that we are not on our knees.
> Everyone who buys a ticket will have to show their national identity card, which will be a nuisance, but there will still be lots of us in the hall.
> And we have planned a little interlude: a friend of mine will sound the sirens during the performance.

In the end, on the day of the concert, the head of the regional intelligence service reported that "students in Lyon are believed to be planning to disrupt the concert to be given this evening by the Berlin Philharmonic Society at the Salle Rameau, by throwing 'stink bombs' and tear gas." Moreover, flyers signed by the "Resistance Movements" had been distributed in various districts of Lyon and Villeurbanne calling for a protest in front of the hall where the concert was due to be held:

> While 1,500,000 of our people waste away in German camps,
> When 200,000 graves have only just been filled,
> With our brothers still being shot dead,
> The butchers are provoking us in our own homes:
> Citizens of Lyon, this can't be tolerated!
> Everyone to the SALLE RAMEAU
> Monday at 8 p.m.
> The Krauts from Berlin shall not play!

The demonstration did go ahead, and it was dispersed, but for the moment we shall focus on the measures put in place inside the concert hall. 240 policemen were positioned backstage and in the various public areas so that, if necessary, they could "intervene and expel any disruptive element who would be taken to the police station in the town hall." The policemen, who were to attend the concert "in 'bourgeois dress," were instructed to "make sure that no objects are thrown or left unattended" and told: "Check discreetly on anyone who wants to leave during the show. Immediately and discreetly check the empty seat and the surrounding area and take note of the seat. Be vigilant about what is happening around you."[1] In fact, nearly a quarter of the thousand seats in the Salle Rameau were occupied by police officers that evening.

The reports from the Renseignements généraux increased the authorities' fear that the concert would be disrupted, leading the prefecture to adopt more drastic measures. The sale of tickets was suspended and a system was put in place to record the details of all the

(1) Service instructions, Rhône Prefecture, May 17, 1942.

people requesting them. There was also a ban on more than two tickets per purchaser and an injunction "not to give tickets to young people under 25 years of age (students in particular)."[1] The press reported these measures, which also required those who had already purchased their tickets to exchange them, after checks had been carried out to ensure there was no reason to suspect them:

> Due to errors in the issue of tickets to the Berlin Philharmonic concert on May 18, ticket sales, which had been temporarily suspended, will be resumed this morning at 9:00 a.m. Those who have already been issued tickets are requested to come to the office (Maison Rabut) so their tickets can be checked and exchanged. Tickets issued before Wednesday are not considered valid.[2]

In a note to the police intendant on May 15, the chief of police reported on the implementation of this preliminary control of spectators, noting that "these operations took place without incident" and that "about twenty young people who did not meet the conditions required by your note dated May 11, students in particular, had tickets refunded that had been issued before the screening process." However, he also attached to his note a "Gaullist poster displayed outside Monsieur RABUT's store that had been put up when the store was closed." With the help of the ticket office, the police drew up a list of people who had come to buy a ticket for the concert. This included their name, age, profession, address, and seat number. Statistical analysis of this list provides an overview of the audience for classical music—and more importantly, German classical music—in the early 1940s.

The political environment of the concert

Founded in 1885, the Berlin Philharmonic was one of the most renowned orchestras in the world at the beginning of the Second World War. Hitler's rise to power was highly opportune for the orchestra, and its principal conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler obtained privileged working conditions and remuneration for his musicians from Goebbels. They were exempted from military service and had the opportunity to perform in the European cities occupied by the Nazi armies. In fact, the Second World War saw a steep rise in the number of concerts given abroad by the orchestra, which was considered by Hitler's regime as one of its best showcases of German culture. Sven Oliver Müller has pointed out that a large number of the musicians in the Philharmonic (which had excluded Jews since 1934) expressed Nazi sympathies, some twenty of them being members of the Nazi Party.[3] In Lyon, the program directed by the Austrian conductor Clemens Krauss included Haydn's *Symphony in G major*, Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, Wagner's *Tannhäuser Overture*, and Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel*. The overture to *The Master Singers* was performed as an encore, proof of the importance of the Wagnerian repertoire in Nazi propaganda.

Music performed in Lyon under Vichy

The concert must be situated within the context of the music available to Lyon under Vichy. Another source, the archives of the Grand Théâtre de Lyon opera house (now the Opéra), reveals that the music on offer at the

(1) Note for the divisional commissioner, head of the regional public security service, May 11, 1942.

(2) *Le Progrès*, May 13, 1942.

(3) Müller, "Political Pleasures with Old Emotions?" 41. The same can be said of the conductors who were called upon to conduct during this period. They vary from a more or less forgiving approach to the Nazis (Hans Knappertsbusch, Clemens Krauss, and Eugen Jochum) to membership of the Nazi Party (Herbert von Karajan and Hans Weisbach).

time appears to have been both limited and mediocre.[1] The number of performances at the opera house dropped at the outbreak of war, and the musical quality suffered due to the mobilization and imprisonment of several members of the orchestra, whose numbers fell from 64 to 55. The application of race laws led to the expulsion of foreign musicians and singers, while others resigned in order to join the orchestra of the Radiodiffusion Nationale, which provided them with a higher and more regular income. The choir was forced to recruit amateurs; set designers were obliged to show ingenuity to compensate for the lack of materials; heating and electricity were rationed; and passive defense requirements meant the removal of 250 seats. The mediocrity of the concerts was savaged by critics, although they recognized that the concerts continued to attract large audiences.

The mayor, Georges Villiers, appointed by Vichy in 1941 to replace Édouard Herriot who had been dismissed, undertook to remedy this situation that was damaging the city's reputation. He did so by appointing a deputy mayor, Robert Proton de la Chapelle, who was made specifically responsible for the fine arts. A change of director, new members of the orchestra, choirs, and ballet, a significant increase in resources, and the placing of the Opéra under municipal management were beginning to bear fruit.[2] But the musical offerings remained limited, even though the audience in Lyon, as in France as a whole, had a healthy appetite for culture.[3] In this context, the prospect of hearing the Berlin Philharmonic was bound to attract any music lover.

Built in 1903 in Lyon's first arrondissement, the Salle Rameau regularly hosted classical music concerts. Although the requisition of nearly a quarter of the seats by the police must be taken into account, the concert was a success: All the seats were sold out within a few days. The list drawn up by the police, containing over 900 names, provides an accurate picture of an audience that was eager to savor the finest in classical music and who were clearly not too concerned by the obviously political tone of a performance given by the flagship orchestra of a totalitarian regime that had very recently defeated them, which was occupying the other half of France, and which had subjected the whole country to a most severe armistice.

The audience

Based on people's first names, the distribution by sex appears to be balanced, although slightly in favor of women (463, against 449 men). It should be noted that a significant number of women went to the concert alone, and it can be assumed that many were widows or wives of prisoners. A large number of spectators, however, came in groups, most often in couples or families. This can be deduced from the purchase of tickets by people with the same name and living at the same address. Distribution by age is also fairly balanced. It seems to show that classical music was more appreciated by younger age groups than today: Middle-aged people (30–50 years old) accounted for 45 percent of the audience, young people (10-30 years) more than 34 percent, and older people (50–87 years) about 20 percent.

When the two variables of age and sex are linked to that of occupation, the result is a clear overrepresentation of those who had "no occupation." This category not only included

(1) Archives municipales de Lyon, 160WP/1-5.

(2) Thomas Höpel, "Les politiques culturelles municipales sous Vichy dans une perspective comparatiste," in *Lyon dans la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, ed. Isabelle von Bueltzingsloewen *et al.* (Rennes: PUR, 2016), 229–247.

(3) An increase in cultural practices during the Second World War can be noted: "Politiques et pratiques culturelles dans la France de Vichy," *Cahiers de l'IHTP* 8 (1988); Jacques Cantier, *Lire sous l'Occupation* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2019).

children and adolescents accompanying their parents, but at a time when women were poorly represented in the labor market (and were dissuaded from working by the regime),[1] a significant number were reported as not working. Adhering to this category would have produced a distorted representation of the social status of people attracted by the concert, so we have chosen to attribute to women the profession of the man of a similar age, of the same name, and living at the same address, who is assumed to be their husband. Applied also to children, who are reported as having "no occupation,"[2] this gives an approximate image of the concert audience, in terms of the social (rather than professional) status shared by all the members of the family. The 166 occupations listed by the police officers were grouped into a dozen categories reflected in the table below.

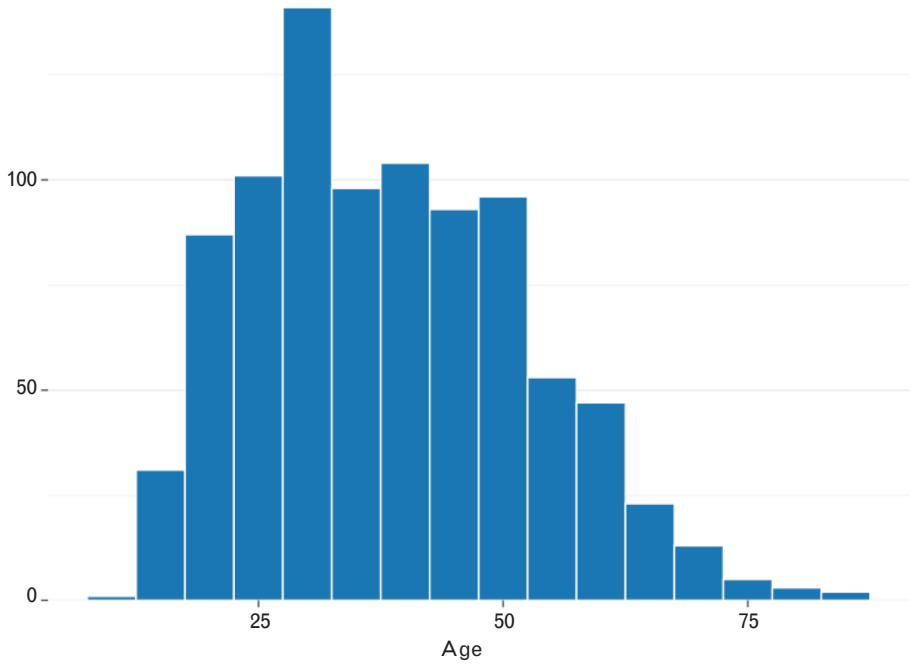
Although there are a significant number of people described as non-manual workers (assistants, typists, secretaries, sales assistants, etc.) or as members of the intermediate professions (nurses, clerks, etc.), there is clear overrepresentation of the more privileged strata of society, particularly in economic terms. The positions of industrialist, trader, director, administrator, and engineer are frequently indicated. The liberal professions—especially doctors and dentists, but also architects and lawyers—are also well represented, as are shopkeepers and craftsmen, although it is not possible to measure how prosperous the latter two may have been. While it is not surprising to see a number of artists (mostly musicians) as well as journalists and critics, there are few teachers of any kind, from primary school to university level. It seems that economic capital was more significant than cultural capital within this audience.

Another indicator of social status was the place of residence, as shown on the map below. It can be noted that, with a few rare exceptions, the concertgoers lived in the city center or in the neighboring commune of Villeurbanne. This is perhaps an effect of the transport restrictions at a time of shortages and curfews, a recurring concern of concert promoters.[3] The few addresses in the suburbs are equally representative of a bourgeois population as they are mainly located in the west and north of Lyon, not the more working-class east and south. The concertgoers came largely from the most privileged districts of the city of Lyon, located in the second and sixth arrondissements, which alone account for more than 400 spectators. Many of them lived in the northern part of the Presqu'île (second arrondissement), especially near the prestigious Place Bellecour, and near the Rue de la République, the main city artery, as well as in the Ainay quarter, a privileged place of residence for Lyon old money. As for the sixth arrondissement, it adjoins the Tête d'Or park, a very popular place of resort for the ruling class. The Boulevard des Belges, as well as the Cours and Place Morand and as far east as the Place des Brotteaux (where a large number of spectators resided) was home to this privileged group, as was the left bank of the Rhône toward the south, especially in the vicinity of the prefecture.

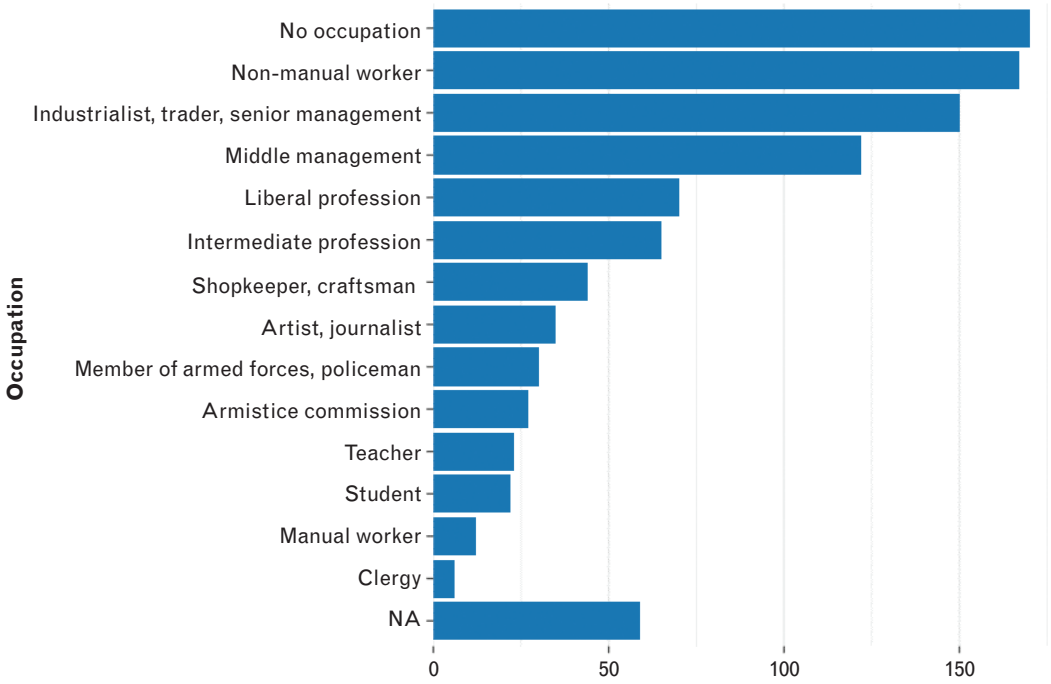
(1) Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy et l'éternel féminin*, *Contribution à une sociologie politique de l'ordre des corps* (Paris: Seuil, 1996).

(2) Conversely, parents who had "no profession" were assigned the profession of their adult child when they lived at the same address.

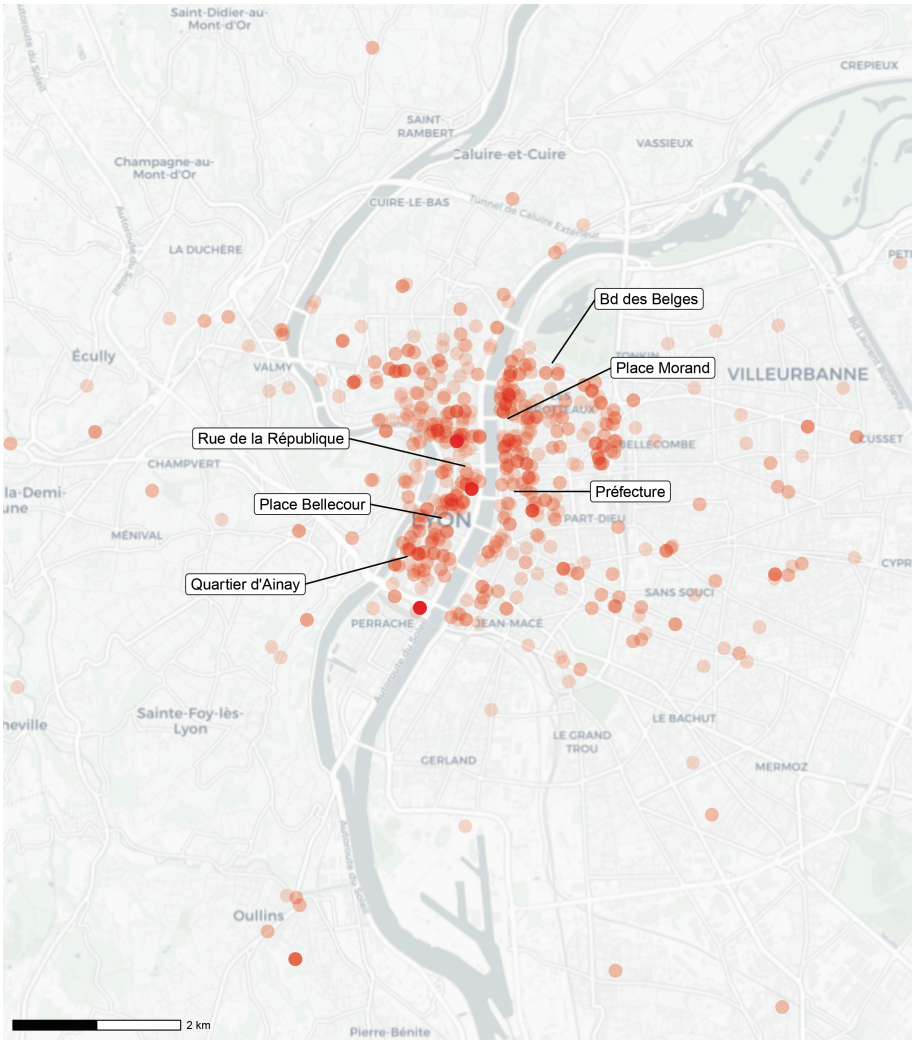
(3) The Opéra management requested the city hall to delay the departure of the last trams so the public would have time to attend the end of the performances. This was opposed by the public transport company as they argued that the prefectural order required the shows to end at 11:00 p.m. (Archives municipales de Lyon, 16WP3). The October 18, 1941 issue of *La Vie Lyonnaise* mentioned that there were few encores at the end of shows (unlike in matinée performances) for the same reasons.



1. Distribution of concertgoers by age



2. Distribution of concertgoers by profession



3. Concertgoers' places of residence

A political success

Unsurprisingly, this data confirms what is generally known: That audiences of classical music tend to be economically and culturally privileged.[1] The data also suggests much about the concertgoers' political opinions, since these neighborhoods were where Lyon's elites worked, as well as and most especially where their social circles and other social activities were located, as Jean-Luc Pinol and Yves Grafmeyer have shown.[2] Pinol's study of

(1) Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Minuit, 1979).

(2) Jean-Luc Pinol, *Les Mobilités de la grande ville, Lyon, fin XIX^e–début XX^e siècles* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 1991); Yves Grafmeyer, *Quand le Tout-Lyon se compte. Lignées, alliances, territoires* (Lyon: PUL, 1992).

electoral lists indicates that right-wing votes in the 1936 legislative elections (six years before the concert) predominated in "the center of the Presqu'île, the quaysides of the sixth arrondissement, and the Brotteaux district, as well as in the suburban communes of Caluire and Sainte-Foy."[1] These are precisely the areas overrepresented by the audience at the Salle Rameau. We can therefore hypothesize that a significant number of these same spectators had right-wing sympathies, which made them potential supporters of the Pétain regime. While a taste for great music may have been the reason for attending the concert, and while their presence at the concert, in their eyes, may not primarily have been intended to express their support for Vichy or collaboration, it remains the case that their political opinions did not actively prevent them attending a performance with such connotations. In contrast, the small number of teachers reveals the fact that teachers' left-wing tendencies (or at the very least, their attachment to the Republic)[2] may have caused them to stay away from a concert that they may well have been attracted to on a cultural level.

The spectators' nationality is the last variable to be addressed. If one relies on the imperfect indicator of the nationality implied by first and family names, more than 90 percent of those who attended the concert were French. The others were Italian (two seats purchased by members of the armistice commission) and, in particular, German (seventy-five seats, thirty reserved for the "German delegation" and thirty-five for members of the armistice commission). The southern zone was not yet occupied, but the victors of the 1940 invasion were equally important in economics, politics, and culture. And the concert was also a social event intended to demonstrate the reconciliation of Pétain's France with Hitler's Germany. This was illustrated by the reception at the Morateur restaurant after the concert, when French and German officials were able to congratulate the musicians before they left for the train station. The telegram sent during the night by Prefect Angéli to the Ministry of the Interior gives a very positive assessment of the evening:

> The concert of the Berlin Philharmonic was received enthusiastically by a full house in the circumstances envisaged [...] At the end of the concert, a reception hosted by the German Economic Center received eighty officials and dignitaries. The departure of the musicians took place at 1:30 a.m. without incident.[3]

The prefect happily provided further evidence of this successful show of goodwill in another document:

> The occupying authorities were keen to pay tribute to the arrangements put in place to clear the streets, and on the morning of May 19, they were kind enough to show their appreciation to myself and the police intendants.[4]

However, the prefect could not hide the other side of the story, namely the demonstration that was held near the Salle Rameau, which, from the point of view of the police, was dealt with appropriately:

(1) Jean-Luc Pinol, *Espace social et espace politique. Lyon à l'époque du Front populaire*, (Lyon: PUL, 1980), 130. Also see Kevin Passmore, *From Liberalism to Fascism: The Right in a French Province, 1928–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

(2) On the republican and secular politics of the teaching profession at the time and Vichy's hostility towards the profession, see, in particular, Juliette Fontaine, "Déconstruire le corps enseignant pour réformer l'éducation. La tentative avortée du régime de Vichy," in *Dynamiques des tournants autoritaires*, ed. Maya Collombon and Lilian Mathieu (Vulaines: Le Croquant, 2021), 63–86.

(3) Official telegram from the prefect of the region to the Ministry of the Interior, May 19, 1942, 2:15 a.m.

(4) This is the third page of a letter whose addressee and date cannot be identified. The other pages of the letter are not present.

> About sixty demonstrators, most of them youths with left-wing tendencies, were arrested for refusing to circulate, for shouting seditious slogans, and for exchanging blows with the police.[1]

This brings us to the protests called by the Resistance movements.

Resistance to the concert

The telegram sent by the prefect to the Ministry of the Interior indicates that "a very large number of flyers" were distributed before the demonstration. The flyers, whose text is quoted above, were signed by the "Resistance Movements," without specifying which ones were involved. In the spring of 1942, the Resistance in Lyon was undergoing a series of laborious negotiations leading to unification, which is reflected in the generic title on the flyers. Alban Vistel, who was in charge of Libération-Sud for the Lyon region at the time, provides direct testimony of the protests, while Dominique Veillon makes no mention of them in his study of *Franc-Tireur*, suggesting that not all groups contributed equally.[2] No doubt this was an expression of the fact that the demonstration was somewhat improvised. The desire to provide a public display of unity was nonetheless expressed, as was the method favored by the French Resistance at the time: clandestine counterpropaganda in the form of flyers.[3]

Vistel reports that the movements called for the protests because it was impossible to undertake the kind of sabotage initially envisaged. There were other reasons behind the choice, however, as it enabled the Lyon Resistance to assess the support it enjoyed among the population. The result of this test was undeniably positive, and Vistel recounts that the Resistance leaders participated in the marches with enthusiasm and pride.[4] It seems that the protest took place in two stages, before and after the show. The first was estimated by Vistel to include about a thousand people, who occupied a third of the Place des Terreaux and booed at those going to the concert. Although the mood was calm at first, later there were scuffles with the police, who had set up roadblocks to prevent people from approaching the Salle Rameau. According to *Libération*,[5] a second group set off from Place Bellecour at 10:30 p.m., singing *La Marseillaise* as they endeavored to reach the Salle Rameau.

The report by the commanders of the gendarmerie squadrons who had been mobilized that evening confirms that the conduct and the scale of the demonstration were more substantial than had been reported by the prefect to the Minister of the Interior:

> At 8:30 p.m., Mr. CUSSONAC, Divisional Commissioner for Public Safety, ordered the Gendarmerie to clear the streets and the surroundings of the Place des Terreaux. Leaving a unit of gendarmes on Place Rambaud to guard

(1) On the other hand, he seems to have concealed the fact that some members of the audience did indeed spread leaflets around inside the Salle Rameau, sang *La Marseillaise* and shouted "à bas les boches" ("down with the Krauts") at the beginning of the concert, as reported by Müller, "Political Pleasures with Old Emotions?" 50.

(2) Alban Vistel, *La Nuit sans ombre. Histoire des mouvements unis de résistance, leur rôle dans la libération du Sud-Est* (Paris: Fayard, 1970), 109; Dominique Veillon, *Le Franc-tireur. Un journal clandestin, un mouvement de Résistance. 1940–1944* (Paris: Flammarion, 1977). Guy Krivopissko and Daniel Virieux attribute the call to demonstrate to *Combat* but they do not provide a source; Guy Krivopissko and Daniel Virieux, "Musiciens: une profession en résistance?" in Chimènes, ed., *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, 344.

(3) Sébastien Albertelli, Julien Blanc, and Laurent Douzou, *La Lutte clandestine en France. Une histoire de la Résistance, 1940–1944* (Paris: Seuil, 2019), 94–105.

(4) Vistel, *La Nuit sans ombre*, 110. A first test of the same kind had been positive a few days earlier, during the May 1 rally called jointly by *Combat*, *Libération*, *and Franc-tireur*; Veillon, *Le Franc-tireur*, 170–171.

(5) "Il ne s'agissait pas de musique," *Libération* 13, June 3, 1942.

> the vehicles, the 1/14 platoon made haste to the Rue d'Algérie, where a very large crowd was demonstrating noisily against the Germans and people making their way to the concert at the Salle Rameau. The roadblocks set up by the mobile police units were overwhelmed and the Divisional Commissioner, judging the barricades to be insufficient, ordered the Gendarmerie to intervene [...]. At 8.45 p.m., the Divisional Commissioner ordered the Place des Terreaux to be cleared by the police and the Gendarmerie. The crowd continued to demonstrate, however, and it took the persistent pressure of the Gendarmerie to clear the square. Those who refused to move on were immediately arrested.[1]

This report does not provide an estimate of the number of demonstrators, unlike the telegram from the prefect, which reported that "a large security force held off 300 to 400 demonstrators, who had been encouraged to demonstrate by a large number of flyers that had been distributed during the day, and it dispersed 500 to 600 demonstrators who were attempting to march to the hotel occupied by the Armistice Commission."[2] The same report indicates that about 100 individuals were arrested during the demonstration, of whom about sixty were held at Fort Barraux, in Isère.

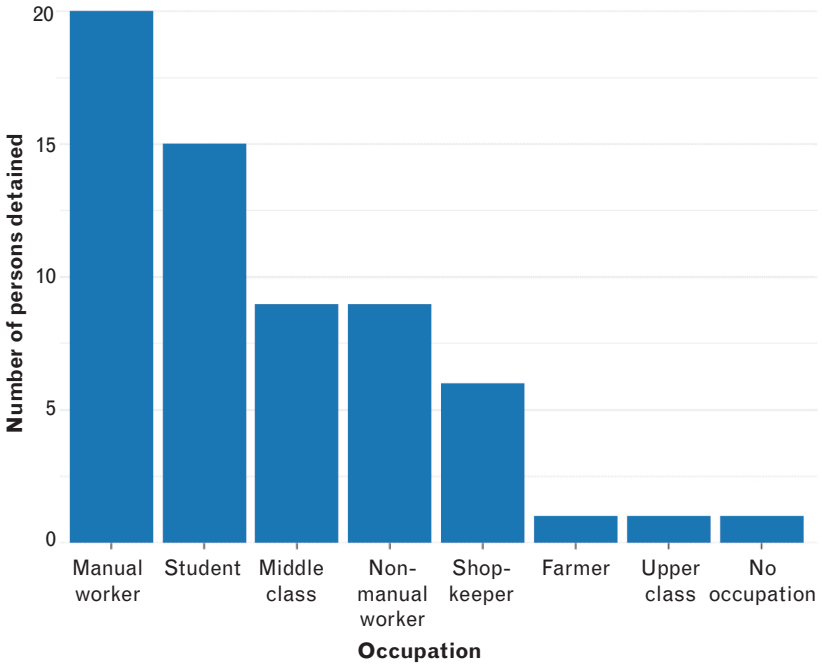
The Rhône departmental archives provide the second list: sixty-two individuals, all men, who were arrested and detained for expressing their opposition to the concert. This can only be analyzed statistically in a rudimentary manner, but it provides indication of the kind of individuals who were courageous enough to express openly their opposition to French collaboration with the Nazis. They were young men, predominantly students, as the police had anticipated. Those who worked were mainly young manual and non-manual workers; the middle classes, and therefore the upper classes, as well as those over forty, were underrepresented. Several authors[3] have noted that a recurrent feature of the Resistance demonstrations in Lyon was the relative predominance of the working classes (possibly due to communist sympathies). They provide a striking contrast with those who attended the concert.

The documents provide additional information on police perceptions. The words "Jew," (four cases), "escaped" (one case) and "convicted" (three cases) appear next to several names. The reasons advanced by detainees to obtain their release are also referred to. The students claimed to have imminent examinations, while the employers of those in work demanded they return to their jobs. The material difficulties in which their families lived, further aggravated by their absence, or the tribute already paid by their fathers to the Nation, were also put forward: "Father unable to work, helps to support the other children" (case of the "second [of] 5 children, the eldest being at the Youth camp"), "Lost his brother, helps to support his mother" ("orphaned in the 1914 War"), "The other 2 brothers prisoners in Germany, himself suffering from infantile

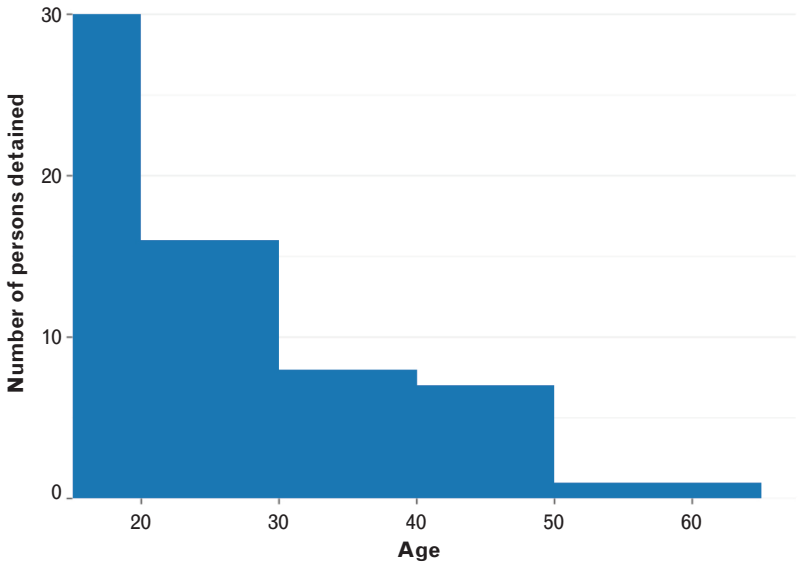
(1) Record of "the arrest of MORANDI René, 17 years old, assistant baker, in Villeurbanne (Rhône), for refusal to circulate, assault and rebellion," Collonges motorcycle brigade, Gendarmerie nationale, May 18, 1942.

(2) Official telegram from the prefect of the region to the Ministry of the Interior, May 19, 1942, 2:15 a.m.

(3) Douzou notes that "a combative and organized working class and certain student groups from the University of Lyon played an important role in the success of the demonstrations organized on May 1 and July 14, and in the strikes against the *Relève* in October 1942 and the Service du travail obligatoire (STO) (Compulsory work service program) in 1943 ("La Résistance à Lyon [1940–1944]", in Bueltzingsloewen et al, ed., *Lyon dans la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, 278). Two students from the Lyon School of Chemistry, distributing flyers, who were arrested and handed over to the military justice system on May 15 also fit this profile. The Service des expulsés et réfugiés non rapatriables (Deportee and non-repatriable refugees service) interceded with the prefect on their behalf in a letter dated May 29, arguing that they were refugees.



4. Distribution by profession of those detained at Fort Barraux



5. Age distribution of those detained at Fort Barraux

paralysis" ("Father killed in the 1914 War, 3 children").[1]

There are also letters in the file from parents, teachers, and employers that refer to the young people's naivete in an attempt to obtain the prefect's clemency, while the majority of those detained said that they had been arrested by mistake or had been caught up by chance in a demonstration that had nothing to do with them, arguing that they were "loyal," or indifferent to political issues, or even that they supported and admired Germany. This was the case of the nineteen-year-old law student (and future Minister of Justice) Roland Dumas, who said he was stopped on his way to a friend's house to borrow a book needed to prepare for an exam. The reality was quite different: He was indeed committed to the Resistance, and a few months later he joined the United Resistance Movements, for which he transported weapons to the Grenoble region.[2]

One might ask how intense the protesters' commitment to the Resistance was. With the exception of Dumas, a comparison of the police list of those arrested with Maitron records and those of the Service historique de la Défense does not enable one to identify with certainty any individuals who had already or subsequently shown a notable commitment to the Resistance.[3] Participation in the demonstration was clearly an example of public and collective protest, although it was an isolated event, and at a distance from the organized Resistance. Demonstrators' commitment was perhaps based on shared social contacts, experience of oppression (as suggested by the presence of four Jewish defendants) or ideological affinities (Communists, for example), as well as the unexpected opportunity offered by the concert (several lived in the first arrondissement and others in the immediate vicinity of the Salle Rameau, and were able to join the procession spontaneously).[4] Above all, it demonstrated a common hostility toward the collaboration with Germany promoted by the French state,[5] of which the concert was just one expression.

Critical reception and a concert of French music

Like choosing whether to attend the concert, choosing whether to report on the performance of the Berlin orchestra was not totally devoid of political connotations. The silence of *La Vie lyonnaise*, for example, says much. Although it regularly displayed its support for the new regime and had a regular music column, the fortnightly paper expressed its tacit disapproval of the collaborationist concert by not reporting it. The major local daily *Le Progrès* did the same.

Other newspapers devoted eloquent articles to the concert, but made no reference to the political context or the protest. Published on May 19, 1942, the article in the

(1) List of people arrested at the May 18 demonstration and imprisoned at Fort-Barraux who sent requests for release, Prefecture of the Rhône, no date.

(2) See the following biography: "DUMAS Roland, Léon, Louis," *Le Maitron*, accessed December 14, 2022, https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article23305.

(3) The twenty-one-year-old student named Pierre Engels might have been the member of the Organisation civile et militaire (OCM) (Civil and Military Organization) shot by the Germans in June 1944, but while his name, age, and certain elements of his background (voluntary enlistment in 1940, prisoner and then escapee) mentioned in a letter from the director of his hostel correspond, there is nothing in his *Maitron* record to indicate that he was in Lyon in 1942: "ENGELS Pierre, Armand," *Le Maitron*, accessed December 14, 2022, https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article167020.

(4) While one cannot rule out the fact that some individuals may have been questioned by mistake, their generational and social homogeneity make it unlikely.

(5) On the difficulties of understanding the conduct of the Resistance movements: Pierre Laborie and François Marcot, ed., *Les Comportements collectifs en France et dans l'Europe allemande. Historiographie, normes, prismes* (Rennes: PUR, 2015); Pierre Laborie, *Penser l'événement, 1940–1945* (Paris: Folio, 2019).

conservative Catholic daily *Le Nouvelliste* was mainly devoted to a comparison between the respective styles of Furtwängler and Krauss, to the disadvantage of Krauss who "certainly has a less engaging personality" than Furtwängler. *Lyon Républicain* was more positive and called Krauss a "worthy successor to the unforgettable Furtwängler" and listed the pieces, which were "played to perfection." It also focused on the social nature of the event, which was attended by "a full house," including "Messieurs Angéli, regional prefect; Villiers, mayor of Lyon; Proton de la Chapelle, deputy mayor responsible for the fine arts; Sturm, counselor of the German embassy in Vichy; Doctor Heitinger, director of the Lyon Franco-German economic relations office; the presidents of other institutions, the main consuls, and numerous personalities."

A few days later, the same daily newspaper published a more detailed article praising the mastery "of the 120 musicians of the Philharmonic Orchestra, whose discipline and absolute submission to the conductor must be praised once again."[1] The article deserves attention because it reports on three performances that took place in close succession: the concert of the Berlin Philharmonic, that of the Maîtrise de Saint-Jean, and importantly, the concert by the Association philharmonique de Lyon, conducted by Paul Paray, which was held in the Salle Rameau two days after the concert of the Berlin Philharmonic. This performance appears to have been an equally political riposte to the concert of German music, since it was exclusively devoted to French music: Lalo's Overture to *Le Roi d'Ys*, Ravel's *Valse*, Fauré's *Pavane*, Franck's *Rédemption*, Chabrier's *España*, and the conductor Paray's Second Symphony.

The message was not lost on the authorities, who were conscious of the fact that the concert all too clearly asserted French pride in the face of Germanic arrogance. A principal inspector of the Renseignements généraux had alerted his divisional commissioner on May 11 that:

> We have learned from a well-informed source that two days after the departure of the Berlin Philharmonic Society from LYON, a concert conducted by maestro Paul PARAY will be held at the Salle Rameau.
> It has been suggested in artistic circles that this event, which includes only French music, should be postponed to a later date because if it were to take place on May 20, it would be very badly received by the German authorities, who would not fail to point out its inappropriate nature. According to some figures in the musical world, events of this kind should take place at least three months apart.

The finale of the concert made it clear that it was, for all the participants and especially for the conductor, an eminently political event. Paul Paray conducted the *Marseillaise* as an encore,[2] even though in the southern zone it was reserved for official ceremonies and only to be performed subject to prior authorization, and it was forbidden altogether in the occupied zone.[3] *Le Nouvelliste* spoke enthusiastically of a "magnificent" and "unforgettable"

(1) *Lyon Républicain*, May 23–24, 1942. Praise of these qualities was by no means insignificant under Vichy.

(2) On several occasions, the conductor adopted a dissident approach towards Vichy and Nazi injunctions. In 1940, he resigned from the management of the Concerts Colonne when the occupying forces demanded that its name (of Jewish origin) should be changed. He then joined the orchestra of the Radiodiffusion Nationale in Marseille, but left when the race laws required that Jewish musicians be dismissed. In 1941 he was appointed director of the Monaco Opera Orchestra (replacing Raoul Gunsbourg, who had been forced to retire because he was Jewish). While there, he recruited several of the musicians who had been dismissed.

(3) Le Bail reports the episode in *La Musique au pas*, 169 but, in addition to an error in the name of the hall, she sets the concert in 1944, two years after the event. The context is obviously not the same and Paray's conducting seems to constitute a much more striking and riskier act of defiance, at a time when

evening, while *Lyon Républicain* spoke of a "house packed to the rafters" and a "superb tribute to French music." The difference of tone from the favorable but sober articles on the concert conducted by Krauss two days earlier suggest the critics' preference for French music, which was clearly not only motivated by aesthetic criteria.

The Resistance was not fooled either. After vilifying the German concert, *Libération* saluted the French conductor's initiative in enthusiastic terms:

> The audience went mad, when on the last encore, Paul Paray instructed the orchestra to stand and led them in a boisterous rendering of the *Marseillaise*. Then turning to the hall, he conducted the electrified audience in a spontaneous rendition of the anthem. Prefect Angéli and Mayor Villiers were prudent enough to slip away before the end. . . so as to avoid witnessing the singing of this song.[1]

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The May 18, 1942 concert was an isolated event, but it says much about Vichy's authoritarian hold over the world of music. Simple enjoyment of music was somehow impossible in a context where the nationality and status of composers as well as those of performers were imbued with connotations that had nothing to do with aesthetics. It was equally impossible with a quarter of the seats occupied by police officers watching the audience, and forces of order deployed outside to arrest protesters. Lastly, it was impossible since the concert was not only a social event to showcase the collaboration of those who had been enemies until very recently, but also an act in which the vanquished were forced to submit to the desires of the victor, underlined by the location of the reception following the concert and the anticipation of German displeasure over Paul Paray's musical initiative, which was no less imbued with politics.

In conclusion, the reasons for the audience's attendance are one of the most complex elements of the episode. A quantitative study of the list established by the police officers shows that members of the audience may have been more likely to attend for two reasons: For social reasons, since they belonged mainly to the privileged strata of society that tends to be attracted to classical music. But also for political reasons, as can be deduced both from their social status and where they lived, the majority voting for the right in the last elections of the Third Republic. As the main supporters of the French state, their political orientation did not prevent them from participating in an obvious act of propaganda. To put it another way, and to reverse Pierre Laborie's phrase, the audience's social status and political orientation provided the conditions for at least tacit "consent" to the Vichy order. The contrast with the status of the demonstrators arrested, who expressed their rejection of the same order as clearly as they could, is striking.

It may be, however, that the sharpness of this contrast prevents one from detecting possible nuances. A love of music may have allowed certain music lovers who were ideologically unconvinced, or even politically indifferent, to contain their scruples and to attend an act of propaganda purely for its aesthetic dimension. It is regrettable—solely from the historical point of view—that the Lyon police did not keep a list of the audience at the concert conducted by Paray, since cross-checking the two lists might have made it possible to identify music lovers who attended both performances and so, in addition to their taste for

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the Resistance was still in its infancy, Nazi domination was well assured, and Pétain's regime still enjoyed widespread support.

(1) "Il ne s'agissait pas de musique," *Libération* 13, June 13, 1942.

great music, expressed the "double life" that Laborie himself considers to have been characteristic of the period.[1]

Lilian Mathieu
Centre Max Weber, CNRS-ENS de Lyon
69007 Lyon

Lilian Mathieu is a sociologist and director of research at the CNRS Centre Max Weber, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lyon. He is currently working on artistic life under authoritarian rule, in particular, life under the Vichy regime and the last Argentine dictatorship. Together with Maya Collombon, he recently edited *Dynamiques des tournants autoritaires* (Vulaines: Le Croquant, 2021).
lilian.mathieu@ens-lyon.fr

Translated and edited by Cadenza Academic Translations
Translator: Peter Collins;
Editor: Anam Zafar;
Senior editor: Mark Mellor

Abstract

A Nazi propaganda operation supported by the Vichy regime, the concert of German music performed in Lyon on May 18, 1942, by the Berlin Philharmonic illustrates the intense politicization of music that occurred at the time. This can be seen in the extensive surveillance set up by the police of the Vichy government for fear of disruptions announced by the Resistance, but also in the composition of its audience. A statistical analysis of the list of people who had bought a ticket suggests that the audience was, for the most part, financially well-off and politically conservative, in contrast to the protestors arrested on the night of the concert. The fact that a French music concert was held two days later confirms that in this particular context, music could not be considered solely as an aesthetic pleasure, but was inevitably apprehended through the lens of politics.

Résumé

Opération de propagande nazie soutenue par Vichy, le concert de musique allemande donné à Lyon le 18 mai 1942 par la Philharmonie de Berlin révèle une intense politisation de la musique. Celle-ci se repère à l'important dispositif de surveillance mis en place par la police vichyste par crainte des perturbations annoncées par la Résistance, mais aussi par la composition de son public. Le traitement statistique de la liste des personnes ayant acheté un billet suggère un recrutement à dominante socialement favorisée et politiquement conservatrice, contrastant avec celui des manifestants interpellés le soir du concert. La tenue, deux jours plus tard, d'un concert de musique française confirme que la musique ne pouvait, dans ce contexte particulier, relever du seul plaisir esthétique mais était inévitablement appréhendée au travers de schèmes de perception politiques.

(1) Pierre Laborie, *Les Français des années troubles. De la guerre d'Espagne à la Libération* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2001), 35.