

Popular Song in the First World War – Introduction

John Mullen

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POPULAR SONG IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Edited by
John Mullen



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What did popular song mean to people across the world during the First World War? For the first time, song repertoires and musical industries from countries on both sides in the Great War as well as from neutral countries are analysed in one exciting volume. Experts from around the world, and with very different approaches, bring to life the entertainment of a century ago, to show the role it played in the lives of our ancestors. The reader will meet with the penniless lyricist, the theatre chain owner, the cross-dressing singer, fado composer, stage Scotsman or rhyming soldier, whether they come from Serbia, Britain, the USA, Germany, France, Portugal or elsewhere, in this fascinating exploration of showbiz before the generalization of the gramophone. Singing was a vector for patriotic support for the war, and sometimes for anti-war activism, but it was much more than that, and expressed and constructed debates, anxieties, social identities and changes in gender roles. This work, accompanied by many links to online recordings, will allow the reader to glimpse the complex role of popular song in people's lives in a period of total war.

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Introduction:[1]

Beyond the Question of Morale: Popular Song in the First World War

John Mullen

The central thesis of the present book is that popular song is not an 'illustration' or a 'reflection' of real history which takes place elsewhere, in muddy trenches or oak-panelled offices; it is a series of mass activities which are themselves a significant part of the history of society. Popular song is a way that generations of artistes and audiences represent the world to themselves and to each other.

The vast number of books produced concerning the cultural history of the First World War, surprisingly, did not include, until very recently, serious historical treatment of structured corpora of popular song. The reason for this absence is not completely clear, but it was certainly linked to the still marginal status of the history of popular music within historical study,[1] and perhaps by a suspicion that to study repertoires of sung entertainment in so tragic a period was to show an inappropriately frivolous attitude.

[1] The publishing contract allows me to use ten per cent of the book for promotion purposes, so here is the introduction. Please order the book for your library !

This anomalous situation has begun to be remedied over the last few years with the appearance of a number of publications. My own book *'The Show Must Go On', Popular Song in Britain during the First World War* (Ashgate, 2015), the book in French by Anne Simon, *Chanter la Grande Guerre: les Poilus et les Femmes*, (Champ Vallon, 2014) the book by Christina Gier *Singing, Soldiering and Sheet Music in America during the First World War*, (Lexington 2016), are the main recent examples, along with Chris Bourke's *Good-bye Maoriland: The Songs and Sounds of New Zealand's Great War* (Auckland University Press 2017). These new contributions had been preceded by Regina Sweeney's *Singing our way to victory: French cultural politics and music during the Great War* (Wesleyan University Press, 2001).

Popular song, however, has been regularly referred to in general history books about the First World War, as well as being the focus of publications of collections of songs, some of which have sold very well.[2] In these works, popular song is almost universally approached from the 'common sense' point of view of war morale (and, indeed, the title of Regina Sweeney's book proceeds from the same premise). The central characteristic of these songs was their usefulness, it was said, to increase people's willingness to fight and remain cheerful. The preface of the best-selling collection of soldiers' songs by Brophy and Partridge defends this thesis in detail for

soldier songs.[3] This 'morale-based' approach led to an over-simplification of the history of popular song, in a context in which, as I have mentioned, detailed work on corpora was almost non-existent. As prestigious a commentator as J. B. Priestley gave a rather misleading view of First World War popular song when he wrote: 'The first war, unlike the second, produced two distinct crops of songs: one for patriotic civilians, … the other, not composed or copyrighted by anybody, genuine folk song, for the sardonic front-line troops.'[4]

The 1963 musical comedy *Oh What a Lovely War*, which played some role in popularizing an anti-imperialist and pacifist view of the First World War, also presents music-hall songs as essentially just jaunty warmongering. And the very influential historian Arthur Marwick claimed that 'popular patriotic songs or songs like the nostalgic "Tipperary" … accounted for the bulk of the records pressed during the war'.[5] This is simply not the case: the repertoires of wartime popular song are huge and tremendously varied. Popular song in different countries showed strong continuity with pre-war repertoires and processes, and served many other purposes in addition to its effect on the willingness to fight. It explored the tensions, worries and nostalgic visions of men-women relationships in the culture of the time. It expressed rural and urban identities, attitudes to minorities and to empire, and dreams of escaping from the poverty which

large sections of its audiences were familiar with. It expressed and subverted and, perhaps above all, played with, different shades of national, regional and class identities.

In any case, the question of war morale has recently been presented as more complex than one might have thought. The French historian, André Loez, even proposed that historians discard the concept as unfit for purpose.[6] So the project of the present book is well-timed: to go far beyond the question of morale, in order to explore the different uses and practices of popular song in the war years.

This is the first book to deal with this history in an international context. It includes two chapters on Britain, three on France, two on Germany and two on the USA, as well as chapters on Ireland, Serbia, Portugal, New Zealand and Spain. The inclusion of countries from both sides of the conflict (as well as a neutral country, Spain, and one which changed position during the war, Portugal) helps us clarify some parameters of wartime popular song. The inclusion of both highly urbanized and largely rural countries facilitates an exploration of the professionalization and industrialisation of popular music which was in progress. In addition, the study of very different popular music configurations – from Portuguese Fado to British music hall, from Spanish Cuplé and US Vaudeville to French café-concert will allow processes of song-making and performance

to be rooted in differing cultural traditions. The inclusion of chapters on soldiers' songs, and a chapter on the songs of British conscientious objectors, will allow us to embrace a wide-ranging view of social, political and cultural life in the deluge.

The objective is to go 'beyond the question of morale' in a number of ways: by showing the continuity with pre-war production, and by showing some of the parameters of the influence of economic, industrial, technological, ideological and social aspects of the production and consumption of song. Nine of the authors were able to get together at a day conference at the University of Rouen in November 2016, and this allowed us to discuss in depth the book and fine-tune the contents.

Dynamics

The mass activity which is popular song is produced by the interplay of a number of different dynamics, which may be economic, administrative, cultural, political or ideological. The key factors influencing the wartime configurations of popular song include the following:

1) Levels of urbanization and industrialization, which form the life experiences of the audiences in the towns, and thus define what are the dreams and fears that the songwriters must speak to. Folk song, for example, was of little interest to British urban working-class audiences,

despite the fevered efforts of middle class folk song enthusiasts. Its repertoire of moving songs about the changing seasons, sowing, harvesting and agricultural fairs spoke little to urban lives. Music hall, on the other hand, rapid, racy, and funny, always ready to mock the latest fashions or gadgets, was loved. In Spain, as Lidia Lopez's work will show us, urbanization came slower and later, but the arrival of peasants in the towns led to a growing demand for new kinds of entertainment representing an entry into modernity.

Industrialization also produced the infrastructure necessary for a modern music industry: the railway systems which allowed for artistes to make a living permanently on tour (as in US vaudeville and British music hall), the large audiences which allowed the building of sophisticated variety theatres with thousands of seats, or which maintained scores of smaller venues (like the café concerts) often organized with a resident singer.

2) Established traditions of songwriting (Fado, music hall, Cuplé, café concert, to name but a few), which framed what was easy to produce and sell. In France, to take one example, the tradition of 'realistic' song was well-established. Songs, often written by bohemian-oriented members of the middle classes, spoke, in working class language, of everyday challenges of life, in a serious or comic manner. This tradition could continue in wartime, and this gave rise to a fascinating harvest of songs

about specific problems and tragedies. Countries like the USA, with little popular tradition of realist songs, did not produce such repertoires.

3) Differing traditions of links between war and music. In Britain there was already a tradition of occasional jingoistic songs, as well as one of mocking jingoism, but there was none of of anti-German songs, and one did not appear during the conflict (there are no British music hall songs about hating Germans). In France, in contrast, two elements in the tradition of links between war and music helped determine the repertoire. Firstly, the popular sentiment of anger about the loss of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany in 1871 had already given rise to a number of anti-German songs. Secondly, the habit of conscription in France since the Revolution (with a long period of military service) had helped establish a repertoire of army songs which would be developed further during the war.

4) The legal and industrial framework, in as far as it influenced the songwriting. The rise of the revue industry in Britain and the US (essentially a form of concentration of capital) was transforming the songs of Vaudeville and music hall, since the demands of a fifteen-minute music hall act, (which had to impress the audience quickly), were not the same as those of an artistically centralized revue, in which a romantic atmosphere, for example, might be built up. Legal frameworks had influence too: the British songwriter sold his song in a pub for a one-off payment; the French

songwriter received royalties each time the song was performed, and could therefore spend considerably more time on a piece, and this structure attracted different social milieus into songwriting.

The different countries

We assume readers are familiar with the political positions of the main countries involved in the war. On the one side Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, on the other France, Russia and Britain, joined in 1917 by the United States of America. Yet it is no doubt worth recalling the positionings of the other countries visited in our book. Ireland was still part of the United Kingdom, and therefore was automatically at war as soon as the Westminster parliament had decided, and this was also the case for the whole of the British Empire, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India and South Africa. Spain remained officially neutral throughout the conflict, though popular sentiment was against Germany. Portugal was neutral at the beginning of the war, but joined the alliance against Germany in 1916. Serbia was invaded by Austro-Hungary in 1914, won some initial military victories, but its army was forced to retreat and leave Serbian territory, along with its government and very large numbers of refugees.

Our book is divided into three thematic sections, looking at three aspects of the intervention of popular song in the construction of wartime culture. The first section examines a number of different voices which may be heard in the popular song of the time, whether the voices be clearly identified or whether they are the result of complex and invisible negotiation.

Our second section is entitled ‘gender, commercial song and war’ and looks at how the question of relations between men and women, always a key theme of popular culture, played out in the repertoires and processes of wartime song. The final section deals with the expression of national and social identities through song. Our collection of essays brings together scholars from different countries and different disciplines, and so gives a taste of what can be produced through a variety of methodologies and priorities.

Yet all countries had something in common, at the time, too: the main conduits for the spreading of music were live performance (whether in theatres, bars, family singsongs or on the streets) and sheet music (whether produced by major publishers or pirated by market stall vendors). The gramophone or the phonograph were not yet owned by the mass of the people. They were acceptable in bourgeois homes, concealed within traditional-looking cabinets, and were the focus of a small but enthusiastic fan base around magazines such as *Phono Record,* produced in London.

However, to give just one example, the British hit song, ‘Take Me Back to Dear Old Blighty’ sold 38 000 copies on gramophone record in 1916; but during that one pantomime season, 60 000 people must have heard it every evening on stage. The world was living through the last period when live performance was dominant in musical consumption.

What Voices Can be Heard in Wartime Popular Song?

Our first section, on voices, looks at both repertoires and processes. Following on from my previous book, published in 2015,[7] the first chapter in this section will look at two aspects of wartime song, both included under the term ‘voices’. Firstly, it will look at the interests and priorities defended in the repertoire: can we speak of ‘a voice of the people’ or ‘a voice of the elite’ or both? Similarly, the question of gendered priorities expressed in the song repertoire will be examined. The second part of the chapter will look at the sound material of the World War One singers: what different voices did they use on stage (operatic, stage cockney, feminine, regional, working-class and so on), why did they make those choices and what did they mean? The voice was one of the few musical aspects of First World War music hall to remain under the comprehensive control of the artiste (since generally the singers were accompanied by a different house orchestra in a different town each week), and its theatrical usage and

technological constraints (no microphone in a two or three thousand seat theatre) can tell us much.

Eric Sauda, a doctor in musicology who specializes in musicological issues of the period,[8] takes us, in the second chapter, far beyond the lyrics and music of the songs, to concentrate on the usefulness of music for the frontline French soldier, and for the French army in general. In his chapter, we are clearly looking 'beyond the question of morale'. He shows how song nourished the conscript soldiers in their everyday wartime lives, but also how it could be used as a military weapon in interactions with the enemy. Indeed, the well-known truces built around song were no doubt very much outnumbered by the use of song for aggressive purposes. Working essentially from primary sources such as letters, memoirs, and newspaper reports, Eric Sauda never loses sight of the importance for the historian of having an 'imaginative understanding for the minds of the people with whom he is dealing.'[9]

André Rottgieri's chapter provides an analysis of the German military repertoire during the First World War. Its goal is to present a compact overview of the music that was sung and adapted by the German soldiers of the time. British soldier songs were very much dissenting in tone, often insulting of their immediate hierarchy and scathingly sarcastic about the war. They represented a 'supplementary repertoire' which provided

soldiers with themes and tones which they could not find in the standard popular music hall songs, nor in the religious hymns they knew. In particular, vulgarity and anti-war sentiment were very much present.[10] The German repertoire seems to have been quite different in content. Dr Rottgieri takes us through this repertoire from the patriotic to the sexual, from the sentimental to the combative.

If one is accustomed to thinking of one of songs' main function in wartime to be the strengthening of morale, it is as well to remember that anti-war activists also needed morale building exercises. Our fourth chapter deals with this question. Clive Barrett, curator of the Bradford Peace Museum, and author of a full-length study on conscientious objectors during the First World War[11] looks at the songs which helped the small but determined anti-war networks in Britain to keep going. Published songbooks, personal diaries, and the graffiti on prison walls are the sources for this original reflection.

The last chapter in the section, by Guy Marival, stays with the anti-war theme, but attempts to look beyond the war years and understand how a classic anti-war song gained the meanings it has for people today. The chapter shows the detailed archival work necessary to advance knowledge on the production of political meanings, and resonates with the now massive field of study constituted by the memory of the Great War.

The ‘Chanson de Craonne’ is a pacifist song which appeared in 1915. It came to be associated with the 1917 mutinies in the French army, and symbolized for many generations of French people the voice of the frontline soldiers, the rejection of the war and of the priorities of the elite who would not be dying in it. In the 1920s, the song became an anthem of the radical Left. Internationally it has become relatively well-known, and appears in Joan Littlewood’s ‘Oh What a Lovely War!’ This chapter attempts to explore the roots of the song: was it really sung in the trenches, and what did it mean to people? Guy Marival examines a series of primary sources in order to reveal the ‘archaeology’ of this popular song. Guy Marival has produced a full-length study in French on the Chanson de Craonne,[12] and is also responsible for a comprehensive website dealing with the song and the legends it has produced.[13] But this is the first time that his work has been made available to a non-francophone readership, and we are delighted that this book has made this possible.

Gender, commercial song and war

Our second section deals with gender, a principle of social existence which has been important in studies of popular music of the last fifty years.[14] The understanding that feminine and masculine roles are socially constructed, policed and performed[15] has been essential to the analyis of the exploring

and embodying of popular anxieties and fantasies which is so characteristic of popular music. These insights have been applied to the study of stagecraft,[16] of voice,[17] of fandom,[18] of the music industry[19] and of many other aspects of the pop universe. The popular song of the war years lends itself just as much to gender-based analysis as does today's. Courtship and marriage were important song themes, cross-dressing was a common stage event, and, of course, gender roles were both sharpened and transformed by war: men were sent to kill and die, while women were asked to become (temporary) heads of household and to be wage-earners.

A century ago, women's position in society was one of far less public presence and power than is the case today. In most countries, women could not yet vote in national elections, and in industrialized countries, the idea that the man should earn 'a family wage' and that his wife should be mainly preoccupied with family and housework was widely supported by men and by women. Families were large, and housework and laundry far more difficult than today.

The progress in women's rights which had been brought about by social movements in different countries had shaken up somewhat certainties about natural spheres of influence, which nevertheless remained hegemonic. In New Zealand and Australia, women had won the right to vote in 1893 and 1902 respectively; one by one, the states of the USA were

giving this right too. In Britain, women could vote at local elections and the struggle for wider rights had radicalized after the forming of Emmeline Pankhurst's Women's Social and Political Union in 1903. In 1901 and 1909 two major organizations were formed in France aiming at the right to vote for women, while a campaign for the right to vote in local elections was set up in Spain in 1906.

Attitudes, opinions, fears and fantasies in connection with what it means to be a man or a woman, in societies built around the institution of the family, cannot help but be primordial. Worries about masculinity and femininity were, then, very much present in the songs. Bellanta explored the Australian vaudeville repertoire from this point of view in her important article.[20]

Constant changes both to the economic and political situation of women produced worries which inspired songs, and this process was accelerated by the coming of the war. Governments slowly realized that the entire economy needed to be oriented towards the war, and that more women were needed in the workplace. In Britain and in France, large numbers of young women were lodged in huge camps and worked long hours in the munitions factories. With husbands away for long periods of time, or killed, the women became head of the family in the public sphere and not just in the private sphere. Meanwhile, they missed the men who had gone

off to fight just as the men, discovering the almost completely masculine military world, missed the women they had left. Leave was rare.

Research on gender and the First World War has become far more thorough in the last twenty years or so. In particular much work has been done on women's writings during the conflict. Within studies of entertainment, some scholars have looked at the importance of cross-dressing: both men dressed as women on stage and the opposite were tremendously popular at the time.[21]

In the second section of our book, four chapters will deal with these questions. Firstly, the French song repertoire will be examined, and its impressive capacity to speak to real anxieties of the men and women of the time who were listening in the café concert or singing around a piano. Secondly the presentation of masculinity in the US song repertoire will be covered, with a close reading of a group of songs presenting heroism. Thirdly, again in the States, a chapter examines the representation of military women in songs, and the songs produced by women in and close to the military.

In French historiography, the first works on French women in the Great War tended to see the experience from a point of view of emancipation, based on the new possibilities offered to women.[22] Later historical work broadened the pitch to look at violence and its effects on women, and at the

construction of masculinity and of femininity. Anne Simon's chapter deals with the question of the couple under the strain of the dreadful massacres and hardships of war, as this question is reflected in the popular songs of the time. One of the strengths of her work is that it is built on a very substantial corpus of songs. Indeed, the historian of French popular song is particularly fortunate in that the censorship authorities retained a copy of every song which they had approved, rejected or amended. There are tens of thousands of wartime songs in the archives of the Préfecture de Police in Paris, and so far researchers have only scratched the surface.

Far from representing a cultural parenthesis in popular song repertoires, the songs of 1914-1918 illustrate questions of identity present in French society since the final decades of the nineteenth century. These include questions of national pride, of national humiliation after being defeated by Germany in 1870, and of the making of 'real men' through the rite of national military service -often, for young men, the first time they have left their home village. The repertoire also expresses the terrible difficulties inherent in the separation of couples, and of the mutilation and death brought by the war. Amusing, tragic, moving or bawdy, ever trying to outwit the censor, the French wartime repertoire gives a rich treasure chest with which to examine people's fears and fantasies. From infidelity to

mutilation, national reconstruction to sexual impotence, few questions are not covered by the songs.

This is the first time Anne Simon's work has been made available to a non-French speaking audience, and we have chosen to present this one aspect. Dr Simon's doctoral thesis looked at gender identities in French popular song over a much longer period,[23] and her first book[24] which like the present chapter dealt with the repertoire of the Great War, extended the analysis to cover other types of songs there was no space for in this chapter. For example, it covered the many songs which joined the vigorous natalist campaign for larger families to rebuild the nation, and which insisted on the duty of women to have more children for the sake of the nation.

Christina Gier, the author of the most comprehensive book on US popular song in the Great War[25] delves into the US repertoire to look at some of the details of how men might be encouraged to be or to become the masculine material which the war machine required. US vaudeville had developed rapidly after the 1880s, based on a touring artistes organizational model, where a vaudeville evening show would include a wide variety of sharply distinct acts: dancing acts, horse-riding acts, and sentimental or comic singers. Fortunes were made and lost in the 'continuous show' which lasted twelve hours every day, before most theatres settled down into the two shows a day system in the early twentieth century. Just as in the British

case, the centralization of capital and the building of ever larger theatres went hand in hand with a fierce striving for respectability of repertoire and audience.[26] The vaudeville sang and danced modernity into the twentieth century, though the top end of the market was in competition with the star-spangled revues of Ziegfeld and others.

Gier traces in this chapter changes in hegemonic values relating to being a man. Masculinity in popular song has been frequently studied in relation to other periods of the twentieth century, in particular concerning rock or heavy metal music.[27] Dr Gier has previously written on the use of song in US army training in the First World War, how great claims were made for it and how the songs used in obligatory group singing worked to inscribe in soldiers' bodies and minds the masculinity most appropriate to the war drive: dynamic and combative, but also pure in mind and body (venereal disease due to casual sex being a major threat to army efficiency on some fronts).[28]

Amy Wells, in the following chapter, concentrates not only on representations of women, but also on women's agency as they became involved in the war drive, and in support activities at the front. She then looks in some detail at one particular star, Elsie Janis. In previous work, she has dealt with other aspects of women's experience in the Great War,

including the mobilization of the culinary skills of US women in support of the war drive.[29]

Chapter nine takes us to the most important power on the other side in the Great War: Germany. Over the second half of the nineteenth century, Germany had become a great economic power, having overtaken the UK in industrial production. The tremendous commercial advantage the UK maintained from its vast empire had contributed to rising tension between Britain and Germany, exemplified notably in the naval arms race after 1906.[30]

The role of a certain nationalism in the content of popular entertainment was strong in Germany, only recently unified, in 1871. The rapid industrialization of the country went alongside urbanization and Berlin in particular doubled in population, reaching a million and a half people by the outbreak of war. Entertainment venues of all sorts went through a boom, both for select establishments and mass audience variety theatres. Cabaret appeared in 1901 (even the very first venue, the Uberbrettl, had 650 seats) and rose in influence extremely quickly. In this chapter, Melanie Schiller looks at the role of one female star, Claire Waldorff, in her attempts to bring this audience what it wanted, as peace gave way to war, and then as the rapid war dreamed of turned into a prolonged nightmare. Waldorff's particular performance of femininity stood out from the mass

of artistes and constructed a new Berliner suggestion for ways of being. Her performance of confident femininity and her openness about being a lesbian heralded the emancipatory atmosphere of 1920s Berlin. In wartime, she became the troops' idol, embodying both Berliner modernity and certainty about a well-deserved victory for Germany in the war. The usefulness of her entertainment for civilian and soldier morale was indisputable, and all the more potent for the promise of free individuality which could also be glimpsed in her act. Being a modern worldly-wise woman and being enthusiastic for the war were part of the same package.

The Expression of National and Social Identities

Claire Waldorff's role as representing femininity, Germanness, and modernity provides a neat link to our final section, which concentrates on the role of musical production in expressing national and social identities. Popular song in the modern urban world has always meant much more than its immediate content. Liking a certain type of song means expressing a desire to be a certain type of person, to articulate belonging to an "imagined community"[31] or an 'affective alliance'.[32] Much work has been done on this question concerning popular music of the last fifty years. For the period of the First World War, the question of youth identity[33] is less pregnant than it is today: longer schooling and increased youth independence had not yet given rise to teenage markets and identities. Social distinctions

through consumption of popular song, however, were, however, very much present. The choice of a particular type of cabaret or theatre, as well as the choice between classical concert and popular revue indicated choosing a social identity linked to modernity. In Britain in the years before 1914, tremendous efforts were made by authorities to raise the profile of classical music among the working classes; municipal concert halls were built, and 'penny concerts' organized, as part of a campaign to bring the masses closer to the values of the elite. During the war, the vast campaign of concerts organized by Lena Ashwell, which aimed at bringing classical music close to frontline soldiers in order to 'improve' their personalities and elevate their spiritual selves represents another clear example.[34]

National communities were also very much reinforced by popular song. Researchers have worked on this aspect for later periods[35] and we felt it was important to include in this collection reflections on the topic: the pieces on New Zealand and Serbia stress the role of music in national identities which were still in some ways proteiform.

The first chapter in this section looks at expressions of identity in a nation on the periphery of the British Empire geographically: New Zealand. New Zealand had gained dominion status, a major step towards full self-governance, in 1907. Compulsory military training was introduced in 1909, and the participation of New Zealand in the First World War was both part

of a desire by its governing elite to ‘come of age’ and show itself as a true partner in the British Empire, and an affirmation of a particular identity. Many songs written and sung in Britain were also sung in New Zealand, but Chris Bourke, in this chapter, concentrates on the specific repertoire which was not shared with the rest of the Empire. This repertoire has been almost completely forgotten, and we are very pleased to be able to include this analysis in our book.

Within the United Kingdom during the war years, only in Glasgow and in Ireland was there regular widespread opposition to the war. Ireland, since those years, has always displayed contradictory attitudes to the war. For many Northern Irish Unionist politicians, the role of the Irish alongside the rest of the British Empire is a source of pride and much celebration. For Republicans, on the contrary, it is the Easter Rising, in Dublin, in 1916, which tried to make the most of the fact that the British army was busy in France in order to strike out for independence, is the event which should be celebrated and commemorated. The Dublin government in these last few years has shown considerable ingenuity in dealing with the question of how to commemorate a centenary without either alienating Irish national pride, or alienating the British government who remain an important political and trade partner. As a solution, they invented ‘the decade of centenaries’, allowing them to commemorate the Dublin lockout of 1913, the Easter

rising, and the First World War, thus maintaining at least an official semblance of consensus.

Eric Falc'her's chapter (chapter 11) describes the extremely varied sources of inspiration for the songs written and sung in Ireland during those troubled times, from daily life to the Gaelic cultural revival, and from devoted nationalist identity to empire identity and 'unselfish' support for the war drive of the United Kingdom. It will also consider the political, social and artistic consequences of the First World War in Ireland and the most important changes that took place during this 4-year period.

Spain remained neutral during the First World War, much of the traditional elite favouring Germany and its allies, while liberal intellectuals and Socialists often favoured the allied powers. Industrialization in Spain, as elsewhere, was slowly driving people to the towns, and new forms of entertainment were favoured by the new urban working classes. Lidia Lopez has written in recent years about the effects across Europe of the war on the production and consumption of classical concert music,[36] but her work has not been available in English before. In this chapter she examines the musical genre of the Cuplé, little known to historians outside Spain, and shows the uses this musical form had to audiences who were living in a neutral country, but who were very much aware that the Great War was profoundly remoulding the world and its values. The Cuplés constituted,

among other things, an identification with modernity on the part of new urban social classes, a modern identity.

Pedro Felix (chapter 13) writes of a country often forgotten in First World War history: Portugal. A largely rural country in which the capital, however, was rapidly becoming a genuine metropolis, and a country of intense political instability. In Portugal, involvement in the war, on a relatively small scale compared with the major protagonists, was seen by the elite as a way of affirming the national identity and destiny as a newly modern European power. Meanwhile the fledgling music industry was looking to modernize Portuguese entertainment. The intersection of these two tendencies, and the suffering of soldiers and civilians in wartime, gave rise to a repertoire, particularly in Fado, which has been relatively unknown to international scholarship. The work of Pedro Felix presents a vigorous initial exploration of this production. He teases out what it meant to people of the time to produce and consume this music which came from rural roots, and was dealing with new demands on identity.

If the First World War brought unimagined upheaval to people's lives in Britain, France, or Germany, the experience of the peoples of Eastern Europe was if anything even more disrupted.[37] The numbers of casualties among Serbs, in relation to their population, were astronomical. After the occupation of Serbia by Austria in 1915, the Serbian army and a section of

the Serbian people fled. The very existence of the nation appeared threatened. The repertoire and processes of the songs which accompanied them in this trauma are the subject of chapter fourteen. This chapter allows us to glimpse the musical traditions of a nation finding itself in a very different situation than that of the major allies, a people whose national project would be subject to incredible upheavals in the following century.

This book is intended as an initial foray into an area which deserves far more work. Each of the sections: on voiced, onwomen and men, or on identities, cries out for a book of its own with a far wider geographical spread, and each of the countries mentioned could be drawn into an analysis of its song from several more points of view. A large number of countries are omitted, and the countries chosen are of the global North, where the presence of recording industries and publishing houses a century ago make traces of the repertoire easier to find. In addition, these are countries well-represented in popular music studies today, and thus the places from where it was easier to identify scholars. What was happening in India, South Africa,[38] Japan,[39] Egypt or Brazil? It would be fascinating to find out. Even in the global North, neither Italy, Russia nor Greece are represented.

Further, our contributors come from a number of different disciplines, and it is fair to say, with a few exceptions, that more emphasis has been put on

lyrical content and performance context than on the musical material involved (rhythm, melody, instrumentation and so on). A century ago, many artistes had far less control over the music which accompanied their singing than they would today, and in many countries had to be satisfied with house orchestras, but there is certainly more work on the musical material needed.

In any case, multi-disciplinary volumes such as this one always risk pleasing no one completely. The musicologist, the anthropologist, the cultural historian or the expert in gender studies or postcolonial studies might each feel with some justification that so much has been missed out pertaining to their particular field. The preliminary nature of the study is inevitable if one considers that, even in the more developed countries, each year of the war saw the production of a huge number of songs, no doubt tens of thousands. Could a comprehensive or truly synthetic account ever be produced of such an outpouring of work and energy? Our aim must rather be to tease out some of the regularities of what the songs meant to people, how they were produced and sold, what they reflected or did not reflect of people's lives.

If these contributions can pull wartime popular song out of its stereotype as morale building jingoism, and underline its usefulness to historians as a record of the enjoyments, anxieties, feelings and fantasies of the mass of

the population who left far fewer traces than the elite in the historical record, it will have achieved its purpose. Were it to encourage other and better research projects, we would feel more than satisfied with our efforts.

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[6] André Loez, 'Pour en finir avec le 'moral' des combattants' in Jean-François Muracciole, Frédéric Rousseau (Eds), *Combats - Hommage à Jules Maurin (*Paris, Michel Houdiard, 2010).

[7] John Mullen , *op. cit.*

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[16] See for example Philip Auslander, 'I Wanna Be Your Man: Suzi Quatro's Musical Androgyny.' *Popular Music*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2004, pp. 1–16.

[17] See for example L. J. Müller, 'Hearing Sexism -Analyzing Discrimination in Sound' in Juliar Merrill (Ed.) *Popular Music Studies Today*, Wiesbaden, Springer, 2017.

[18] See for example Catherine Driscoll, 'Girl Culture, Revenge and Global Capitalism: Cybergirls, Riot Grrls, Spice Girls', *Australian Feminist Studies*, Vol. 14, N°29, 2010.

[19] See for example Keith Negus, 'The gendered narratives of nobodies and somebodies in the popular music economy' in Stan Hawkins, *The Routledge Research Companion to Popular Music and Gender*, London, Routledge, 2017.

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