

**Political Battlefields in French Musical Education:  
Provincial Conservatories under the Nazi Occupation and Vichy Regime**

by

Jessica H. Grimmer

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Jane Fulcher, Chair  
Professor Joshua Cole  
Professor Charles Garrett  
Professor Steven Whiting

Jessica H. Grimmer

[jhgrimm@umich.edu](mailto:jhgrimm@umich.edu)

ORCID iD: [0000-0003-0320-1812](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0320-1812)

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## **DEDICATION**

To my parents, Joseph and Joanne McCafferty.

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## PREFACE

The endeavors of the Vichy Regime and Nazi Occupation to regulate the arts and education in France, exemplified in this study by the conservatoire system, illustrates a fierce battle for control of France's cultural identity. Efforts to contort France's long-standing institutions and remake them in the image of the newly installed governing bodies were met with mixed reactions by artists and the public. Naturally, reactions reflect the ideologies associated with particular groups and were strongly tied to political identity often expressed by municipal leadership. Educational institutions embedded in particular locales demonstrated ties to the ideologies of their surroundings.

This dissertation examines the histories of the musical conservatories in Bayonne, Orléans, Lille, Avignon, Toulouse, and Lyon, along with the experiences of their faculty and students, during this brief but tumultuous era. These institutional histories, and the experiences of the individuals surrounding them bring to light the life of the arts in provincial France along with the human tolls of living under an ultimately collaborationist regime in a dangerous time. They also reinforce the importance of the particular and the local.

Despite the seven decades since Vichy's fall, researching and writing this time period remains a sensitive subject for many in France. Quarrels remain among the descendants of prominent musicians, tossing the accusation of "collaborationist" across generational divides. This dissertation does not seek to make heroes or villains of figures

that populate its pages. However, as the rhetoric of fascism, anti-Semitism, and racism rears its ugly head anew, the histories referenced here serve as a stark reminder of the amount any society stands to lose from hateful ideologies.

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## ABSTRACT

The Armistice of 22 June 1940 terminated hostilities between German and French forces, but inaugurated four years of government by the newly formed Vichy Regime and German Occupation. These forces swiftly reshaped nearly all aspects of French daily life, including the state's many musical institutions, including the uniquely extensive and influential French conservatoire system. By the time of the Armistice, the Conservatoire de Paris had expanded to include forty-two conservatoires and écoles de musique. These schools created an often-fraught relationship between state and municipal leadership. Tension compounded under Vichy and the Occupation as wartime constraints and political policy generated new conflicts. While publications in the past two decades have paid much attention to the Conservatoire de Paris and other institutions in the capital city, provincial institutions have yet to enjoy the same scholarly attention.

This research presents the wartime history of the École de Bayonne, Conservatoire d'Orléans, and Conservatoire de Lille from the occupied zone and the École d'Avignon, Conservatoire de Toulouse, and Conservatoire de Lyon from the initially unoccupied zone, from the signing of the Armistice the liberation in August of 1944, drawing comparisons on the basis of student enrollment and expulsion, faculty and administrative retention or dismissal, classes conducted, and documentation of oversight and instances of repression. An additional examination regarding the 1942 move to total

occupation and revelation to many of the Vichy Regime's participation in the Holocaust provides further comparison.

Archival documents from both the state and municipal level reveal a high degree of variance between these provincial institutions and the situation in Paris. Indeed, while institutions within the same zone faced the same authority and oversight, they often exhibited different reactions and responses. This supports a theory that the provincial conservatoires and écoles de musique displayed allegiance to municipal and local political leanings, which provides rationale for their compliance, discontent, or outright defiance in the face of harsh regulations. The resulting study expands and adds new dimension to Vichy-era institutional studies of cultural institutions.

## Introduction

On 17 June 1940, after a mere six weeks of fighting, the newly installed Philippe Pétain addressed the French people over the radio, saying, “With a heavy heart, I tell you today that it is time to stop fighting.”<sup>1</sup> On 22 June, France and Germany signed the Armistice.<sup>2</sup> This document created the two-thirds agreement, splitting France into the northern “occupied” zone, containing Paris, and a southern zone, mostly free from German soldiers and oversight.<sup>3</sup> The ambiguity of the agreement allowed the Germans to incrementally increase demands on the French government and citizenry.<sup>4</sup> Despite the Armistice’s statement to the contrary, the Germans never permitted the French government to return to Paris. The government installed under Pétain settled in Vichy, the southern spa town that became synonymous with the regime.<sup>5</sup> Yet, as battles ended and new governance took command, tensions transferred into countless skirmishes over control of France’s many state sponsored cultural institutions. Cultural representation of the nation lay at stake, and the arts emerged as new theaters of the intellectual war.

The new French state reached into all cultural arenas, simultaneously urging the continuation of the entertainment to satisfy a public clamoring for diversion in a bleak

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<sup>1</sup> Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix A contains the entirety of the 22 June 1940 Armistice between France and Germany.

<sup>3</sup> The Armistice with France also allowed German forces to concentrate on Great Britain. Indeed, the Battle of Britain began on 10 July 1940, and the Blitz followed that autumn through the following year.

<sup>4</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France*, 52–56.

<sup>5</sup> Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 149.



time while redesigning these expressions in Vichy's new image. Such efforts extended to both the performing arts and the dissemination thereof via radio transmissions. As Phillip Nord has detailed, theater took on a distinctly anti-Semitic tone, while both German and Vichy authorities steered towards a more "corporatist" approach, though simultaneously pushing for decentralization.<sup>6</sup> Certainly the oversight of the municipal music education institutions highlights this duality. The oversight coming from the state government, and run by a group of two-three inspectors to ensure uniformity across pedagogical methods and standards certainly aligns with a corporatist tone. At the same time, encouragement from this central oversight for regional institutions—such as that in Avignon—to perform works representative of the region simultaneously speak to a regionalism and decentralization touted in the National Revolution.

Jane Fulcher acknowledges the competing and sometimes contradictory nature of Vichy's goals in music, which combined national pride with collaboration. Certainly, the "soil-based, racially exclusive nationalism" meant an exclusion of Jewish or other disparaged composers, performers, and teachers. Likewise, regional composers—with a purportedly strong tie to the French soil untainted by cosmopolitanism—were elevated.<sup>7</sup> These efforts existed alongside attempts to align French and German musical cultures through critical framing and international celebrations, including those for Mozart and Beethoven. It appears as though Vichy meant to both signify its sovereignty while kowtowing to its German occupiers, a near-impossible endeavor that reveals the duplicitous nature of the regime.

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<sup>6</sup> Philip Nord, *France's New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 254.

<sup>7</sup> Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 51.

Of the institutions that fell under their supervision, the French conservatoire system appears unique. Founded in the cradle of the French Revolution to train new generations of composers and performers for state-sponsored performing arts ensembles, the Conservatoire de Paris<sup>8</sup> dictated musical taste through choosing winners of the annual and highly publicized *concours*.<sup>9</sup> The Conservatoire de Paris has always reigned most prominent, but the system grew to include *succursales du conservatoire national* and *écoles nationales de musique* as legitimized subsidiaries in provincial cities across France. Most of these provincial institutions were established in the early to mid-nineteenth century, though some, including the Conservatoire d'Orléans, were initially established under the Ancien Regime and later rebranded under the First Empire. These schools created a fascinating intersection between state and local politics. As cultural historian Françoise Taliano-Des Garets notes, the struggle for control over musical life in the provinces often pitted municipal and state governments against one another.<sup>10</sup> Even during peace times, the nexus of state and local control created a fraught junction as parties jockeyed for dominance.

Several scholars, including Agnès Callu, Anne Bongrain, Yves Gérard, Michèle Alten, Jean Gribenski, and Jane Fulcher have documented the wartime history of the

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<sup>8</sup> Currently known as the Conservatoire national supérieur de musique et danse de Paris (CNSMDP) the school split into two entities after 1946: one for music and dance and the other for acting, theatre, and drama, known as the Conservatoire national supérieur d'art dramatique (CNSAD).

<sup>9</sup> Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard, editors, *Le conservatoire de Paris: Des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la musique (1795–1995)* (Paris: Éditions Buchet/Chastel, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Françoise Taliano-Des Garets, “La musique, enjeu politique dans Bordeaux occupé,” in *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, edited by Myriam Chimènes: 371–384.

Conservatoire de Paris.<sup>11</sup> Historians likewise provide windows into the wartime experiences of towns and villages of the French provinces. Yet, a lacuna in scholarship remains at the juncture of these bodies of scholarship: no current work addresses accounts of the provincial conservatoires beyond their nineteenth century formation. While the prominent Conservatoire de Paris increasingly bowed to the pressures of the Nazis and subsequently Vichy,<sup>12</sup> geographical distance, compounded by the wartime constraints on travel and communication, provided isolation to provincial conservatoires. This dissertation examines the effects of this troubling period on French artistic life by investigating the wartime histories of six provincial conservatoires, across both the occupied and unoccupied zones from the 22 June 1940 Armistice through the liberation in August of 1944.

Given the difficulty of travel, even for diplomats, and the nature of the sealed border between the occupied and initially unoccupied zone, some provincial cities enjoyed a degree of isolation from the edicts of the Germans and initiatives of Vichy not afforded to Paris. Moreover, citizens of provincial cities entrenched in longstanding socio-political environments did not immediately adopt new customs upon the proclamation of the Armistice, and instead experienced the occupying Germans and Vichy regime from within the set of cultural norms of their geographical and socio-

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<sup>11</sup> Agnès Callu, “Le Conservatoire de Paris: les réformes structurelles (1937–1947),” in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, pp.127–41. See also Michèle Alten, “Le Conservatoire de musique et d’art dramatique: une institution culturelle publique dans la guerre (1940–1942).” See also Jean Gribenski, “L’Exclusion des juifs du Conservatoire (1940–1942),” in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, pp. 143–156.

<sup>12</sup> Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation*, 50.

political positions. The fiercely Republican Lyon, for example, did not easily bend to the new government, and instead developed into a city of resistance.

With this understanding, this examination will compare the wartime conundrums, pressures, tactics, compliance, and—in some cases—resistance at conservatoires in the occupied and unoccupied zones based on student enrollment, faculty and administration, classes conducted, and where possible, works performed. The specific conservatoires to be examined are divided equally between the occupied and unoccupied zones. The conservatoires in the occupied zone will include Bayonne,<sup>13</sup> Lille,<sup>14</sup> and Orléans.<sup>15</sup> Conservatoires in the unoccupied zone included in this study are those in Avignon,<sup>16</sup> Toulouse,<sup>17</sup> and Lyon.<sup>18</sup> This dissertation extends outward geographically, from publications on the Conservatoire de Paris and complement the literature on the wartime histories of the provinces through the inclusion of their local conservatoires.

The investigation of six individual provincial conservatoires within the contexts of their geopolitical locations and municipal leadership alludes strongly to French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the *champ*, or field, as a useful conceptual framework. Bourdieu's field comprises a non-homogenous setting in which individuals operate, most often in subordination to a larger field of class and political power. The field likewise represents the range of possibilities: what may this

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<sup>13</sup> L'école à rayonnement régional de Bayonne, now known as le conservatoire Maurice-Ravel, was created by the state in 1876.

<sup>14</sup> Le Conservatoire à rayonnement régional de Lille was created by the state in 1803.

<sup>15</sup> Le Conservatoire à rayonnement départemental d'Orléans was created in 1670, albeit with interruptions; in 1920 it merged with a municipal music school.

<sup>16</sup> L'école à rayonnement régional d'Avignon, now carrying the additional title of Olivier-Messiaen, was created by the state in 1916.

<sup>17</sup> Le Conservatoire à rayonnement régional de Toulouse was created by the state in 1820.

<sup>18</sup> Le Conservatoire à rayonnement régional de Lyon was created by the state in 1872.

field produce, culturally speaking, and how it will be received, given its place of origin.<sup>19</sup> As Bourdieu describes, the study of the field implies “constructing the space of the positions and the space of the position-takings in which they are expressed.”<sup>20</sup> In short, it demands attention to the realm of possibilities and the context of the individual agents of the field, their situation within the professional field in which they act, their shifting relation—and that of the field—with political powers, and shifting degrees of autonomy of individuals and the field.

In this study, a singular provincial conservatoire may represent an adaptation of Bourdieu’s *champ*, the nexus of local culture, culture of the conservatoire system, and the modes of operation determined by administration, alongside customs and habits made permanent through institutional reproduction.<sup>21</sup> One may consider the historical socio-spatial arena of the individual provincial conservatoire, wherein individuals work towards the outcome of professional music careers, and its varying degrees of autonomy from authority at any point in time. By examining wartime histories of provincial institutions, this study serves as witness to the relations between the provincial conservatoire, its municipal government, regional préfets, conservatoire inspectors, the Vichy regime, and the German occupiers. It thus simultaneously engages in a study of the *champ* and its limits under duress.

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<sup>19</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, edited and introduced by Randall Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 30–32.

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 30.

<sup>21</sup> John L. Campbell, “Institutional Reproduction and Change,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Institutional Analysis*, edited by Glenn Morgan, John L. Campbell, Colin Crouch, Ove Kaj Pedersen, and Richard Whitley (Published online May 2010).

This research continues the work of examining the effects of the Nazi occupation and Vichy government on French artistic life by investigating the wartime histories of six provincial conservatoires, across both the occupied and unoccupied zones from the Armistice through the liberation in August of 1944. It employs archival documentation to answer complex questions: how did the institutions interact with the occupying forces and Vichy regime, with their counterpart in Paris, and with one another? How did these institutions act differently in the occupied zone compared to the initially unoccupied zone? How did these conditions shift after 1942? Furthermore, this dissertation addresses institutional limitations: what can an institution reject, adopt, and adapt to while remaining intact, and under what strictures can it survive?

### **French Musical Life (1940–44) in Scholarly Literature**

This inquiry builds upon research on musical life of composers and institutions in France during the Second World War, where it joins with and likewise extends research on provincial France during the period. Local histories provide considerable insight into the effects of the war on daily life, especially in larger cities, though they are often created by local amateur historians, and lack insight that more erudite consideration could offer.<sup>22</sup> By extending the work of musicologists and historians outward from Paris with a comparative study of the provincial conservatoires, this dissertation takes a significant step in continuing to build scholarship around the musical life in the provinces during this period.

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<sup>22</sup> Pierre Bécamps, *Bordeaux sous l'occupation* (Rennes: Ouest France, 1983).  
Dominique Lormier, *Bordeaux pendant l'Occupation* (Bordeaux: Sudouest, 1992).  
Gérard Chauvy, *Lyon, 40–44* (Paris: Plon, 1985).

All research regarding musical life in this period are indebted to the work done by historians Robert O. Paxton and Stanley Hoffman, who initially broke through the “Vichy-as-shield” argument to explain the aim and operation of the Vichy regime through German archival evidence.<sup>23</sup> Paxton’s subsequent work with Michael R. Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews* provides further information about Vichy’s policies directed at the Jews in France, and how the regime worked alongside its occupiers in Hitler’s Final Solution.<sup>24</sup> More recently, Phillip Nord’s *France’s New Deal*<sup>25</sup> illustrates long power struggles between the right and left beginning a decade prior to Vichy, and Julian Jackson’s *The Dark Years, 1940–1944*,<sup>26</sup> focuses on the occupying forces, and includes personal anecdotes that deepen the understanding of everyday life under the occupation and Vichy.

The past two decades have marked a surge in scholarship on music and musicians in France during the occupation and Vichy regime. Myriam Chimènes’s 2001 edited volume, *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, includes two articles on the Conservatoire de Paris and an entire section devoted to cities outside Paris, examining musical topics in Rennes, Bordeaux, Marseille, and Vichy. This collection also includes Guy Krivopissko and Daniel Virieux’s excellent contribution on French musicians in the Resistance.<sup>27</sup>

Chimènes’s subsequent 2013 edited volume with Yannick Simon, *La musique à Paris*

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<sup>23</sup> Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1972). Stanley Hoffman, “Collaborationism in France during World War II,” *The Journal of Modern History*, 40:3 (September 1968): 375–395.

<sup>24</sup> Robert O. Paxton and Michael R. Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981).

<sup>25</sup> Phillip Nord, *France’s New Deal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

<sup>26</sup> Julian Jackson, *France, The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (Oxford: St. Martin’s Press, 1989).

<sup>27</sup> Myriam Chimènes, editor, *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001).

*sous l'Occupation*, illustrates the means by which Vichy sought to control musical consumption.<sup>28</sup> Simon's monograph, *Composer sous Vichy*, contains useful and pertinent lists of membership in state-sponsored programs, including those on the supervisory *l'enseignement du Conservatoire*. Individuals appointed to these positions—distinct from the state-appointed inspectors—were respected musicians, like Jacques Thibaud, and often tasked with serving as judges for *concours* both in Paris and the provinces.<sup>29</sup> Leslie Sprout's 2000 *Music for a "New Era": Composers and National Identity in France, 1936–1946*, confines itself to examining the choice, works, and reception of Poulenc, Honegger, Jolivet, Messiaen, Duruflé, and Stravinsky rather than addressing institutions.<sup>30</sup>

Jane Fulcher's *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940* focuses on the interaction of French politics and music from the onset of the First World War and through the 1930s. The tracking of musico-political relations through the political evolutions of the 1930s provides excellent insight into the alignment of particular styles and groups of composers to—or deliberately away from, in the case of *la Spirale* and later *le Jeune France*—political movements in the years leading up to war, occupation, and Vichy.<sup>31</sup> Fulcher's most recent publication, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German*

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<sup>28</sup> Sara Iglesias, “Les concerts franco-allemands du groupe Collaboration” and Yannick Simon, “Hector Berlioz, compositeur français ; ‘aux trois quarts Allemand,’” both in *La musique à Paris sous l'Occupation* edited by Chimènes, Myriam and Yannick Simon (Paris: Fayard, 2013).

<sup>29</sup> Yannick Simon, *Composer sous Vichy* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2009), 159–166.

<sup>30</sup> Leslie Sprout, “Music for a ‘New Era’: Composers and National Identity in France, 1936–1946,” Dissertation: University of California, Berkeley, 2000.

<sup>31</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).



*Occupation*,<sup>32</sup> examines responses by both musical institutions and individuals to Vichy's splintered hold on power as it gradually shifted towards greater collaboration, and the German occupiers encroached or violated upon the policies of the Armistice. Another critical issue addressed by Fulcher is the competing visions Vichy sought to project: its distinctive nationalist vision of France and its role as collaborator to Germany, and how each was projected through musical institutions and affected individuals. She also addresses the competing model of French identity, based on the Enlightenment and introduced by the Resistance. In addition to examining works created during the Vichy years, Fulcher scrutinizes the inscription of existing works to convey a particular message, as seen in her chapter on the appropriation of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* first by Vichy and later by the Resistance. Throughout the monograph, Fulcher proves especially adept in explaining the significance and outcomes of relationships between powerful individuals both in the Vichy regime and occupying forces, and the cultural institutions in Paris.

Research regarding the history of the Conservatoire de Paris during the occupation and Vichy government—and their complex interaction with the German authorities—provides the basis for the comparative study of the provincial conservatoires. Two prominent authors, Michèle Alten<sup>33</sup> and Jean Gribenski,<sup>34</sup> outline the series of decrees handed down by the Vichy government that resulted in the exclusion

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<sup>32</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>33</sup> Michèle Alten, "Le Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique: une institution culturelle publique dans la guerre (1940–1942)" (Online: 13 February 2013) [http://www.plm.paris-sorbonne.fr/IMG/pdf/conservatoire\\_sous\\_vichy.\\_m.alten.pdf](http://www.plm.paris-sorbonne.fr/IMG/pdf/conservatoire_sous_vichy._m.alten.pdf)

<sup>34</sup> Jean Gribenski, "L'exclusion des Juifs du Conservatoire," in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, edited by Myriam Chimènes, 143–56 (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001).

and eventual expulsion of Jewish students and professors from the conservatoire, though their work has resulted in argumentative disagreement. Their main point of contention lies over the actions of Jacques Chailley, Secrétaire général of the Conservatoire (1940–42) collecting the names of Jewish students prior to the order for their expulsion: Gribenski views the move as unwarranted and impulsive, while Alten, an alumnus of Chailley’s institute at the Sorbonne (IV), challenges this view with the argument that they were ordered to collect the information by the Germans in the occupied region, citing Robert Trébor, president of the Association des Directeurs du Théâtre, as a catalyzing figure.<sup>35</sup> Historians Esteban Buch and Karine Le Bailin have summarized their argument in detail.<sup>36</sup>

Jane Fulcher includes the Chailley controversy in the first chapter of *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation*, and documents Claude Delvincourt’s struggle to be confirmed as successor to Henri Rabaud. Fulcher also tacks Delvincourt’s efforts to efforts to retain half-Jewish students. Though initially successful, all were expelled after Bonnard assumed the Ministry of National Education. Delvincourt additionally attempted to regain instruments seized by the Germans, but was likewise unsuccessful.<sup>37</sup> Her thorough analysis of the Conservatoire de Paris in relation to the occupying forces and

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<sup>35</sup> Robert Trébor is the palindromic stage name of actor, producer, and director Robert Fleurieu (1879–1942). “Robert Trébor (1879–1942): pseudonym individuel,” BNF data, Accessed 12 February 2020. [https://data.bnf.fr/en/10718866/robert\\_trebor/](https://data.bnf.fr/en/10718866/robert_trebor/)

<sup>36</sup> Esteban Buch and Karine Le Bailin, “Les resonances contemporaines de Vichy dans le milieu musical,” in *La Musique à Paris sous l’Occupation*, edited by Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon, 227–240 (Paris: Fayard, 2013).

<sup>37</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 50.

Vichy regime has provided the necessary research for expanding inquiry to the wartime histories of the provincial conservatoires.

Other sources on the Conservatoire de Paris include Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard's edited volume, *Le conservatoire de Paris: Des Menus-Plaisirs à Cité de la musique (1795–1995)*,<sup>38</sup> which provides excellent contextualizing material, if not specific information on the years of occupation and Vichy. Likewise, Claude Delvincourt's post-war report on his reorganization of the conservatoire system fails to directly address wartime issues, but informs the degree of disorganization during the occupation and Vichy by way of issuing a vision for reorganization.<sup>39</sup> Finally, D. Kern Holoman, major biography of conductor Charles Munch, highlights the activities of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, which Munch conducted during the occupation and Vichy regime. While not a part of the conservatoire curriculum proper, this orchestra, which later became the Orchestre de Paris, was comprised of conservatoire professors and top students, and thus provides information on some of their activities during these years.<sup>40</sup>

In extending the work done on musical life in France under the German occupation and Vichy regime, this study necessarily intersects and likewise extends existing scholarly publications on the history of this period in provincial cities. Robert Gildea's 2013 *Marianne in Chains: Everyday life in the French Heartland Under the*

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<sup>38</sup> Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard, editors, *Le conservatoire de Paris: Des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la musique (1795–1995)* (Paris: Éditions Buchet/Chastel, 1996).

<sup>39</sup> Claude Delvincourt, “Rapport sur une reorganization administrative de la musique et de l'enseignement musical en France. Paris: Conservatoire national de musique et d'art dramatique,” 1944. See also Agnès Callu, “Le Conservatoire de Paris: Les Réformes Structurelles (1939–1947) in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed Myriam Chimènes (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001): 127–41.

<sup>40</sup> D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). See also D. Kern Holoman, *Charles Munch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

*German Occupation*, deftly illustrates the thin line between collaboration and treason when dealing with the German occupiers as well as the actions of Resistance efforts in the Loire Valley.<sup>41</sup> Laurent Jalabert and Stéphane La Bras's edited volume, *Vichy et la collaboration dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, observes political, religious, and economic issues during the period in the region near the Spanish border; this work appears particularly relevant to contextualizing the situation at the Conservatoire de Bayonne as well as the life of conservatoire inspector Joseph-Ermend Bonnal, who called the region home.<sup>42</sup> Likewise, local histories cover the effects of the war on daily life, especially in larger cities.<sup>43</sup>

Though no monographs directly address the provincial conservatoires in France during the war, several touch on the state of music and culture in the provinces. Françoise Lesure's *Dictionnaire musical des villes de province* provides overviews of musical life for nearly 120 French cities, with the explicit exclusion of Paris. However, with no specific bounded time period and dates ranging from the fourteenth through the twentieth centuries, it includes few details regarding the relationship of government to musical institutions. Lesure includes a brief narrative on the formation of regional conservatoires in accordance with a 1796 report to create a hierarchy of institutions in line with the size

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<sup>41</sup> Robert Gildea, *Marianne in Chains: Everyday life in the French Heartland Under the German Occupation* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003).

<sup>42</sup> Laurent Jalabert and Stéphane Le Bras, editors, *Vichy et la collaboration dans les Basses-Pyrénées* (Lyon: Éditions Cairn, 2015).

<sup>43</sup> See Pierre Bécamps, *Bordeaux sous l'occupation* (Rennes: Ouest France, 1983). See also Dominique Lormier, *Bordeaux pendant l'Occupation* (Bordeaux: Sudouest, 1992). See also Gérard Chauvy, *Lyon, 40–44* (Paris: Plon, 1985).

of various cities that would both maintain the unity of pedagogy across France while upholding the primacy of the Conservatoire de Paris.<sup>44</sup>

Françoise Taliano-Des Garets's edited volume, *Villes et culture sous l'Occupation: Expériences française et perspectives compares* comes the closest to a comparative study of culture in the French provinces during the years of occupation and Vichy, though the broad cultural perspectives and unequal methods of gauging affects create an uneven assessment.<sup>45</sup> Bruno Benoît's chapter, "Lyon avant et après novembre 1942, approche culturelle d'une grande ville de province," engages in a helpful comparative study of cultural life propagated by the city before and after the occupation. Benoît briefly discusses theater, musical performances, and cinema offerings and attendance, concluding that the cultural life in Lyon grew during the four years, and often escaped the censure of Vichy via prefectorial decisions.<sup>46</sup>

Taliano-Des Garets also contributed a chapter to Chimènes's *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, "La musique, enjeu politique dans Bordeaux occupé."<sup>47</sup> This chapter illustrates the fight for control between municipal and state government waged through the musical field, a struggle mirrored in the provincial conservatoires. Likewise, though not dealing with towns examined in this dissertation, Marie-Claire Mussat's chapter on the musical life in Rennes and Jean-Marie Jacono's research on Marseille during this period provide

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<sup>44</sup> François Lesure, *Dictionnaire musical des villes de province* (Paris: Klincksieck: 1999): 34.

<sup>45</sup> Françoise Taliano-Des Garets, editor, *Villes et culture sous l'Occupation: Expériences française et perspectives compares* (Paris: A. Colin, 2012).

<sup>46</sup> Bruno Benoît, "Lyon avant et après novembre 1942, approche culturelle d'une grande ville de province," in *Villes et culture sous l'Occupation: Expériences française et perspectives compares*, edited by Françoise Taliano-Des Garets (Paris: A. Colin, 2012).

<sup>47</sup> Françoise Taliano-Des Garets, "La musique, enjeu politique dans Bordeaux occupé."

illustrations of the wide degree of variance in responses to Vichy and the occupiers between French cities.<sup>48</sup>

These bodies of scholarly literature illustrate the importance of studying the effects of the Vichy Regime and German Occupation of France on culture, and the interest on scholars moving to the provinces. It also highlights the gap in scholarly attention around the provincial conservatoires. By extending the work of these scholars with a comparative study of the provincial conservatoires during the German occupation and Vichy regime, this dissertation takes a significant step in continuing to build scholarship around the musical life in the provinces during this period.

### **Scope and Structure of Comparative Study**

The research is presented in a comparative study of six of the French provincial conservatoires across both the occupied and initially unoccupied zones. The first chapter addresses both the system of oversight by the *Ministre de l'Éducation* and *Ministre des Beaux-Arts* as well as the individuals who held these posts during the Vichy regime and Occupation. It considers actions of authorities and official decrees made during the war years that the provincial conservatoires would need to respond to, especially as impacted by the sometimes-strained relationships between state and municipal governments. It furthermore examines the intricate and complicated relationship between the central *Conservatoire National de Paris* and the provincial conservatoires and écoles, a power

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<sup>48</sup> See Marie-Claire Mussat, “Rennes, capitale musicale de la France pendant la “drôle de guerre” (pp. 355–370) and Jean-Marie Jacono, “Marseille en liberté surveillée? Les ambiguïtés de la vie musicale” (pp. 385–398), both in *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, edited by Myriam Chimènes.

struggle that waxed and waned over nearly a century, often depending on the individuals at the helm.

The first chapter also includes a study of the conservatoire inspectors, *inspecteurs de l'enseignement musical*, an important aspect of the relationships between the state and the provincial conservatoires. These two state-appointed inspectors, usually acclaimed musicians in their own right, were responsible for overseeing the education in the provinces to ensure quality standards, often during the end-of-term *concours*. One inspector, Ermend Bonnal, respected organist who assumed Tournemire's place as organist at St. Clotilde in Paris, and served as the director of the Conservatoire in Bayonne, near his home in Biarritz. Two of his surviving daughters kindly allowed unrestricted access to his documents and provided personal anecdotes about his life. Their comments on his struggles to perform his duty, traveling between the occupied and unoccupied zones by train and bicycle, are telling of the difficulties of administrators in France under the Occupation and Vichy regime.<sup>49</sup> Finally, the first chapter concludes with the wartime history of the Conservatoire de Paris. Though investigated by other scholars, the situation in Paris serves as a foil to its provincial counterparts.

Subsequent chapters form the comparative study of six provincial conservatoires from the signing of the Armistice with Germany on 22 June 1940 through the German surrender on 25 August 1944 to best exhibit the range of reactions to the occupying

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<sup>49</sup> Déborah Bonin and Laurie Marcoz, *Ermend Bonnal: Lettres et Écrits* (France: Editions Delatour, 2008). See also Michel D'Arcangues, *Joseph-Ermend Bonnal (1880–1944): Magnifique et Méconnu* (Anglet: Atlantica, 2003). Also see L'Association Ermend Bonnal. "Ermend Bonnal: Organiste et Compositeur, 1880–1944," accessed 15 November 2016. <http://bonnal.org>. See also Musica et Memoria, "Ermend Bonnal (1880–1944): Un Compositeur Méconnu," accessed 15 November 2016. <http://www.musimem.com/bonnal.html>.

forces. Items of comparison include municipal governments, their officials, and degrees of intervention, directors and faculty at each conservatoire, courses of study, end-of-term *concours*, student-body profile, students to were forced to leave due to Jewish heritage or for the forced labor service in Germany. Chapters highlight actions of collaboration and compliance or resistance, as well as changes that correspond with adjustments in administrative leaders. While efforts were made to access all municipal and national archives, the nature of archival study, compounded by examining a challenging wartime period resulted in some incomplete comparisons, as when some archives held complete records exact students attending each class, while others merely kept track of classes offered.

The four main areas subject to these comparisons are three prominent conservatoires in the occupied zone—Bayonne, Toulouse, and Orléans—with three in the initially unoccupied zone— Avignon, Toulouse, Lyon—before and after the total Occupation of France in November 1942, as illustrated in figure 1.

**Figure 1: Four Areas for Comparative Study<sup>50</sup>**

June 1940	November 1942	August 1944
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Occupied</b> Bayonne Lille Orléans</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Occupied</b> Bayonne Lille Orléans</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Unoccupied</b> Avignon Toulouse Lyon</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Occupied</b> Avignon Toulouse Lyon</p>	

<sup>50</sup> Created by the author.



These institutions were chosen to provide geographical range as well as inclusion of schools of different sizes. Pragmatic research considerations, including correspondence with archivists and availability of materials also affected the institutions examined.

These institutions also vary in the courses offered. While Paris offered both music and acting classes, smaller schools could not always support such academic diversity. Some larger institutions, such as Lyon, included stage productions, and some schools could offer declamation classes, while the smaller institutions relegated their course offerings to music only. Furthermore, this study captures a range of institutional reaction. Certainly, acts of outright Resistance in the cases of Lille and Lyon can be equally attributed to individual belief and the political and ideological fields at play in any institution but also illustrate the high degree of variance between locations of a seemingly monolithic education system. Throughout this study, the theme of cohesion to an educational system and tension on the part of provincial institutions to act of their own accord forms a recurring theme.

The division of study along the midway-point of 1942 coincides with historical events that altered public perception of the Occupation and Vichy regime. An increase in Communist resistance acts in 1941 resulted in intensified pressures from German forces on the Vichy regime. The Holocaust extended its reach as Vichy's anti-Semitic National Revolution enabled the enactment of Hitler's Final Solution to the Jews in France.<sup>51</sup> The systematic deportation of non-French Jews from both zones began in early summer of 1942. In July, mass arrests of Jews, detained in the *Vélodrome d'Hiver*—often referred to

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<sup>51</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order*, 142–43.

as simply the *Vel d'Hiv*, a Parisian indoor cycling and recreational center—created a highly visible and horrifying case that galvanized anti-Vichy sentiments and drew the protestation of prominent priests of the French Catholic Church.<sup>52</sup> The *Vel' d'Hiv* roundup held 13,152 Jews, in crowded conditions with no water, food, and few sanitary facilities. Trains transported them first to Drancy and onward to Auschwitz.<sup>53</sup> It furthermore revealed to the French public the degree of Vichy's anti-Semitic proclivities and its role of accomplice to the Holocaust.

**Figure 2: Zones of France pre-November 11, 1942<sup>54</sup>**



The most obvious transformation in governance during the years of Occupation and Vichy regime is the November 1942 complete Occupation of France by German troops, a move taken in response to Allied landing in North Africa. The shift to total Occupation

<sup>52</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 14.

<sup>53</sup> Robert Paxton and Michael R. Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews*, 250–55.

<sup>54</sup> Rostitslav Botev, *Vichy France Map*, Created 10 June 2005, Accessed 10 August 2016.

coincided with the gradual shift in support of the French public from Pétain to de Gaulle.<sup>55</sup> Figure 2 illustrates a map of the French zones.

In January of 1943, the Vichy regime created the paramilitary *Milice française* with the aid of the German occupiers under Prime Minister Pierre Laval—returned to power by the Germans—to round up Jews and resisters for deportation; the following month brought the draft of young French men and women into the *Service du travail obligatoire*, who were deported to Germany as factory workers.<sup>56</sup>

These highly visible changes surrounding the total Occupation of France in November of 1942 make it an ideal chronological marker for comparison in this study. The comparative studies between three prominent conservatoires in both the occupied and unoccupied zones pre- and post-November 1942 total Occupation will illustrate the wartime histories of each of the organizations as it responded to the new—and shifting—governing forces.

To carry out this comparative study, the second chapter examines the provincial conservatoires in the Occupied Zone (1940–1942), in the conservatoires of Bayonne, Lille, and Orléans. The study begins with the occupied zone as it also included the Conservatoire de Paris, and thus may most closely resemble it. Drawing on both existing literature and regional and national archives, the political climate of each city during the Vichy regime will be examined. The atmosphere of the city extends to that of the provincial conservatoire in each location, to provide context for the thorough analysis of the responses in the conservatoire to the new strictures of the Occupation.

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<sup>55</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 15.

<sup>56</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order*, 293–95.

Continuing the comparative study, the third chapter moves geographically to cover the same time period in the unoccupied zone from the Armistice until its absorption in the total Occupation of France, considering the conservatoires in the cities of Toulouse, Lyon, and Avignon. As in the previous chapter, national and municipal archives account for the wartime histories of these conservatoires, the contexts of their surroundings and municipal governments, and responses to state decrees. All significant differences between the conservatoires in the unoccupied zone versus those in the occupied zone are highlighted. Both zones fell under the administrative government of Pétain's regime. The absence of occupying German forces in the unoccupied zone allowed for some breathing room for their continued operation. Indeed, in the case of the Conservatoire de Paris, it was the Germans that Conservatoire de Paris Director Henri Rabaud encountered at the Propaganda Abteilung and the German Embassy who ultimately handed down the decision to ban all Jewish and half-Jewish students.<sup>57</sup>

The fourth chapter continues forward chronologically to the period after the move to total Occupation through the German surrender, returning to the conservatoires of Bayonne, Lille, and Orléans. Chapter five rounds out the comparative study by examining the changes to conservatoires in the newly occupied zone through the 1944 surrender, studying changes to the conservatoires in Toulouse, Avignon, and Lyon. The conclusion argues that the high degree of disparity between the six conservatoires included in the study points towards the loyalty to local socio-political environments—both the cities in which they are located and the environment of the conservatoires

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<sup>57</sup> Michel Alten, "Le Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique," 4–7.

themselves—take precedence over the outside powers of the German occupiers or Vichy regime.

To be sure, direct comparisons prove difficult as archival study often reveals large variations in record keeping between institutions. Still, the documentation held by the Archives Nationales de France in Paris and at the municipal archives in each of the provincial locations included proved sufficient to draw conclusions regarding the wartime histories of these important musical and educational institutions. Through this investigation, this dissertation addresses heretofore-neglected areas of scholarship on musical life during the Vichy era. It reveals the degree to which the field and institutional inertia can influence the internal politics of an institution.

**CHAPTER I**  
**Musical Institutions and Authority in Wartime France:**  
**The Conservatoire System and the Conservatoire de Paris**

The Vichy Regime and German Occupation spanned a mere four years. Yet, it represents a complex tangle of government oversight, often causing incongruities for institutions. This fact rings particularly true for cultural establishments, which needed to walk a fine line between defending and maintaining purpose while avoiding unwanted attention or criticism. The very nature of the Armistice with Germany left rules for governance unclear and decisions fraught. The initial confusion of the newly installed Vichy regime under Philippe Pétain left many institutions in France without clear directives, and often in the crosshairs of so-called national reformation movements. The conservatoire system was no exception. Personnel changes—at both the Conservatoire and Vichy ministries—and their accompanying ideologies and political views often shifted the degree to which orders and proclamations were interpreted and enforced, adding to bureaucratic density and confusion.

French forces, which placed their faith in the strength of the Maginot Line, proved no match for the German war machine.<sup>1</sup> After a mere six weeks of fighting, Paul Reynaud resigned, leaving Philippe Pétain, who attained notoriety and the rank of Marshal of France near the close of the First World War, as Chief of State on 16 June

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<sup>1</sup> Julian Jackson, *The Fall of France: The Nazi Invasion of 1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 27–31.

1940. He announced the surrender to the country over the radio the following day.<sup>2</sup> On 22 June, France and Germany signed the Armistice, which went into effect three days later. The Armistice is stunningly terse.<sup>3</sup> It created the two-thirds agreement, splitting France into the northern “occupied” zone, containing Paris, and a southern zone free from German occupiers.<sup>4</sup> As the document’s language implies, it was intended to function as a provisional agreement until Germany brought Churchill to heel, a feat never accomplished. The clearest language to this point appears in Article III of the document, stating:

In the occupied parts of France the German Reich exercises all rights of an occupying power. The French Government obligates itself to support with every means the regulations resulting from the exercise of these rights and to carry them out with the aid of French administration.

All French authorities and officials of the occupied territory, therefore, are to be promptly informed by the French Government to comply with the regulations of the German military commanders and to cooperate with them in a correct manner.

It is the intention of the German Government to limit the occupation of the west coast after ending hostilities with England to the extent absolutely necessary.

The French Government is permitted to select the seat of its government in unoccupied territory, or, if it wishes, to move to Paris. In this case, the German Government guarantees the French Government and its central authorities every necessary alleviation so that they will be in a position to conduct the administration of unoccupied territory from Paris.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944*, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix A contains the entirety of the 22 June 1940 Armistice between France and Germany.

<sup>4</sup> The Armistice with France also allowed German forces to concentrate on Great Britain. Indeed, the Battle of Britain began on 10 July 1940, and the Blitz followed that autumn through the following year.

<sup>5</sup> Article III, Armistice Agreement Between the German High Command of the Armed Forces and French Plenipotentiaries, Compiègne, 22 June, 1940, United States, Department of State, Publication No. 6312, Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918–1945 Series D, IX 671-676. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1956.

The ambiguity of the agreement allowed continual impingements by the Germans.<sup>6</sup> French POWs, expecting to be returned after the agreement, were instead sent to Germany and interned for the better part of five years, with a few notable exceptions, including Olivier Messiaen.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, despite the Armistice's statement to the contrary, the Germans never permitted the French government to return to Paris. The government installed by Pétain instead settled in Vichy, which soon became synonymous with the regime, the southern spa town with agreeable local politics and sufficient hotel space.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, while the Armistice allowed the so-called Vichy regime complete governance of the unoccupied zone and administrative control of the occupied zone, excepting for the rights of the occupiers, the Demarcation Line quickly became a sealed border.

The travels of government officials over the border were impeded at every turn, and a mere three hundred letters a day could cross the line, adding to the atmosphere of confusion and complications of governing.<sup>9</sup> The division of the country and the harsh restrictions surrounding the Demarcation line greatly impeded the oversight of the conservatoire system. Likewise, the lack of clear boundaries and the stretching of the agreement well past its conceived intent led to unchecked German interference that the conservatoire system was powerless to halt.

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<sup>6</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944*, 52–56.

<sup>7</sup> Yves Durand, *Le Loiret dans la guerre, 1939–1945: La vie quotidienne sous l'occupation* (Roanne, Editions Horvath, 1983), 33.

<sup>8</sup> Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 149.

<sup>9</sup> Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France*, 53–54.



Throughout this period, conservatoires remained functional, or as close to as they could muster, as did performing institutions, like the Opéra. Oversight by the French government, too, did not spring up with Vichy, but rather represents a long-established system inaugurated along with the institutions themselves. Indeed, as French historian Henry Rousso notes, one of the paradoxes of the Occupation and Vichy era is the continuity experience by many French institutions, though he makes clear that these institutions endured very different pre-, during, and post-war contexts for their continued operation.<sup>10</sup> The methods of oversight remained the same through the years of Vichy and the German Occupation. What these agencies found worthy of monitoring expanded to include newly instated national values and exclusionary measures.

### **France's Conservatory System**

The Conservatoire de Paris, formed in the wake of the French Revolution, served as an artistic training ground to serve the new Republican State. In 1795 Gonoud's École Royale de Chant, which trained singers for the state-sponsored Opéra, and the Institut National de Musique, the training institution for musicians of the National Guard, who featured prominently in grand outdoor pro-Revolution propaganda festivals, were joined.<sup>11</sup> The new combined school would provide for the new Republic consistently trained musicians to populate their artistic institutions.

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<sup>10</sup> Henry Rousso, "Politique, idéologie et culture," in *Vie culturelle sous Vichy*, Jean-Pierre Rioux, ed. (Bosnie, Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1990): 22–38.

<sup>11</sup> Pierre, Constant, ed, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents Historiques et Administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), 124. See also Anne Bongrain, and Yves Gérard, eds., *Le conservatoire de Paris: Des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la musique (1795–1995)* (Paris: Éditions Buchet/Chastel, 1996).

In a system meant to espouse the ideals of the Revolution, the Conservatoire publically tested its students, selecting winners based on merit. Composers and performers alike participated in public final examinations, or *concours*, which carried with them a great deal of cultural currency and the promise of employment with a state-sponsored institution.<sup>12</sup> As demonstrated, this system became a point of contention under Vichy's anti-Semitic laws that led to the dismissal of many Jewish students.<sup>13</sup> For composers, the high prize of the Prix de Rome served as an entrée into musical society, often securing future employment. Likewise, harmony and history prizes, and the instrumental *solo de concours*—predecessor of the modern-day conservatory practice of the jury—also provided students the ability to secure an artistic future.<sup>14</sup>

Of course, personal politics often muddied the waters of the Conservatoire, and pupils of certain professors carried away titles due to their pedagogical lineage rather than skill alone. The prize committees also tended towards compositions more traditional in nature, at times stirring up controversy. For example, in 1905 the committee eliminated composer Maurice Ravel in the first round, even as his publications of *Pavane pour une infant défunte* (1899), *Jeux d'aue* (1901) and *Shéhérazade* song cycle (1903) drew acclaim. Instead, only students of Charles Lenepveu—a senior professor and member of the committee—were advanced to the final round. The scandal ended with the early

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<sup>12</sup> Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation*, 320.

<sup>13</sup> Many of the test pieces for the *concours* were newly composed works by the faculty. The current school of American woodwinds—descended through Marcel Tabuteau, a French oboist who trained at the Conservatoire de Paris and emigrated in 1915 to play with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Leopold Stokowski and teach at the Curtis Institute of Music—still favor French *concours* pieces as jury selections. The modeling of American music schools after the French began during the First World War, when Germany no longer provided a politically viable cultural model.

<sup>14</sup> Isidor Philipp and Frederick H. Martens, “The French National Conservatory of Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* 6:2 (April 1920): 220.

retirement of Conservatoire director Théodore Dubois, and his subsequent replacement by Ravel's professor, Gabriel Fauré.<sup>15</sup> This incident highlights the inherent problems and favoritism housed within the system; it was by no means a pure meritocracy free of scandal at the onset of the Occupation and Vichy. Nevertheless, the Conservatoire remained a premiere training grounds for French musicians from its inception onwards, From 1795, the Conservatoire de Paris stood at the pinnacle of the music education of the entire country.

While the Conservatoire de Paris always reigned at the pinnacle of music education in France, it did not remain singular for long. The Revolution struck down most Church-sponsored music education in the provinces to establish clear breaks between the church and public education, creating a vacuum for legitimized music training in the provinces.<sup>16</sup> As early as 1796, officials envisioned a “pyramid” of music schools, Paris at the top, followed by large schools in a few cities and smaller schools in towns and villages.<sup>17</sup> A quarter of a century later, on 20 December 1826, the first two branches of the Conservatoire, *succursales du conservatoire national de la musique et la declamation*, were erected in Lille and Toulouse by an ordinance signed by Charles X.<sup>18</sup> At the inauguration of these branches, the personnel in Paris imagined the relationship as a simple transaction; Paris would provide Lille and Toulouse with scores and resources,

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<sup>15</sup> Roger Nichols, *Ravel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 61–65.

<sup>16</sup> Emmanuel Hondre, “Les Succursales du Conservatoire ou les jalons d’une relation Paris–Province,” in *Le Conservatoire de Paris: deux cents ans de pédagogie, 1795–1995* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1999), 409.

<sup>17</sup> Emmanuel Hondre, “Mise en place des premières succursales du Conservatoire,” in *Le Conservatoire de Paris: des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la musique (1795–1995)*, ed Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet–Chastel, 1996), 177.

<sup>18</sup> Hondre, “Mise en place des premières succursales du Conservatoire,” 169.

all the while sending inspectors or correspondents to bring any particularly beautiful voices back to Paris.<sup>19</sup>

In 1840, it was resolved that the professors in the provinces adopt the teaching methods and topics of the Conservatoire de Paris. Branches continued to be established in the following years, in Metz, Marseille, and Dijon.<sup>20</sup> Yet from an early stage, the provincial conservatoires marked a point of contention between state and municipal governments. They received extremely unequal subventions from the central government, supplemented by the municipal governments, which created points of contention between them.<sup>21</sup> For example, in 1842, Lille received a 30% subvention while Toulouse received 54%; Marseille received no state subvention and Metz had to charge the wealthiest families to balance their budget.<sup>22</sup>

Funding from the state began to wane through the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as municipal governments increasingly took on the financial burden of running these schools. Ironically, the absence of money pulled the system closer towards Paris. Without monetary binding to a central locale, aesthetic and pedagogical adherence, alongside sending the best students to the central Conservatoire illustrated a school's commitment; Paris rewarded these with monikers denoting their authentication.<sup>23</sup> However, by the 1930s, the imbalance in control led to controversy. A 29 and 30 December 1930 meeting

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<sup>19</sup> Hondré, "Les Succursales du Conservatoire ou les jalons d'une relation Paris–Province," 414.

<sup>20</sup> Undeniably, through the early decades of the 1800s, small, locally sponsored music schools sprang up in many locations, but they lacked the legitimacy that only the Conservatoire could bestow.

<sup>21</sup> Hondré, "Mise en place des premières succursales du Conservatoire," 187.

<sup>22</sup> Hondré, *Les Succursales du Conservatoire ou les jalons d'une relation Paris–Province*, 415.

<sup>23</sup> Hondré, *Les Succursales du Conservatoire ou les jalons d'une relation Paris–Province*, 418–419.

of the directors of provincial conservatoires decried the “absurdity” that they state should dole out such small subventions—especially in comparison to the fully funded Conservatoire de Paris—yet wielded near complete control over their institutions. Despite the outcry and several reports, the State used subsidies as sparingly as possible, and a gradual decentralization ensued until Claude Delvincourt took the helm of the Conservatoire de Paris in 1941, and began to reorganize the entire system over the next decade and a half.<sup>24</sup>

The system continued to expand across France, dividing into two varieties of institutions. More populous schools in larger cities were named as *succursales du conservatoire national*, while less populated schools were called *écoles nationales de musique*. In written communications, they are also referred to with just the moniker and city name, such as the “Conservatoire de Toulouse,” or the “École de musique d’Avignon.” By the onset of the Second World War, there existed 22 *succursales du conservatoire national* and 23 *écoles nationales* across France, as shown in figure 3, organized by type and zone. The conservatoires, in Paris and the provinces, did not operate like present-day conservatoires in France, or even contemporary models in the United States. Unlike their modern counterparts, which operate as colleges or universities—indeed in the US they are almost always housed under or at least affiliated with a larger institution and grant equivalent undergraduate and graduate degrees—and are suited to study by young adults, usually 18-25, the conservatoires of France in the first half of the twentieth century operated as long-term training grounds.

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<sup>24</sup> Hondré, *Les Succursales du Conservatoire ou les jalons d’une relation Paris–Province*, 418–419.

Figure 3: Succursales and Écoles 1942.<sup>25</sup>

17/5/42

SUCCURSALES DU CONSERVATOIRE NATIONAL & ÉCOLES NATIONALES DE MUSIQUE.

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<u>SUCCURSALES</u>	:	<u>ÉCOLES NATIONALES.</u>
<u>Zone occupée.</u>	:	
BOULOGNE/MER (Pas-de-Calais)	:	ANGOULÈME (Charente)
CAMBRAI (Nord)	:	ARRAS (Pas-de-Calais)
DIJON (Côte d'Or)	:	BAYONNE (Basses-Pyrén.)
DOUAI (Nord)	:	BOURGES (Cher)
LILLE (Nord)	:	BREST (Finistère)
LE MANS (Sarthe)	:	CAEN (Calvados)
METZ (Moselle)	:	CALAIS (Pas-de-Calais)
NANCY (Meurthe-&-Mos.)	:	DINAN (Côtes-du-Nord)
NANTES (Loire-Inf.)	:	LORIENT (Morbihan)
ORLÈANS (Loiret)	:	MOULINS (Allier)
RENNES (Ille-&-Vil.)	:	REIMS (Marne)
ROUBAIX (Nord)	:	St-AMAND-les-EAUX (Nord)
TOURS (Indre-&-Loire)	:	SAINT-BRIEUC (Côtes-du-Nord)
TOURCOING (Nord)	:	SAINT-OMER (Pas-de-Calais)
VALENCIENNES (Nord)	:	TROYES (Aube)
<u>Zone non occupée.</u>	:	
LYON (Rhône)	:	AIX (Bouches-du-Rhône)
MONTPELLIER (Hérault)	:	AVIGNON (Vaucluse)
NIMES (Gard)	:	CHAMBERY (Savoie)
PERPIGNAN (Pyrénées-Orient.)	:	CLERMONT-FERRAND (Puy-de-Dôme)
SAINT-ÉTIENNE (Loire)	:	LIMOGES (Hte-Vienne)
TOULON (Var)	:	PAU (Basses-Pyrén.)
TOULOUSE (Hte-Garonne)	:	SETE (Hérault)
	:	TARBES (Htes-Pyrén.)

<sup>25</sup> "Succursales du Conservatoire National & Écoles nationales de musique," 17 May 1942, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8089 Dossier 1.

They accepted students at very young ages, often around age 10. Olivier Messiaen, for example, began his study at the Conservatoire de Paris in 1919 at age 11, and left in 1931 at age 23, having secured a first prize in composition, a position as the organist at the Église de la Sainte-Trinité, and the publication of his *Préludes* for piano. Indeed, the Conservatoire de Paris rejected older students, forcing some to look elsewhere for musical instruction; one such example, *Les Six* notable Louis Dury, who first earned a *baccalaureate* before embarking on a musical career, found instruction at the Schola Cantorum.<sup>26</sup>

### **State Oversight under Vichy**

During the period of Vichy, normal systems of state oversight continued, but served drastically different ideological viewpoints and also answered to occupational oversight. The largest governing agency under which the Conservatoire system fell was the *Ministre de l'Éducation*, or Ministry of Education—though as noted, the name of this entity changed slightly through periods of French history, and even within the four years of the Vichy regime. The Ministry of Education formed in 1802 with the directive to unify education in France following the breakdown of the *Ancien Régime*. This ministry

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<sup>26</sup> Formed in the wake of the Dreyfus Affair (1894), the Schola Cantorum sought to advance traditional Catholic music against what they viewed as a Republic bent on starving the church through a lack of funding. The Schola emphasized chant, polyphony, and notably ended their curriculum at the French Revolution. To rival the Conservatoire, they did away with age limits and entrance exams, but did impose tuition. Their teachings were often anti-Republican and anti-Semitic (anti-Dreyfus). Though not included in this dissertation, further study of music education in France under the occupation could extend to the Schola, particularly given the strong relations between the Vichy regime and the Catholic Church. See Jane Fulcher, “The Concert as Political Propaganda in France and the Control of ‘Performative Context,’” *The Musical Quarterly* 82:1 (Spring 1998): 41–67.

oversaw a number of subdivisions, including public instruction, youth initiatives, and sports.<sup>27</sup> The minister of education was one of twelve officials bearing the title of “ministère,” also referred to as “secretaries d’État.” Under Vichy, no fewer than six successive ministers headed this entity: Albert Rivaud, Émile Mireaux, George Ripert, Jacques Chevalier, Jérôme Carcopino, and Abel Bonnard, though the first three each held the position for no more than three months each.<sup>28</sup> The name of this post changed slightly through the four years to reflect the name of the ministry, as illustrated in figure 4.

**Figure 4: Ministers of Education under Pétain**

Albert Rivaud	Ministre de l’Éducation nationale	16 June–12 July 1940
Émile Mireaux	Ministre de l’instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts	12 July–6 September 1940
Georges Ripert	Secrétaire d’État de l’Instruction publique et de la Jeunesse	6 September –13 December 1940
Jacques Chevalier		13 December 1940–23 February 1941
Jérôme Carcopino	Secrétaire d’État à l’Éducation nationale et à la Jeunesse	25 February 1941–18 April 1942
Abel Bonnard		18 April 1942–20 August 1944

Ministers were drawn largely from the academic milieu, reflecting Vichy’s tendency—especially in its early years—to choose prominent individuals within each field to serve in government positions.<sup>29</sup> Rivaud was a professor and chair of the philosophy department at the Sorbonne, as well as Pétain’s professor at the École de Guerre, known for his work on Germany’s threat to France during the 1930s.<sup>30</sup> A French economist, journalist, politician and literary historian, Mireaux had written for the right-

<sup>27</sup> “Connaissez Votre Gouvernement” in *Toulouse Guide Professionnelle 1942*. Archives Municipals Toulouse, REV256:1942.

<sup>28</sup> Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 34.

<sup>29</sup> Under François Darlan, the appointments tended towards “experts” in particular fields, a conscious departure from the Third Republic’s reliance on career politicians; the use of these individuals declined sharply after the 1942 return of Pierre Laval. See Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 38–39, 52–58.

<sup>30</sup> Albert Rivaud, *Le relèvement d’Allemagne, 1918–1938* (Paris: Colin, 1939).



leaning journal *Le Temps*, which had promulgated the Conservative argument, “France for the French.”<sup>31</sup> Ripert presents an interesting case; as a Catholic he leaned hard right in politics, but as Dean of the Faculty of Law in Paris, he instructed his students to welcome Jewish refugees from Germany. Yet after the application of the Statute des Juifs, he reported known Jews, dismissed his colleague (and friend) René Cassin, and defended Vichy’s anti-Semitic stance.<sup>32</sup> Chevalier was a philosopher and a fervent Catholic. Carcopino, a historian of ancient Rome, taught as a professor at the Sorbonne from 1920 through 1937, when he served as Director of the French School in Rome before his tenure as Minister.<sup>33</sup> In 1953, Carcopino published documents and memories of the war years, largely centering on the École Normale. In his *Souvenirs de Sept Ans (1937–1944)*, he expresses the admiration for Pétain that he shared with many Frenchmen in 1940. Finally, the poet Bonnard espoused the ideals of the leader of the counter-revolutionary *Action Française*, Charles Maurras; Bonnard’s political leanings developed more fascist tones through the 1930s.<sup>34</sup>

The Ministry of Education also housed and oversaw the director of the *Ministre des Beaux-Arts*. The first Minister of Education under Vichy, Mireaux, appointed Louis Hautecoeur to Director des Beaux-Arts. In 1941, Carcopino promoted Hautecoeur to

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<sup>31</sup> “La France aux Français,” *Le Temps* 25 July, 1940, accessed 20 October 2017, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2643577.item>.

<sup>32</sup> Anne Simonin, “La morale juridique de Georges Ripert,” in Annie Stora-Lamarre, Jean-Louis Halpérin and Frédéric Audren eds., *La République et son droit (1870-1930)* (Besançon: Presse Universitaire de la France-Compté, 2011), 359-379.

<sup>33</sup> See Stéphanie Corcy-Debray, “Jérôme Carcopino, Du triomphe à la roche tarpéienne,” *Vingtième Siècle, Revue d’histoire* 58 (April–June 1998), 70–82.

<sup>34</sup> See Jean-Michel Barreau, “Abel Bonnard, ministre de l’Éducation nationale sous Vichy, ou l’éducation impossible,” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 43:3 (July–September 1996), 464–478.

Secrétaire Général in the Direction des Beaux-Arts.<sup>35</sup> This ministry bore responsibility for all static and performing arts across the whole of France. Within the musical milieu, they oversaw the entirety of the French conservatoire system, prominent concert societies, state theaters—especially the prominent Opéra—while giving subventions to other theaters, and fostered new recordings of French music. Analogous responsibilities to the fields of museums, monuments, painting and sculpting, and arts education existed alongside the musical scope of the Beaux-Arts.

Hautecoeur, a French art historian and administrator, later documented the history of the Beaux-Arts in France providing valuable information regarding the government oversight of the arts. A veteran of the First World War, Hautecoeur held Pétain in high regard. Though disdainful of the politicians in power during the Third Republic, Hautecoeur did not espouse any particular political positions prior to the war.<sup>36</sup> Under Vichy, Hautecoeur considered himself a public servant and attempted to steer clear of politics. Yet, he thought the exclusionary laws unjust, and was reportedly in tears when he failed to save the career of Jean Cassou, the director of the new National Museum of Modern Art in 1940. As late as 1943, he purchased art by French Jews for government offices and one museum, a small act of defiance though he never joined any resistance movement.<sup>37</sup> Still, in his fervor to reinstate French peasant artists, he exhibited a fair

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<sup>35</sup> Letter from Carcopino and Darlan to Pétain, 3 October 1941, Archives nationales, F/21/8086. See also Jane F. Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 34. Hautecoeur's departure was an order from Hermann Göring for his supposed refusal to collaborate with the Germans.

<sup>36</sup> Caroline Poulain, "Louis Hautecoeur et Vichy: pensée et action politiques d'un historien de l'architecture," *Livraisons d'histoire de l'architecture* 3:1 (2002): 103–105.

<sup>37</sup> Bertrand Dorléac, *Art of the Defeat: France 1940–1944*, translated by Jane Marie Todd (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 64. See also Antonio Brucculeri, "Louis Hautecoeur, directeur general des Beaux-Arts (1940–1944)," *Histoire de l'art* 53 (2000):

amount of xenophobia, denouncing the opening of the Parisian salons to foreigners.<sup>38</sup>

Certainly, his uneven track record proved problematic. Among Hautecoeur's documents is an undated official note from the *Ministre de l'Éducation*, reminding all those under his purview that they might not negotiate directly with other ministries, with the German authorities, or communicate with the press or radio.<sup>39</sup>

Hautecoeur served as the head of the Ministry of Beaux-Arts until April of 1944, when Georges Hilaire replaced him. In a 1946 statement to the Minister of Education, Hautecoeur explained that his dismissal from his position came with reproaches from the Germans for "never having had the spirit of the collaboration." Moreover, he complained that at he was underpaid at his subsequent post at the *École des Hautes Études* because, having been dismissed by the Germans, he was now considered a beginner; he therefore announced his retirement on 1 October 1944.<sup>40</sup> Hilaire, a career public servant, served as a provincial sub-prefect and later prefect, until he began working for the Vichy State government in 1942, eventually replacing Hautecoeur. In 1947, Hilaire was found guilty of collaboration, though he found refuge in Switzerland; on 25 January 1955 he was pardoned.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to the state oversight from the ministries of Education and Beaux-Arts, the municipal government was extremely involved in day-to-day operations, sanctioning

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53–62. See also Mark J. Thériault, "Art as Propaganda in Vichy France, 1940–1944," Masters' Thesis, McGill University, 1 October 2007.

<sup>38</sup> Michèle C. Cone, *Artists Under Vichy: A Case of Prejudice and Persecution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 23.

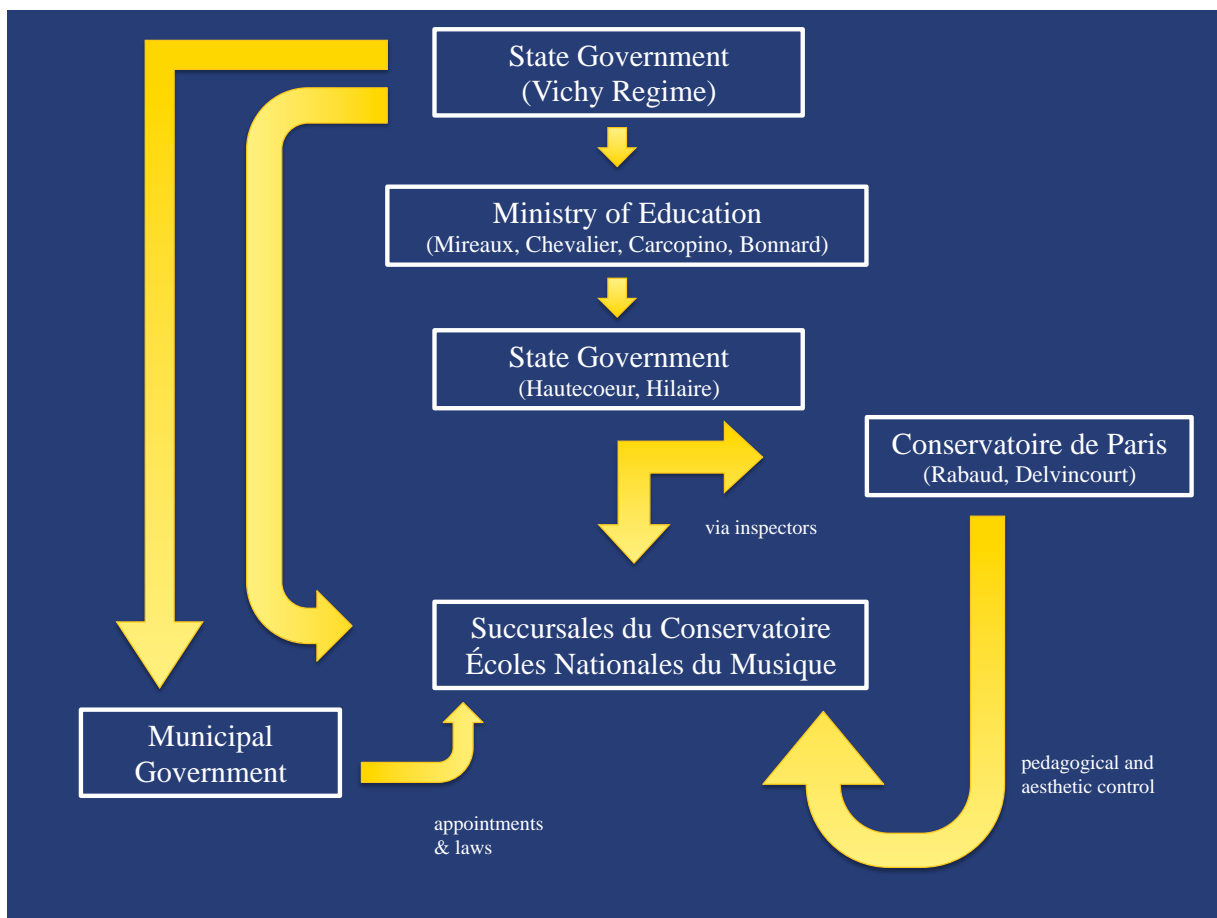
<sup>39</sup> Undated Note de Service, Archives nationales, F/21/8086.

<sup>40</sup> Louis Hautecoeur to *Ministre de l'Éducation*, April 1946, Archives Nationales, F/17/16945.

<sup>41</sup> Marc Olivier Baruch, "Vichy, les fonctionnaires et la République," in *Serviteurs de l'État: Une histoire politique de l'administration française, 1975–1945*, edited by Marc Olivier Baruch and Vincent Duclert (Paris: Découverte, 2000), 511–26.

dates for *concours*, approving budgets, and the hiring of personnel. The appointment of professors and directors in particular led to a collision between municipal and state control. Municipal leaders, most often mayors, appointed the heads of provincial conservatoires with approval of the state-appointed regional préfet. As Louis Hautecoeur notes, directors and professors were often chosen with local politics in mind.<sup>42</sup> Even during peacetime, the oversight of the conservatoire system signified a nexus of state and municipal politics, as represented in figure 5.

**Figure 5: Oversight of the Succursales and Écoles<sup>43</sup>**



<sup>42</sup> Louis Hautecoeur, *Les Beaux-Arts en France: Passé et avenir* (Paris: Picard, 1948), 251.

<sup>43</sup> Chart created by the author.

On-site inspection of the conservatoires collided again with state oversight in the form of the *inspecteurs de l'enseignement musical*. As noted, such inspections had been instituted at the very outset of the conservatoire branches in the mid-nineteenth century to ensure the maintenance of standards throughout the system of music education.

The state government, and more specifically, the Ministère des Beaux-Arts, appointed two *inspecteurs de l'enseignement musical* below him. These inspectors traveled across the country, and often appeared at the individual institutions' end of the year *concours*.<sup>44</sup>

Given the lengths traveled to reach all of the conservatoires and the reporting back on each location, the state-appointed *inspecteurs du conservatoires* provided considerable insight into the daily workings of these institutions. One little-known figure in particular, the organist, composer, and educator Joseph-Ermend Bonnal (1880–1944),<sup>45</sup> proved especially valuable in the study of the provincial conservatoires under Vichy.<sup>46</sup> Bonnal himself passed through the conservatoire system, beginning his studies at the Conservatoire de Bordeaux at twelve before being admitted to the Conservatoire de Paris at seventeen, where he studied with Louis Vierne and Gabriel Fauré. While still a student, he assisted organists at the great churches of Paris, Saint-Suplice, Saint-Séverin, and Saint-Clotilde, aiding Charles Tournemire. Most significantly for the consideration of regional conservatories, he became director of the nearby Bayonne Conservatory—now the Conservatoire Maurice Ravel Côte Basque—in 1920. Bonnal held the position for

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<sup>44</sup> Louis Hauteceur, *Les Beaux-Arts en France*, 180–181 and 189.

<sup>45</sup> Michel D'Arcangues, *Joseph-Ermend Bonnal (1880–1944): Magnifique et Méconnu* (Anglet: Atlantica, 2003).

<sup>46</sup> The author is grateful to Marylis Raoul-Duval and Mayette Bonnal for their generosity in sharing documents, photographs, and memories.

nearly twenty years, until 1940, when complications from the war and new restrictions<sup>47</sup> drove him back to Paris to seek new employment. In Paris, Bonnal succeeded Tournemire at the organ of Saint-Clotilde. Due to wartime constraints, Bonnal was never officially voted in as the *organist titulaire*, a point that has caused contention between the descendants of Bonnal and those of organist Jean Langlais, who took the position after Bonnal's death and was officially confirmed in 1945.<sup>48</sup> In the fall of 1941 Hautecoeur named Joseph-Eugènes Szyfer to replace the outgoing inspector André Bloch; at the same time, Hautecoeur also hired Joseph-Ermend Bonnal as the second inspector, as shown in figure 6. Eventually, in November 1943, Hautecoeur promoted Szyfer to *inspecteur general de l'enseignement musical* and hired Alexander Cellier as the second inspector.<sup>49</sup>

During the same year, he filled the inspector post left vacant by the retirement of Max d'Ollone.<sup>50</sup> His hiring papers noted that he was the father of 11 children—significant in that the Vichy regime made a point to hire fathers of large families. Figure 6 shows Carcopino's letter recommending Bonnal to the position. Bonnal held this post until his death in 1944 at only 64 years old. His work provides another window into the operations and problems facing the conservatoire system through the years of occupation; furthermore, it chronicles the difficulties that officials faced, particularly in gaining access to schools on opposite sides of the heavily guarded Demarcation Line.

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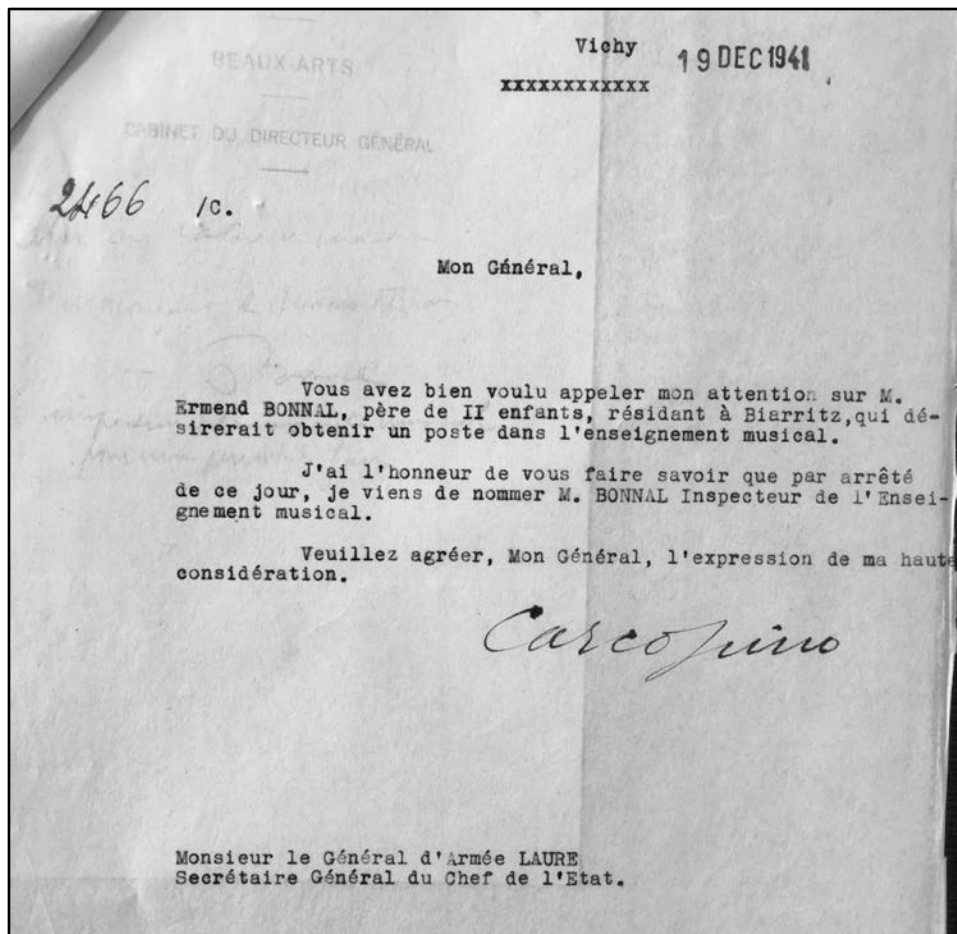
<sup>47</sup> A complete account of the Bayonne Conservatoire during the war years begins in chapter 2.

<sup>48</sup> Arguments between the two families at times escalated to each accusing the other of collaborationist activities during the war, a testament to how contentious this time period remains.

<sup>49</sup> Texts sur les inspecteurs musical, Archives Nationales, F/21/8092 Dossier 1. See also Hautecoeur, *Les Beaux-Arts en France*, 246.

<sup>50</sup> D'Arcangues, *Joseph-Ermend Bonnal*, 86–87.

Figure 6: Carcopino letter hiring Ermend Bonnal.<sup>51</sup>



Examination of the documents Bonnal produced during his tenure as the director of the Bayonne Conservatoire and during his tenure as an inspector, as well as interviews with two of his surviving daughters, Marylis and Mayette, provided personal insight into the functions of Vichy in relation to these establishments considered in the following chapters.

Of all the difficulties presented during Vichy and the Occupation, the persecution of Jewish professors and students emerges as the most prominent and divisive topic. The

<sup>51</sup> Letter from Jérôme Carcopino to Général Laure 19 December 1941, Archives Nationales F/21/8092, Dossier 2.

government-sanctioned anti-Semitism inherent in the National Revolution quickly developed into state policy. In late August 1940, Vichy dismantled the 21 April 1939 Marchandau Law, which had prohibited press attacks on the basis of race or religion, effectively opening the anti-Semitic flood gates. Further legal action swiftly followed. The *Statut des juifs* of 3 October 1940 defined the Jewish race and excluded them from any position of influence within the government—though veterans of the First World War could keep menial public service positions. It also barred anyone defined as Jewish from positions that could influence the public: teachers, members of the press, radio, television, or theater.<sup>52</sup> Though many after the war claimed that Vichy enacted the *Statut des juifs* under pressure from the Occupying Germans, facts reflect it to be pre-emptive move, though the Germans certainly approved and provided support for France's aryanaization.<sup>53</sup>

A series of three texts issued by Vichy between 1940 and 1942 would appear to empty the *succursales* and *écoles* entirely of their Jewish students and professors. As these statements came from Vichy, which was granted administrative control over the whole of France, location in an occupied or unoccupied zone would not make any difference. The first of these, article two of the Act of 3 October 1940, prohibited any Jew from acting as educators of higher learning throughout France; it was published in the *Journal officiel* on 18 October.<sup>54</sup> As Pétain and like-minded conservatives saw it, the liberal teachers in France bore as much responsibility as anyone for their perceived

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<sup>52</sup> *Journal officiel de la République française*, 18 October 1940.

<sup>53</sup> See Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981) 5–10.

<sup>54</sup> Gribenski, "L'exclusion des Juifs du Conservatoire (1940–1942)," in *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed., Myriam Chimènes (Belgium: Complexe, 2001), 144–45.



decline of the state, and replacing any professors whose race came into direct conflict with the tenets of the National Revolution quickly ensued.<sup>55</sup>

The second act, decreed on 21 June 1941, regulated the number of Jewish students to three percent of the total population at any institution of higher education, and immediately expelled any and all known Freemasons.<sup>56</sup> This decree fell during Carcopino's tenure as Minister of National Education and Youth to the Vichy regime. Though Carcopino certainly carried out the laws and decrees of Vichy, he himself did not espouse their anti-Semitic fervor. Under his administration, over 1,400 Jews received exemption and were allowed to continue their studies. He also overlooked the known Resistance efforts of his own student, Henri-Irene Marrous, when recommending him to the faculty of the Sorbonne; this action, however, could be viewed as preserving his own academic legacy and lineage.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, on 6 June 1942, Vichy barred all Jews from careers in the performing arts, with specific mention of performances in theaters, cinemas, and the Opéra.<sup>58</sup> This ruling affected the larger habitus of each conservatoire, as it often stripped graduated local students from their posts in town, performing, for example, at the city's theater or opera venue. It also generated a serious question for each *succursale* and *école*: If the Jewish students would never achieve careers in the performing institutions, the very purpose of the Conservatoire, would they allow those students to continue their training? The answer to this question often meant either the protection or expulsion of students.

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<sup>55</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France*, 155–157.

<sup>56</sup> Gribenski, "L'exclusion des Juifs du Conservatoire," 151.

<sup>57</sup> See Jérôme Carcopino, *Souvenirs de Sept Ans, 1937–1944* (Paris: Lammarion, 1953), 358–393.

<sup>58</sup> Gribenski, "L'exclusion des Juifs du Conservatoire," 151.

Unlike in Germany, where the exclusion of Jews from the cultural milieu was both a precursor and text of the horrors to come, the exclusionary laws that removed Jews from both the performing and academic musical realms came alongside sweeping social laws prohibiting Jews—both foreign and French—from any public service or educational posts.<sup>59</sup> This test of the general public was not needed in a country conquered and occupied. To be sure, many French abhorred the racist policies, but were not in a position to argue having been spared the specter of the First World War. Furthermore, though the Vichy Regime was itself undeniably anti-Semitic and its policies often pre-dated any German requests, Pétain and his cabinet could hide behind the illusion of bowing to Occupier while purporting to protect France from the worst of Hitler's demands. That is not to say that anti-Semitism in France was without precedent. The long shadow of the Dreyfus affair and its attendant political and cultural battles were re-animated by Vichy's agenda.

### **The Paris Conservatoire (1940–1944)**

In the past ten years, musicologists have provided insight into the effects of the Vichy regime and Nazi occupation on the large, central, and influential Conservatoire de Paris. Observation of the institution, its individuals and decisions made during these four years provides the basis for a comparative study of the six provincial institutions chosen. At the same time, the Conservatoire de Paris stands apart from her provincial sisters. The prominence of the Parisian institution drew attention, while the comparative size and lower prestige of the provincial institutions may have provided some protection from

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<sup>59</sup> Saul Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, Volume I: The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 65–72.

government oversight and outside enforcement of policy. Additionally, as the capital city, local politics and state governance intersected in complex ways; through the office of the mayor in Paris existed for brief moments, intermittent through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the formal establishment of the municipal government was not recognized until 1977.<sup>60</sup> Paris abolished the office of the mayor from 1871–1977, and therefore no municipal interference existed during Vichy and the Occupation.

The Vichy Regime spanned two directors of the Conservatoire, Henri Rabaud and Claude Delvincourt. Rabaud succeeded Fauré as Director, and served from 1920 through 1941. Rabaud came from a family of musicians; his father taught cello at the Conservatoire. He won the Prix de Rome in 1894 with his cantata, *Daphné*. Rabaud conducted at the Opéra Comique, from 1908 until 1914, when he became director of the Opéra. In 1918, he began a brief stint in the United States as conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra until he was offered the position of director at the Conservatoire.<sup>61</sup> He also served alongside Pétain as a member of the Institut de France, a learned society dating to 1795. Though his words and actions in the early navigation of Vichy, Rabaud's chief concern appears the continuation of the Conservatoire.<sup>62</sup>

In May 1940, the advancing Germany army swiftly threw the Conservatoire into chaos. As early as 11 May 1940, Rabaud expressed concern to Hauteceur over having the public in the old hall for the *concours* during possible bombardments, instead

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<sup>60</sup> See Boris Bove, Quentin Deluermoz, and Nicolas Lyon-Caen, *Le gouvernement des parisiens: Paris, ses habitants et l'État, une histoire partagée*, (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2017). Based on exposition of the same name at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris ran from 22 April to 22 July 2017.

<sup>61</sup> Ann Giradot and Richard Langham Smith, "Rabaud, Henri," *Oxford Music Online*, 20 January 2001.

<sup>62</sup> Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 66.

proposing private *concours*, as occurred during the First World War.<sup>63</sup> A mere five days later, Rabaud wrote to the Ministry of Education—at this point under the short-lived direction of Albert Sarraut—to ask for a modification of the end-of-year *concours* to allow for the competition of students who were currently mobilized upon their return.<sup>64</sup> The Conservatoire shut its doors on 8 June, and reopened on the 24<sup>th</sup> of the same month. Classes resumed on the seventh of October, and Rabaud ultimately rescheduled the 1940 *concours* for the fall, with the exception of the harmony competition, held on June 9. The disorganization of the early days of the Vichy government and lack of communications between Paris and Vichy, exacerbated by the limit of letters that could pass through the border plagued Rabaud. Some students and professors fled the city to escape any violence as was the case for many Parisians. A letter from Rabaud on the first of August 1940 to the Minister of Public Instruction—now Émile Mireaux—comments on the reopening of the institution, but also recognized the difficulty of returning students and personnel, especially passing the Demarcation Line. Rabaud likewise acknowledged that though most had returned, some Conservatoire administration remained absent.<sup>65</sup>

If French officials believed that in playing the part of willing collaborator they would be spared the harsh treatment doled out to other defeated countries, the German treatment of the Conservatoire de Paris, alongside many other French institutions, proved otherwise. The Germans interested themselves in milking France for everything they

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<sup>63</sup> Letter from Henri Rabaud to Louis Hautecoeur, 11 May 1940. Archives Nationales de France AJ/37/444.

<sup>64</sup> Letter from Henri Rabaud to Albert Sarraut, 16 May 1940. Archives Nationales de France AJ/37/444.

<sup>65</sup> Letter from Henri Rabaud to Émile Mireaux 1 August 1940. Archives Nationales AJ/37/444.

could, requisitioning wheat, meat, wine, horses, and eventually French workers.<sup>66</sup> “The real profiteers of this war are ourselves,” Hitler said in an 11 August 1942 radio speech, “and out of it we shall come bursting with fat! We will give back nothing and will take everything we can make use of. And if the others protest, I don’t give a damn.”<sup>67</sup> For the Conservatoire, this meant that the Occupiers immediately took possession of instruments and sheet music over the summer of 1940, as well as taking over the students’ canteen; not only were these items of great importance to the Conservatoire, many of the students who were not independently supported relied on the canteen for affordable meals.<sup>68</sup>

The Demarcation Line continued to cause problems for the Conservatoire. In the fall of 1941, they began receiving letters from students and their parents located in the unoccupied zone for assistance in making it to Paris, where entrance exams for the conservatoire were held on site.<sup>69</sup> Ultimately, there could be no recourse. Instead, Rabaud reached out to another school, the Succursale du conservatoire national in Lyon. The newly appointed director of the Conservatoire de Lyon, Ennemond Trillat, agreed to Rabaud’s request, and on 3–8 November, Lyon hosted the auditions for the Conservatoire de Paris, with the caveat that admissions would be final for those chosen after a subsequent audition in Paris. Rabaud, along with his secretary general, Jacques Chailley and a small delegation representative of areas of study, traveled to Lyon for the

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<sup>66</sup> Yves Durand, *Le Loiret dans la guerre 1939–1945: La vie quotidienne sous l’occupation* (Roanne: Editions Horvath, 1983), 33.

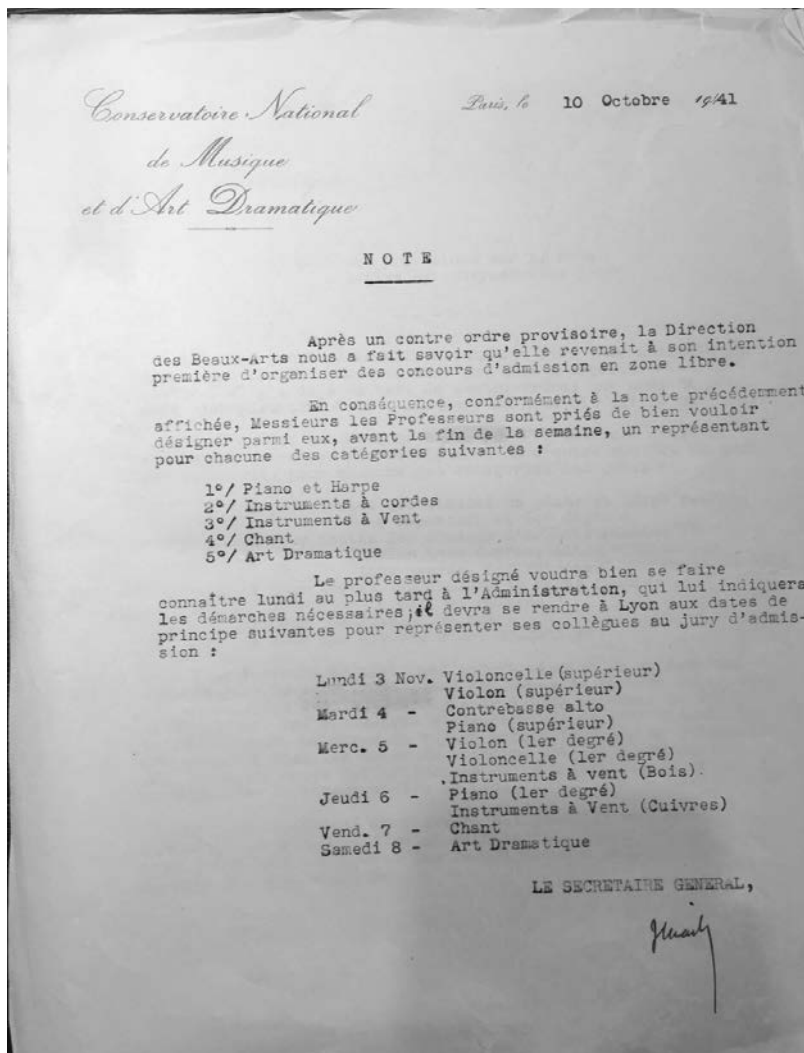
<sup>67</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Hitler’s Table Talk, 1941–1944: His Private Conversations*, Translated by Norman Cameron and R. H. Stevens, preface by H. R. Trevor-Roper (New York: Enigma Books, 2000), 473.

<sup>68</sup> Michel Alten, “Le Conservatoire de musique et d’art dramatique: Une institution culturelle publique dans la guerre (1940–1942),” *L’éducation musicale*, February 2012 (accessed 13 April 2013), 3.

<sup>69</sup> Letter from Henri Rabaud to Louis Hautecoeur, 25 October 1941. AJ/37/444.

preliminary selections.<sup>70</sup> Figure 7 contains Chailley's note to the Paris Conservatoire professors.

**Figure 7: Note on the Delegation to Lyon.<sup>71</sup>**



This level of involvement and cooperation between the conservatoires, particularly between Paris and the provincial institutions appears unusual. More typically,

<sup>70</sup> Memo from Jacques Chailley to all conservatoire professors, 6 October 1941. Archives Nationales AJ/37/451.

<sup>71</sup> Jacques Chailley note to conservatoire professors, 10 October 1941. Archives Nationales AJ/37/451.

Paris served as a model of aesthetic and pedagogical ideals, and the conservatoires received authentication through their adherence to such. The wartime constraints in this case appear to not only result in changed operations for the mighty Conservatoire de Paris, but also foster new cooperative relationships between conservatoires in the system. Of course, not all activity at the Conservatoire de Paris was fraught. Indeed, the institution even saw the addition of classes. In the spring of 1942, the conservatoire added courses—and created new posts to teach—in elementary harmony, rhythmic gymnastics, and saxophone.<sup>72</sup>

The anti-Semitic acts of Vichy affected the Conservatoire by stripping Jewish professors of the faculty positions and undermining the rights of Jewish students. Upon the enactment of the 3 October 1940 *Statut des juifs*, two members of the Conservatoire faculty were forced to leave their posts: Lazare Lévy, a professor of piano and a celebrity performer in his own right, and André Bloch, professor of harmony.<sup>73</sup> To his credit, Rabaud attempted—albeit unsuccessfully—to save the academic career of Lévy, a great star among the faculty due to his “exceptional service.” In his 30 October 1940 letter to Hauteceur, Rabaud states that he would keep Lévy as the only Jewish faculty member, after the dismissal of Bloch, for whom he makes no argument.<sup>74</sup>

Returning prisoner of war Olivier Messiaen eventually filled Bloch’s position as professor of harmony in 1941. Scholars of the era generally clear Messiaen of any charges of collaboration; indeed, he was an early supporter of de Gaulle, the only

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<sup>72</sup> Archives Nationales, AJ/37/402.

<sup>73</sup> Jean Gribenski, “L’exclusion des Juifs du Conservatoire” in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. Myriam Chmènes, 143–56 (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001), 144–45.

<sup>74</sup> Henri Rabaud to Louis Hauteceur, 30 October 1940, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8089.

politician he ever publically supported.<sup>75</sup> Yet unlike musicians like Nadia Boulanger who refused to benefit from the suffering of Jewish colleagues, Messiaen did not hesitate to accept the job.<sup>76</sup> The most unfortunate, Maurice Franck, professor of solfège, had been captured, and at the time of the decree was interned as a prisoner of war. The Germans released him on 14 August 1941. Delvincourt, by then director, attempted to have him reinstated due to his service, but like the appeal for Lévy, the *Commissariat general aux questions juives* denied the request.<sup>77</sup> On 12 December that year, the Germans arrested Franck in Paris during a roundup of Jewish intellectuals, and interned him at Camp Royallieu Compiègne; there he began to conduct a small choir. His wife, musician Marcelle Horvilleur, and Rabaud argued on behalf of his military decorations—the Croix de Guerre and Légion d’Honneur—and he was quickly freed.<sup>78</sup> Franck survived the war and in 1946 became conductor of the orchestra of the Opéra de Paris.

The inquiry into Jewish students at the Conservatoire de Paris, and especially the level of involvement of Secretary general of the conservatoire, Jacques Chailley, continues as a point of contention between scholars. The controversy erupted over Gribenski’s 2001 article, and reignited upon the naming of an amphitheater at the

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<sup>75</sup> Peter Hill and Nigel Simeone, *Messiaen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 139, and Olivier Messiaen, “Des paroles d’esprit: Entretien avec Olivier Messiaen,” in *Charles de Gaulle*, ed. Michel Cazenave and Olivier Germain Thomas (Paris: L’Herne, 1973), 44–46.

<sup>76</sup> See Yves Balmer and Christopher Brent Murray, “Olivier Messiaen et la reconstruction de son parcours pendant l’Occupation: le vide de l’année 1941,” in *La musique à Paris sous l’Occupation*, ed. Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon (Paris: Fayard, 2013): 133–144. One may also note the difficulty of Messiaen’s position: returning from war, he needed to provide a life for himself, his wife Claire, whose mental and physical health was beginning to fail, and their young son Pascal.

<sup>77</sup> Gribenski, “L’Exclusion des juifs,” 145–146.

<sup>78</sup> Saül Castro and Serge Klarsfeld, *Le camp juif de Royallieu-Compiègne, 1941–1943* (Paris: le Manuscrit, Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah, 2007), 465–471.



Sorbonne after Chailley in 2011.<sup>79</sup> Certainly, the inquiry began pre-emptively, and seems to have been sparked by panic over the continuation of the Conservatoire under Vichy and the Occupation. Following the 27 September 1940 German definition of Jews as religiously adherent or having more than two Jewish grandparents, Robert Trebor, president of the Association des Directeurs du Théâtre, urged Rabaud to consult the Germans on procedure.<sup>80</sup> This action precedes even the *Statut des Juifs*, enacted 3 October, but only printed in the *Journal Officiel* on 18 October of that year.

In response to Trebor, Rabaud directed Chailley to the Propaganda Staffel on 3 October 1940; they demanded a detailed functioning of the school alongside racial declarations of all teaching and administrative personnel. Though he sought guidance from both the Ministry of Education and the délégation général, Rabaud was ultimately instructed to answer to the Propaganda Staffel.<sup>81</sup> Tensions increased following the *Statut des Juifs*. On 4 October, the Germans asked for racial declarations from students—they agreed with French authorities on the definition of a Jew as having three Jewish grandparents—though the imposition of restricted quotas on students had not yet been established. Though Rabaud continued to stall via letters to French authorities, between 4 and 10 October, the Conservatoire undertook a meticulous survey of the students' racial

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<sup>79</sup> Secrétaire général Jacques Chailley remains at the heart of this contention. Gribenski argues that he was central to the documentation and expulsion of the Jews, while Alten and other associated with Chailley's former institute at the Sorbonne believe he was merely working within the Conservatoire as it became increasingly controlled by the German occupants. Accounts of these events are summarized in Esteban Buch and Karine le Bail, "Ampitéâtre au nom de Jacques Chailley," in *La Musique à Paris sous l'Occupation*, edited by Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon, 227–240; these actions also recorded and expounded upon in Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*.

<sup>80</sup> Gribenski, "L'Exclusion des Juifs," 147, Alten, "Le Conservatoire," 3, and Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 47.

<sup>81</sup> Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 48.

background, all in Chailley's handwriting. It noted between 20 and 24 Jewish and around 15 half-Jewish students.<sup>82</sup>

In an 18 October letter, Rabaud reminded the Germans that the Conservatoire was still subject to French authority. He likewise complained to the French Minister of Education of having to relegate students to auditor status. For this he was sharply reprimanded; the Propaganda Abteilung accused Rabaud on 24 October of being an enemy of German policy and protecting the Jews. The Conservatoire, they added, answered to the Germans alone in apparent defiance of Vichy's right to administrate over the whole of France. Though some in the French government challenged this assumption, by 1 April 1941, Hauteceur received word that the German Embassy would have the final word on Jewish students at the conservatoire.<sup>83</sup> On 6 April 1941, an Embassy of Germany official singled out the Conservatoire, to warn that the acts regarding Jews must be strictly enforced, threatening that "breaking this directive will cause the Conservatoire severe disadvantages."<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Gribenski, "L'exclusion des juifs," 147–148; based on dossier in Archives Nationales F/21/5168, folder 1. One main point of contention is that Gribenski states that this survey was completely without German prompting. The Germans did make their initial request of the racial declarations of students on 4 October. Rabaud appears to try to buy some time, but ultimately the choice to document the racial background made for easy expulsion at a later date.

<sup>83</sup> Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 48–49. Alten, "Le conservatoire," 43–9, Gribenski, "L'exclusion des juifs, 147–148." Alten believes the German assertion of authority was due to Trebor's political scheming, while Gribenski believes that Chailley's documentation of Jewish students and Rabaud's panic-induced letter writing drew increased attention to the Jewish students.

<sup>84</sup> Michèle Alten, "Le Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique: une institution culturelle publique dans la guerre (1940–1942)" (Published online: February 13, 2013, accessed February 25, 2014, [http://www.plm.parissorbonne.fr/IMG/pdf/conservatoire\\_sous\\_vichy.\\_m.alten.pdf](http://www.plm.parissorbonne.fr/IMG/pdf/conservatoire_sous_vichy._m.alten.pdf)), 6–7. Translation mine.

Added to difficulties was the change in leadership of the Conservatoire. Having reached the age of retirement, Rabaud was replaced by Claude Delvincourt. As Minister of Education Chevalier, selected Delvincourt before his own replacement by Carcopino.<sup>85</sup> Delvincourt, who had been seriously injured in Argonne during the First World War, came from a previous engagement as director of the conservatory in Versailles, a position he held for a decade before returning to Paris.<sup>86</sup> Figure 8 shows Delvincourt at his desk in 1932.

**Figure 8: Claude Delvincourt in 1932.**<sup>87</sup>



His supporters cited Delvincourt's mixture of experience, proclivity for deep thought, and experience in the Conservatoire as the mixture necessary to reform the

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<sup>85</sup> Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 49.

<sup>86</sup> Undated internal note on Delvincourt's biography, Archives Nationales, F/21/8092, Dossier 1, Enseignement des Beaux-Arts.

<sup>87</sup> Claude Delvincourt in 1932, photo by Christian Vervier, Amis de Claude Delvincourt.

Conservatoire, even during the years of Occupation.<sup>88</sup> For two months, the Germans blocked Delvincourt's nomination as collaborators in Paris expressed support of the organist at Sanit-Sulpice and professor of organ at the Conservatoire, Marcel Dupré.<sup>89</sup> Carcopino intervened against Dupré, preferring a composer in the position of director, and eventually Delvincourt was named Director of the Conservatoire on 1 April 1941.<sup>90</sup>

Though not immediately anti-Vichy, Delvincourt was opposed to the Nazi ideology and vehemently anti-German. He immediately began a successful campaign to allow half-Jewish students the right to compete in the *concours* of 1941. Delvincourt fought to keep the three percent of Jewish students, the same allowance extended to other educational institutions, but Bonnard himself denied this request. Yet the inability to gain acclaim through the *concours* drew the purpose of the conservatoire training into question. The 6 June 1942 law that banned Jews from performing in the theater, cinema, and opera meant that no students could achieve the career goals of the conservatoire. Though Delvincourt again attempted to allow Jewish students to perform the *concours*, the Minister of Education, now Abel Bonnard, denied his request and further opined that no Jewish students be allowed to continue at the institution.<sup>91</sup> The expulsion of the Jews was unfortunately expedited by Rabaud and Chailley's cataloguing; ultimately, 25 students were forced to leave. Delvincourt sent the letters himself on 25 September of

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<sup>88</sup> Agnès Callu, "Le Conservatoire de Paris: Les Réformes Structurelles (1939–1947)," in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. Myriam Chmènes, 127–41 (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001), 135.

<sup>89</sup> Dupré, formerly Messiaen's organ teacher, eventually became director of the Conservatoire de Paris following Delvincourt's tragic death in an automobile accident in 1954.

<sup>90</sup> Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 49.

<sup>91</sup> Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 49.

that year. Though he could not protect all students from expulsion, Delvincourt reportedly saved a few Jewish students with French surnames.<sup>92</sup>

One of the outcast Jewish students, French composer Odette Gartenlaub, spoke in an interview with Benjamin Ivry regarding her experience. “Messiaen had my address; he just didn’t want to compromise himself,” she remembered to Ivry. “After the war when I returned, all the Conservatory people were very friendly and pleasant again, but these were the same people who ignored me after I’d been thrown out.”<sup>93</sup> She also recalls in the fall of 1942, Chailley chasing her down to remind her that after September 30, she was no longer allowed to eat from the student cafeteria.<sup>94</sup>

After the war, Messiaen asked her three times to rejoin his studio, but she demurred, due to his lack of communication during the Occupation. In his first letter to her on the subject, she reacted specifically to his insensitive wording, that she was “now able” to rejoin the class.<sup>95</sup> She instead studied with Noel Gallon and later Darius Milhaud, finally winning the Prix de Rome in 1948. She spent three years at the Villa Medici, under the direction of Jacques Ibert before returning to Paris to begin her career as a pianist. She made recordings of some Debussy piano works under Inghebrecht and in 1954 won the Grand Prix du disque. She gave solo recitals and chamber performances.

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<sup>92</sup> Gribenski, “L’exclusion des juifs,” 152; Gribenski includes the letter from Delvincourt to Odette Gartenlaub, Archives Nationales F/21/5168.

<sup>93</sup> Benjamin Ivry, “Were they Heroes or were they Collaborators,” *The Forward*, 8 March 2014, <https://forward.com/culture/193898/were-they-heroes-or-were-they-collaborators/>.

<sup>94</sup> Jean-Michel Ferran, *Odette Gartenlaub* (Paris: Editions Editions Aedam Musicae, 2017), 38. This incident was also confirmed by Denis Herlin, Directeur de recherche au CNRS (IReMus) in an email on 10 September 2018. See also Benjamin Ivry, “Were They Heroes or Were They Collaborators?,” *Forward* 8 March 2014.

<sup>95</sup> Ferran, *Odette Gartenlaub*, 136. In this passage, Ferran also states that Gartenlaub later regretted not taking the opportunity to study with Messiaen, though her later words to Ivry appear rather harsh on the subject.

She played Schumann, Liszt, and Bach, among works by Debussy and 20th century French contemporaries. In 1959 she was appointed Professor of Music Theory at the conservatoire, where she taught for thirty years. During these years, she was also a prolific composer of solo works for *concours* pieces. Following her retirement in 1989, she devoted herself to piano interpretation and more composition. She died in Paris in 2014 at age 92.<sup>96</sup>

While considering the case of the Paris Conservatoire, one must pause to consider the role of institutional reproduction inherent to any field and its individual actors. For fear of being shut down, Rabaud and Chailley carried out the racial profiles of the students, while it appears that Delvincourt, for fear of losing his students and suffering the same fate, turned to resistance rather than acquiescence to ensure the continued existence of the Conservatoire. Bending the will of the German Embassy and Propaganda Staffel, the Vichy administration allowed the Conservatoire de Paris to gradually lose autonomy over its institution. The party line remained that the Conservatoire obeyed its masters, and indeed, it did often pay service to the demands of collaborative projects. And yet, while maintaining appearances and adhering to the most visible tenets, individuals in the Conservatoire, particularly Delvincourt and Charles Munch, found ways to bring the resistance—which they both joined—home to roost.

Musicians joined together in the resistance group Front Nationale des musiciens, also called the “Comité, de Front national des musiciens, Comté des musiciens du Front national, or encore Front national des musiciens, Front national de la musique.” The group formed as a subset of the resistance organized under the

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<sup>96</sup> Denis Havard de la Montagne, “Odette Gartenlaub,” *Musica et Memoria*, October 2014, accessed 12 November 2019, <http://www.musimem.com/gartenlaub.htm>.

French Communist party. Given the different modes of expression in each field, the initially joint efforts to protect the artistic and literary milieu splintered into smaller groups solely for musicians, painters, writers, etc. What proved effective in one area may not translate to another.<sup>97</sup>

In autumn 1940 Elsa Barraine made contact with Louis Dury and Roger Désormière. Roger Désormière, Louis Durey, Elsa Barraine, Henri Dutilleux, Geneviève Joy, Irène Joachim, Claude Delvincourt, Georges Auric, Francis Poulenc, Marcel Mihalovici, Monique Haas, Charles Munch, Henri Sauguet, Henry Barraud, Arthur Honegger, Claude Verneuil, Manuel Rosenthal, and Roland-Manuel. This group ran and published the clandestine newspaper *Musiciens d'Adjour'hui*.<sup>98</sup> Their main goals were to:

1. Generate musical events, such as performances of the works of banned musicians like Darius Milhaud.
2. Solidarity with other musicians; many gave a portion of their salaries to the families of imprisoned musicians
3. Demonstrations, like the protest of the Berlin Philharmonic's performance in Lyon on 19 May 1942
4. Musical contraband, as with the playing of snippets of the Marseilles and the Marche Lorraine in nightclubs
5. Immediate demands<sup>99</sup>

Delvincourt had joined the group by the end of 1942, if not sooner. For his part, Delvincourt held the rotating meetings at both his personal residence and at the conservatoire. Furthermore, he allowed the clandestine performances of Milhaud's music at the conservatoire, where reporting events of under 40 audience members was not

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<sup>97</sup> Guy Krivopissko and Daniel Virieux, "Musiciens: Une Profession en Résistance?," *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. Myriam Chimènes, 333-334.

<sup>98</sup> Nigel Simeone, "Making Music in Occupied Paris," *The Musical Times* 147:1894 (Spring 2006), 45.

<sup>99</sup> Krivopissko and Virieux, "Musiciens," 338-344.

required.<sup>100</sup> Delvincourt's most heroic act was the formation of the Cadets du Conservatoire. The Vichy Regime and German occupiers also threatened the non-Jewish students at the Conservatoire. These students faced deportation to the *Service du Travail Obligatoire* (Forced Labor Service). Students began to receive letters in 1941, but experienced a sharp increase in 1943, as the Allies gained momentum and the German factories ran short on labor.<sup>101</sup> To prevent their deportation to Germany—and the attendant drop in Conservatoire registration—Delvincourt created the orchestra and chorus Les Cadets du Conservatoire. These students did indeed serve the public by performing both in Paris and in some surrounding provinces as part of the social musical education for the youth. Involvement in Les Cadets, a group meant to subvert Nazi demands, also led several of the members to join the Resistance movement.<sup>102</sup>

Reports immediately following the liberation of Paris assert Delvincourt's actions against the German occupiers. American War correspondent in France, Rudolph Dunbar, reported in December 1944 that Delvincourt held off Nazi authorities, who wanted to take the *Cadets du Conservatoire* on tour in Germany to perform for French POWs under the “Kraft Durch Freude” (Strength through Joy) heading.<sup>103</sup> After a series of excuses for setbacks, including an instrument shortage, Delvincourt instructed his students to go into

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<sup>100</sup> Krivopissko, and Virieux, “Musiciens,” 340.

<sup>101</sup> Marguerite Sablonnière, “Claude Delvincourt et Les Cadets du Conservatoire une Politique d’Orchestre (1943–54)” in *Le conservatoire de Paris: Des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la musique (1795–1995)*, (Paris: Éditions Buchet/Chastel, 1996), 261.

<sup>102</sup> Marguerite Sablonnière, “Claude Delvincourt et les Cadets du Conservatoire: Une politique d’orchestre (1943–54),” in *Le conservatoire de Paris: Des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la musique (1795–1995)*, edited by Anne Bongrain and Yves Gérard (Paris: Éditions Buchet/Chastel, 1995), 261–81.

<sup>103</sup> This would have been quite dangerous for the students; by 1943, American forces joined the British aerial attacks on Germany, often targeting a single city at a time and resulting in the deaths of over 600,000 German civilians by the war's end.



hiding; when the Gestapo threatened Delvincourt himself for hiding the students, he followed suit, disappearing for two months until the liberation freed Paris.<sup>104</sup> Historian James Frazier opines that Delvincourt used his position at the Conservatoire—and of the Comité Cortot, even heading the Comité national de propaganda pour la musique beginning in December 1941—to hide his clandestine activities.<sup>105</sup> In 1954 after an untimely death in an automobile accident, Delvincourt’s obituary honored his recalls involvement in the French resistance.<sup>106</sup>

As is often the case in musical institutions, the figure of conducting professor, Charles Munch, wielded a great deal of influence. From 1937–1946 he served as the conducting professor, ran the school’s ensembles, and also conducted the extremely important Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. Munch was born in Strasbourg while during its annexation to Germany, and remained close with Wilhelm Furtwängler even after the war. Despite his ties to Germany, Munch vehemently opposed the actions of the Nazi party through the 1930s and 40s. During the occupation, several of his close friends in Strasbourg were tortured and he himself spent a night in jail for refusing to conduct a highly political concert. His chief biographer, D. Kern Holoman, notes his actions under Vichy:

From 1940 to 1944 he gave material aid in the form of food and money to poets, peasants, and passersby, shelter at the family properties in central and south France to refugees trying to reach Spain and Portugal, and hiding places in and around Paris for musicians in danger of being deported to the camps. His joy at the liberation was all consuming—even more in private than in his conspicuous

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<sup>104</sup> Rudolph Dunbar and Felix Aprahamian, “The News from Paris,” *Tempo* 9 (December 1944), 177–179.

<sup>105</sup> James E. Frazier, *Maurice Duruflé: The Man and His Music* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 165.

<sup>106</sup> Norman Demuth, “Claude Delvincourt,” *The Musical Times*, 95:1336 (June 1954) < 330.

public outpourings. He had virtually nothing else to do with Germany for the rest of his life.<sup>107</sup>

Like Delvincourt, he joined the resistance. After the war in 1945, his efforts were rewarded with the Légion d'honneur, the highest decoration in France. Part of Munch's post at the Conservatoire was to serve as conductor for the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire.<sup>108</sup> Though not a proper part of the Conservatoire itself, this orchestra functioned as a professional outlet for faculty and students alike. Gifted students of the Conservatoire played beside their teachers, in an illustration of institutional reproduction. It thus represented the extended habitus of the school environment.<sup>109</sup> Due to Munch's strong personal feelings towards Vichy and the German occupants, one may expect strong symbols of resistance appear with this group. Yet, collaborationists viewed the group as a vehicle for their aims and often required its services. Munch declined to conduct certain concerts due to the political overtones, such as the Wagner concert on the anniversary of his death,<sup>110</sup> or to perform on radio, but did not interfere with the direction of the group. The programming of these concerts reflected collaborationist trends.

The 1940–41 season continued without much difference. Munch, rumored to have stayed as a commitment to the French public, conducted Rameau, Lully, and Couperin alongside newer French works, including Honegger's *Danse des morts*.<sup>111</sup> This season included a two-day Beethoven Festival, as well as an increased performance of Richard

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<sup>107</sup> D. Kern Holoman, *Charles Munch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 60

<sup>108</sup> Holoman, *Charles Munch*, 49.

<sup>109</sup> This orchestra eventually became the purely professional Orchestre de Paris in 1967. For complete program listing of each season, see D. Kern Holoman, "The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire (1928–1967)," <http://hector.ucdavis.edu>.

<sup>110</sup> This task fell to pianist Alfred Cortot, who suffered in the immediate post war era for his performances throughout Germany.

<sup>111</sup> D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 450–51.

Strauss. The following season witnessed major changes. The organization published 30 Statutes, describing the social purpose and hierarchy of the orchestra, the musicians, and the administrators, perhaps to legitimize the Société to the Vichy regime and the German occupants. The season also heavily emphasized German repertoire. The Beethoven *Missa Solemnis* opened the season October 19, 1941. As of November 16, the performances had to appear beneath the rubric, “Concerts de Collaboration,” and included an influx of Schumann and Brahms as well as Mozart and Beethoven festivals.<sup>112</sup>

From this point, collaborative concerts abounded. The Société, like other performing groups, was forced to participate in concerts for the youth, called “Concerts Jeune France,” “Concerts Éducatifs,” and later “Jeunesse et Musiques.” These concerts presented lineages of composers organized around a single topic, such as rhythm or imitation. Though these concerts included French composers, they were always preceded by German masters, illustrating that French artists proceeded from German greatness, and instill in the children attending a shared cultural history.<sup>113</sup> A concert for Pétain took place on October 20, 1942, and featured Mozart, Beethoven, Ravel, and Roussel, a mixing German masters with French contemporaries. The Grand Beethoven Festival of June 18–29, 1943 at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées featured performances of all nine of the symphonies as well as many of the piano sonatas by renowned soloists. The Leipzig Orchestra and Chorus joined the Société Orchestra and chorus, and soloists for the Ninth Symphony were split between French and German vocalists.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Holoman, *The Société des Concerts*, 452.

<sup>113</sup> Holoman, *The Société des Concerts*, 453.

<sup>114</sup> Cécile Reynaud, D. Kern Holoman, and Catherine Massip, *L’Orchestra de Paris: de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire à l’Orchestre de Paris, 1828–2008* (Paris, Éditions due patrimoine), 23.

The 1944–45 reflected a return to pre-war practices, with considerably less prominence for German masters and an influx of Poulenc, Fauré, Ravel. On June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1945, the orchestra played a benefit concert for the widows and orphans of the army of the Free French, which Charles de Gaulle attended. Soloist Yehudi Menuhin, an American who spent most of his performing career in the United Kingdom performed J.S. Bach, Viextemps, and Dvorák under the direction of Munch.<sup>115</sup> The outward adherence to governance and the collaboration efforts appear to have allowed Munch, like Delvincourt, to maintain his position and thus a modicum of power to wield on behalf of the Resistance.

### **Looking from Paris to the Provinces**

As the Armistice stretched well beyond its limitations to last four long years, the Vichy Regime—and, as demonstrated here, the Conservatoire de Paris—bent to the Germans as their autonomy swiftly waned. Though Conservatoire Director Claude Delvincourt and Charles Munch made many brave efforts to protect their institution and their students, at least outwardly and in publicly visible directives, they maintained adherence to official Vichy and German demands.

Each of these constituents—the newly instituted Vichy Regime, collaborating with the occupying Nazi forces, the system of the Conservatoire with the inherent primacy of the Conservatoire du Paris, and the system of governmental oversight of the system—represented an authority with the power to manipulate an individual provincial conservatoire. These structures of authority often clashed among themselves as they vied

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<sup>115</sup> Cécile Reynaud, D. Kern Holoman, and Catherine Massip, *L'Orchestra de Paris: de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire à l'Orchestre de Paris, 1828–2008* (Paris, Éditions due patrimoine), 23.

for control, and simultaneously encountered the limits within the closed field operating in subordination to several larger fields of power.

Alongside and as part of the new political situation, the Conservatoire contended with a “fundamental revision of their organizational and pedagogical methods” as part of the National Revolution.<sup>116</sup> At the heart of the program lay the desire to pull them into closer alignment with the Conservatoire de Paris. Certainly some reports are not flattering to the regional institutions. One 1941 report by Arthur Hoérée deemed the students in the provinces “more or less amateurs.”<sup>117</sup> To carry out reforms designed by Delvincourt, Hauteceur created a commission to deliberate over Delvincourt’s reports, including Alfred Cortot, Marguerite Long, Jacques Thibaud, Georges Hüe, Marcel Samuel-Rousseau, and Henri Busser.<sup>118</sup> An overhaul of a complex system inclusive of many groups and individuals was fraught with difficulty. The added element of the potential for collaboration created an even more fraught situation. Included in the committee’s files on the reorganization are six books on musical education in Germany.<sup>119</sup>

The following chapters uncover the histories of six of France’s provincial conservatoires located in both the Occupied Zone (Bayonne, Orleans, and Lille) and the initially Unoccupied Zone (Avignon, Toulouse, and Lyon) By evaluating the (list criterion), these studies compare and contrast experiences with the Conservatoire de Paris, and with one another. As with Paris, individuals emerge as champions of either

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<sup>116</sup> Alfred Cortot “Rapport pour M. Le Secrétaire d’Etat de l’Education Nationale et de la Jeunesse,” 2 May 1941, Archives Nationales, AJ/37/693.

<sup>117</sup> Arthur Hoérée, “La réforme de l’enseignement musical” 1 September 1941, Archives Nationales AJ/37/693.

<sup>118</sup> Hauteceur, *Les beaux-arts en France*, 256, Agnes Callu, “Le Conservatoire de Paris,” 134, and Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 65.

<sup>119</sup> Réforme de l’enseignement musical, Archives Nationales, F/21/8093.

collaboration or resistance, though in all shades of variation. The following chapters also address whether the additional layer of municipal government and individuals help or hurt the existence of the provincial conservatoires operating under new state governments. To what degree did the personal views and politics of municipal government officials play a part in the degree of change at each institution? Did their geographical locations protect them or leave them more vulnerable to outside influence, either by Vichy or the Nazis? Given the virulent anti-Semitism of both the Nazis and Vichy, were conservatoires ultimately better off under the watch of one or the other? Simply put: did the conservatoires function more easily under the eyes of the Vichy regime or Nazi occupiers? Furthermore, with the understanding of communications difficulties, even between Paris and Vichy, to what degree did geographical location play a role in communications between these provincial conservatoires and both the French government in Vichy and the central and prominent Conservatoire de Paris? Did each conservatoire follow the example set by the Conservatoire de Paris, or set out on a more lonesome navigation of the tumultuous Vichy years? Finally, what role did individuals and their personal beliefs and politics contribute to the climate of relative collaboration, neutrality, or resistance at each of the provincial conservatoires?

**CHAPTER II**  
**The Occupation Arrives**  
**The Occupied Zone, 1940–1942**  
**Bayonne, Orléans, Lille**

During the Second World War, thirty of the forty-five *succursales du conservatoire* and *écoles nationales de musique* were located in the occupied zone. These institutions provide comparison to the Conservatoire de Paris in their oversight due to location in the same zone, though certainly local population size and politics created unique microclimates. While each of the thirty institutions experienced distinct wartime conditions, investigation into a diverse segment of these establishments provides an entry into understanding and further scholarship. This chapter examines the wartime histories of three such institutions—the École Nationale de Musique de Bayonne, the Conservatoire de Orléans, and the Conservatoire de Lille—in the occupied zone from the enactment of the Armistice through the move to total occupation in November 1942. These three institutions represent distinct regions of the country and express the variance even within the same zone; the demarcation line did largely bisect the country into northern (occupied) and southern (unoccupied) zones, but also extended down the Atlantic coast of France to its southern border with Spain.

Bayonne, a small town on the Atlantic coast and just north of the border with Spain illustrates the difficulties of maintaining an already-lean institution under increasing confines and shrinking resources. Orléans illustrates the shattering affects of the war, as this once bustling city experienced extreme physical destruction that

permanently changed its status and population. Finally, Lille, within an hour's train journey to the beaches of Dunkirk, represents one of the oldest branches of the national conservatoire. It likewise illustrates an extremely complicated mix of authorities, as the German oversight came not from the German High Command in Paris, but rather the Military Administration in Belgium and Northern France, based in Brussels, which oversaw both the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais departments.<sup>1</sup>

From the very onset of the Vichy regime, disorganization characterized the governance of the provincial conservatoires and écoles. Certainly for institutions located in the occupied zone, understanding and working with both the newly installed Vichy regime and accommodating and living under the German occupiers presented a binary challenge. On 24 July 1940, a note from the Ministry of Education asked the Préfets of the occupied zone to advise as to whether the conservatoires and écoles fell under municipal or state control.<sup>2</sup> This very basic question illustrates both how little the regime understood of the provincial institutions and an early query into how they could rein in such organizations. Likewise, financial and budgetary documents from these provincial institutions illustrate the heavy reliance on municipal funds, which appears at odds with increased state oversight. Funding from the state waxed and waned through the nineteenth century and by the mid-twentieth century were largely funded by municipalities.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Caniot, *Lille 1939–1945, Première partie* Lambersart, 2009, 224–29.

<sup>2</sup> Internal note of the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux Arts, 24 July 1940, Archives Nationales, F/21/8092 Dossier 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Emmanuel Hondré, "La mise en place des premières succursales du Conservatoire," in *Le Conservatoire de Paris: Des Menus-Plaisirs à la Cité de la Musique (1795–1995)*, Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1996: 169–200.



As with Paris, many students and faculty members had fled the advancing Germans along with their families, and a concerted effort had to be made to re-establish a normal order.<sup>4</sup> As late as the first week of September 1940, officials at the Ministère de l'Éducation were trying to ascertain whether certain schools had reintegrated and were attempting to gain the addresses of directors and professors of conservatoires in the occupied zone still located in the non-occupied zone.<sup>5</sup> In some cases, male professors and administrators were called to active service, and had to make their way home from military duty. Yet, as with the Conservatoire de Paris, professors and students returned, and courses carried on through the years of Vichy and the occupation.

Examination of the wartime histories of these institutions incorporates analysis and inferences drawn from both the National Archives of France—home to the dossiers of the Ministère de l'Éducation and the Ministère des Beaux-Arts, as well as the Conservatoire de Paris—and the municipal archives of the town these institutions were situated in, which hold the archives of individual conservatoires and écoles. Through cross referencing these accounts and combining them with existing secondary scholarship on wartime life in each locale, an accurate narrative of the struggles, experiences, and attitudes of life and education in these institutions comes into focus.

Provincial institutions enjoyed a certain amount of insulation from the new governing forces in the form of their municipal governments, though this varied wildly between locations. While the capital city, which did not regain a formally recognized municipal government until 1977, experienced the state government as municipal

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<sup>4</sup> Internal note of the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, 5 July 1940, Archives Nationales, F/21/8086.

<sup>5</sup> Communications of the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, 6 and 7 September 1940, Archives Nationales, F/21/8092 Dossier 2.

government, provincial cities and towns enjoyed an extra layer of bureaucratic officials, through whom Vichy's representatives spoke.<sup>6</sup> In an effort to both centralize power and indoctrinate the French people, the Vichy regime sought to wrest control from the rural populations, and in particular, local governments that might oppose its aims—all the while holding provincial life aloft as models of untainted “Frenchness” free from the corruption of cosmopolitanism.

The replacement of elected departmental and municipal councils with appointed administrative commissions on 12 October 1940 marked the elimination of local democracy and a definite authoritarian step by Vichy. Furthermore, on 16 November, Vichy replaced elected mayors with appointed ones for all localities with a population that exceeded 2,000; municipal councils were named from a list provided by these appointed mayors. The préfets—appointed by the state—could dissolve municipal councils in localities with populations under 2,000 at their own discretion.<sup>7</sup> Furthering an idealized vision of the provinces of the *ancien régime*, Vichy divided France into twenty regions in August 1941, each governed by an appointive regional assembly and governor. The new regions did not take into account the demarcation line; Vichy prioritized its vision of regional identity over practical governance, and believed the occupation would end when France found her place in Hitler's New Europe.<sup>8</sup> Despite these efforts to mold provincial cities and towns in their own image, Vichy did not replace the non-elected

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<sup>6</sup> See Boris Bove, Quentin Deluermoz, and Nicolas Lyon-Caen, *Le gouvernement des parisiens: Paris, ses habitants et l'État, une histoire partagée*, (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2017), 2. Based on exposition of the same name at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris ran from 22 April to 22 July 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944*, 151.

<sup>8</sup> Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944*, 157.

functionaries that oversaw day-to-day activity, leaving a crucial mass of individual actors in place.

Examination of the music education institutions in Bayonne, Orléans, and Lille reveals an entirely different set of challenges and reactions in the provincial institutions from those in Paris, highlighting the importance of regional studies to form a historically accurate view of the system of music education in France under Vichy and the Occupation. The variation of experiences in these institutions demonstrates important distinctions from Paris and one another.

## **BAYONNE**

The small Basque city of Bayonne sits alongside the river Adour as it makes its way to the Atlantic at its outlet, the Bay of Biscay. The Adour River bisects Bayonne into Northern and Southern halves, the southern portion divided further by the smaller tributary, the Nive, as it flows up to meet the Adour. Bayonne is located inland from the better-known coastal Biarritz, a popular spot during the summer months, and from the nineteenth century, Parisians passed through Bayonne on their way to the seaside. In the culinary world, Bayonne is synonymous with Bayonne ham, a strictly controlled type of cured ham originating from specific breeds and made through a process that originated in the Adour valley.<sup>9</sup> During the eighteenth century, Bayonne served as a major point of trade, but turned towards the steel industry in the following century as a result of the industrial revolution.

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<sup>9</sup> To this day, the town boasts a ham museum, the Musée du Jambon Charcuterie Aubard, at 18 rue Poissonnerie.

At the onset of the Second World War, Bayonne had been a town in flux for nearly a decade. The economic downturn of the 1930s hit Bayonne particularly hard, resulting in population stagnation as well as climbing unemployment rates. Unemployment doubled between 1933 and 1934, and again by 1936.<sup>10</sup> With the onset of civil war in Spain, the city also saw a flood of refugees enter as they crossed the border over the Pyrénées.<sup>11</sup> Beginning in 1936, Mayor Pierre Simonet, a member of the center-left Radical Party, governed Bayonne. As Bayonne began to receive refugees from the Spanish civil war, Simonet revealed his character, saying that the town had, “received a thousand of these innocent victims. The least we owe them is the widest and most fraternal hospitality.”<sup>12</sup> The town’s resources were thus already thin on 15 May 1940, when French refugees fleeing from the advancing German army joined the flood of people into Bayonne. Though some expected to merely escape active battle and wait for the end of fighting in the south, many attempted to find passage to Africa or England. On 20 June 1940, a group of local high school and college students managed to board a Yugoslavian freighter to reach England in response to General de Gaulle’s radio appeal.<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, due to the racial discrimination of both the occupying Germans and the edicts of Vichy, Simonet’s call to hospitality could not persist.

Though Bayonne luckily escaped active battle, the small city was far from overlooked. Following the signing of the Armistice, Bayonne was quickly occupied. Despite it’s being located extremely far south, it was occupied as part of Hitler’s

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<sup>10</sup> Josette Pontet, ed., *Histoire de Bayonne* (Toulouse, Editions Privat, 1991), 269.

<sup>11</sup> Josette Pontet, *Histoire de Bayonne*, 271.

<sup>12</sup> Pierre Labord, “D’une guerre à l’autre, l’affaiblissement (1914–1945): Bayonne Occupé,” in *Histoire de Bayonne*, Josette Pontet, ed. (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1991), 275.

<sup>13</sup> Labord, “D’une guerre à l’autre, l’affaiblissement, 275.

“Atlantic Wall” to secure and launch war on England from “Fortress Europe.”<sup>14</sup> On 27 June 1940, the 3rd Panzer Division, Totenkopf, “death’s head,” a division of the Waffen-SS, began a four-year occupation of the area. They overtook barracks as well as anchoring naval units in the harbor. The Germans transformed the polo field into a prison camp, where they gathered 850 mostly black individuals who had settled in France from northern Africa.<sup>15</sup> As for local government, attorney Marcel Ribetron was installed by Vichy as mayor on 6 June 1941. At this same time, nineteen municipal council members were appointed, only three of which had been previously elected. Immediately upon the installation of the new municipal government, its members expressed their confidence and devotion to Pétain.<sup>16</sup> The installation of the new government was only the first in a series of changes for the citizens of Bayonne, and an ominous one for its most vulnerable communities.

The Jewish population in Bayonne pre-dates most other Jewish communities in France. They descended from the Sephardic communities of Spain and Portugal expelled during the Inquisition. The population had settled in the suburb of Saint-Esprit and in the lower valley of the Ardour River for several centuries, eventually joined by Jews from Alsace-Lorraine, the “juifs de Pape,” in the nineteenth century and later immigrants from eastern Europe. Though populations declined, especially during the Second Empire, population counts documented 371 Jews residing in Bayonne in 1942. Due to their centuries-old establishment, nearly all were French citizens, owned property and ran

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<sup>14</sup> J.E. Kaufmann, et. al, *The Atlantic Wall: History and Guide*, (South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Military, 2012), 1938–1941.

<sup>15</sup> Labord, “D’une guerre à l’autre,” 275.

<sup>16</sup> Pierre Labord, “D’une guerre à l’autre, l’affaiblissement (1914–1945): Bayonne Occupé,” in *Histoire de Bayonne*, Josette Pontet, ed. (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1991), 276.

businesses. The anti-Semitism of Vichy and the Germans began in 1940. For the first two years of the occupation, most persecution took the form of Vichy's October 1940 and June 1941 exclusionary statutes; starting in the summer of 1942, German looting and deportation became a looming specter.<sup>17</sup> Figure 9 illustrates German soldiers overseeing the emptying of the synagogue.

**Figure 9: 1942 Requisition of the Synagogue by Wehrmacht Soldiers.<sup>18</sup>**



These significant changes in the government, laws, and citizenry affected every element of daily life in Bayonne. Though the town was, even at the onset of the war, a

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<sup>17</sup> Martine Bacqué, “Un aspect de la collaboration. La spoliation des juifs de Bayonne,” in *Vichy et la collaboration dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, ed. Laurent Jalabert and Stéphane La Bras (Cairn, 2015): 25–27.

<sup>18</sup> Wehrmacht, photographer unknown, Synagogue of Bayonne (France), 1942.

small port city, it did boast an active cultural life. Cultural establishments, including the school of music, felt the transformations from the new government and occupation.

### **The École de Musique de Bayonne**

The École nationale de Musique de Bayonne found itself in a singular situation. Vichy and the Occupiers made no documented attempts to control or interfere in such a small and unimportant institution, even following the June 1941 Vichy statute limiting the number of Jewish students at any institution. At the same time, the small town now stretched to include and house both the Vichy governing forces and German occupants. As a result, the city squeezed the school into increasingly small physical spaces, threatening its very existence—without room to instruct, the purpose would become void. Resources, or the lack thereof, presented the largest threat to the institution. As an école rather than a conservatoire nationale, the school already received less support from the state government, and, owing to the relatively smaller population of the town of Bayonne, could not rely on large sums from the municipal government, even in more prosperous times. Following nearly a decade of economic hardships and the influx of refugees from all directions, the school now needed intervention to stay afloat.

The École Nationale de Musique de Bayonne was created by decree dated 15 April 1876. The mayor of Bayonne at the time, Jules Châteauneuf, created the school as a municipal institution in consultation with violinist Jean-Delphin Alard, a local violinist then performing as a member of the Paris Opera. The school was originally intended to train young musicians to perform in the local theater orchestra. The school received its state recognition as part of the system of conservatoires and écoles only eight years later,

in 10 March 1884.<sup>19</sup> Though small in size, the school never ceased its functions, remaining fully operational through both world wars. Pre-war, the école was run in an analogous manner to its counterparts across France. Figure 10 illustrates the types of courses, age limits and size of classes taken from the 1939 booklet on the running of the organization.

**Figure 10: Designation and duration of courses in Bayonne, 1939.<sup>20</sup>**

**Désignation et durée des Cours**

DÉSIGNATION DES COURS	AGE d'admission		Nombre		Durée des Classes
	Minimum	Maximum	Classes	Élèves par Classe	
Solfège élémentaire . . . . .	7	13	1	25	2 ans
d° moyen . . . . .	9	15	1	25	2 ans
d° supérieur . . . . .	9	20	1	20	3 ans
Chant hommes } cours mixte . . .	18	28	1	8	5 ans
Chant femmes }	17	25			
Piano élémentaire . . . . .	9	14	1	10	2 ans
d° moyen (même classe) . . . . .	9	14			3 ans
d° supérieur . . . . .	10	18			6
Violon élémentaire . . . . .	9	14	1	8	3 ans
Violon moyen . . . . .	9	15			4 ans
Violon supérieur . . . . .	10	18			5 ans
Alto (+ classe violon compris dans les classes de violon) . . . . .	14	22			5 ans
Violoncelle et Contrebasse . . . . .	9	18	1	8	5 ans
Flûte, Hautbois, Basson . . . . .	9	22	1	10	5 ans
Clarinette . . . . .	9	22	1	10	5 ans
Instruments cuivre . . . . .	12	22	1	10	5 ans
Harmonie et Histoire de la Musique					

<sup>19</sup> Frédéric Sorhaitz, "Le grand séminaire de Bayonne," *Agenda musicale*, 2013. Accessed 21 July 2018.

<sup>20</sup> "Désignation et durée des Cours," *Ecole Nationale de Musique, Règlement* (Bayonne: Société d'édition & d'imprimerie du Sud-Ouest, 1939), 6. Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 1R31.



Excellent record keeping by the Conservatoire de Bayonne, and subsequent preservation by the municipal archives allows considerable insight into this small school. Budgetary receipts dating from 1938 and 1939 attest that the school received state subventions to supplement the salaries of the Director and the professors. These state subsidiaries continued, but were decreased. In the spring of 1940, the state subsidy decreased by over 100 francs, leaving, from state funds, a mere 532.50 francs for the director's salary and 3,217.50 francs for the salaries of eleven professors.<sup>21</sup>

In the early days of the war, the school benefitted from the stable direction of Ermend Bonnal, who had held the position for nearly two decades. Likewise, despite difficulties, the conservatoire continued to employ the same or a few more professors through those difficult years.<sup>22</sup> The records of the Ecole Nationale de Musique de Bayonne do not include lists of students either by entry or by class, so little outside the records of outstanding achievements noted in the official inspections can be made of their day-to-day experiences through the war years. Still, corroborating archival documents shed light on their activities. Certainly, exams continued through the years of occupation, as displayed by epistolary evidence describing their dates and jury members; they may, however, have forgone the public and celebratory distribution of prizes, revealed by a lack of letters, customary announcements, or programs. The correspondence reveals little out of place, merely the usual listing of events.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Budgets du École Nationale de Musique de Bayonne, 1938–1946, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W1/23.

<sup>22</sup> Budgets du École Nationale de Musique de Bayonne, 1938–1946, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W1/23.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from Mayor Simonet to Director Bonnal, 12 June 1940, Letter from Director Portré to Mayor Ribeton, 25 June 1942, Letter from Mayor Ribeton to Director Portré, 27 June 1942, all in Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/6.

Georges Huisman, then Ministre des Beaux-Arts, submitted the 1940 Inspection Report for the École de Musique de Bayonne on 4 June of that year, curiously, while the country was still besieged. Most likely, as fighting had not reached the coastal town, authorities attempted to finish the school year with as much normalcy as possible, even as refugees from northern and eastern France began arrived. The report is largely complimentary. Sarraut praises Bonnal's piano students, the vocal students of Dufour, the newly entered Portré as professor of flute, and the two other wind professors, Lespiau and Davey, despite the noted weak recruitment results. Sarraut especially elevated Jeanblanc's cello class.<sup>24</sup>

Sarraut's observation of a "high level" course of music history, taught by none other than Director Bonnal's wife, Hélène, appears particularly noteworthy. Music history classes had only been instituted at the Conservatoire de Paris in the early twentieth century under the directorship of Gabriel Fauré who helmed the institution from 1905–1920.<sup>25</sup> Still, most provincial institutions lacked music history classes in their formal curriculum. This, among other issues, would become a point of contention in the post-war plan to reorganize and recentralize the conservatoire system across France. Bayonne and many other provincial schools nevertheless held music history courses; the commentary by those in Paris to the contrary further demonstrates the lack of communication and understanding between the capital and the provincial institutions, or an attempt to question scholarship occurring in the provinces. In the years following the Armistice, correspondence by Conservatoire de Paris administration is absent any

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<sup>24</sup> Geroges Huisman inspection of École de musique de Bayonne, 4 June 1940, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

<sup>25</sup> Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 144–145.

mention of provincial music history courses. It could be that H el ene Bonnal was simply not listed as giving such a class as it was not part of a prescribed curriculum. On the 1939 list of courses shown on page 73, the course is listed at the bottom but without age limits or other registration information, it appears that this course may have been a practice but not codified in documentation. The lack of acknowledgement of the course could also reflect difficulties as the war drew on for H el ene Bonnal: she documented the hardships the family faced.

Alongside illuminating discovery of unofficial classes, the reports of the state inspectors also provide a window into the quality of education offered at these institutions. The 1940 Bayonne inspection criticizes the solf ege and violin classes. However, Huisman’s report appears generally positive, and he closes with a note of hope that appears na ive in hindsight, even as the Germans neared and Bayonne would soon fall under occupied territory: “the geographical situation of Bayonne seems to have protected this city from any unpleasant surprise.”<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, no formal records of inspections exist in either the National Archives or the Municipal Archives of Bayonne from this point until February of 1943, reflecting the period of difficulties that descended upon Bayonne and all other music education institutions across the occupied zone.

The difficulties of travel may have hindered an inspector’s visit. Certainly in comparison with larger, more prominent institutions, the  cole de Musique in Bayonne may have appeared relatively unimportant and omitted during particularly strained moments. Letters between the Ministry of Education, the Pr efet of the Basses-Pyr en es, and the director of the school from October 1942 through August of 1943, demanding

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<sup>26</sup> Geroges Huisman inspection of  cole de musique de Bayonne, 4 June 1940, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

copies of earlier inspections (1935–1940 specifically) indicates a lack of any inspections from June 1940 until the February 1943 inspection, pointing towards at the very least severe difficulty in communicating with a school in the occupied territory.<sup>27</sup>

Despite this lack of official supervision, other archival evidence illustrates the conditions of the Ecole during the early years of occupation. In the fall of 1941, the school received a directive from the Minister of Education through the Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées to avoid hiring persons already receiving a pension in order to reduce unemployment. The Préfet notes, however, in his letter, that this would be difficult as the music school hired persons mostly due to their individual skill.<sup>28</sup> This directive deftly illustrates the lack of work and resources in France, perhaps particularly painful in Bayonne, already suffering from record unemployment. Likewise, this challenge reflected a general preoccupation with daily life that those at the conservatoire also experienced.

The school's director, Ermend Bonnal, was among those struggling. As early as October 1940, Bonnal wrote letters to Hautecoeur asking for his intercession with the Maréchal. Bonnal lamented his financial situation, citing the difficulty in caring for his family of eleven children under the Occupation.<sup>29</sup> The préfet of the Basses-Pyrénées also

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<sup>27</sup> Letter from the Sous-Prefet de Bayonne to the Mayor of Bayonne, 30 August 1943. Letter from the Mayor of Bayonne to the Sous-Préfet of Bayonne, 27 July 1943. Letter from the Sous-Prefet of Bayonne to the Mayor of Bayonne 19 July 1943. Letter from the Mayor of Bayonne to the Secretary of Beaux-Arts and the Préfet of the Basses-Pyrénées, 21 January 1943. Letter from the Mayor of Bayonne to the École Director, 21 January 1943. Letter from André Larrede to Pelloux, Secretary of the Mayor of Bayonne, 21 October 1942. All letters from the Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W5/6.

<sup>28</sup> Letter from the Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées to the Maire of Bayonne, 9 October 1941, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/8.

<sup>29</sup> Letter from Hautecoeur to the Minister of Education, 10 October 1940, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

wrote on Bonnal's behalf that the state money for child care, added to his salaries at the école and as church organist, still did not suffice, and campaigned for a special subventions.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, Alfred Cortot appealed to Hautecoeur, and Bonnal's wife Hélène wrote directly to Pétain, describing the "miserable treatment of her husband."<sup>31</sup> These pleas were eventually rewarded with emergency funding as well as a promotion. Still, compared to the early persecution and expulsions occurring at the Conservatoire de Paris, Bayonne's école de musique experienced a relatively uninterrupted existence in the early months of occupation.

### **Ermend Bonnal as Director and Inspector**

For just over two decades, the École Nationale de Musique de Bayonne benefitted from the steady direction of Joseph-Ermend Bonnal, more commonly known as simply Ermend Bonnal. A composer and organist, Bonnal attended the Conservatoire de Paris, studying directly with Fauré. Bonnal married his first wife, Suzanne Bonal, a cousin, in Bordeaux on 19 August 1903 and moved with her to an apartment in Paris the following year.<sup>32</sup> During this time, he served as organist at Notre Dame de Boulogne-sur-Seine in the Parisian suburbs. A musician herself, Suzanne served as professor of voice at the École Orthophonique de Paris.<sup>33</sup> She garnered attention for singing in Esperanto, and gave masterclasses on correct diction; Bonnal wrote several songs in Esperanto expressly for her. The connection to Esperanto appears unique; L.L. Zamenhof created the language in

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<sup>30</sup> Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées to the Minister of Education, 7 December 1940, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

<sup>31</sup> Letter from Hélène Bonnal to Maréchal Pétain, 10 August 1940, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

<sup>32</sup> Not a typographical error; Suzanne's surname had only one "n."

<sup>33</sup> This school was deemed a "popular" institution intended for the working class.

1887 as a universal second language he hoped would foster universality and subsequently world peace. Though devoutly Catholic, the Bonnals' connection to the Esperanto community may indicate his later unwillingness to cooperate with Nazi requests.

Interestingly, Hitler specifically denounced Esperanto in his 1925 *Mein Kampf* and named “Esperantists” or the community of speakers, as “enemies of the state serving through their Language Jewish-internationalist aims...”<sup>34</sup>

In addition to his more serious musical endeavors, Bonnal also enjoyed writing piano works inspired by popular styles including ragtime, one-step, cakewalk, and tango. He published these popular works under the pseudonym Guy Marylis; though he enjoyed writing this music, it appears he wanted to keep his popular works separate from his art music and performance. Around 1915, on account of the asthma that plagued him his entire life, Bonnal was considered unfit for service in the Great War, and left industrial Paris for Bordeaux. He served as organist for the Église de Saint-Michel de Bordeaux from 1916–1918.<sup>35</sup> Ermend and Suzanne had two children: Frank and Edith, the latter eventually became a singer for the Radiodiffusion Française.<sup>36</sup> Suzanne sadly died of tuberculosis in May of 1920.

Following the death of his first wife, Bonnal accepted the position of director of the École Nationale de Musique de Bayonne; he settled in nearby Biarritz. His daughter Mayette later opined that he took the position to spend more time away from Paris, as the

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<sup>34</sup> Geoffrey Sutton, *Concise Encyclopedia of the Original Literature of Esperanto (1887–2007)* (New York: Modial, 2008), 161–162.

<sup>35</sup> For full biography, see Michel d’Arcangues, *Joseph-Ermend Bonnal, 1880–1944: manifique et méconnu* (Paris: Séguier, 2003) and Ermend Bonnal, *Ermend Bonnal: lettres et écrits*, eds. Déborah Bonin and Laurie Marcoz (Paris: Delatour France, 2008).

<sup>36</sup> “Dossiers de musiciens des orchestrea et de choristes de la Radiodiffusion française, sortis de fonctions avant le 1er janvier 1975” Archives Nationales, Culture: Radio-France: 1996001923.

city air compounded difficulty breathing from a significant asthma problem. Bonnal remarried the following year. His second wife, H el ene Ch evenot, was described by her daughter Mayette as an art historian, lecturer, and poet, a singer and pianist who was quite religious but capricious in spirit.<sup>37</sup> The couple had nine children: Marylis—the surname of his popular music pseudonym, Bernadette (later called Sophie), Jean, Francis, Christian, Fran ois, Marie-Elizabeth (called Mayette), Bertrand, and Fran oise. Bonnal enjoyed a life marked by trips to the beach, a lively family home filled with children, and especially relished good food and wine.<sup>38</sup> A photo of him with Marylis, who eventually studied at the Conservatoire de Bourdeaux, can be seen in figure 11.

**Figure 11: Joseph-Ermend Bonnal with his daughter and student, Marylis.<sup>39</sup>**



In December of 1941, Bonnal was named an Inspecteur de l'Enseignement Musical.<sup>40</sup> Under Vichy's prominent interest in hiring men who were fathers of large

<sup>37</sup> Mayette Bonnal, Interview with the author, May 2014.

<sup>38</sup> Mayette Bonnal, Interview with the author, May 2014.

<sup>39</sup> Photographer and year unavailable; kindly shared with the author by the family of Ermend Bonnal.

families, this appointment satisfied Bonnal's pleas for a larger salary during an uncertain time with eleven children to feed. It likewise fulfilled Vichy's political ideology, as they gave a government position to a devout Catholic and father of a large family.<sup>41</sup> Still, his acute asthma kept him from residing full time in Paris or from particularly strenuous activity. Without a vehicle, Bonnal undertook his travels over the whole of France by train and bicycle, the physical demands great, especially given his ailments.

### **New Directions and Difficulties in Bayonne**

Eugène Portré replaced the outgoing Bonnal as the director of the *École de Bayonne*. A flutist by training, Portré enjoyed a career as a soloist with the Republican Guard, performing in the salons of Paris as well as in the Salle Pleyel and the Opéra Comique. Portré served briefly as a professor at the Conservatoire de Paris (1912–1914) and at the Schola Cantorum at the behest of Vincent d'Indy. In Bayonne, Portré worked as the professor of flute at the *École* and also led the orchestra du Cercle Musical in Bayonne.<sup>42</sup> After Bonnal's December 1941 inspector appointment, Portré took up the duties of the director, though he was not officially confirmed by the municipal council and regional préfet until the following year.<sup>43</sup>

In May 1942, the administrative committee on the school met to discuss the appointment of Portré to the director position. This letter revealed that though Helen

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<sup>40</sup> Texts sur les inspecteurs musical, Archives Nationales, Enseignement des Beaux-Arts: F/21/8092, Dossier 2.

<sup>41</sup> For historical hiring practices of inspectors, see Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 115.

<sup>42</sup> Curriculum Vitae, Joseph Eugène Portré, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

<sup>43</sup> Decree by Mayor Marcel Ribetron of Bayonne, 20 April 1942, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.



Bonnal ceased teaching the history of music class, Portré proposed that the course continue, that it be moved to Sunday morning—instead of during the week, which caused some students to skip solfege class—and be given by the local Professor Maurice Faure of the local *École Pratique*, and, according to Portré, one whose expertise the town revered.<sup>44</sup>

A record of the 1942 meeting of the Municipal Council on the operation of the Conservatoire reflects few official changes to the school. The administration of the school appears much the same, running through the appropriately increasing channels of power: the Director, Mayor, and Regional *Préfet*, ultimately under the control of the *Ministry des Beaux Arts*, itself a division of the Ministry of Education, all as detailed in the previous chapter. In Bayonne, students were still charged a monthly fee of 10 francs, and received school notebooks to communicate progress and concerns to parents. The town additionally held a council on the school, of eight members named to three-year terms by the mayor, who reigned as President *ex-officio*.<sup>45</sup> Council members were usually drawn from the local community, with only the need for community esteem and municipal approval to qualify their positions. The Council of Bayonne counted a doctor, lawyer, and tailor among their ranks.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, musicians formed another portion of the committee, with *Directeur Portré* serving alongside former professor du conservatoire de

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<sup>44</sup> Comité Administratif de l'École Nationale de Musique de Bayonne, Sance du 13 Mai 1942, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/4: Convocation aux reunion du Comité administrative—Commission administrative de l'École 1925–1958.

<sup>45</sup> Extrait du Registre des Deliberation du Conseil Municipal, 17 November 1942, Archives Municipales, 13W4/3.

<sup>46</sup> Letter from tailor (name illegible), lawyer Paul Lalanne, and doctor A. Morel to the Mayor of Bayonne, all January 1942, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/4.

Nevers, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, former army ensemble conductor M. Paul Pilot, and former director of the Opéra Comique, M. Louis Masson.<sup>47</sup>

The conservatoire, already adjusting to a new director as Bonnal ended his two-decade stewardship of the institution, soon found itself under assault, not from the Germans or Vichy, but by their fellow educational partners in Bayonne. The affects of housing both Vichy governmental and policing forces, alongside the occupying German troops, especially concentrated as a point in Hitler's Atlantic Wall, was forcing the joint occupation of many of the small town's limited buildings. In September 1942, Portré wrote to the Mayor in protest of the city engineer's plans to further divide up the school by splitting the large Salle Rameau in two. Portré decried the fact that the city schools and the art school have taken over portions of the building, and stated that the school had reached the "maximum point of compression." He further protested that the splitting of the large room would prohibit the rehearsals of larger groups, namely the orchestras, choruses, and stage courses.<sup>48</sup> The mayor assured Portré that they would take the school's position into account, but could not promise or protect the school's physical location from further requisitions by the Occupants.<sup>49</sup>

During the first two years, the École de Musique de Bayonne was spared the most drastic action, especially any racial discrimination. It appeared to receive a degree of insulation, largely owing to its relative size and perceived importance. However, they faced the difficulties of shrinking space as the small town stretched to accommodate

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<sup>47</sup> Reunion du Comité Administratif de l'École Nationale de Musique de Bayonne, 18 March 1942, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/4.

<sup>48</sup> Letter from Eugene Portré to Mayor Ribetron, 14 September 1942, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/2.

<sup>49</sup> Letter from Mayor Ribetron to Eugene Portré, undated response to 14 September 1942 letter, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/2.

Occupying forces. They also had to navigate the institutional ripples caused by the reign of a new director. Following the considerable governing shifts in 1942 surrounding the move to total Occupation, Bayonne faced additional challenges, while maintaining its identity, as continued in Chapter 4. Bayonne provides a small glimpse into the institutions in the Occupied Zone, one amplified through comparison with other such institutions.

## **ORLEANS**

Located in the heart of the Loire Valley on the banks of the Loire River, Orléans is located a short train ride away from Paris. Its main distinguishing feature was the site of the 8 May 1429 battle during the Hundred Years' War, wherein Joan of Arc—also known as the Maid of Orléans—ended the siege of the English Plantagenets.<sup>50</sup> The house wherein Joan stayed, though damaged in the bombing of the Second World War, remains a tourist attraction to the present day. Orléans later served as a center for the Protestant Huguenots during the sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Given its location in the French heartland, Orléans served as a major market for agriculture and wine.

In May 1940, bombing of the Loiret began, along with a trickle of refugees from northern and western France, which grew to a flood in early June. The bombing of Orléans took place on the nights of 14 and 15 June—probably solely German but also rumored to be Italian, followed by the 19 June bombings of nearby towns: Gien, Sully, Châteauneuf, Saint-Denis-de l'Hotel, Meung-sur-Loire, and Beaugency. The bombings

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<sup>50</sup> Deborah Fraioli, *Joan of Arc and the Hundred Years' War* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005), 59.

<sup>51</sup> Andrew Spicer, "(Re)building the sacred landscape: Orléans, 1560–1610," *French History*, 21:3 (September 2007), 247–268.

devastated Orléans, and nearly all areas of the town featured rubble amid near or completely demolished buildings. Figure 12 illustrates the widespread destruction.

**Figure 12: Damages on the Rue Jeanne d’Arc, Orléans’ main artery.<sup>52</sup>**



The “heart of France,” last invaded by the German during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71, was occupied once more.<sup>53</sup> As with all other cities in France, the mayor of Orléans, Claude Lévy, who had been elected in 1935, was forcibly replaced by Vichy officials in 1941 by a local doctor, Louis Hippolyte Simonin, who remained in control through the liberation. The new préfet of the region, Jacques Morane, appointed on 25

<sup>52</sup> Originally held in the Archives du Loiret. Reproduced by Yves Durand, *Le Loiret dans la guerre 1939–1945: Le vie quotidienne sous l’occupation* (Roanne: Editions Horvath, 1983), 43.

<sup>53</sup> Yves Durand, *Le Loiret dans la guerre 1939–1945: Le vie quotidienne sous l’occupation* (Roanne: Editions Horvath, 1983), 7-8.

June 1940 by Pétain in Bordeaux, arrived to a devastated city. His first objective was simple: rebuild. Morane quickly attached himself to the ultimately doomed “Révolution Nationale,” but continued as the préfet through October 1942, often casting a larger shadow over the town’s running than the mayor.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, Orléans served as a major rail hub for the Germans to move occupying troops and the accompanying goods and arms through France. Figure 13 shows German soldiers in front of the town’s large statue of Joan of Arc.

**Figure 13: Photo of Occupants in front of the Statue of St. Joan of Arc.<sup>55</sup>**



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<sup>54</sup> Yves Durand, *Le Loiret dans la guerre*, 87-88.

<sup>55</sup> Originally held in the Archives du Loiret. Reproduced by Yves Durand, *Le Loiret dans la guerre 1939–1945: Le vie quotidienne sous l’occupation* (Roanne: Editions Horvath, 1983), 41.

## Reopening the Conservatoire Nationale d'Orléans

Unlike Bayonne, which had escaped any significant demolition from bombings or the advancing Germans, the Conservatoire Nationale de Musique d'Orléans found itself in a city of rubble. The first year of the Occupation, 1940–1941, the Conservatoire Nationale d'Orléans marked its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary, a celebration dampened greatly by the abysmal state of its surroundings as well as by faculty absences. René Berthelot, its director since 1936, had been called away to active military service—alongside two other teachers, Couat and Rousseaux—at the onset of the general mobilization. All three safely returned to their posts, Berthelot noting his return on 23 August 1940, after a nearly twelve-month absence.<sup>56</sup>

Hautecoeur appeared understanding of the plight of the schools, and in a letter to all regional préfets on 18 August 1940 hoped to resolve quickly the disruptions to education due to the evacuated faculties of many institutions, including the conservatoires and écoles de musique across the provinces as well as in Paris.<sup>57</sup> In a letter specifically to the préfet of the Loire department, where the Conservatoire d'Orléans was located, Hautecoeur notes that the school intended to open on 15 September, and there would be no interference in regular faculty pay.<sup>58</sup> The director successfully reopened the conservatoire on 16 September 1940 with full faculty, who are listed in figure 14.

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<sup>56</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940–1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>57</sup> Letter from Hautecoeur to regional préfets, 18 August 1940, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>58</sup> Letter from Hautecoeur to préfet of the Loire, 25 August 1940, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.



Figure 14: List of Conservatoire d'Orléans Personnel<sup>59</sup>

Nom et prénom	Emploi	Observations
BERTHELOT René	Directeur (1)	
Mme BERTHELOT Suzanne	Prof. de piano élém. de Solfège élémentaire et moyen F.	
Mme DAUPHIN - CARRE	Prof. de Solfège élém.	.....

(1) Prof. de Solfège supérieur et harmonie.

Nom et prénom	Emploi	Observations
Mlle LECOMTE	Prof. de piano élémentaire	
Mme LHERSONNEAU	" de Solfège préparatoire et élémentaire garçons	
M. ARNOUX Louis	" de Violon	
M. BABAULT François	" de Violoncelle	
M. BEAULIEU Robert	" de Trombone	
M. BOURY André	" de Cor	
M. CASSAGNOL Jules	" de Trompette	
M. COUAT Alfred	" de Violon	non encore démobilisé mais sur le point de l'être.
M. FOURNIER Marcel	" de Solfège élém. et moyen garçons.	
M. FAUGOIN Marius	" de Clarinette.	
M. GABEZ Fernand	" de Violon	
M. GILLET Louis	" de Hautbois et Cor ang. et Saxophone.	
M. NAUDIN Maurice	" de Piano Moy. et Sup.	
M. ROUSSEAU Emile	" de Chant	
M. PROUST Maurice	" de Flûte	

The Conservatoire owed much to Berthelot. A lifelong resident of the city, Berthelot had served as a faculty member at the school, teaching solfège before being promoted to director, a post at which he served for 36 years. A composer, Berthelot wrote mostly for solo instrument or voice and piano accompaniment, pointing towards a pedagogical purpose. Politically, Berthelot made little commentary outside his official writings within the capacity of his position during the war years, save to complain of the

<sup>59</sup> *List du Emplois du Conservatoire d'Orléans 26 Août 1940*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

situation's affects on the daily running of the conservatoire. However, it may be noted that Orléans was also the birthplace of Jean Zay, Jewish Free Mason and Director of Education under the 1930s Popular Front government, and the two collaborated on a publication in a local Orléans publication in 1923.<sup>60</sup> Zay served as Minister of Education and approved Berthelot's promotion to director in 1936. Though his political associations remain unknown, he lived and worked in a city often associated with Zay and the left.

Mercifully, the Conservatoire's building was spared damage inflicted on much of Orléans. Berthelot credits those operating the school in his absence—his wife Mrs. Berthelot and Mr. Besson, the Conservatoire Secretary—for stowing the majority of the library safely in the Château du Bardi, alongside many of the important artworks held by the city.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, while the contents of the conservatoire library weathered the onset of the occupation safely here, the school's inventory of instruments, hidden in the same location, were stolen or destroyed, presumably by German soldiers, as had been the case in Paris.<sup>62</sup> Berthelot requested at least a partial replenishment from the Department des Beaux Arts in 1941, with no response. In Berthelot's absence, the conservatoire was run by acting director Prosper Comb—also assistant to the Beaux-Arts—Secretary Besson, and several teachers, including Berthelot's wife (upper music theory), Ms. Turban-Rabier (singing), and Mrs. Dumont (violin).<sup>63</sup> These conditions described a

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<sup>60</sup> *Un Demi-Siècle de Musique à Orléans 1921–1971*, booklet prepared by the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1971. Archives Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>61</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940–1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>62</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940–1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>63</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940–1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.



functional, if administratively haphazard approach to keeping the doors open to students through the onset of war in France and the advancing German army. Figure 15 shows Director Berthelot at his desk.

**Figure 15: René Berthelot in 1971.<sup>64</sup>**



Berthelot opened the school in the fall of 1940 while the city both recovered from its considerable wounds and faced the new regime and occupants. Still, the start of the new school year under the occupation was not completely bleak. Though few records of the 39-40 school year exist—due at least in part, to the departure of Berthelot and the suspension of courses during the normal end-of-year review process—the 38-39 director’s report counted 364 students. Of this number, 172 were instrumentalists or

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<sup>64</sup> Originally printed in *Un Demi-Siècle de Musique à Orléans 1921–1971*, booklet prepared by the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1971. Archives Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

vocalists, while the other 192 students attended theory classes only. Also of the student population, 250 of the children received this education at no cost. The director notes that 42 of the students are foreign, and 9 came from families stationed at the military garrison in Orléans. One should note that in this case, foreign can refer to French students from outside the home department as well. Six of these foreign students came from neighboring departments, including Loir-et-Cher, Cher, and Eure-et-Loir.<sup>65</sup>

Comparatively, the number blossomed at the onset of the war. Registration during the 1940-1941 academic year swelled to a total of 404. Of these, 296 were instrumental and vocal with another 108 attending solely for theory classes. That school year, the Director counted 185 students receiving a free education, though qualifications for this remain unclear. There were likewise 30 “foreign” students, mostly from neighboring departments.<sup>66</sup> These ballooning numbers could be caused by a number of convening factors. First, in a town nearly obliterated by bombings, the school was a safe building that kept students out of the precarious rubble and their attention on more productive activities. Noting the “foreign” students in the midst, the school may have expanded to include music students displaced from their homes. Finally, in a city with little else to occupy it, the cultural performances produced by this school may have expanded to serve a public hungry for entertainment and distraction.

Such numbers would please any school administrator, yet apparently what the conservatoire had in quantity it lacked in quality. Berthelot reports that first year of 1940-1941 of numerous deficiencies, citing in particular the boys’ solfege (in contrast to the

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<sup>65</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d’Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1938-1939*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>66</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d’Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940–1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

girls, taught at least in part by his wife) singing, and especially the cello.<sup>67</sup> Some of these Berthelot attributes to an uneven schedule and many absences due to “the war,” though he makes no specific references, perhaps necessarily avoiding ruffling feathers. Berthelot does allow that the violin teaching is “excellent” and wind instruments “Sufficient.” However, despite larger enrollment numbers, the conservatoire remained without any double bass, viola, bassoon, trombone, or declamation students. Furthermore, Berthelot disbanded the vocal ensemble due to “Difficulties of the time.” Despite these difficulties, public interest appeared high, with over 600 attending the concours, in comparison to only 250 in 1939, which may indicate the absence or decline in other cultural life in the city after its destruction.<sup>68</sup> Despite his concerns for current classes, it appears the school had recently produced a number of students sent to Paris, and Berthelot celebrated the successes of his former students in the Paris concours: Ms. Nicole Deschauses first prize upper piano, Ms. Lucienne Trinnouille, first prize superior solfege, and Ms. Marie-Elisabeth Cense, second prize upper solfege. He likewise celebrated successful teaching certificates for several other former pupils to teach music at lycées and écoles.<sup>69</sup>

The following year saw the trend of growing class size continue. The 1941-42 year counted 415 students, with 310 instrumentalists and singers and an additional 148 attending theory classes only. Thirty-five of the instrumentalists and singers received free admission, along with 148 theory students, totaling 183 students paying no admission.

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<sup>67</sup> This and other institutions of more than a meager size separated most courses by gender, a segregation sensible for solfege, where different octaves may have given some students trouble, but otherwise fairly dated.

<sup>68</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940–1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>69</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940–1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

Foreign students—at least to their department—rose to 42. It appears that though Vichy’s June 1941 exclusionary laws significantly affected the Conservatoire de Paris, these smaller provincial institutions escaped harsh scrutiny. However, despite rising numbers, Berthelot comments that general attendance had fallen due to extreme trouble with transportation, and cut students traveling regularly from neighboring departments or even outside the city center.<sup>70</sup>

Berthelot expanded criticism of his own faculty in the 1941-42 school year, evincing a growing stress in the running of the day-to-day elements in his directorship. He continued to berate the professors of the boys’ solfege class, while praising his wife’s effort with the girls in supplying his upper level class. He likewise praised the efforts of the violin studio. The director was adamant in stating that faculty shortcoming could not be blamed on the war alone. He was particularly harsh on cello professor, M. Babault. Though Berthelot commends his musicianship, performance, place as father of a large family, and his respectability, he heavily criticized his lack of pedagogical concern and state of his class. At his harshest, he declared that “negligence has become total negligence, and his class, already not prosperous, slips day by day to the abyss.”<sup>71</sup> Other commentary tended toward the mundane. The harp teacher announced her leaving for the same position in Bordeaux. Berthelot praised the wind professors for their enthusiasm, but found their advanced age an issue in performance. Berthelot celebrated the admittance of two of his students to the Conservatoire de Paris: Ms. Marguerite-Marie

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<sup>70</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d’Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1941–1942*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>71</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d’Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1941–1942*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.. Translation is the author’s.

Marton and Ms. Janine Cote.<sup>72</sup> Berthelot's commitment to artistic excellence appeared in his harsh assessment of his own faculty. Perhaps he didn't want to cast a rosy shade over a bleak time in his tenure. Or, perhaps in a time when so many aspects of life and work were outside his control, Berthelot grew more critical over his own realm.

### **Conservatoire Daily Operations and Budgetary Concerns**

Despite high enrollment numbers, finances suffered during the first two years of the occupation. On 7 October 1940, the Deputy Prime Minister and financial delegate advised Berthelot towards economy in designing the annual budget, due to heavy tolls on the city. Berthelot concedes to the importance of such consideration, and reduced his municipal request by 12,000 francs—from 125,000 to 113,000 francs. The state subsidy, decreased from 13,400 francs to 10,000 francs, Berthelot partially eased by contributing his director's travel allowance, and avoiding having to enforce a salary cut.<sup>73</sup> During the second school year of the Occupation, Berthelot made some headway, securing a special subsidy from the municipality of 2,3000 francs to supplement teacher salaries, though it did fall short of his ideals for a cost-of-living increase.<sup>74</sup>

Berthelot largest concern, however, came from a municipal decision regarding the housing of their facilities. As in most cases, provincial conservatoire and écoles did not own their premises, and were instead directed by municipal leadership on their space allotments, an arrangement that led to difficulties for several institutions during war years

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<sup>72</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1941–1942*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire..

<sup>73</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940–1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire..

<sup>74</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1941–1942*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

that saw the accommodations of occupying forces as well as physical destruction of several locations. The Conservatoire d'Orléans was forced to share its premises with the city's Health Services, a practice put in place since 1937, due to allotment of space by municipal leaders. Berthelot contested the practice as unhygienic for students. He described the arrangement: "It is no day, in fact, where elderly, sick, unclean individuals, in quest of this service, do not break into the premises of the Conservatoire, spitting on the staircase near children or parents.... I can quote a case wherein on [patient] wandered the corridors before coming to my desk, declaring he was leaving a tuberculosis center."<sup>75</sup> City employees failed to find an alternate solution, and the situation continued to draw the ire of Berthelot. Moreover, in the fall of 1941, the Conservatoire was notified by the Orléans department of public works of the need for a sharp reduction of electricity. Berthelot complained of these measures to the Mayor, advocating for moderate lighting to continue rehearsals, as performances—especially those that drew in subscriptions and revenue—could not otherwise be possible. No recorded response appears in archival documentation.<sup>76</sup>

Despite these considerable setbacks, the school fared comparably well, especially given the complete destruction of other institutions in Orléans. The inclusion of mundane daily operations acts as a testament to the continuation of regular educational activity. Classes continued, and the pedagogical requirements and performing repertory received no noted alterations. The school reported broken tables and received donations of several

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<sup>75</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940–1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire. The translation is the author's.

<sup>76</sup> Letter from Berthelot to Mayor, 23 November 1941, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

scores or library books.<sup>77</sup> The inclusion of such drastically dissimilar records—normalcy and mundane alongside the tumult of the health concerns and electricity rationing—underscores the dichotomy of the entire Vichy period: a time of incredible change combined with the commitment of so much of the French citizenry to continuity and normalcy.

One must also consider the impossibility of predicting the future. In a world where the foreseeable future included the Vichy regime and occupants, conservatoires and their administration must act accordingly. To this point, Berthelot appeared to explore modeling part of the conservatoire after the music education system of the Occupant. He pushed for a reconstruction of the choir program. He suggests building a regional choir to sing acapella works of simple nature, popular in the sense of “capable of touching the masses... In short,... a choir on the model of those that Switzerland, Germany, and the for Czechoslovakia have formed in their major cities.”<sup>78</sup> In Paris, Alfred Cortot was certainly gathering materials on musical pedagogy in the Third Reich and arguing a case for remaking French musical education after Germany’s model, though no evidence exists of his communication with Berthelot. However, given Orléans’ proximity to the capital, it does not appear impossible for their paths or conduits to have crossed.

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<sup>77</sup> René Berthelot, Conservatoire d’Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1941–1942, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>78</sup> René Berthelot, Conservatoire d’Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1941–1942, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

### **Société des Concerts du Conservatoire d'Orléans**

The restart of a subscription concert series associated with the conservatoire appeared as a bid for normalcy. The Conservatoire d'Orléans, like the Conservatoire de Paris, also ran a Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. As in Paris, the musicians consisted of a mix of faculty, students, and local professionals. The Société was begun in 1931. The group prided themselves for orchestral and choral performances that spanned a broad range of composers, often trending towards the contemporary.<sup>79</sup> Due to the onset of the war, the usual grant for this ensemble by the municipal government was withheld. Concerts resumed on 19 February 1941, and the mayor subsequently reinstated a 3,000 frs allotment to the Conservatoire for this purpose, after a pleas from Director Berthelot.<sup>80</sup> In the 1940-41 school year, they initially fell short of producing works, but in a mere three months beginning in February 1941, they gave 5 concerts, including three full orchestral concerts, and 2 of exclusively French music. These concerts, Berthelot mentions, were mounted even with the absence of several musicians imprisoned in Germany.<sup>81</sup>

The concert program of 9 May 1941, shown in figure 16, illustrates a commitment to French composers, even though the société had previously prided itself on a mix of composers from different backgrounds. The lineup of living and deceased French composers—Franck, Capet, d'Indy, Rabaud, Duparc, Fauré, Debussy, and Berlioz—may have indicated a newly national direction at the moment that France was questioning its

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<sup>79</sup> *Un Demi-Siècle de Musique à Orléans 1921-1971: Société des Concerts du Conservatoire*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipals et communautaires, 1R2006: Conservatoire.

<sup>80</sup> Cite letters 13 March 1941 Berthelot to the Mayor, 11 April 1941 Mayor to Berthelot.

<sup>81</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1940-1941*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipals et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire..



identity. These composers were each strongly associated with musical aspects Vichy sought to heighten, especially connections with Germany's musical legacy.<sup>82</sup>

**Figure 16: Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 9 Mai 1941 Concert.<sup>83</sup>**



The following year saw an increase their programs to five orchestral concerts, including two with full choir, in addition to three chamber music sessions. Moreover, subscriptions to the concerts doubled from the 40-41 to the 41-42 season.<sup>84</sup> Given the fact that the *concours* were so highly attended, it appears likely that these considerable

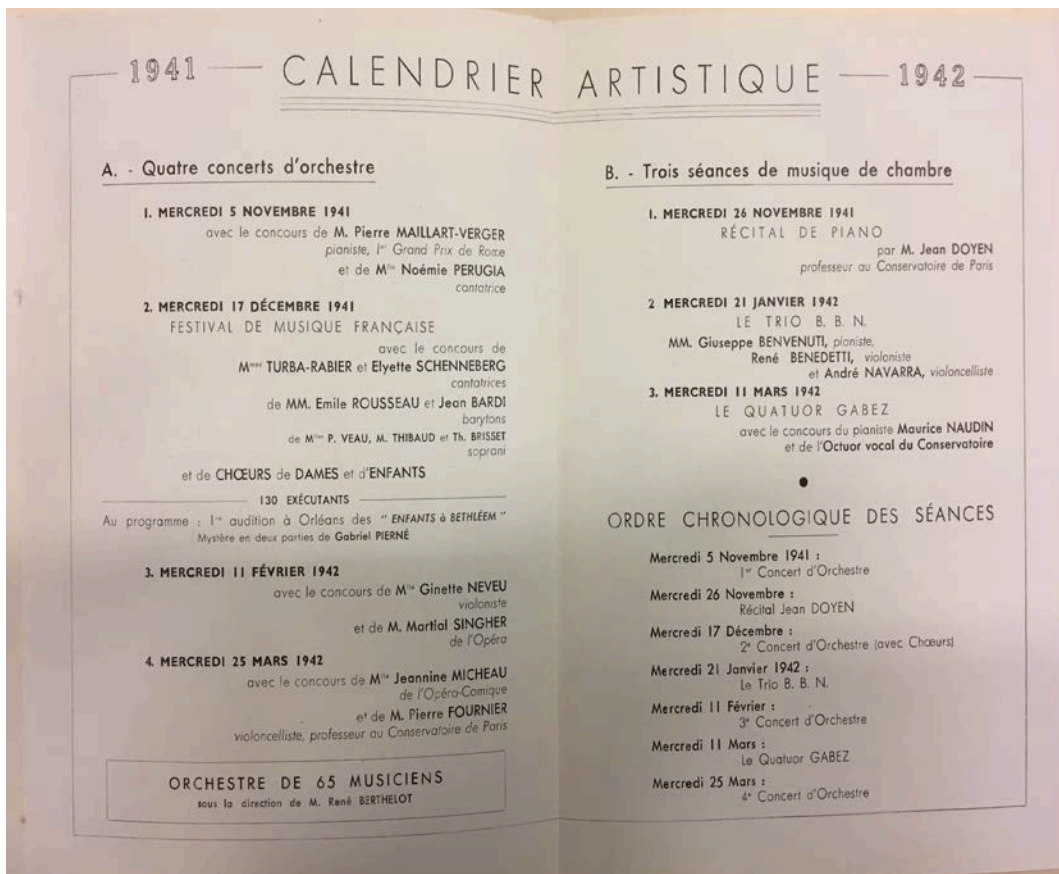
<sup>82</sup> See Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 45, 72–76, 194–200.

<sup>83</sup> Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 9 Mai 1941 Concert Program, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2006: Conservatoire.

<sup>84</sup> René Berthelot, Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1941–1942, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire..

increases were meant to fill a dearth of musical and cultural events in the city. Certainly the level of performance at the Concerts du Conservatoire de Paris was very high, and though the pool of talent smaller in Orléans, aspirations would be similar. Furthermore, given the considerable control Vichy could exact upon this group, it could serve as a means by which to instruct the public on their vision of French identity.

**Figure 17: Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 41-42 Season.<sup>85</sup>**



The first two years of the occupation saw the Conservatoire de Orléans navigating a new landscape and dealing with several challenging fronts. Though the school's physical location was spared the damages of war that decimated nearly half of the city,

<sup>85</sup> Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 41-42 Season Calendar, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2006: Conservatoire.

they had to deal with the loss of instruments due to the German pillaging, and were in a shared space with the city's health services. Despite this, the school showed a dedication to continuity and the will of institutional reproduction.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, during the 1940–41 and 1941–42 academic calendar, the number of students attending the school grew. At the same time, Director Berthelot was sharply critical, unwilling to let the level of musicianship and dedication to craft fall by the wayside. The records of the Conservatoire de Orléans illustrate differences in focus and challenges that faced each unique location in its variances from Bayonne, and, as we shall see, from that in Lille.

## LILLE

Lille, the third and final location examined in the occupied territory, sits in France's department of the Nord, near the border with Brussels. In its position on the Deûle River, Lille stood as the most populous city in the region by the mid-nineteenth century. From the time of the French Revolution, Lille blossomed as a center of the textile industry; it was especially known for its cotton, while neighboring cities provided wool to be traded. Due to this, as well as the nearby mines, Lille also became a center for the railroad industry through the latter half of the nineteenth century. During the First World War, Lille was hit by heavy shelling by German troops, who eventually occupied the city from 13 October 1914 until 17 October 1918.<sup>87</sup> History soon repeated itself.

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<sup>86</sup> Rajani Naidoo, "Fields and institutional strategy: Bourdieu on the relationship between higher education, inequality, and society," *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25:4 (September 2004).

<sup>87</sup> Claudine Wallart, "Lille under German Rule," *Nord, Pas de Calais: Chemins de Mémoire, 14–18*, accessed 20 October 2018, [www.rembembranchetrails-northernfrance.com](http://www.rembembranchetrails-northernfrance.com). Claudine Wallart is Head Curator of Heritage at the Archives

Due to the city's location in the northeastern corner of the country, Lille suffered the brunt of the German offensive as they quickly outflanked French and British forces to surround the city. French and British troops began their withdrawal of Lille on May 27, 1940 at 10:19. They blew up all bridges except the Pont Canteleu, which was reserved to evacuate soldiers and equipment—a bridge that still stands to this day. By that evening, aerial bombing struck the city, hitting a maternity ward killing ten infants and seven new mothers. The defense of the city was left to a few units equipped with rifles from the 1800s. The next morning, the city lacked water and electricity; most streets were eerily deserted.<sup>88</sup> To prevent the Germans from seizing any equipment, especially tanks, the French soldiers brought them to the central Place de Toucoring, a neighboring industrial center, and set them on fire. By the afternoon of May 28, the Germans proceeded into the center of the city. The Germans installed their Kommandatur of Occupation in the Grand Palace, now the place du Général de Gaulle. By June 1, the remaining French troops were forced to participate in a German war ceremony in the center of town. After the falls of Lille and Dunkirk, the German troops turned south.<sup>89</sup>

To say that France was divided into occupied and non-occupied zone upon the Armistice, though largely true, does ignore some finer aspects. In addition to these areas, there were the annexed zones of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, directed under the German government as well as the Italian zone.<sup>90</sup> At the same time, there existed the little

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Départementales du Nord. See also Annette Backer, *Les Cicatrices rouges 14–18: France et Belgique occupées* (Paris: Fayard, 2010), 373.

<sup>88</sup> Jean Caniot, *Lille 1939–1945: Première partie* (Lambersart: J. Caniot, 2009), 43.

<sup>89</sup> Caniot, *Lille 1939–1945: Première partie*, 44–56.

<sup>90</sup> Julian Jackson counts six zones: the unoccupied, the occupied, Alsace-Lorraine, the Italian zone, the zone rattachée that encompassed Nord and Pas-de Calais, and the

acknowledged “zone rattachée,” consisting of the departments of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais. It operated under the authority of the German Military Government in Brussels through a central office, the OFK 670, located in Lille. The German High Command of Paris had no power in these two departments and the Vichy Government remained totally excluded from the administrative management until 1942 when the conditions changed due to the total occupation of France.<sup>91</sup> German forces considered these departments especially rich due to their industrial resources, and in an effort to weaken France, removed these two provinces from the central power of the newly created French State. To make its services easier to operate, Germans based in Brussels quickly created a Lille branch. Installed in the premises of the Chamber of Commerce, the Oberfeldkommandatur 670 was headed by General Niehoff.<sup>92</sup>

As with all of the Occupied zone, Vichy maintained administrative control over the departments of the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais, though their German oversight came from Brussels rather than from Paris. Predictably, Vichy replaced the municipal administration. M. Carles, préfet du Nord, named Paul Dehové mayor of Lille on 27 May 1940; he was officially confirmed by Pétain the following year, in July 1941, replacing Simonet.<sup>93</sup>

In Lille, the resistance and acts of sabotage began more swiftly than those slow-growing efforts in most of the country, perhaps due to their occupation during the First World War and reluctance on the part of citizens to find themselves in similar

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forbidden zone, running from the mouth of the Somme south to the Swiss frontier. Jackson, *France: The Dark Years (1940–1944)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001),

<sup>91</sup> Jean Caniot, *Lille 1939–1945: Deuxième partie* (Lambersart: J. Caniot, 2010), 220.

<sup>92</sup> Caniot, *Lille 1939–1945: Deuxième partie*, 224.

<sup>93</sup> “M. Paul Dehové est nommé maire de Lille par M. le Maréchal Pétain,” *Grand Echo du Nord* 17 July 1941.

circumstances yet again. Immediate actions included sabotaging telephone and electric lines, something that increased sharply during the second half of 1941. Clandestine acts also often took the form of theft and distribution of illegal newspapers, as will be illustrated in the case of the Conservatoire de Lille. Citizens were also often punished for any resistance acts, from arbitrary arrests or deportations.<sup>94</sup> The largest resistance group was the French subsidiary of Churchill's British special forces. The group "Sylvestre Farmer," was based in Lille under Captain Michel Trotobas, alongside the Organisation Civile et Militaire and the Francs Tireurs Partisans.<sup>95</sup>

The German occupants oversaw all matters pertaining to the Jews of Lille, as the attached area functioned much like the rest of the occupied area. Demands aligned with the orders being given in Belgium rather than in France. In this area, as early as the fall of 1940, each municipality must open a register bearing the identity, address, and profession of each Jewish individual. As with those under Vichy control, they were barred from careers in public service, law, education, press, and radio. Figure 18 shows the questionnaire that all Jewish families were compelled to complete. By 1941, Jews in this area were compelled to declare their personal property and that of their business. On November 14 of that year, they were denied access to cafés, restaurants, hotels, parks and all other public places, effectively erasing the Jews from any interaction in public life.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Caniot, *Lille 1939–1945: Deuxième partie*, 300.

<sup>95</sup> Caniot *Lille 1939–1945: Deuxième partie*, 302.

<sup>96</sup> Roger Vicot, *Poing à La Voix du Nord (1941–1944)*, (Paris: Éditions l'Harmattan, 1994), 77.

Figure 18: July 1942 questions for Jewish families dossier.<sup>97</sup>

*Juifs*

MAIRIE DE LILLE  
SECRETARIAT GENERAL  
20 JUILLET 1942  
A. E. T. FRANCAIS

M. de la Ville 20.7.42

5H/132

LE PREFET DU NORD  
PREFET DE LA REGION DE LILLE

à Messieurs les Maires de l'Arrondissement de Lille  
les Commissaires Centraux de Lille et Roubaix-Tourcoing  
les Commissaires de Police d'Armentières, Comines et  
Seclin

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire connaître que les autorités d'Occupation m'ont invité à établir un fichier des Juifs résidant dans l'Arrondissement de Lille.

L'exécution de ce travail sera confiée aux Commissaires de Police et aux Maires des localités qui ne sont pas pourvues d'un Commissariat de Police.

A cet effet, un communiqué sera publié, par mes soins, dans la presse locale, pour inviter tous les chefs de famille juifs à se présenter au Commissariat ou à la Mairie de leur résidence, les 21 et 22 Juillet courant.

Les intéressés fourniront, pour eux-mêmes et chacun des membres juifs de leur famille, les renseignements suivants:

Nom	Adresse
Nom de jeune fille	
Prénoms	
Date et Lieu de naissance	1° est-il propriétaire?
Profession	
Situation de famille	2° est-il locataire principal?
Nationalité	
Naturalisé le	3° est-il sous-locataire?
Religion pratiquée	

NOMBRE d'enfants:  
Prénoms - Adresse (approximative)

OBSERVATIONS GENERALES :

Une fiche sera établie pour chaque juif âgé de plus de 6 ans, quelle que soit sa nationalité; de plus, la fiche du chef de famille comportera l'indication du nombre, des noms et prénoms des enfants et de leur résidence actuelle.

En possession de ces renseignements vous me ferez connaître, d'extrême urgence, le nombre de juifs de plus de 6 ans ainsi recensés: je vous adresserai alors un nombre de fiches correspondant à 6 fiches pour chaque juif; 5 fiches devront m'être renvoyées, dûment complétées, pour le 29 Juillet, et la sixième sera conservée à la Mairie ou au Commissariat de Police.

Fernand CARLES.

The distribution of yellow stars for Jewish people to wear at all times came later that month, to be enacted the first of July 1942.<sup>98</sup> These laws hardly seem to vary significantly from Vichy's anti-Semitic statutes of October 1940 and June 1941, saving access to

<sup>97</sup> Le Préfet du Nord to the Mayor of Lille, 20 June 1942, Archives municipales de Lille, 5H/1/32.

<sup>98</sup> Le Préfet du Nord to the Mayor of Lille, 29 June 1942, Archives municipales de Lille, 5H/1/32.

public spaces. They do appear to have been more publically visible and more stridently enforced, perhaps contributing to the more active resistance found in this region.

### **Conservatoire Nationale de Musique de Lille**

As with other institutions, the Conservatoire de Lille experienced a strange new political landscape when it reopened its doors in the fall of 1940. The Lille Succursale du Conservatoire de Paris was originally founded in 1808, only the second regional branch to be erected, after that in Toulouse, at the request of Berbard Sarette, the member of the Garde Nationale during the French Revolution who subsequently set the wheels of the French conservatoire system in motion. Lille was one of the two first *succursales*, or branches, of the conservatoire system, alongside Toulouse. At their inception, they were meant as regional magnate schools to collect, train, and send the best musicians of their geographical locales on to the Conservatoire de Paris. The Conservatoire de Lille boasted among its graduates Gustave Charpentier and Eduard Lalo, both of whom were among those talented musicians sent on to Paris.<sup>99</sup> As with most regional conservatoires, the Conservatoire de Lille functioned with a small administrative staff: a director, secretary, supervisor, and concierge. In addition to individual instrumental and vocal teachers, they employed professors of harmony, counterpoint, and fugue, of solfège at varying levels, and of piano by the end of the First World War.<sup>100</sup>

Archival documentation of the Conservatoire during the years of Vichy and occupation contain much information on the running of the school, but, as was the case in

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<sup>99</sup> Historique du Conservatoire, Archives Municipales de Lille, 1R/2/23.

<sup>100</sup> “L’Académie et le Conservatoire National de Musique de Lille: Succursale du Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation de Paris de 1816 à 1918: Livre du Centenaire.” Archives Municipales de Lille 1R/2/5.



Bayonne, little on the daily life of the students in its charge outside scholastic accomplishments. For example, there exist no rolls of students or even programs for concours until the 1943-1944 school year. Presumably, the publishing of programs fell by the wayside as other issues demonstrated higher priorities. Yet, much of the correspondence, particularly between the mayor, the director of the school, and the préfet du Nord, were preserved and illustrate the highly contested positions within the school, and how the heightened anxiety of daily wartime constraints created tension and often resulted in faculty in fighting and accusations. Often, it appears, faculty members went outside the administration to complain about colleagues and perceived unfair treatment; some took to contacting more senior members of the administration, or especially vocal members of the local community. Thus, a clear picture of anxiety and divisiveness emerges of the Conservatoire de Lille.

Director Edmond Gaujac, a well-regarded composer with a style likened to Fauré, shunned the spotlight to pursue teaching his entire career. Born in Toulouse on 10 February 1895 to a modest family, he began his music studies at the Conservatoire de Toulouse, where he won prizes in horn, solfege, and harmony by age 16. In 1911, he continued at the Conservatoire de Paris, where he began to study under Xavier Leroux. In 1914, he suspended his studies as he was called to the war effort; his heroic efforts earned him the Croix de Guerre. After the war, he resumed his studies, winning prizes in harmony, fugue, and conducting, under the tutelage of Vincent d'Indy, who was briefly at the Conservatoire, an institution he previously attacked after the wake of the Great War.<sup>101</sup> While in school, he won a horn post in the Colonne Concert Orchestra, directed

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<sup>101</sup> Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 49.

by Gabriel Pierné. In 1927, he won the Prix de Rome, and spent the next three years at the Villa de Médici. In 1931, upon his return to France, he began his tenure as the Director of the Conservatoire de Lille, where he also taught harmony and composition. Beginning in 1934, he also managed the Orchestre de Radio-Lille.<sup>102</sup>

As with other conservatoires and schools, the Conservatoire de Lille regularly modified its rules and regulations. Those emanating from the years just prior to the war provide the best illustrations of daily operation at the conservatoire. The 1937 Règlement reveals a school well within the normal workings as described by the Beaux-Arts, without much deviance from similar institutions. Its director, named by the Mayor and confirmed by the Minister of Education, worked with the municipality to regulate studies, establish courses, preside over juries, prepare the budget, work alongside the mayor to hire professors and jury members, and oversee both day-to-day and long-term operations. Under the Director, the Secretary, a municipal functionary, kept audits of all instruments and books, and organized all material for exams, exercises, concerts, concours, auditions, and prizes, alongside most paperwork and functioning as the director in his absence. Professors, all experts in their fields, were to uphold standards of the institution, conduct their courses, and adhere to the rules established by both the Director and the Conservatoire de Paris. Finally, students, all of whom passed entrance auditions, were compelled to submit their birth, health, and vaccination records. All students were

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<sup>102</sup> “1927: Edmond Gaujac (1895–1962),” *Prix de Rome 1920–1929*, Music et Memoria, accessed 15 November 2018, <http://www.musimem.com/prix-rome-1920-1929.htm>.

compelled to attend solfege classes, and singers and instrumentalists were given further requirements. The mayor controlled any disciplinary measures.<sup>103</sup>

A 1939 addendum to this document increased the maximum students per class from ten to twelve.<sup>104</sup> This may indicate a slight increase in the number of students attending just prior to the war. For the most part, these documents confirm that the Conservatoire de Lille functioned no differently from the other succursales, at least on paper. The 1939 Règlement stands as the last document on the daily workings of the Conservatoire until after the liberation, indicating either a strong commitment to continuity or a diversion to other, more pressing matters. The document's identification of conservatoire faculty and administration as municipal employees would become particularly noteworthy given the eventual resistance actions of these individuals, as observed in chapter 4.

Inspection reports on behalf of the Ministre des Beaux-Arts likewise paint a portrait of the school. A 1939 inspector report indicated that up two-thirds of the students were drawn from the surrounding region, and couldn't all be present at the school consistently; many were absent on the day of the inspection. Before the war, the school also lacked students for classes in harp or contrabass, and failed to hold a choral ensemble, though the inspector is complimentary of progress made by individual

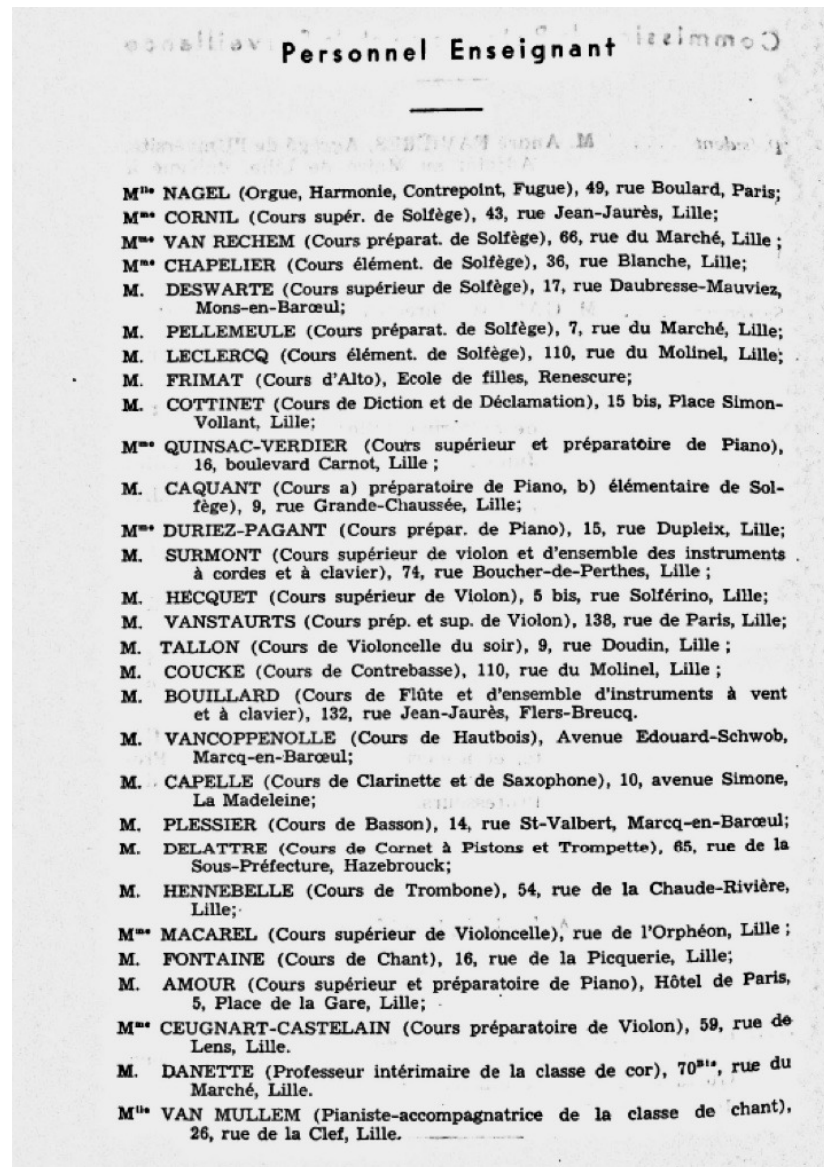
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<sup>103</sup> Rapport a l'Administration Municipale, Conservatoire de Musique, Nouveau Règlement Observation de M. le Préfet, 22 January 1937, Archives municipales de Lille, 1R/2/9.

<sup>104</sup> Rapport a l'Administration Municipale, Conservatoire de Musique, Nouveau Règlement Observation de M. le Préfet, 21 March 1939, 1R/2/9.

vocalists and violinists.<sup>105</sup> At the end of the 1938–1939 school year, the institution employed 29 professors, as shown in figure 19.

Figure 19: Professors du Lille, 1938–1939 School Year.<sup>106</sup>



The first faculty issue to arise involved a professor formally leaving his position, only to later return and demand his reinstatement. Vanstaurts had, before the war, taught

<sup>105</sup> Rapport from Inspector des Beaux-Arts to the Préfet du Nord, 1939, Archives Municipales de Lille 1R/2/16.

<sup>106</sup> Lille Annuaire, 1938–1939, Archives Municipales de Lille 1R/2/6.

the preparatory class in violin. As a letter reveal, Vanstaurts left his service at the conservatoire on 18 May 1940, at the end of the school year, and failed to return to the city. He instead returned to Lille in June 1941, just as the end-of-year *concours* were about to begin, to demand his position back. Mayor Dehové instructed his secretary to backdate Vanstaurts retirement to 15 November 1940, and allowed for him to continue teaching, beginning 1 October 1941 through the following year, provided he pay the differential allowance.<sup>107</sup>

However, the enrollment numbers turned out to barely create enough work for the current professor of the superior course, taught by Hecquet. This, coupled with the instructive to not hire professors receiving retirement funds, led Dehové and Director Gaujac to ultimately not rehire Vanstaurts, complicating the directives from municipal and state offices.<sup>108</sup> This reasoning, however, did not go unchallenged, and the mayor received complaints from several sources whom Vanstaurts had aired his grievances. Jean Allard of the local Trade Union Chamber, the Fédération Nationale du Spectacle, asked that Vanstaurts be rehired, if only provisionally.<sup>109</sup> A letter from Hautecoeur demanded on behalf of Pétain to know why Vanstaurts had not been reintegrated into his post, nevermind that the directive to not hire retirees came from the very same Vichy government.<sup>110</sup> Mayor Dehové received the most biting criticism from one of his own

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<sup>107</sup> Letter from the Secretary General to the Mayor, M. Planque, to Director Gaujac, Archives municipales de Lille, 10 June 1941, 1R/2/14

<sup>108</sup> Letter to the Regional Préfet from Mayor Dehové, 15 December 1941, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8089, Dossier 1.

<sup>109</sup> Letter to the Mayor from Jean Allard, 24 September 1941, Archives municipales de Lille, 1R/2/14.

<sup>110</sup> Letter from Hautecoeur to the Préfet du Nord, 22 December 1941, Archives Nationales, F/21/8767.

deputies, M. Devernay, who accused Gaujac of getting “his revenge” by eliminating Vanstaurts.

Faculty fighting of this nature dragged on. Internal politics, which no institution was or is immune to, took over most of the communications between the director and the mayor. While it appeared that the mayor and director attempted to abide by the directives of the new regime, practice failed to align with discourse, and backlash ensued. In Lille, the maligning took on an extremely malevolent intent. In each situation encountered, the music education institutions dealt with unique circumstances, at times dictated by geography and wartime damages. However, they also existed within their own histories, and experienced friction along established fault lines. This hardly appears unique. Ugly faculty arguments continued into the post-war years, as detailed in chapter 4. Some of this malfeasance appeared political, and involved some of the local performing groups that professors supposedly performed in, some of which had been overtaken by the German occupants. These events developed after the 1942 move to total occupation.

### **Across the Demarcation Line**

The institutions in Bayonne, Orléans, and Lille were, like Paris, all subjected to the immediate occupying German forces and political interference despite the promise of French administrative control. Certainly, provincial institutions escaped the intense scrutiny given to Paris that led to the departure of Jewish faculty and students. Conversely, while Paris remained nicely situated in its comparatively comfortable location and continued to enjoy healthy state funding and attention, the provincial conservatoires became cramped and crowded, and municipal funding dipped. These

institutions shared the physical difficulties of running an educational and cultural institution during the strictures of wartime and the new burden of an occupying and supervisory force.

The *École de Musique National de Bayonne*, suffered budgetary difficulties and shrinking physical space alongside the administrative change due to the end of the twenty-year direction of Ermend Bonnal. The *Conservatoire Nationale de Musique d'Orléans* lost nearly all its instruments, shared space with health services, likewise looking physical space. The *Conservatoire Nationale de Musique de Lille* soon fell into faculty squabbles that grew increasingly contentious. Perhaps most significantly, these institutions reveal something about the nature of the occupation not seen in studies of the Paris Conservatoire. Very little of their recorded actions and histories reflect large-scale questions of authority and nationality. Their issues reflect an intense focus on the daily challenges and triumphs of running an educational institution under newly shifting and perilous times. This reflects the prerogative of the Germans—to keep France running itself so they could focus on completing the war with Churchill. The provincial institutions of the occupied zone differ from both Paris, and, to a smaller degree, from one another, illustrating the concerns and circumstances as far more multifaceted than previously expressed in literature. Buffeted from both the scrutiny of the Germans by virtue of their diminutive size and the zeal of Vichy by the demarcation line, these institutions appeared relatively sheltered.

Likewise, the counterparts to these provincial conservatoires and *écoles de musique* in the “zone libre” faced challenges entirely distinctive: the full force of Pétain’s vision for a new France carved in his own image and unmitigated by German forces. The

following chapter examines three institutions in the initially unoccupied zone during this same time period, June 1940–November 1942.



**CHAPTER III**  
**Playing On Under Vichy**  
**The Unoccupied Zone, 1940-1942**  
**Avignon, Toulouse, Lyon**

Upon the signing of the Armistice, the southern third of France, excepting the significant sliver of land on the Atlantic seaboard, taken for Hitler's Atlantic Wall, remained under the direct governance of the newly installed Vichy Regime, though the Germans retained the "rights of the occupying power" vague language from the Armistice that allowed unfettered interference. This did not signify a complete absence of German forces—the Nazis could interfere as they saw fit and certainly installed some forces at key railway hubs, Lyon being a prime example. However, for the most part, after the signing of the Armistice, the advancing German forces returned north.<sup>1</sup>

The newly installed Right-wing Vichy government situated itself in the spa town with which it became synonymous in the Southern zone, also referred to as the "Zone libre," or the "zone non-occupé." The government, having fled Paris for safety through the Loire to Bordeaux finally found themselves trapped in the southern zone. They considered Lyon or Toulouse as a base for their fledgling regime, but decided against either due to the political tenor of the municipal governments—Radical mayor Eduard Herriot or the Radical Saurrat dynasty, respectively—that would prove unwelcoming to Pétain's politics.<sup>2</sup> Thus, they settled on Vichy, largely due to the number of available hotel space that became converted into government offices. As winter approached it was

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<sup>1</sup> Éric Alary, *The line of demarcation, 1940–1944*, (Paris, Perrin, 2003). 16–22.

<sup>2</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France*, 18.

clear that the new government was trapped. Despite language to the contrary in the text of the Armistice, the Germans never allowed the new regime to return to Paris, the first of many agreements that Germany would increasingly infringe upon.<sup>3</sup>

The southern zone also swelled to house refugees fleeing from eastern Europe and subsequently those from northern zone, especially Alsace-Lorraine as that region passed back into German ownership.<sup>4</sup> Some of these intended to remain in what they believed to be a safe harbor, while others sought to continue south to Spain and attempt to gain papers to escape the continent altogether. For some, this proved successful. Darius Milhaud, member of Les Six, longtime inhabitant of Aix-en-Provence, and a Jew, quickly secured passage to America, but did so largely due to his substantial reputation.<sup>5</sup> Without money, recognition, or connections, escape proved more difficult, and many found themselves waiting in the hope that they would emerge unscathed.

Daily life outwardly did not change as quickly or drastically as in the occupied zone, due to the absence of large numbers of Nazi occupiers. Yet, the Vichy Regime had unfettered access to these citizens, their daily life, and their cultural institutions. In the years after the Liberation, Pétain and others claimed that their regime had acted as a “shield,” that protected France and its citizens from the worst intentions of the German occupants. However, Vichy’s repressive policies—especially concerning Jews—often predated German requests. Some scholars have identified the Vichy Regime as the

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<sup>3</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France*, 52.

<sup>4</sup> Shannon Lee Fogg, “Foreigners, undesirables, and strangers: Material shortages and social interactions in Vichy France,” Doctoral Dissertation, University of Iowa, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> See Darius Milhaud, *My Happy Life*, translated by Donald Evans (New York: M. Boyars, 1995), 196–203.

political result of a long-simmering reaction to the triumph of the Dreyfussards.<sup>6</sup> If towns in the southern zone were spared the brunt of the German occupants, they suffered the unrestricted will of Vichy. Without the demarcation line creating a barrier, officials and decrees moved speedily.

Vichy was particularly interested in abolishing municipal governments and mayors in the Southern Zone, which it viewed as “fortress[es] of the Third Republic.” Comprised of mostly Leftist Radical or moderately socialist schoolteachers, lawyers, or businessmen, these individuals represented many of the vestiges of the Third Republic that the new Vichy regime regarded with distaste. Vichy replaced the municipal governments of towns over 2,000 citizens with hand-selected individuals, and those under the population quota were abolished completely.<sup>7</sup>

Left largely undisturbed by German forces but heavily scrutinized by Vichy and subject directly to its policies, the music schools in the southern zone present odd scenarios, both normal and in upheaval. This chapter examines the operations and individuals at the small *École Nationale de Musique d’Avignon* in the small town in France’s southeastern region, the larger *Conservatoire Nationale de Musique de Toulouse* in the Languedoc, and finally the largest *Conservatoire Nationale de Musique de Lyon*, in what would come to be known as the Capital of the Resistance, during the first two years of the Vichy Regime and Nazi Occupation, June 1940 through November 1942. Issues with faculty present the largest change across the schools examined in the southern zone, though,

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<sup>6</sup> Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 30–33.

<sup>7</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France*, 196–97.

given the varied institutional culture of each location, play out in differently in each location.

## AVIGNON

Avignon, a petite town on the left bank of the Rhône River, sits to the south of Lyon and north of Marseille, sharing its Mediterranean climate. Historically, the town is best known for the 1309-1377 residence of the seven popes of the Avignon Papacy. The Palais des Papes and the famed Pont d'Avignon, continue to serve as major points of interest in the town, mirroring the interest in medieval architecture found throughout south eastern France, including the Roman coliseum in neighboring Nîmes.<sup>8</sup> Alongside the medieval treasures, today the town is known for its Avignon Festival, featuring the avant-garde in the theatre arts inclusive of dance, music, and cinema, which began in the immediate post war era, inaugurated in 1947.

In the years following the peace of 1919, the high number of railway workers residing in Avignon who were campaigning for improved working conditions led to passionate political protests through 1920. These, however, dissolved into relative social peace that persisted through the late 1920s.<sup>9</sup> Though the coming years brought difficulties, Avignon benefitted from consistent municipal leadership. Mayor Louis Gros served the town from the mid-1920s onward, as a member of the Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière (SFIO), a political party of the French socialists. An officer in the merchant marines, he transitioned into the Ministry of Labor in the Vaucluse

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<sup>8</sup>See Sylvain Gagnière, Jacky Granier, et. al, *Histoire d'Avignon* (Aix-en-Provence, 1979), 175–190.

<sup>9</sup> Gagnière, Granier, et. al., *Histoire d'Avignon*, 630.

department in the first decade of the twentieth century. He first won the mayoral election in 1925, but soon resigned. Gros ran and won again in 1929. His tenure was marked by a strong turn to socialism within the municipality, with the creation of a Housing Office, garbage incineration plant, and flooding mitigation, the development of the Labor Exchange, and the restoration of city hall. His managerial skills resulted in strong support from the rural population, and his popularity only grew through the course of his terms.<sup>10</sup>

In 1933, the worldwide economic crisis, in concert with the rise of fascism and the rise of local union leaders contributed to the revival of social unrest and political engagement in Avignon, mirroring movements over the whole of France, resulting in the promotion of the Front Populaire. Continued social unrest pervaded through the 1930s, a near-general strike caused public demonstrations that grew unwieldy over the summer of 1936, and strikes continued frequently after this point. Further political splits occurred upon the signing of the August 1939 German-Soviet act, wherein French communists refused to condemn the actions of the Soviets or Germans. The result was a deeply divided Avignonnaise public, leading into the declaration of war. These divisions persisted through the crucible of May and June 1940.<sup>11</sup>

As the early days of May passed by, and the French defenses faltered, anxieties grew in Avignon, necessitating a call for calm by the Mayor on the 15<sup>th</sup>. Avignon was close enough to the Italian border to feel the danger approaching from both the southern-marching Germans as well as Mussolini, especially given the Italian takeover of nearby

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<sup>10</sup> "Louis Gros," *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français: Notices biographiques sur les Ministres, sénateurs et Députés français de 1889 à 1940*, edited by Jean Jolly (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1960–1977). See also "Louis Gros," *Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier français*, edited by Jean Maitron, (Paris: Editions ouvrières, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> Gagnière, Granier, et. al., *Histoire d'Avignon*, 632–36

Nice and the 4,000 Italians residing in Avignon.<sup>12</sup> The 10 June attack of Italy upon France led to the immediate arrest of 76 Italians in Avignon. If the French in this area feared violence with their Italian neighbors, it was quickly assuaged; if anything, the traditionally Italian neighborhoods became intensely quiet.<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile a steady stream of refugees, from Belgium, Luxembourg, Northern France and wealthier families from eastern Europe spilled into the city daily. Fearing bombings, Avignon declared itself an “open city” like Rome, perhaps sparing its sacred architecture.<sup>14</sup> Panic reached a fever pitch by 19 June, when the Germans had passed Lyon and neared Grenoble. Soon, the regional préfet urged mayors to guide citizens in retaining their composure. Crowds were forbidden and work made imperative; bulk purchases were likewise halted to avoid stockpiling. Mayor Louis Gros appealed to his citizens, “Today, even more than yesterday, discipline, unity, and calm must prevail for all.... The population of Avignon cannot leave the city; by its attitude and coolness, the city will facilitate smooth operation of indispensable operations, thus showing itself worthy of those who defend it!”<sup>15</sup>

Citizens and businesses alike braced for the invading forces, only to be granted reprieve by the Armistice. The 11 June declaration of war with Italy caused fights in the city, though the Italian-saturated neighborhood remained quiet. In addition to the 22 June

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<sup>12</sup> Gagnière, Granier, et. al., *Histoire d'Avignon*, 636–37

<sup>13</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon pendant la Dernière Guerre*, 37-39.

<sup>14</sup> Gagnière, Granier, et. al., *Histoire d'Avignon*, 636–37. The term “open city” is usually instigated by either the government or controlling military meaning that the city will make no efforts to defend itself, often meant to preserve architecture and save civilian lives. Advancing opposition is expected to refrain from bombing or otherwise attacking.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon et des Avignonnais pendant la Dernière Guerre (Septembre 1939-Septembre 1944)* (Avignon: Editions A. Barthelemy, 1986), 37-39. Translation of quote by the author.

Armistice with Germany, France also signed an Armistice with Italy—now synonymous with Mussolini—on 24 June. From this point, the small town began the process, alongside other such locales in the Southern Zone, of readjusting to the new Occupation and set of imposed values that would stretch for over two long years, when they were rewarded with the extension of German occupants into the whole of France and doubled repression.

Avignon had a large number of vulnerable inhabitants, some long-term citizens and some new arrivals. The Jewish community represented the most apparent group. There was a very long a deep-rooted Jewish community in Avignon once protected by the pope, with evidence of their presence as early as 390.<sup>16</sup> A July 1941 census counted 1,474 Jews in Avignon, comprised on 1,016 French and 458 foreigners, a sizeable community in such a small town.<sup>17</sup> Refugees continued to enter Avignon and disperse into the Vaucluse department through September 1940. From the North of France and Alsace-Lorraine especially, 5,400 displaced people arrived in Avignon, not including those from further east, the long flow of European Jews that began the previous decade, or the Spanish fleeing their own fascist leader. Schools overflowed with new students.<sup>18</sup>

As with other municipalities, on 5 November 1940, the municipal council of Avignon was suspended and replaced with a special delegation, created by Vichy. Deposed Mayor Louis Gros fled to Switzerland, where he participated in the Resistance.

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<sup>16</sup> Armand Mossé, *Histoire des Juifs d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin* (Paris: Librairie Lipschutz, 1934), 16. This monograph, published before the Holocaust, offers a very interesting history of the community. See also Philippe Prévot, *Histoire du Ghetto d'Avignon* (Aubanel, 1975).

<sup>17</sup> Hervé Aliquot, *La Vaucluse dans la Guerre: La vie quotidienne sous l'Occupation* (Éditions Horvath, 1987), 20.

<sup>18</sup> Aliquot, *La Vaucluse dans la Guerre*, 9.

Jean Gauger replaced him as mayor, and served through 1942. The members of the Avignon special delegation as of November 1940, were MM. Edmond Pailheret, Henri Michel Bechet, Henry Rouviere, Eugene Dufour, and were led by President M. Jean Gauger.<sup>19</sup> Despite the town's leftist political stance, as was the case with the majority of towns in the southern zone, the citizens of Avignon joined in the collective sigh of relief when Pétain took the reins, and—so they believed—spared France a repeat of the Great War's immense bloodshed. Avignon was soon after greeted by none other the Maréchal Pétain himself on a 4 December 1940 stop at the train station, where he gave a brief statement on a return trip from the south of France to Vichy, and promised to visit again.<sup>20</sup>

Inhabitants and institutions alike adjusted and continued moving forward in their new circumstances. As was the case with Bayonne, the relative size of the town appeared to make everything slightly more exposed, more fragile. Certainly institutions that cannot boast large faculties or immense resources feel any hardship all the more acutely.

### **The École de Musique d'Avignon**

The history of the Avignon École de Musique is difficult to trace due to the lack of archival documents regarding its founding, through a rough chronology is shaped through tertiary documents. A document from the 1828 Distribution of Prizes attests to the existence of a small municipal music school in Avignon, focused solely on solfège and singing. On the 7 April 1856 session of the municipal council, there appears a concrete plan to create a municipal music school that included instrumental music. From

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<sup>19</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon pendant la Derniere Guerre*, 40–41. See also Paxton, *Vichy France*, 196–97.

<sup>20</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon pendant la Derniere Guerre*, 65.



1858, this institution was referred to as the Conservatoire de Musique, changing in 1881 to Municipale École de Musique. In 1916, the institution was formally made École Nationale de Musique, a smaller provincial institution governed by that odd mixture of municipal and state government and directed by the Conservatoire de Paris. Charles Allo took the directorship in 1929, and would oversee the école through the entirety of the war, only stepping down from his position in 1955.<sup>21</sup>

The École de Musique d'Avignon is not as richly represented in archival material as larger provincial institutions, and is especially lacking in letters between the mayor and director that have shed light on the daily situation in other instances. However, the Avignon Municipal Archives do hold an item lacking in most other cases: a full roster of classes, including individual students attending each, for the entirety of the war years. The rosters provide information on school size and courses taken by students and the levels of students and the school. For a small school, it indicates a relatively robust program.

The school offered several concurrent solfege courses each year, averaging around 15 students for the elementary courses and five to ten students in each of the middle and upper courses; as in most institutions, genders were segregated to allow for singing in the same octave within a class. Fewer than ten students were taught in each of the singing and harmony courses, with only one student taking the superior level in most years. The chamber music ensembles, taught by the Director Allo himself, were divided into first and second division, though ostensibly all students played alongside one

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<sup>21</sup> "Notice Historique Sommaire sur l'École de Musique de la Ville d'Avignon," Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 10DHL41: Enseignement artistique: Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique.

another. Piano classes were fuller, with about fifty students participating in various levels of study; violin enrollment was comparable to piano. The lower strings dropped off considerably, with less than five students. Wind numbers likewise hovered around the five-student mark. Enrollment levels changed little between the 1939–40 and 1940–41 academic calendars; it appears some classes even increased in size, notably Director Allo's chamber music ensemble. The 1941–42 year presents a decline in student enrollment. Numbers appear lower in every class, but markedly so in singing, harmony, and wind instruments.<sup>22</sup>

In stark contrast with the printed and bound programs for the distribution of prizes at the Conservatoire de Paris and the larger Conservatoires succursales, or branches, in the provinces, the École de Musique d'Avignon preserved the distribution of prizes via a handwritten program for each year. These include insightful lists of professors and winners of prizes. Despite smaller size of the faculty and students and the apparent modest nature of the archival documentation, the faculty represented a quite wide range of specialization, with individual professors of nearly all wind instruments, and no fewer than three professors of solfege, the bedrock of any conservatoire-type institution. Certainly these numbers did not approach those of the larger conservatoires, but at the same time, these documents, evince a small but robust school. Figure 20 shows several of the first pages of the 1939-1940 palmarès program.

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<sup>22</sup> Avignon Record des Courses, 1939–1940, 1940–1941, 1941–1942, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 60Z1.



## Operations and Inspections

From the 1939 examination the Avignon Conservatoire received praise for a high number of students—a “remarkable amount”—and credits Director Allo’s ability as a teacher and musician. Compliments continued for the solfege and vocal courses, though the inspector recommends further vocal exercises. Max d’Ollone, the inspector, recommended the orchestra join the “Concerts du Conservatoire” program, the faculty-student hybrid orchestras, such as those held in Paris, as was the case for larger institutions, and also recommends creating an inter-city choir, perhaps joining Lyon and Pau. The inspector likewise commented on the strong local flavor expressed in the popular songs.<sup>24</sup> This aligns with the new and heightened regionalism the Vichy Regime and the National Revolution sought to advance as part of their political campaign that praised the rural and provincial and went hand-in-glove with decentralization of culture.<sup>25</sup>

The following year, the report for the school year was issued on 16 August 1940. Again, the report opens by effusively praising the director of Director Allo, who was keeping the school of music “alive... even in this uncertain period.” The inspector continued to praise the harmony class of M. Charles, as well as the solfege and oral diction led by Mme Roux. However, in this report, the Upper Boys course was criticized due to the exercises being harmful to their developing voices. Immediately recommended are more appropriate exercises to safeguard their developing instruments. The report ends swiftly, quickly praising the quality of the Chamber Music class, particularly the students

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<sup>24</sup> Report 2 October 1939, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8773: Ministre des Beaux-Arts Avignon.

<sup>25</sup> Nord, *France’s New Deal*, 255.

forming the “valiant and interesting ensemble.”<sup>26</sup> These, alongside the class rosters, point to a small institution, but one that appeared fairly resilient in the face of new adversity. In the *École de musique d’Avignon*, it appears that the constraints of the new political situation manifested most acutely in the faculty.

### **Faculty Struggles and Skirmishes**

By the summer of 1941, a great change came to the *École d’Avignon*, with the replacement of five retiring professors, a very significant turnover for such a small institution. The positions included were two professors of piano—intermediate and advanced classes, respectively—professor of trumpet, of horn, and of clarinet.

So great was the need for professors that the *École* hosted a *concours* of sorts for new professors, somewhat of an open call, on 10 and 11 September 1941 at the school in Avignon. The advertisement was also spread to the occupied zone. It listed the annual salaries for each position. 9,600 francs annually for the piano teachers, expected to serve 12 hours a week, 4,800 francs for the clarinet teaching 6 hours weekly, and 2,400 francs for the three weekly hours of the trumpet and horn professors. The advertisement also included mention of the right of the professors to take positions in the municipal theater orchestra, an avenue of further income, and one of the institutions students at the conservatoire were trained to fill.<sup>27</sup> The advertisement, shown in figure 21, lists the necessary requirements, including performance pieces, sample lectures and lessons, as well as oral examinations in pedagogy.

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<sup>26</sup> Inspector’s Report of the *École de musique d’Avignon*, 16 August 1940, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8773: *Ministre des Beaux-Arts Avignon*.

<sup>27</sup> Letter from the Mayor of Avignon to the Secretary of National Education, 23 July 1941, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8773: *Ministre des Beaux-Arts Avignon*.

Figure 21: Advertisement for Faculty Concours.<sup>28</sup>

E T A T F R A N C A I S  
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V I L L E D ' A V I G N O N  
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E C O L E N A T I O N A L E D E M U S I Q U E  
-----  
A V I S D E C O N C O U R S P O U R C I N Q P O S T E S D E  
P R O F E S S E U R S  
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Un concours sur épreuves et sur titres est ouvert pour la nomination de cinq professeurs ( deux professeurs de piano ( cours moyen et supérieur), un professeur de trompette, un professeur de Cor, un professeur de clarinette, à l'Ecole Nationale de musique d'Avignon.

1° PIANO- Chacue titulaire recevra un traitement annuel de 9.600 francs pour 12 heures de cours par semaine

EPREUVES DU CONCOURS :  
1°)- Morceau imposé: Etudes symphoniques de Schumann  
2°)- Un prélude et fugue du clavecin bien tempéré de Bach, au choix du candidat  
3°)- Lecture  
4°)- Une leçon à donner à un élève (durée 15 minutes)  
5°)- Epreuves pédagogiques ( interrogations sur la technique et la littérature du piano

2°)- CLARINETTE - Le titulaire recevra un traitement annuel de 4.800 frs pour 6 heures de cours par semaine

EPREUVES DU CONCOURS :  
1°)- Morceau imposé: Solo de concours de A. MESSAGER  
2°)- Un morceau au choix du candidat ( 1 exemplaire devra être mis à la disposition du jury)  
3°)- Lecture à vue  
4°)- Epreuves pédagogiques ( interrogations sur la technique et la littérature de la clarinette  
5°)- Leçon à donner à un élève ( durée 15 minutes)

3°)- TROMPETTE- Le titulaire recevra un traitement annuel de 2.400 frs pour 3 heures de cours par semaine

EPREUVES DU CONCOURS :  
1°)- Morceau imposé: Légende pour trompette de G. Enesco  
2°)- Morceau au choix du candidat ( 1 exemplaire devra être mis à la disposition du jury  
3°)- Lecture à vue  
4°)- Epreuves pédagogiques ( interrogations sur la technique et la littérature de la trompette  
5°)- Leçon à donner à un élève ( durée 15 minutes)

4° C O R - Le titulaire recevra un traitement annuel de 2.400 frs pour trois heures de cours par semaine.

<sup>28</sup> Concours de 10 et 11 septembre 1941 pour recrutement, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 1R13: Instruction Publique (1919-1941).

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EPREUVES DU CONCOURS

- 1°)- Morceau imposé: pièces en ré de H. Busser
- 2°)- Morceau au choix du candidat ( 1 exemplaire devra être remis à la disposition du jury
- 3°)- Lecture à vue
- 4°)- Epreuves pédagogiques ( interrogations sur la technique et la littérature du cor.
- 5°)- Leçon à donner à un élève ( 15 minutes)

NOTA- Les Professeurs de l'Ecole nationale de musique, font partie de droit de l'orchestre du théâtre municipal

LES CANDIDATS DEVRONT FOURNIR:

- 1°)- un extrait de leur acte de naissance
- 2°)- un extrait de leur casier judiciaire
- 3°)- un certificat de bonnes vie et moeurs délivré par le maire de la commune de leur résidence  
Ces pièces devront avoir moins de trois mois de date
- 4°)- une copie certifiée conforme des titres dont ils auraient à se prévaloir
- 5°)- une déclaration certifiant qu'ils possèdent la nationalité française à titre originaire
- 6°)- Une déclaration et un engagement prévu par les lois des 13 août et 3 octobre 1940
- 7°)- Un certificat délivré par le médecin de l'Administration municipale Directeur du service d'hygiène, constatant qu'ils ne sont atteints d'aucune maladie contagieuse et, d'une façon générale, d'aucune maladie de nature à les gêner dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions.

Les postulants devront, en outre, justifier des conditions suivantes: Avoir satisfait aux obligations sur le recrutement de l'armée. La limite d'âge 35 ans sera reculée d'un temps égal à celui de la mobilisation dans le service armé ( guerres 1914-1918 et 1939-1940) ou de la durée effective du service militaire. Les réformés de guerre jugés physiquement aptes au point de vue médical, à l'emploi pour lequel le concours est ouvert, seront considérés, au point de vue de cette limite d'âge, comme ayant été mobilisés pendant toute la durée des hostilités. En aucun cas, cette limite d'âge ne devra dépasser 40 ans.

Les Professeurs choisis entreront en fonctions après leur agrément par Monsieur le Ministre, Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Education Nationale et à la Jeunesse.

Les dossiers complets des candidats devront être déposés ou adressés au cabinet du Directeur de l'école nationale de musique d'Avignon avant le 5 septembre pour la zone libre et par l'intermédiaire du Secrétariat d'Etat à l'Education Nationale et à la Jeunesse, pour la zone occupée.

- Les concours auront lieu à l'Ecole Nationale de musique d'Avignon: pour les postes de professeurs de piano, le Mercredi 10 septembre à 15 heures, pour ceux de professeurs de clarinette, trompette et cor, le Jeudi 11 septembre à 15 heures.

Pour tous renseignements complémentaires, s'adresser au Directeur du Conservatoire d'AVIGNON.

This document gives considerable insight into the far-reaching effects of the new regime on the otherwise mundane elements of running a musical and educational institution in the provinces. Two piano professors, Mme Imbert and Melle Bourcier retired, M. Martin, who taught both trumpet and horn, passed away, though his death is



unspecified, and M. Moulin the clarinet professor, also retired.<sup>29</sup> The large number of retirements at once, though not expressed directly, would appear to be due to the application of the law limiting the age of functionaries, or even due to the Jewish statute. However, the absence of supporting paperwork leaves the reasons inconclusive.

It likewise illustrated the relationships between provincial institutions. The jury for the piano concours included Ennemond Trillat, professor of piano—and soon to be director—of the Conservatoire de Lyon, and M. Remy, Professor of piano at the Conservatoire de Marseille. It appears that the *École de musique d'Avignon* sourced professors from other institutions to choose a colleague, and illustrates the connection between institutions. Though separate and managed directly by their municipalities, they also represented an interconnected web.<sup>30</sup>

By 20 November 1941, the *Secrétariat d'Etat à l'Education Nationale et à la Jeunesse* approved the hiring of four professors: M. Maxime Chouiller as professor of piano, M. Martin Michel as professor of trumpet, M. Emile Robert as professor of harmony, and M. Fernand Burle as professor of trumpet. Each of the considered parties submitted signed affidavits certifying that they had been born in France, were French citizens, had never been members of secret societies, and were not Jewish, as was the mandate across France. In the same letter, the Secretary approved the hiring of only one

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<sup>29</sup> Concours de 10 et 11 septembre 1941 pour recrutement, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 1R13: Instruction Publique (1919–1941).

<sup>30</sup> Procès-Verbal du jury de concours ouvert le 10 Septembre 1941, pour le recrutement de deux professeurs de piano (cours moyen et supérieur.) Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8773: Ministre des Beaux-Arts Avignon.



rather than two piano professors, leaving the second of the positions open.<sup>31</sup> Presumably this was due to the fact that four persons previously held the five positions. M. Martin holding the professor of both trumpet and horn.

Oddly, on 29 June 1940, barely a week from the signing of the Armistice, the Supervisory Committee of the *École de musique d'Avignon* held a special meeting. One might suspect the meeting would be to decide the fate of the conservatoire or the students, given the new and drastic shift in government that oversaw the entire system of music education, or to chart a path for the following school year. No. A meeting of Director Allo with the members of the committee—M. Le Gras, Chambon, Desplats, Rochette, Roze, Aymard, and Pelissier—was called to address a faculty dispute.

Though the exact nature of the dispute or the exchange between individuals were not detailed, records indicated that the disagreement arose during the course of an examination of the superior harmony classes, which were taught by Professor Charles. M. Charles was accused of failing to act with impartiality in grading students, something the former referred to as an “educational dispute.” Having been angered, M. Charles refused to participate in discussion regarding his assessment. The Committee resolved the following: M. Charles refused to understand the gravity of his fault or the insulting and defamatory nature of the letter he sent to Director Allo in the aftermath, and that M. Charles claimed to be the sole judge of the contest and refused to participate according to proper methods. The Board made note of his act of defiance. M. Charles declared his retraction of the insulting letter; the Committee decided to issue a serious warning to M.

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<sup>31</sup> Letter from Le Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Education Nationale et à la Jeunesse to Monsieur le Préfet de Vaucluse, 20 November 1941, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 278W15: Conservatoire de musique (1913–1978).

Charles, and that if M. Charles committed any further infractions, it would be cause for removal.<sup>32</sup> Despite these resolutions, the animosity failed to quell, and erupted once more, this time with M. Charles attempting to mobilize Vichy's xenophobic tenor.

M. Charles, still, seemingly intent on exacting some sort of retribution on Director Allo for their academic differences, alerted the *Ministre des Beaux-Arts* that Allo (which appeared spelled Alloo in some documents from this exchange) was born in 1881 in Bruxelles, meaning that he was not French by birth, a fact that now conflicted with Vichy's law of 17 July 1940 concerning the appointment of foreigners to public service positions. This concern could only now be proffered due to Vichy's xenophobic tenor, and it appears that M. Charles sought to use the new political landscape to remove his adversary from his position of power. A flurry of letters between municipal, departmental, and state functionaries followed, each describing the nature of the claim in similar, if not identical language.

This disagreement illustrates the quickly growing xenophobia that Vichy's laws unloosed. The situation was resolved from the highest office possible. A 13 March 1941 letter sent directly from Pétain to the *Préfet* of the *Vaucluse* included nothing short of an official state decree. He states that though Allo was born in Belgium, he was married to a French citizen and the father of two French citizens. Pétain also included that Allo's brother had been killed in 1914 while serving in the Belgian Army—possibly to underline the alignment with France's position in the First World War. The decree reads:

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<sup>32</sup> Meeting of Cabinet du Premier Adjoint 29 Juin 1940, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 60Z7: Rapport Commission de Surveillance, de 1936 à 1971.

Article 1: “Monsieur Charles Alloo is exempted, for the purposes of the provisions of the law of July 17, 1940 from the condition provided for in Article 1 of said law.

Article 2: The Admiral of the Fleet, Vice President of the Council, Minister Secretary of State for the Interior, is responsible for the implementation of this decree.<sup>33</sup>

Both Pétain and Darlan signed the document. M. Charles, unshaken, continued to send letters to officials as late as July 1942, to no avail.<sup>34</sup> The Head of State had declared Director Allo appropriate in his positions, regardless of the law. Personal connections cannot be underestimated.

### **The Burdens of War**

The 1942 report, filed with the state government on October 23 of that year, indicated the results of the hardships felt by Avignon after two years of the Vichy Regime and increased occupant demands. The report opened by commenting that there was a notable decrease in the number of students enrolled, due to the “current circumstances,” a term often cited in these sorts of reports, referencing a common language for the issues caused by the regime change and occupiers. At the same time, it praised Director Allo’s leadership for his intelligence and mastery of professorial functions. Though the theory classes were numerous, they were reportedly a modest level, with criticism of the accuracy, rhythm, and nuances; sight-reading was deemed sufficient. M. Charles, professor of the harmony class, received moderate praise, as did the vocal professor Mme Farraelli. Some cello students are praised, while the violin and

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<sup>33</sup> Letter from Pétain to the Préfet of the Vaucluse, 13 March 1941. Archives Municipales d’Avignon, 1R13: Instruction Publique (1919–1941).

<sup>34</sup> Letter from Eduard Charles, professor of music to Préfet de Vaucluse, 3 July 1942, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8773: Ministre des Beaux-Arts Avignon.

piano studios received moderate criticism. The wind and brass classes were deemed generally weak. However, the chamber music program and the orchestra, both conducted by Director Allo, were given high praise. It appeared that Allo enjoyed a great deal of esteem for his musical and pedagogical talents, as well as a high level of personal respect. Indeed, it was given the commendation of being as good as or higher than larger cities, and it appears that like in larger institutions, Allo performed alongside these students. The inspector furthermore encouraged the Société des Concerts of the École d'Avignon,<sup>35</sup> apparently bolstering the regional talents in line with Vichy's bolstering of regional cultures. So while the enrollment and the quality of students fell, those courses run by Director Allo maintained a considerable distinction.

This report could be interpreted a number of ways. First, it could be that a different inspector, with his own musical tastes and purviews, found more to criticize at the school than previous inspectors had. It could also be that the grace given the school for merely operating in the immediate aftermath of the change to Vichy rule had worn thin, and the school was now expected to function at full capacity under the new normal. However, it could also signal that the quality of students had declined overall through the diminished enrollment numbers. While no exact recordation of students who left exists, it can be assumed that older students—who could serve in the military, be sent to work as part of the STO, which had ramped up its efforts by this date, or work to provide food for suffering families—would be the first to leave school; they would have also represented the foremost talent that may have otherwise bolstered the school's achievement.

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<sup>35</sup> Report 23 October 1942, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8773: Ministre des Beaux-Arts Avignon.

The city, too, felt hardships as the occupation dragged on, the Armistice stretched well beyond its original intent. As discussed at length, the summer of 1942 saw the French people begin to waver in their support of Pétain and the regime's leadership and direction. A propaganda poster from Avignon's department of the Vaucluse, pictured in figure 22, depicts Vichy's efforts to appeal to the people.

**Figure 22: Vaucluse Propaganda Poster.<sup>36</sup>**



<sup>36</sup> Poster for Comité de Propogande Sociale du Maréchal de Vaucluse, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 240W1: Departmentale propaganda.

The appeal, particularly to workers and the distinct call outs to particular trades illustrates Vichy's knowledge of what would speak to specific locations. Avignon, with its obvious commitment to workers groups and concerns through the 1920s and 30s, would be hungry for language from Vichy to speak to these issues. Vichy playing to these regional concerns to garner support illustrates a lack of unanimous political backing.

Certainly by the spring of 1942, cracks were beginning to form in Avignon, as across all of the zone libre.

## **TOULOUSE**

Toulouse is located in the middle of the Occitane region of France, the capital of the Haute-Garonne sits on the bank of the Garonne River. It is situated near France's southern border with Spain, between the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts. As early as the second century, the area served as a trading center, beginning a tradition of acting as a transfer of Italian and Spanish products toward the center of Gaulish territory.<sup>37</sup> Through the second half of the nineteenth century, Toulouse grew into a "dormant metropolis" leaving citizens nostalgic for its previous trade prowess. Small industry, including hat and clothing production, machinery, and furniture and stained glass blossomed during the Second Empire.<sup>38</sup> By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the city became a center of industry, notably in chemical and aircraft manufacturing, largely in response to the Great War. The worldwide economic downturn of the early 1930s touched Toulouse, especially when a

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<sup>37</sup> Michel Taillefer, *Nouvelle Histoire de Toulouse*, (Toulouse: Éditions privat, 2002), 17.

<sup>38</sup> Philippe Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1988), 232–34.

major airplane company, l'Aéropostale declared bankruptcy. Unemployment rates dramatically increased in what had become a major industrial center.<sup>39</sup>

Politically, Toulouse veered Left at the end of the nineteenth century, and began to lean radical and socialist. Socialism prevailed in the town through the onset of WWI.<sup>40</sup> From 1906 onward, Toulouse maintained a socialist mayor and municipal government.<sup>41</sup> After 1922, Toulouse welcomed a steady stream of anti-fascist Italians, and, after 1933, Jews and communists from Germany and central Europe fleeing Nazi persecution. Many of these individuals eventually became origins of Resistance movements in their adoptive city.<sup>42</sup>

Until the 10 June 1940 evacuation of the government from Paris, Toulousians expressed completed confidence in assured French victories, and were by all accounts stupefied by the Armistice and its terms. Soon, however, the town was filled with all manner of French refugees fleeing South.<sup>43</sup> Toulouse, like Lyon, had been deemed a politically inappropriate location for the new regime due to their Leftist leanings, despite the much better facilities and transportation than Vichy.

The first two years of Vichy rule did not incite significant protestations. Pétain received a warm welcome when he visited on 10 November 1940, as well as favorable coverage in the local press. At the same time, it became a center for refugees and ousted Third

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<sup>39</sup> Philippe Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1988), 499–503.

<sup>40</sup> Taillefer, *Nouvelle Histoire de Toulouse*, 256.

<sup>41</sup> Michel Goubet, *Toulouse et la Haute-Garonne dans la guerre, 1939–1945: La vie quotidien en Images* (Paris: Éditions Horvath, 1987), 9.

<sup>42</sup> Taillefer, *Nouvelle Histoire de Toulouse*, 279.

<sup>43</sup> Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 507.

Republic politicians. For example, the mayor of the nearby city Colombers housed Léon Blum.<sup>44</sup>

The passages over and through the Pyrenés used by fleeing Spaniards in the previous decade now reversed their directions as refugees made their way to Spain in the hopes to find passage to England or America and out of Hitler's grasp. Meanwhile, most of Toulouse's Jewish population remained in town. Much of the Toulouse population remained charitable towards their Jewish neighbors, but remained largely silent in regards to the anti-Semitic statutes of October 1940 and June 1941 that ousted Jews from most political and prominently public positions. By and large, Toulousians showed little hostility towards collaboration initiatives. Toulousians, despite their location in the midst of an agricultural region, began to feel the grips of scarcity by the winter of 1940–41, due in large part to government disorganization and mismanagement of resources. A prosperous black market sprung up by 1941.<sup>45</sup>

The Resistance in Toulouse was slow to begin and remained small and unconnected for quite some time. Four young men did disrupt Pétain's 10 November 1940 visit by throwing anti-Armistice, anti-Pétain leaflets from rooftops overlooking the main square.<sup>46</sup> A small network led by Toulouse University Professor and former chief of staff to Third Republic Education Minister Jean Zay, Pierre Bertaux informed London of German settlements on the Atlantic Wall, but this group was quickly disbanded by Vichy. Upon the 1941 invasion of the U.S.S.R., the French Communists began to participate in a more organized Resistance; though only at the point of total occupation did they start to

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<sup>44</sup> Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 509.

<sup>45</sup> Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 509.

<sup>46</sup> Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 510.



make any discernable difference.<sup>47</sup> An office of the *Commisariat Général aux Questions Juives* (CGQJ), Vichy's special administration overseeing their anti-Semitic legislation, was ensconced in Toulouse in 1941. Over a hundred Jewish companies were placed under its provisional administrator, doling out punishment for non-compliance with the *Statute des Juifs*.<sup>48</sup> The opening of the CGQJ coincided with the USSR entering the hostilities against Germany, and both led to an influx of Resistance activities in Toulouse.

The Resistance resounded in the Toulousian academic milieu including Pierre Bertaux, Paul Dottin, Daniel Faucher, and Raymond Naves. They were joined by doctors Joseph Ducuing and Camille Soula as well as sociologists Raymond Aron and Georges Friendmann, philosophers Geroges Canguilhem, Vladimir Jankelevitch and Albert Lautmann. These intellectuals, some of whom lost their lives to the cause, were joined by their commitment to cultivating a healthy mistrust of Vichy and the erosion of democracy, especially in students and the young bourgeoisie.<sup>49</sup>

Despite a declaration of allegiance to the Head of State, mayor Antoine Abel Gabriel Ellen-Prévoit was replaced on 20 September by lawyer and former rugby player André Haon. Despite some efforts at dissent, including leaflets by leftist militants, Maréchal Pétain was warmly welcomed on 7 November 1940 into the city with celebrations that featured folkloric and cultural events that echoed a return to patriarchal and rural values.<sup>50</sup> Despite the political differences between the majority of those living in

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<sup>47</sup> Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 510.

<sup>48</sup> Armand Anselem, *Histoire de la Communauté Juive de Toulouse* (Lyon, Alás, 2008), 34.

<sup>49</sup> Taillefer, *Nouvelle histoire de Toulouse*, 280–81.

<sup>50</sup> Taillefer, *Nouvelle Histoire de Toulouse*, 280–81.

Toulouse and the right-wing Vichy regime, citizens here and across France were eager to celebrate the end of war with Germany at this early date. Certainly, the Conservatoire de Musique in Toulouse moved quickly to reconvene classes and resume at least a semblance of normal activities.

### **The Conservatoire Nationale de Musique de Toulouse**

The Conservatoire had a long history with deep ties to the municipality. On 13 March 1820, the municipal council created a free school of vocal music. By 1826, it had already been made a branch of the Royal School of Music in Paris, and was made a branch of the Conservatoire de Paris in 1840. In 1884, the institution was promoted to the Conservatoire de Toulouse, succursale du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation. By 1939, the institution boasted a fairly large faculty and a large collection of manuscripts in the library.<sup>51</sup>

At the onset of the war, the Conservatoire de Toulouse was under the direction of Aymé Kunc. A native Toulousian, Kunc was born into a musical family in 1877 as the tenth of twelve children. He began musical training as a young child from his parents before attending the Conservatoire de Toulouse, earning solfege, piano, and harmony awards as early as 1894. The following year he won a harmony award at the Conservatoire de Paris, and studied composition. His canata *Alcyonne* won the Grand Prix de Rome in 1902 and he spent the following years at the Villa Medici. Upon returning to France, he became the conductor of the Apollo Theater in 1911 before

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<sup>51</sup> "Conservatoire Municipal de Toulouse," *Annuaire Général de la Haute-Garonne*, Publié sous les Auspices de M. le Préfet et du Conseil Général, 1939, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, REV256:1939.

returning to Toulouse to take the position of director of the Conservatoire in 1914. Following the war he resurrected the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire de Toulouse, and conducted countless concerts. He was conductor of the first Radio Toulouse concerts in 1926, and mounted performances of Wagner's *Ring Cycle* and *Parsifal*. As an avid mountaineer, he enjoyed the proximity to the Pyrénées that the position in Toulouse brought him.<sup>52</sup> Certainly, the school benefitted from such a consistent and skilled hand at the helm.

The most insistent matter for the Conservatoire upon the German advancement past the Maginot line was—as was the case with all other such institutions in Paris and the provinces—the matter of the end of year *concours*. As Toulouse was relatively far from the advancing troops, the situation was more adaptable. No students fled with their families. During the 30 May 1940 meeting of the Conservatoire's administrative council, it was decided to lessen the publicity given to the public competitions, given the wartime circumstances. However, the failure of the French forces led Mayor Gros, at the urging of Director Kunc, to hold all 1940 competitions behind closed doors.<sup>53</sup>

Perhaps due to the longstanding ties between the municipality and the Conservatoire, the Administrative Council to the Conservatoire was replaced alongside the replacement of the municipal council. On 21 November 1940, the Préfet approved the following members for a period of four years: Maître Sarradet, a lawyer, M. le Docteur Baudet, a surgeon, and Mme Bourguignon-Jacotot, an artist. Additionally, the following members were appointed from the municipal council and approved by the Préfet: M.

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<sup>52</sup> "Biographie," *Association Aymé Kunc: Aymé Kunc: un Compositeur Toulousian*, [www.aymekunc.com](http://www.aymekunc.com). Created 2014, accessed 15 July 2019.

<sup>53</sup> *Concours de 1940 internal notes*, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, 331W2: Séances et concours, 1940–1941.

Madeline, M. Dagniac, M. Montariol, M. Laurent.<sup>54</sup> The following year the latter four were replaced by council members M. Dalet, Mme Privat, M. Brotet, and M. Thillard.<sup>55</sup> This unusually high turnover is indicative of the shifting municipal government but records indicate the council had relatively little impact on the students at the Conservatoire for the opening years of Vichy.

### **Toulousian Student Life**

The Toulouse Municipal Archives provide an extremely rich view of the students of the institution, particularly in comparison to other similar-sized schools. Their records indicate not only students attending, but also list each class by year, allowing for the monitoring of class size and members over the course of the war. As with Avignon, these records list the names of each student enrolled in every course offered during a given school year, which provides insight into class size and level as well as the student body. Solfege appears, as with most institutions, the most heavily attended class, as all students were required to take it; though some slight fluctuations occurred, the enrollment of these large classes maintained mostly stable numbers through the first two years of Vichy.

The same can be said for the piano and violin classes across all levels of prowess, though on a smaller scale. Oddly, not only were the solfege and singing classes segregated by gender, but also all string courses, a sign of discoveries to come. Woodwind classes had fewer students at the onset, and although they each decrease

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<sup>54</sup> Letter from the Special Municipal Council to Director Aymé Kunc, 21 November 1940, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, 331W7: Projets des reformes.

<sup>55</sup> Letter from the Mayor of Toulouse to the Préfet of the Haute-Garonne, 25 June 1941, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, 331W7: Projets des reformes.

through the years of Vichy, the numbers do not drop drastically.<sup>56</sup> The students enrolled in the oboe classes from 1936 through 1945 are shown in figure 23.

Figure 23: Inscription of oboe students, 1936–1945.<sup>57</sup>

1935		Classe de		Hautbois		1936	
Noms et Prénoms		Naissance lieu	Naissance date	Adresses		Signés (inscrit date)	Morceaux choisis
Gally Roger, Albert, né à Toulouse le 27 janvier 1910		Toulouse	6 janvier 1910	28 Rue de Chagny			
Bardelles René, Louis, né à		Albi	17 octobre 1911	18 Rue Colbert			
1936							
Laguer Paul, Julien		Toulouse	21 janvier 1910	18 Boulevard Chagny	Guilhemont		1936
Dru Nicolas		Castelnau de	17 décembre 1911	Ronde de la rue de la			
Maille Jean, né à Faurès				23 rue de la			
MATHIEU Louis, né à		St Gaudens	16 février 1911	Route de Lavant			
1937							
Sannier Anna, née Joseph		Nolay	21 janvier 1911	5 rue de la	Page 1		1937
Goché Fernand, Marcel		Castelnau	29 mai 1911	57 rue de la			
MATHIEU Louis, né à		St Gaudens	16 février 1911	Route de Lavant			
1938							
Mercey Jean, né à		Toulouse	22 mars 1919				1938
MARIÉ Jacques, né à		Boussens	17 août 1921				
SABATIÉ René, né à		Castelnau	30 mai 1917	à Plagnac			
MICHAMOND Jean, Germain		Castelnau	2 février 1922	à Castelnau			
CURREQUIES Louis, né à		Castelnau	2 février 1922	à Castelnau			
1939							
1940							
ROBERTY Roger, Marcel, Félix		Amiens Seine	11 juin 1919				Page 2
Fontaine René, Marie Eugène		Mont St-Jean	22 mai 1920		Centre de		Page 3
1941							
Léot André		Paris (8 <sup>me</sup> )	21 avril 1918	21 <sup>me</sup> R.I.			Page 4
Léot Lucien, Henri, Jules		Castelnau	4 mars 1920		Centre de		Page 5
1942							
Chabat René, Charles		St-Jean de	17 décembre 1918	Rue de la			Page 6
Faget Maurice, Robert		St-Jean de	8 février 1920	21 <sup>me</sup> R.I.			Page 7
Léot Charles, René		St-Jean de	26 juin 1920	21 <sup>me</sup> R.I.			Page 8
1943							
1944							
CANNIAT Marcel, José		Soulon	25 octobre 1920	25 rue de			Page 9
MIZELL Albert, Jean, Bernard		Amiens	15 décembre 1921				Page 10
MATHIEU René		Castelnau	11 août 1923				
1945							

There are likewise excellent records of the municipal council’s dealings with the Conservatoire, particularly on budgetary items. The school, with its extremely long ties to the municipality, appears well supported. Even former students enjoyed the benefit of ties to the institution. In January of 1940, the council voted to give aid in the amount of 3,000

<sup>56</sup> Conservatoire course inscriptions, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, 1R141: Conservatoire de Musique, Liste d’Inscription.

<sup>57</sup> Conservatoire course inscriptions, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, 1R141: Conservatoire de Musique, Liste d’Inscription.

francs to support a clarinet student from the Conservatoire de Toulouse who had been admitted to the Conservatoire de Paris.<sup>58</sup> Though this evidence appears to suggest the students at the Conservatoire de Toulouse experienced little change in their day-to-day educational routines, the same cannot be said of the faculty.

## The Politics of Faculty Policy

Vichy's impact continued to be felt in faculty changes. The city directory listed the entire faculty yearly, as shown in figure 24.

**Figure 24: Directory listing of Conservatoire Faculty 1940–1941.<sup>59</sup>**

DIRECTION ET ADMINISTRATION.	
Directeur.....	Aymé KUNC. ✱.
Secrétaire-bibliot. censeur.....	Bacquier, 41 I. rue de la Providence, 108
Secrétaire-bibliot. adjoint.....	Gaillard, 41 A. allées Charles-de-Fitte, 9 bis.
Surveillant.....	Larrieu, ✱, rue Claire-Paulilhac, 30.
PROFESSEURS TITULAIRES.	
Solfège (cl. des hommes) 1 <sup>re</sup> et 2 <sup>e</sup> div.	Guilhot, 41 I. r. de Languedoc, 31.
— 3 <sup>e</sup> et 4 <sup>e</sup> div.	Tourrié, 41 A. rue d'Alsace-Lorraine, 8.
Solf. (cl. d'adultes-A)	Gaujac, rue Amiral-Galache, 11.
— B)	Marqué, rue Montardy, 3.
Classe du soir.....	Tournié, rue du Pont-Vieux, 12.
Préparatoire du soir.....	Marqué, rue Montardy, 3.
— mixte.....	M <sup>me</sup> Cayla-Ducourau, rue Beauséjour, 23.
Solfège (cl. des demois.) 1 <sup>re</sup> div.	M <sup>me</sup> Decruck, avenue Armand-Leygues, 22.
— 2 <sup>e</sup> et 3 <sup>e</sup>	M <sup>me</sup> Pauly, rue Tolosane, 12.
— 4 <sup>e</sup>	N.....
Chanteuses.....	M <sup>me</sup> Decruck, avenue Armand-Leygues, 22.
Harmonie.....	M <sup>me</sup> Fleury-Roy, rue Frizac, 9.
Chant.....	Claude-Jean, 41 I. Côte-Pavée-Montaudran, 217.
—	de Poumayrac, 41 A. rue de l'Inquisition, 13.
—	Nègre, rue Boulbonne.
Déclam. lyrique.....	Claude-Jean, 41 I. Côte-Pavée-Montaudran, 217.
Déclam. dramatique.....	M <sup>lle</sup> Talour, avenue Frizac, 16.
Piano (hommes).....	M <sup>me</sup> Blanc-Daurat, rue du Sénéchal, 9. [1940] 230.26
Piano (femmes).....	M <sup>me</sup> Marchant, 41 I. rue Saint-Bernard, 19.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Blanc-Daurat, rue du Sénéchal, 9. [1941] 230.26
—	M <sup>lle</sup> Lioux, rue d'Alsace-Lorraine, 61.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Marty (Madeleine), rue Roquelaine, 26.
Piano préparatoire.....	M <sup>me</sup> Marchant, 41 I. rue Saint-Bernard, 19.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Jorré, rue Ingres, 13.
— des chanteurs.....	M <sup>me</sup> Aucher Pouette, rue d'Alsace-Lorraine, 27.
Harpe à pédales.....	M <sup>me</sup> Vèze-Sourisseau, allées Jean-Jaurès, 52.
Violon.....	Carles, 41 I. rue Chevreul, 15.
—	Mucciolli, 41 A., rue Bayard, 3.
Allo.....	M <sup>me</sup> Eprinhard, rue du Faubourg-Saint-Etienne, 29.
Violoncelle.....	Ringelsen, 41 I. boulevard d'Arcole, 9.
Contrebasse.....	Cros, Grande-Rue-Saint-Michel, 23.
Flûte.....	Hériché, rue Saint-Antoine-du-T, 10.
Hautbois.....	Serville, 41 A. rue Saint-Jérôme, 8.
Clarinette.....	Graff.
Basson.....	Olieu, 41 A., allée des Demoiselles, 23.
Cor.....	Vidalot.
Corn. à pist. et tromp.	Déjean, rue Benjamin-Constant, 44.
Trombone.....	Brun, chemin du Préfet, 9 bis.
Ensemble vocal.....	Guilhot, 41 I. rue de Languedoc, 9.
Classe d'orchestre.....	Brouillac, rue de Fleurance, 6.
Musique de chambre.....	Kunc, ✱, directeur du Conservatoire.
Accompagnatrice.....	M <sup>me</sup> Estaque, 41 A., rue Lapeyrouse, 3.
PROFESSEURS SUPPLÉANTS.	
Solfège.....	G. Dutrey, 41 A., rue des Paradoux, 39.
—	Fonvielle, rue Peyrolières, 16.
—	Eprinhard, rue du Faubourg-Saint-Etienne, 29.

<sup>58</sup> Séance de 6 January 1940, Municipal Proceedings 1940, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, PO1/1940: p. 412.

<sup>59</sup> "Conservatoire Municipal de Toulouse," *Annuaire Général de la Haute-Garonne*, Publié sous les Auspices de M. le Préfet et du Conseil Général, 1940-41, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, REV 256:1940-1941.

<i>Solfège</i> .....	Galinier, rue du Pont-de-Tounis, 1.
—	Michel, rue Maletache, 12.
—	Casties, rue Gatien-Arnoult, 16.
—	Thoumazet, rue Saint-Georges, 19.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Chaynes-Péchat, rue du Sénéchal, 10 bis.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Guiraud-Bermy, rue Saint-Antoine-du-T, 26.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Blancher-Portes, boulevard Riquet, 33.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Bajel-Ollivier, place St-Sernin, 11. <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">TELEPH.</span> 244.54.
—	M <sup>lle</sup> Genty, rue Moiroud, 11.
<i>Harmonie</i> .....	M <sup>me</sup> Cayla-Ducourau, rue Beauséjour, 23.
<i>Piano hommes</i> .....	Marqué, rue Montardy, 3.
— <i>femmes</i> .....	M <sup>me</sup> Desaignes-Rey, rue Pharaon, 40.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Daux-Fargues, rue Lafayette, 7.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Aussal, <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">L.</span> , rue Saint-Erembert, 20.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Marrassé-Sempé, boulevard de la Gare, 22.
<i>Harpe à pédales</i> .....	M <sup>me</sup> Gazave-Duclos, avenue de Lasbordes, 38.
<i>Violon</i> .....	Navarra (J.), <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">L.</span> A., rue du Dix-Avril, 36.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Delpech-Chameroi, rue Raymond-IV, 41.
—	Ajas, route de Blagnac, 65.
<i>Alto</i> .....	Marsan, rue Demouilles, 33.
<i>Violoncelle</i> .....	Balaresque, <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">L.</span> , rue Alsace-Lorraine, 12.
<i>Contrebasse</i> .....	Guillon, rue Louis-Vignes, 31.
<i>Chant</i> .....	M <sup>me</sup> Thorond-Hamelin, <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">L.</span> , r. du Fourbastard, 22.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Estaque, rue Lapeyrouse, 3.
—	M <sup>me</sup> Y. Ducuing, rue du Périgord, 12. <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">TELEPH.</span> 491.56.
<i>Déclam. lyrique</i> .....	M <sup>me</sup> Thorond-Hamelin, <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">L.</span> , r. du Fourbastard, 22.
<i>Déclam. dramatique</i> .....	N. . .
<i>Flûte</i> .....	Latgé, rue des Potiers, 19.
—	Lafont, rue Denis-Papin, 3.
<i>Hautbois</i> .....	Albert, rue Jean-Bouyssou, 9.
<i>Clarinete</i> .....	Cassagne, Ecole de filles, grande rue de Bataille.
<i>Basson</i> .....	Coustouzy, à Venerque.
<i>Cor</i> .....	Gaujac, rue Amiral-Galache, 11.
<i>Cornet à pistons</i> .....	Bonnet, rue Lancefoc, 14.
<i>Trombone</i> .....	Mouret, rue Tournante-de-Luppé, 56. <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">TELEPH.</span> 230.73.

Not all changes were negative; the regime did want to present itself as a positive alternative to the bureaucracy of the Third Republic. After the switch in oversight came a call to simplify the payment of Conservatoire professors. The instrumental professors in Toulouse were paid in part by the Théâtre du Capitole, where they were required to maintain a position. This important performing institution began in the eighteenth century and served as the main venue for the region. However, while their salary from the Conservatoire included deductions for retirement, the portion from the Théâtre did not. At the same time, the salaries had not kept pace with the cost of living, and while simplifying the payment into one source, only from the Conservatoire, came a raise.<sup>60</sup>

In the fall semester of 1941, M. Igon, an Adjoint au Maire, wrote to the Préfet of the Haute-Garonne to ask for the appointment of only two of five permanent professor

<sup>60</sup> Séance de 24 October 1941, Municipal Proceedings 1941, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, Po1/1941: p.413–14. A copy appears in Archives Municipales de Toulouse, IR147: Personnel-Correspondence.

positions. The Préfet proposed only filling the “female” jobs—in this case two professors of solfège—with tenured positions Mesdames Bajet Ollivier and Marresse-Sempe to protect the “rights of prisoners of war” by keeping the other positions open, contrary to the mayor’s plan to fill all the open positions.<sup>61</sup>

The Right-wing Vichy Regime, aligned as it was with the Catholic Church, sought to re-instill a sense moral order through “appropriate” gender roles. Certainly, they believed, a low birthrate brought on by the progressive attitudes towards traditional gender roles had played a significant role in France’s defeat. The return to patriarchal organization meant that males—especially fathers of large families, as evinced by number of children listed by job seekers—were given preference in hiring. Women were to return to the familial sphere—and the “natural destiny of domesticity and motherhood,”—and rely on the male breadwinner.<sup>62</sup>

By the summer of 1942, the situation was dealt with more authoritatively, with the following orders: Mme Marcelle Bajet-Ollivier was named titulaire professor of solfege and singing, replacing Mme Decruck, who was called to other duties. Mme Fernande Decruck replaced, temporarily, Mme Fleury-Roy as professor of solfège, after Mme Fleury-Roy’s retirement. Mme Madeline Marasse-Sempe was named, temporary professor of solfège replacing Mme Saint-Blancat, who retired. Melle Lucienne Pauly, professor of solfège in the second and third divisions, was named professor of first and

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<sup>61</sup> Letter from Monsieur A. Ignon Adjoint au Maire to M. le Préfet de la Haute-Garonne, 5 December 1941, Archives Nationale de France, F/21/8089.

<sup>62</sup> Caroline Campbell, “Gender Politics in Interwar and Vichy France,” *Contemporary European History* 27:3 (2018): 482–99. See also Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), and Joan Tumblety, *Remaking the Male Body: Masculinity and the Uses of Physical Culture in Interwar and Vichy France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).



second divisions, replacing Mme Decruck as she fulfilled other duties. Finally, Mme Jeanne-Cayla Ducourau, professor of preparatory solfege was assigned to the third division of solfege, while Melle Pauly, the usual professor, covered Mme Decruck's classes.<sup>63</sup> This is to say that, a simple shuffling of professors to cover classes in the case of two retirements necessarily became a point of contention and legislation by both the Regional Préfet and the Municipal Council, including the Vichy-appointed Mayor, as the Préfet overruled the municipality. Though contention between state and municipal leadership existed even during peacetimes, the unwillingness to allow women to take positions permanently, due to the fear that the position *might eventually* be open to a returning prisoner of war, added a shot of Vichy's regressive policies to an already tense situation.

Faculty shuffling was far from over—not unusual in such a large institution. By 24 July 1942, Director Bacquier wrote to Hautecoeur to inform him of the upcoming contests to appoint new flute and clarinet professors, replacing MM. Hériché and Graff, respectively, who were resigning for unknown reasons.<sup>64</sup> It seemed faculty skirmishes might soon quiet at the conservatoire. Hautecoeur granted the Conservatoire de Toulouse a normal subsidy of 13,000 francs and a special subsidy of 17,500 francs for the year of 1942, a sure vote of confidence.<sup>65</sup>

For their part, Vichy mounted a considerable effort to uphold artistic life in France despite the cloud of the Occupation over much of the State, and as demonstrated

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<sup>63</sup> Arrête du Maire A. Haon, 5 Octobre 1942, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, IR147: Personnel—Correspondance, 1821–1969.

<sup>64</sup> Letter from C. Bacquier to Secrétaire des Beaux-Arts, 24 Juillet 1942, Archives Nationale de France, F/21/8089.

<sup>65</sup> Letter from Secrétaire des Beaux-Arts Hautecoeur to the Préfet de al Haute-Garonne, Jul7 1942 Archives Nationale de France, F/21/8769.

in Toulouse, salaries for faculty of the Conservatoire increased. Still, its patriarchal politics led to positions left open, while women—who were barred from filling these positions—were left to pick up the slack to fulfill the curricula. The German's continued encroaching on the terms of the Armistice continued and grew exponentially through the fall of 1942, where we will rejoin the Conservatoire de Toulouse in chapter 5.

## LYON

In the valley where the Rhône meets the Soan River sits the city of Lyon, surrounded by softly rolling hills, from which the impressive white Basilica of Notre-Dame de Fouvrière looks down to the town. The old town features many ancient passages, some of which date back to the twelfth century.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, though Lyon, situated comfortably in the center of the unoccupied zone, would have made the most convenient location for Pétain's government, it was immediately rejected as the populace would have certainly proved defiant in the face of the Regime's extreme Right wing bent. Indeed, Lyon swiftly emerged as a center for Resistance activities, organizing many drops from GB and Free France, while the nearby countryside—particularly Clermont-Fermand—became a major operation in hiding and smuggling out of foreign Jews. Germans entered Lyon on 19 June 1940, nine days after an aerial bombing that left 15 civilian and military dead. Though the Armistice was signed on 22 June, the German troops did not leave until 5–7 July.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> "Historic Site of Lyon," United Nations Educationa, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), accessed 17 September 2019. <https://whc.unesco.org>

<sup>67</sup> Gérard Le Marec, *Lyon sous l'Occupation* (Ouest France, 1984), 11.

The mayor of Lyon upon the Armistice, Mayor Édouard Herriot, identified as a French Radical—a party associated with the political and social center left, though it had shifted further to the center through the first half of the twentieth century. He served as Mayor from 1905, in addition to three terms as prime minister during the period of the Third Republic. Perhaps this service, more than anything else, aligned him with all that Vichy sought to reverse. Indeed, he was not only removed from office during the years of Vichy governance, he was exiled to Germany, and returned only in 1945, when he resumed his place as mayor until his death in 1957.<sup>68</sup> Suffice it to say, the five decades he served as mayor enshrined him in the hearts of the city, and to this day the hospital, many streets and landmarks still bear his name. He was replaced by a series of mayors selected by Vichy: first by the so-called President of the Special Council, M. Georges Cohendy, and later on 20 July 1941 by a titular Mayor, M. Georges Villiers. Neither remained in power for long, As Villiers would also find himself replaced in December of 1942.<sup>69</sup>

Still, it appears the town never fully aligned themselves with the new regime, and Resistance activities flourished. It was home to some of the most well-remembered figures of the resistance, including Jean Moulin and Virginia Hall. Charles de Gaulle, in a post war visit, christened it the Capital of the Resistance. It now hosts the most

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<sup>68</sup> Le Marec, *Lyon sous l'Occupation*, 27–31. See also Francis De Tarr, *The French Radical Party from Herriot to Mendès-France*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

<sup>69</sup> Le Marec, *Lyon sous l'Occupation*, 11–15.

comprehensive Resistance Museum in France, housed in what was at one point the Gestapo headquarters.<sup>70</sup>

This is not to say that Lyon didn't support Pétain, especially in 1940, when most of France was relieved that they were spared a possible repetition of the horrors of the First World War. Nor is it to imply that Lyon was without factions and individuals that supported the racial discrimination of Vichy. Particularly racist sentiments were expressed, especially in arguments over how to best stem the issue of the Black Market as rations dwindled. It was also home to the infamous Montluc prison, which the Gestapo took over in 1942 upon the total occupation; they used it for both interrogating suspected members of the resistance and as an internment camp for those who would be sent to concentration camps, most often Auschwitz.<sup>71</sup> It is now a museum and a memorial to those who were killed or interned there. The predominant figure here and throughout the city was Klaus Barbie, known as the "butcher of Lyon." He served as the head of the local Gestapo and was known for personally torturing prisoners, including children. He would eventually be found in South America and extradited to France several decades after the war, where he was sentenced to life in prison in 1987. "Unoccupied" unfortunately did not indicate a complete absence of German soldiers. There were certainly some present, especially in the larger cities with bigger train hubs. Lyon was far from an openly resistant niche in an otherwise bleak France; but it did retain its political and ideological identity, if now below the surface.

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<sup>70</sup> See Centre d'Histoire de la Résistance et de la Déportation: L'Histoire, Essentielle au Présent. <http://www.chrd.lyon.fr/chrd/>.

<sup>71</sup> Antoine Grande, "Résister et survivre à Montluc, (1940–1944)," in *Lyon dans la Seconde Guerre Mondiale: Villes et métropoles à l'épreuve du conflit*, (Rennes: Presse Universitaires de Rennes, 2016), 305–17.

### **The Conservatoire Nationale de Musique de Lyon**

Created by the state in 1872, the Conservatoire de Lyon was helmed by two different directors through the war years. In October 1941, Ennemond Trillat officially replaced the outgoing director George Martin Witowski, whose name appears on very few documents from the onset of the Vichy era. Witowski reached the age of retirement in 1941. Trillat was a Lyon native, WWI veteran, and professor at the Conservatoire at the time of his appointment. Certainly the Conservatoire de Lyon benefitted from its location in the unoccupied zone, until 1942 and the move to total occupation. In fact, when hopefuls from the unoccupied zone could not travel to Paris to audition, Lyon provided the space for their entrance exams. The Conservatoire de Lyon not only continued to function during the war years, it kept up the vigorous end of year tests, and even managed to still hold award ceremonies complete with printed programs, something that fell by the wayside for other regional institutions, though it must be said that these awards had to be delayed in 1940 and again in 1944 due to fighting in France. In fact, in the fall of 1940, the municipality had to authorize extra hours for classes as they swelled with returning students who had fled Lyon at the start of the war.<sup>72</sup> It maintained the same building throughout the war year, spared by both requisition and bombardments, which shook the city, particularly as the Allies cleared the way for liberating forces. But it was not without hardships.

In comparison to other regional institutions, Lyon boasted a rather large faculty, mirroring the respectively large student population. As intended by the national design of

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<sup>72</sup> Letter from Director Witowski to the President of the Special Delegation, 25 November 1940, Archives Municipales de Lyon, 534 WP 25.

the conservatoire system, Lyon was accordingly large to accommodate its relative population and attendant musical life. The faculty listing at the time of the 1940 spring concours deftly illustrates this point, as shown in figure 25.

**Figure 25: Lyon Conservatoire Faculty, May 1940.**<sup>73</sup>

<b>PERSONNEL DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT</b>	
<i>Directeur</i> : M. G. M. WITKOWSKI, ✱	
Contrepoint et Harmonie . . . . .	M. CHAIX
Harmonie élémentaire . . . . .	M. CÉSAR GEOFFRAY (interim)
Théorie supérieure . . . . .	M. GIRIAT.
Solfège . . . . .	M. RICOU, ☉ I.
	M. BOIS.
	M <sup>me</sup> COUMES, ☉ A.
Chant . . . . .	M <sup>me</sup> de LESTANG, ☉ I.
	M <sup>me</sup> CLAESSENS.
	M. RAMBAUD, ☉.
Orgue . . . . .	M. PAPONAUD.
	M <sup>me</sup> BOUVAIST-GANCHE, ☉ I.
Piano, Classes supérieures . . . . .	M. TRILLAT, ✱, ☉ I.
	M <sup>me</sup> DAUBIAN.
Clavier . . . . .	M <sup>me</sup> LAMBERT.
Piano élémentaire . . . . .	M <sup>me</sup> ZAY.
Harpe . . . . .	M <sup>me</sup> DESGEORGE, ☉ A.
	M. GUICHARDON, ☉ I.
Violon . . . . .	M. FAUDRAY, ☉ I.
	M. MEGRET, ☉ A.
Violoncelle . . . . .	M. DUCHON-DORIS, ☉ A, ☉.
	M. GAY (JEAN), ☉ A.
Alto . . . . .	M. X...
Contrebasse . . . . .	M. LESPÈS.
Flûte . . . . .	M. BRIDET.
Hautbois . . . . .	M. GAY (EUGÈNE), ☉ A.
Clarinette . . . . .	M. MOREL.
Basson . . . . .	M. BARBE, ☉ A.
Cor . . . . .	M. X...
Trompette . . . . .	M. MENDELS.
Trombone . . . . .	
Art dramatique (Comédie-Tragédie) . . . . .	M. MAGNAT.
Classe d'accompagnement . . . . .	M <sup>me</sup> de LESTANG, ☉ I.
Musique de chambre . . . . .	M. GUICHARDON, ☉ I.
Littérature dramatique . . . . .	M. ROUGIER.
Classes d'ensemble vocal et instrumental . . . . .	M. JEAN WITKOWSKI, ☉, ☉.
Diction (Classes des Chanteurs) . . . . .	M <sup>me</sup> PONS-ARLES, ☉ A.
<b>Professeurs Honoraires</b>	
M <sup>me</sup> GAILLETON-SENOGQ, ✱, ☉ I.	
M. L. VALLAS, ✱, ☉, ☉ A.	

Unlike the Paris Conservatoire and other institutions in the Occupied Zone, the Conservatoire de Lyon noted that students—who here faced to journey back over the demarcation line—all returned to the school within a week of the Armistice. In face,

<sup>73</sup> Conservatoire National de Musique et d'Art Dramatique de Lyon Palmarès (Année 1940), Archives municipales de Lyon, 2224WP27(1).

Witowski, assuming the cloak of normalcy quite quickly, held the end-of-year concours the week of July 15.<sup>74</sup> Like the large Conservatoire de Paris, Lyon also found itself in a moment of transition during the onset of the Vichy regime, as it replaced its director, Georges Martin Witowski with Professor of piano, Ennemond Trillat. The replacement came unexpectedly due to Vichy's new age limits for government employees, which dictated a mandatory retirement age of 70, excepting special cases wherein mayors could grant extensions for no more than four years. Director Witowski wrote in an official report on 2 October 1940 to protest the new age restrictions on municipal workers, including the faculty at the Conservatoire.

He first protested that the proposed pension—two-thirds of the maximum salary out of 30 years of service—would place most retirees of the Conservatoire into severe poverty, if not certain starvation. Furthermore, the new restrictions would immediately cut two of the three violin teachers, two of the three vocal teachers, a theory teacher, oboe and bass teachers at the same time as himself, the Director, whose responsibility it would be to fill such positions. Witowski added that as many of the instrumental professors did not teach enough hours to make a full salary, they were often drawn from the radio and city orchestras, and that even a town the size of Lyon—relatively large in France—recruitment often took considerable time. Witowski, understanding the will of the new government, asked for a delay in the changes of faculty and for a delay in his own retirement until he could be sure of a smooth transition.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Letter from Director Witowski to Lyon Maire 5 juillet 1940 Archives Municipales de Lyon, 1120WP32/1: Administration du conservatoire.

<sup>75</sup> M. Witowski, Director's Report, 2 October 1940. Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8089 Dossier 2: Conservatoires aux Provinces.

Though he could not stave off these retirements for long, he was able to proceed through faculty changes at a more reasonable pace. Trillat took the directorship in 1941. Indeed, through the war the conservatoire retained most of its faculty, though, as will be illustrated, several were affected by the forthcoming Jewish statutes. Figure 26 shows Witowski, a cellist, alongside pianist Trillat; they are joined by violinist Hortense de Sampigny to form the Trillat Trio, which began performing in 1920.

**Figure 26: Sampigny, Trillat, and Witowski in 1920.**<sup>76</sup>



Ennemond Trillat distinguished himself throughout the war in his protection of faculty and students, especially in response to efforts made against Jews by Vichy. Born in Lyon on 5 December 1890 to organist Paul Trillat, Trillat entered the Conservatoire National de musique de Paris in October of 1904, and quickly began accumulating prizes: First prize in piano (1905), Second Prize in piano (1907), First prize in piano (1908). He studied solfège with Paul Rougnon, harmony and counterpoint with Louis Vierne, and orchestration with Claude Terrasse. He soon began performing as a pianist with the

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<sup>76</sup>“ Photo of the Trillat Trio, 1920,” *Biographie de Jean (Georges Martin) Witowski (1895–1953)*. Accessed 15 May 2019. [www.gmwitowski.fr/about/](http://www.gmwitowski.fr/about/).



Concerts de la Société nationale de Musique, and giving recitals throughout France. Trillat mobilized in 1914, and served through 1919, including three months on the front lines of trench warfare in WWI. In October of 1929, he received the distinctions of Officer of the horseback academy and the Legion of Honor. Trillat is pictured in figure 27 during the war.

**Figure 27: Ennemond Trillat during his WWI service.<sup>77</sup>**



Trillat was named professor of piano at the Conservatoire de Lyon in October 1919, and to director in 1941. A sought-after performer, he gave lecture-recitals throughout France and in Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Spain, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Syria, and Canada.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> “En route pour Mitry (Mitry-Claye, Seine-et-Marne).” Album photographique d’Ennemond Trillat, July 1917. Archives Nationales de France, 700AP/14/PA334. Featured in “La Grande Collecte 1914–1918, L’exposition numérique.”

<sup>78</sup> “Personnel file on Ennemond Trillat,” Conservatoire national de region RH(1939–1995), Archives municipales de Lyon, 2225WP/24.

## Jewish Professors at the Conservatoire de Lyon

Like the Conservatoire de Paris, the Conservatoire de Lyon was expected to dismiss its Jewish professors, which it did, though only in part. On December 10, 1940, Fanny Zay, instructor of the elementary piano class, signed a statement certifying that she no longer qualified for her position vis-à-vis the Statute des Juifs, as seen in figure 28.

**Figure 28: Fanny Zay Removal, 3 October 1940.<sup>79</sup>**

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MAIRIE DE LYON

Ville de Lyon

Application de la loi  
du 3 octobre 1940, portant  
statut des juifs.

SERVICE : *Conservatoire de Musique*

Je, soussigné(e) . . . *Zay, Fanny*  
employé en qualité de *chargée de cours*  
(*titulaire ou auxiliaire*)

~~Je certifie, sur l'honneur,~~ <sup>pour</sup> remplit les conditions  
fixées, pour l'accès et l'exercice des fonctions  
publiques, par l'article 3 de la loi du 3 octobre  
1940, portant statut des juifs.

LYON, le 10 décembre 1940.  
(signature)  
*F. Zay*  
Louis de Sèze-Minot  
à Zay

*Observation.  
Grand père Paternel (Lorrain)  
à opté pour la France  
après 1870  
Pièce justificative à disposition  
F. Zay*

<sup>79</sup> Special thanks to the Mairie de Lyon for permission to view this personnel file. Fanny Zay, "Application of the law of 3 October 1940 on the statute of the Jews," 10 October 1940, reproduction at the Centre d'Histoire de la Résistance et de la Déportation in Lyon. Photo taken December 2017. Original housed at the Archives Municipales de Lyon 2225 WP 24.

It appears she attempted to fight for her rights as a French citizen, as she adds to the document that her paternal grandfather, in Lorraine at the time of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, chose France.<sup>80</sup> However, another family connection proved ill fated. As noted in a different hand on the document, Fanny was the cousin of prominent Third-Republic politician of the Radical Socialist Party and Freemason, Jean Zay; indeed, at the time of her hiring in 1938, she touted her relation to the then-Secretary of Education. However, in June of 1940 Jean Zay boarded a boat intending to flee to Casablanca and set up a resistance government. Unfortunately, the plot was foiled, and he was arrested in August 1940 for desertion. By October he was found guilty and committed to prison. In June of 1940, three miliciens were to move him to a different location, but instead murdered him in the woods. In 2015 he was recognized at the Panthéon. Fanny was dismissed and lived quietly but unemployed in Lyon through the next four years.

Zay's famous surname may have proved inescapable, but another Jewish professor was hidden in plain sight. Jacob Mendels, professor of trombone, did not submit any statement following the Statute des Juifs, nor did he go into any kind of hiding. Mendels had been a classmate of Director Trillat at the Conservatoire de Paris, where he won first prize in trombone. He maintained his position throughout the war, his name appearing on the publically disseminated programs for the end-of-year awards. This remains largely a mystery. Jacob Mendels is hardly a typically French name. Perhaps he didn't have three Jewish grandparents, or his closeness to the Director, his relatively higher status position, his privilege as a male, or some other factor protected him.

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<sup>80</sup> Fanny Zay, "Application of the law of 3 October 1940 on the statute of the Jews," 10 October 1940, reproduction at the Centre d'Histoire de la Résistance et de la Déportation in Lyon. Photo taken December 2017. Original housed at the Archives Municipales de Lyon 2225 WP 24.

While some professors did retire during the four years of Vichy, the faculty remained mostly unchanged; a rarity in a time when maintaining even enough students to fill classes plagued other institutions. Two professors, M. Morel of bassoon and M. Geoffroy of Harmony, were mobilized for the war effort in the spring of 1940, but it appears they were both located near Lyon, and rejoined the Conservatoire for classes that fall; they both remained on the rosters after the war.

### **Academic Pursuits**

Happily, detailed registers of the students at the Conservatoire de Lyon during the Vichy era are well-kept at the municipal archives, allowing for a thorough investigation of enrollment during this period. The records indicate classes attended during each school year, and illustrate a robust student body. However, they indicate little in the direction of daily student life.

From letters and advertisements, it can be told that the students enjoyed a rather vigorous academic life. Despite the lack of mandates from Paris on the pedagogical requirements for music history in the provinces, Lyon, like other provincial institutions, took the initiative to give its students a well-rounded musical education. In fact, not only were students instructed in music history, but the conservatoire began to host music history conferences, inviting keynote speakers. The first of these occurred on 23 December 1941. The conservatoire hosted M. A. Gravier, a members of the Comité

d'Enseignement, who gave a keynote lecture on Mozart to commemorate the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of his death.<sup>81</sup>

Based on the purported success of this conference, Trillat immediately began plans for a second conference in 1942, encompassing “French music to Rameau included—German Music until Bach excluded,” or more plainly, French music to Rameau (1683–1764) and German music after Bach (1685–1750).<sup>82</sup> This can be interpreted either as a collaborative statement, illustrating links between musical language. It may also be viewed, however, as turning the more prevalent collaborationist statement—French composers learning and proceeding forth from the German masters — and turning it on its head. This illustrates a marked difference from the tenor of the 1940 Paris performance of Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande*, and the surrounding literature and cultural discussion. The 1940 performance and subsequent recording highlighted French adherence to German mastery.<sup>83</sup> Rather, the Lyon Conservatoire’s French and German hybrid conference appears more akin to the Resistance’s usurping of the musical medium to assert French culture and identity.

Prior to the move to total occupation, Lyon led the charge in public protest, set off by a cultural rather than militant event: a 18 March 1942 visit by the Berlin Philharmonic. Though a Resistance unit originally considered an act of sabotage, they instead began to assemble in front of the place des Terreaux—an hour and a half later, the square was full and required a police barricade. The crowd spilled onto side streets, chanting “Les

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<sup>81</sup> Letter from Director Trillat to Mayor of Lyon, 27 December 1941. (Lyon Divers III.)

<sup>82</sup> Letter from Director Trillat to Professeur Marrou at the Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, 23 January 1942 (Lyon Divers III.)

<sup>83</sup> Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation* (Oxford: Oxford University 2018).

Boches à Berlin,”—a term we could loosely translate to a slur, like Kraut—and demonstrations in other locations around the city sprang up.<sup>84</sup> It marked the first major public demonstration. Participant André Plaisantin, a Catholic, trade unionist, and organizer of Combat in Lyon,<sup>85</sup> described the events as follows:

From seven o'clock on the evening itself Resisters began to assemble in the place des Terreaux. By eight o'clock a third of the square was full. A police barricade arrived to contain the crowd, and anyone who tried to pass through the crowd towards the concert-hall was jeered and hissed. Very few attempted it. A worker taking a chair into the hall stepped off the pavement and then turned to the demonstrators and shouted at the top of his voice 'I won't go.' Enormous applause greeted his statement.... There was a spontaneous demonstration outside the United States Consulate in the place de la Bourse. Trams were stopped and fights broke out between demonstrators and police. There were numerous arrests.

This was the first great public demonstration of Resistance. The result galvanized our activity. We began to have confidence in ourselves.<sup>86</sup>

This demonstration broke into public demonstrations in other cities, particularly in the southern zone, still unoccupied at this point. By May 1942, the publication *Libération* claimed successful demonstrations in Toulouse and Avignon, alongside those in Marseille, Nice, Saint-Étienne, Montpellier, Sète, Toulon, Clermont-Ferrand, and Chambéry.<sup>87</sup> Certainly, the attitude of the town extended to the running of the conservatoire, where the currents ran consistently against the racial tracts of the Occupiers and Vichy, as will be illustrated in Chapter 5.

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<sup>84</sup> André Plaisantin, “Sur les origines de Combat à Lyon (May 1949).” Quoted in H. R. Kedward, *Resistance in Vichy France: A Study of Ideas and Motivation in the Southern Zone 1940–1942* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 215–216.

<sup>85</sup> “Combat” denotes one of the eight movements within the French National Council of the Resistance. It was created early on in the non-occupied zone.

<sup>86</sup> André Plaisantin, “Sur les origines de Combat à Lyon (May 1949).” Quoted in H. R. Kedward, *Resistance in Vichy France: A Study of Ideas and Motivation in the Southern Zone 1940–1942* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 215–216.

<sup>87</sup> *Libération*, no. 12 (18 May 1942).

**CHAPTER IV**  
**Continued Hardships and New Resistance**  
**The Occupied Zone, 1942–1944**  
**Bayonne, Orléans, Lille**

Two years into the rule of the Vichy Regime and the then partial German occupation of France, significant Allied gains—and their attendant Axis rejoinders—contributed to further changes to French civilian life that echoed through the Conservatoire system. On 8 November 1942, Allied forces comprised of American and British troops landed across western and northern coasts of French North Africa to enactment of “Operation Torch,” the Allied plot to take the offense. The military operation targeted Oran, Algiers, and Casablanca and quickly impacted political dynamics on the Continent.<sup>1</sup>

Allied forces captured François Darlan in Algiers, where he happened to be visiting his injured son at the time of the attack. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Allied commander, negotiated an agreement, wherein the Allies named Darlan as commander of all French armed forces in French North and West Africa in exchange for Darlan’s defection to the Allies. This move appears odd, given Darlan’s zeal for collaboration and the National Revolution. Some speculated he intended to maintain a Vichy-like government, but his ultimate political goals were never discovered as he was assassinated on 24 December of that year. Nevertheless, it was on Darlan’s short-lived authority that the Allies gained the trust of French military in North Africa, a key victory that earned

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight David Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (William Heinemann: London, 1948), 95–114.

them the allegiance of French troops stationed there as well as some war craft and munitions.<sup>2</sup>

In reaction to the successful Allied campaign in Northern Africa, Hitler ordered the complete occupation of France by German and some Italian forces, despite Laval's continued overtures of collaboration.<sup>3</sup> Hitler maintained that the Armistice of June 1940 remained in effect, and that the Vichy regime maintained its sovereignty. Yet, from this moment onwards, it acted as little more than a puppet government, particularly after the disbanding of its already insignificant Armistice Army, alongside the loss of nearly all of its colonies into Allied hands.<sup>4</sup> Soon afterwards, Admiral Gabriel Auphan scuttled the French fleet in Toulon on 27 November 1942 to avoid its capture and use by the Nazis. De Gaulle heavily criticized Vichy's actions of scuttling as it denied the Free French Army any future access, though several submarines and one surface ship ignored orders and successfully fled to various North African ports. The scuttling of the fleet further decimated Vichy in the eyes of the Germans, and effectively destroyed its last artifact of power.<sup>5</sup>

The division of this study of French provincial conservatoires along the midway-point of November 1942 corresponds directly with the military and political shifts surrounding the move to complete occupation. It also coincides with a number of other events that contributed to shifting social dynamics and public perception. An increase in

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<sup>2</sup> Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944* (New York: Knopf, 1972), 282–84.

<sup>3</sup> Known in German as Unternehmen Anton.

<sup>4</sup> Paxton, 280–281 and 315–18.

<sup>5</sup> For a full account of the scuttling, see Rear Admiral Paul Auphan and Jacques Mordal, *The French Navy in World War II*, translated by Captain A. C. J. Sabalot, U.S. Navy (Annapolis, MD: United States Naval Institute, 1959), 255–71.



Communist resistance acts in 1941 resulted in intensified pressures from German forces on the Vichy regime, and soon Hitler's Final Solution to the Jews in France began to be enacted, enabled by Vichy's anti-Semitic National Revolution.<sup>6</sup>

Though the Nazis had been committing acts of genocide against the Jews, the project of complete extermination of the Jewish people across Europe was set into formal policy at the 20 January 1942 Wannasee Conference. Certainly all Jews in France—both foreign and naturalized citizens—were intended for the gas chambers by the Nazis, whose records estimated 165,000 Jews in the Occupied zone and 700,000 in the Unoccupied zone in early 1942.<sup>7</sup> The systematic deportation of non-French Jews from both zones of France began in early summer of 1942, made possible by Vichy's complete and willing collaboration. Particularly horrifying to the public was the July 1942 mass arrests of Jews who were held in the Paris *Vélodrome d'Hiver*—often referred to as simply the *Vel d'Hiv*—an indoor cycling and recreational center. The *Vel' d'Hiv* roundup held 13,152 Jews, including over 4,000 children, in crowded conditions with no water, food, and few sanitary facilities. From here they were transported to Drancy, and onward to Auschwitz.<sup>8</sup>

The highly visible nature of the deportation finally resulted the protestation of prominent priests of the French Catholic Church.<sup>9</sup> It furthermore revealed Vichy's anti-Semitic inclinations and its role in the Final Solution. Persecution of the Jews in France escalated immediately afterwards with subsequent raids in most cities. In January of

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<sup>6</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order*, 142–43.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Paxton and Michael R. Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983, c1981), 221–23.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Paxton and Michael R. Marrus, *Vichy France and the Jews*, 250–55.

<sup>9</sup> Jane F. Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 14 and 320–21.

1943, the Vichy regime created the paramilitary *Milice française* under Prime Minister Pierre Laval—returned to power by the Germans—to capture Jews and resisters. The following month brought the draft of young French men and women into the *Service du travail obligatoire*, who were deported to Germany as factory workers.<sup>10</sup> The confluence of the Allied landings, the declining German military situation, the loss of belief in the sovereignty of the Vichy regime, the visible mistreatment and deportation of Jews, and shrinking rations, especially as goods were sent to the now-suffering German citizens led to a gradual shift in French support from Pétain to de Gaulle.

The operation of the École de Musique Nationale de Bayonne, the Conservatoire Nationale de Musique d'Orléans, and the Conservatoire Nationale de Musique de Lille certainly reflect these challenges. As demonstrated in this chapter, each institution faced both generalized and specific difficulties, often entwined with the unique environment of their own institutional history, long-simmering tensions, municipal politics, or the geographical area. Frustrations in all locations in the occupied zone appeared to rise as faith in the arrangement faltered.

## **BAYONNE**

Conditions in Bayonne, especially with the occupation of the Death's Head battalion, remained extremely dangerous, especially until the very end of 1942, when the Occupants were becoming spread thinner by the move to complete occupation. In any case, resistance in Bayonne remained extremely modest, even after November 1942. The strongly anti-Hitler *Le Courrier* disappeared on 3 July 1940, and only reappeared after

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<sup>10</sup> Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order*, 293–95.

the war. Warnings were clear and direct. Citizens in Bayonne were expressly forbidden from listening to British broadcasts or reading “propaganda” posts, from selling items like ink, intended for printing or copy services, or coming within 50 meters of any bridges after dark—an especially difficult proposition in a town built over waterways. Citizens were also warned from acts of sabotage, “favoring” enemy soldiers, or staying out past curfew. Some early resistance efforts were swiftly quashed, such as the director of the clandestine publication, *Sud-Ouest républicain*, who was arrested in 1940. A police inspector, A. Bouillon, was arrested and executed for helping to arrange passage to Spain for the persecuted.<sup>11</sup>

Bayonne did have one vocal individual against the Nazis, in the form of their bishop, Monseigneur Edmund Vansteenbergh. Previously a professor at the University of Strasbourg, he began his tenure in Bayonne in October 1939. Mgr Vansteenbergh was unusually well traveled, having visited much of Europe in addition to Northern Africa and the Middle East.<sup>12</sup> He did, along with the majority of the French bishops in 1940, extoll the character of the Marechal. However, his opinion did not extend to the Germans, whom he denounced as “neo-pagans” as early as June 1940. He regularly preached against “neo-pagan” myths, and false prophets, taking thinly veiled aim at the worship of Hitler. He refused to celebrate mass for German troops and published an article in the diocese bulletin against anti-Semitism and the STO.<sup>13</sup> His anti-Vichy stance was indeed

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<sup>11</sup> Josette Pontet, ed., *Histoire de Bayonne* (Toulouse, Editions Privat, 1991), 276–77.

<sup>12</sup> Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet, “Collaborer ou résister: l’Église du diocèse de Bayonne pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale,” in *Vichy et la collaboration dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 16.

<sup>13</sup> Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet, “Collaborer ou résister: l’Église du diocèse de Bayonne pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale,” in *Vichy et la collaboration dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 20.

so well known that a “secret” Vichy memorandum documented his preaching.<sup>14</sup> Following the Vel d’Hiv roundups, he delivered a sermon strongly opposing the government’s treatment of the Jews. On 14 March 1943, Mgr Vansteenberghé likened the STO to deportation [to the camps.] German authorities used this as an excuse to search the bishopric, but came out empty-handed. Vansteenberghé died suddenly in 1943.<sup>15</sup> He was posthumously awarded the medal of the Resistance in 1946.<sup>16</sup>

Social pressure formed a sort of resistance, perhaps enhanced by the sermons of Vansteenberghé, which would have far-reaching effect in a devout Catholic city, though the “secret” memorandum noted that Vansteenberghé’s birthplace of Flanders prevented him from being “truly accepted” by the Basque region.<sup>17</sup> The sale of apartments belonging to displaced Jews was circumvented in two ways. First, Jewish families “sold” apartments to friends or neighbors who had no intention of ever possessing them. Second, social pressure prevented citizens from purchasing apartments that had been seized from Jewish families. A July 1943 dispatch from the CGQJ called the sub-prefecture of Bayonne “particularly ineffective.” Efforts of the Regional Office in Bordeaux to promote “Aryanization” began in August of that year, but appeared to slow down any

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<sup>14</sup> Sandra Ott, *Living with the Enemy: German Occupation, Collaboration, and Justice in the Western Pyrenees, 1940–1948*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 62–64.

<sup>15</sup> Renée Bédarida, “The Catholic Hierarchy in France during the War and the Persecution of the Jews,” Shoah Resource Center. Accessed 30 April 2019, [www.yadvashem.org](http://www.yadvashem.org). See also *Histoire de Bayonne*, 277. See also Renée Bédarida, *Les catholiques dans la guerre, 1939–1945, entre Vichy et la résistance*, (New York: Hachette, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet, “Collaborer ou résister: l’Église du diocèse de Bayonne pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale,” in *Vichy et la collaboration dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Ott, *Living with the Enemy*, 63.

process in Bayonne even further.<sup>18</sup> When faced with pressure from the outside to conform to a code of conduct that the citizens had collectively deemed inappropriate, the institution of the town responded with resistance—not gunfire or sabotage, but resistance nonetheless. The *École de Musique de Bayonne*, like the city, had to acquiesce to the outright demands of the occupying Germans. Yet, they too, found some small and quiet ways to rebel.

### **Maximum Compression at the *École de Musique***

Bayonne, Eugene Portré, who had been filling the position since the spring of 1942, formally replaced Director Bonnal. His confirmation by the Minister of Education was only made official on 24 August 1943.<sup>19</sup> Portré was hired despite official concern over his advanced age of 62 years old, just three years younger than the official retirement age of 65.<sup>20</sup> He certainly faced a difficult road during his short tenure at the helm of the organization.

In the early fall of 1942, Portré complained that the school of music couldn't possibly take any further compression, as the school's building had been partially requisitioned. Still, harsh restrictions continued to fall on the school. Subsequent letters between architects and the city engineer from 1950 to tear down dividing walls evince that the school had been forced to erect walls to make up for space taken away, and to run

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<sup>18</sup> Martine Bacqué, "Spoilation," 30–31.

<sup>19</sup> Decree of the Ministry of Education naming Portré as the replacement for Bonnal, 24 August 1943, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

<sup>20</sup> Letter from the Secrétaire d'Éducation Nationale et à la Jeunesse to the Prefet des Basses-Pyrennees, 11 April 1942, F/21/8774.

classes simultaneously.<sup>21</sup> In 1943, the Conservatoire de Bayonne received its harshest blow yet, not from the occupiers, but from the French state. The State Police, drawn to the building's façade, began their campaign to requisition the building for their use as early as July. Director Portré protested this to Hautecouer on 28 October 1943. Mayor Ribetron, opposed to this move, having a deeper understanding of the daily functions of the city. Indeed, he responded with a municipal veto to the Police proposal. As Portré noted, due to the German occupation, the students of Bayonne were already facing intense compression in space. The school of music—with all its equipment, pianos, instruments, stands, and *three* music libraries—were already sharing premises with the School of Drawing and its attendant materials, a class of Declamation, and classes of primary education. In total, five hundred students occupied the space. Portré indicates the requisition would not only threaten continued growth but the very existence of the school.<sup>22</sup>

A further letter from the Mayor to Portré on 3 May 1944 informs him that the school was only available for his use from 6pm–8pm, and that the time allotment must be strictly observed for no tolerance would be given to using the location outside these hours. He also noted that soon part of the premise would be allocated to the public

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<sup>21</sup> Rapport de l'Ingénieur de la Ville de Bayonne, 21 October 1950, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/1.

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Eugene Portré to Louis Hauteceur, 28 October 1943, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

schools.<sup>23</sup> As a caveat, he later added that teachers and students could hold rehearsals on Sunday mornings, a small pittance in comparison to their pre-war conditions.<sup>24</sup>

Certainly those at the school, alongside most of the French people, felt the financial burden of wartime strictures. Though his connection to the school of music is unclear, a Bayonne notary, M. Léon Dupuy, wrote to the Mayor of Bayonne in the fall of September 1943, to decry the poor salaries of the teachers at the music school in Bayonne. He explained that between 1914 and 1943, wages for these teachers only increased 8.62%, compared with office workers, who received an increase of 14.5%. He advocates for likewise raising the salaries of the music professors by 14%, beginning with teachers who have taught more than 15 years, then addressing those who had been at the school longer, until all had achieved a pay raise in line with inflation and cost of living.<sup>25</sup> This letter, beyond revealing that the teachers in the small town were suffering financial burdens past those of their office-worker colleagues, also illustrates the connections between institution and the surrounding town, especially prevalent in less populous locations. The school was embedded in the community and vice-versa.

Additionally, while no formal records of students existed, there is evidence that their numbers were affected by the uptick in calls to the Service Travail Obligatoire. In an October 1943 letter to Mayor Ribeton, Portré, after exclaiming that two of the students recently achieved perfect marks, bemoans the fact that they recently lost several students to “requisitions by the recent law,” though one of them, “Cirilo, of the superieur violin

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<sup>23</sup> Letter from Mayor of Bayonne to Portré, 3 May 1944, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/2.

<sup>24</sup> Letter from Mayor of Bayonne to Porté, 5 May 1944, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/2.

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Notary Léon Dupuy to Mayor Ribetron, 4 Septebmer 1943, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W7/1.

class, returned to us.”<sup>26</sup> One may note that the “recent law” could refer to the fact that among other groups, students received an exception from the STO until 1 September 1943 and appeared as the most likely reference.<sup>27</sup>

### **Daily Operations at the École de Musique**

Of course, many necessary operations continued through the difficulties, including the hiring of new professors. Jean Baptiste Lévy joined the École de musique in January 1943 as instructor of trumpet and other brass instruments, following the death of professor M. Dauvey. He began filling in as early as the end of December 1942, was ratified as professor by the Mayor of Bayonne in January, after submitting all necessary certifications. Official state decree of his position only came in August of that year, announced alongside the installation of Melle Leborgne as professor of solfège.<sup>28</sup>

As of 11 October 1943, Bayonne succeeded in hiring replacements for two professors. Mme Henriette Delas-Peit was hired as professor of singing to replace M. Dufourq, who had reached the age of retirement. Melle Lavielle was hired as professor of preparatory and intermediate piano to replace Bonnal.<sup>29</sup> Though the candidatures of other professors of the Vichy era in Bayonne all certify that they are French; a simple letter suffices to say that Portré, Leborgne, and Linxe-Pellous satisfy the June 1940 statute limiting Jews from most professions in France, including educators and state and

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<sup>26</sup> Letter from Eugene Portré to Mayor Ribeton of Bayonne, 26 October 1943, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/8.

<sup>27</sup> Alain Dubois, “Le STO dans les Basses-Pyrénées,” in *Vichy et la collaboration dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, Laurent Jalabert and Stéphane Le Bras, eds., (Morlâas, France: Cairn, 2015), 149.

<sup>28</sup> Minister of Education, Decree of 24 August 1943. Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

<sup>29</sup> Minister of Education, Decree of 11 October 1943. Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.



municipal posts.<sup>30</sup> Unlike other candidatures, Lévy's file also contains a separate letter between the Sous-Préfet of Bayonne and the Prefet of the Basses-Pyrénées certifying that he was not of the Jewish race nor had any associations with dissolved groups, probably referring to the Freemasons. Perhaps this extra insurance and investigation was thought necessary due to his surname.<sup>31</sup> Hiring a Jewish professor would be against the Statute of June 1940. However, given that Jewish lineage is maternal rather than paternal, it could be that his name merely indicated Jewish ancestors. It could also be that he didn't have three Jewish grandparents, though half-Jews were also discriminated against.

The 1943 Inspection, made by former director Bonnal denoted that 102 total students were registered at the school, where they were charged monthly tuition of 10 francs. The inspection sheet, while brief, notes the ages of entry and limitation for students in each study; the limits run from students aged 7 to 22. It also noted that the school, despite its small size, would receive no fewer than three inspections that year: one at the beginning of the school year, one at Easter, and at the concours at the end of the school year.<sup>32</sup> This seems an outsize number, both in relation to the number of inspections at other institutions as well as to the relative size of the school. It could be that Bonnal, having a vested personal interest in the school, found it necessary to check back more frequently, or simply because of Bayonne's proximity to his family, which continued to reside in Biarritz. His inspection, it seems, was not thoroughly communicated back to the school in a timely manner, and included a poor assessment of

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<sup>30</sup> Letter from the Prefet des Basses-Pyrénées to the Minister of Education, 13 July 1943, Archives Nationales F/21/8774.

<sup>31</sup> Letter from the Sous-Prefet de Bayonne to the Prefet des Basses-Pyrénées, 18 May 1943, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

<sup>32</sup> Bonnal inspection of École de musique de Bayonne, 22 February 1943, Archives Nationales, F/21/8774.

Madame Linxe-Pelloux, a new professor of piano, in an apparent attempt to thwart her candidacy, calling her teaching, “inadequate from a technical standpoint as well as in musical spirit.”<sup>33</sup>

Director Portré and the school council did not take kindly to their choice being degraded. In their meeting on 15 October 1943, they had not received Bonnal’s inspection, but had heard that it did not endorse Mme Linxe-Pelloux. Here, again the state-appointed inspector intervenes in the decisions of the municipality, though the level of personal investment was considerable given that Bonnal had recently left a decades-long position at the head of the school. The council’s meeting notes indicate a significant push for her confirmation, citing Portré’s praise of her work, her considerable skill, and the incredibly small amount of time Bonnal spent with her before his pronouncement—in addition for a 1942 letter in which he supported an alternate candidate from among his own students—pronounced that they would proceed with her candidacy and position, with the support of the Mayor. Furthermore, they resolved that a different inspector, without such strong personal ties to the school, would conduct future inspections.<sup>34</sup>

In the fall of 1943, letters indicated that students working from home, whom could not afford books, were instead borrowing them from the libraries, though officials worried about their long-term borrowings. While some, including Portré, thought the answer was to charge students for their borrowings, and thus cover possible expenses in loss by the library, ultimately the Mayor and the city council decided unanimously that

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<sup>33</sup> “Son enseignement nous est apparu trop insuffisant tant du point de vue technique que de l’esprit musical!” Translation by the author. Letter from the Minister of Education to the Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, 10 January 1944, quoting from Bonnal’s assessment. Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W5/6.

<sup>34</sup> Notes from the meeting of the Comité Administratif de l’Ecole Nationale de Musique de Bayonne, 15 October 1943, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/4.

this would ultimately be unfair to students already under duress, and would in fact contribute to more damage as the students would have felt they paid for ownership of the materials.<sup>35</sup>

Alongside revealing the friction between Director Portré and Mayor Ribetron, these letter also reveal the added difficulty in students actually *physically attending school*, to the point where they were borrowing library books—also revealing neither they nor the school could afford individual materials—and continuing to work through books at home. This is also indicative of the limited hours and cramped spaces that hindered normal school activity after the Germans and then the miliciens encroached on the school’s building. The cramped spaces were a common complaint among institutions in the occupied zone, and increased after the creation of the miliciens, who joined the occupiers in requisitioning space. Certainly exams continued through the war years, as displayed by epistolary evidence describing their dates and jury members; they may, however, have forgone the public and celebratory distribution of prizes. The correspondence reveals little out of place, merely the usual listing of events.<sup>36</sup>

### **Inspector Bonnal’s Continuing Disputes**

Though Director Portré did not take kindly to now-Inspector Bonnal’s report on the Conservatoire, Bonnal was tasked with oversight of the provincial conservatoires, as one of only two state-appointed inspectors charged with over forty such institutions. He was hired shortly after fellow inspector Joseph-Eugène Szyfer, who replaced André

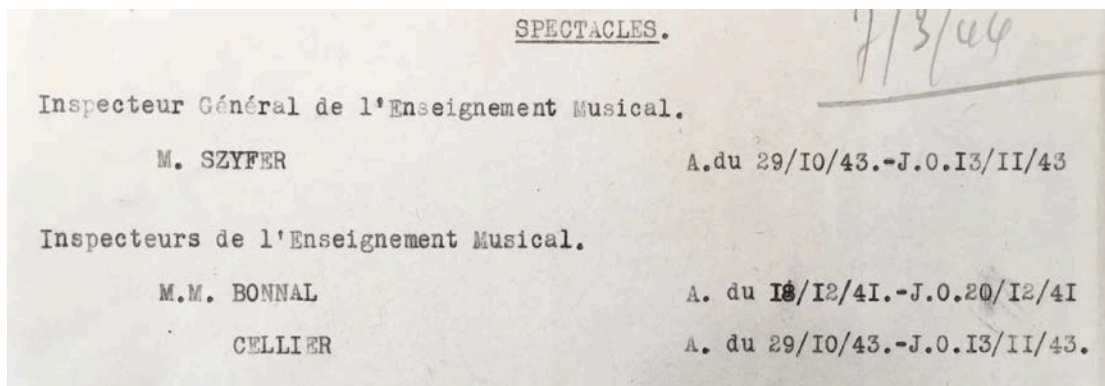
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<sup>35</sup> Letter from Mayor of Bayonne to Director Portré, 16 October 1943, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/2.

<sup>36</sup> Correspondance on exams at the École Nationale de Musique de Bayonne, 1939–1946, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/6.

Bloch, a Jewish composer who lost his position due to the anti-Semitic laws; he likewise lost his post at the Conservatoire de Paris and was replaced by returning POW Olivier Messiaen.<sup>37</sup> By 1943, Szyfer was elevated to “Inspecteur Général de l’Enseignement Musical,” and another composer and organist, Alexandre Eugène Cellier was hired to carry out inspections alongside Bonnal. The new hierarchy of this small office is depicted in figure 29.

**Figure 29: Inspecteurs de l’enseignement musical, 1943.**<sup>38</sup>



Though travel did become slightly easier due to the eradication of the demarcation line, it was by no means easy. Bonnal undertook his travels by train and bicycle, not an easy feat considering his relative age—he was 62 in 1942—and lifetime of acute asthma that kept him from long stays in urban environments thick with pollution.

In addition to his duties as an inspector, in 1941, Bonnal was also named the organist at the famed St. Clotilde in Paris. He succeeded his teacher, Charles Tournemire, who died in 1939. Bonnal served as deputy to Tournemire, alongside composers Maurice Duruflé, André Fleury, and Daniel Lesur. Bonnal certainly considered this a great

<sup>37</sup> Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 314–15.

<sup>38</sup> Inspecteurs de l’Enseignement Musical, 1943, Archives Nationales, F/21/8092, Dossier 2.

achievement. Due to the circumstances of the Occupation, there was not a formal confirmation of Bonnal, and his successor, Jean Langlais, promulgated that he rather than Bonnal was Tournemire's successor.<sup>39</sup> For its part, St. Clotilde lists Bonnal as the official organist from the years of 1941–44, directly succeeding Tournemire. Figure 30 shows him seated at the instrument.

**Figure 30: Bonnal at the organ of St. Clotilde.<sup>40</sup>**



Bonnal's concerns, like any individual living through this difficult chapter of history, were not limited to music or even his own career. Certainly, for a man who hated

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<sup>39</sup> "Jean Langlais" website, currently run by his children. Accessed October 2019. The children of Langlais and those of Bonnal have argued this topic that veered into accusations of collaboration.

<sup>40</sup> Joseph Ermend Bonnal at the organ of St. Clotilde in Paris, 1940. Obtained and used with permission of Bonnal's daughters Mayette and Marylis.

traveling and craved some degree of comfort, he took this position to support his large family. His children included several adolescents, who had their own choices to make. His eldest, Marylis Bonnal, was studying piano at the Conservatoire de Bordeaux, appearing in that institution's published *concours* programs from the war years.<sup>41</sup> However, it was his daughter Bernadette who caused the most concern; her extremely noble actions placed him in quite a difficult situation.

According to her sister Mayette Bonnal, Bernadette had worked in Germany as part of the STO for a few months, but was able to return. Upon her return, she became involved with the resistance. Mayette relates that in 1942 Bernadette found a young violinist from Austria—a German soldier, though against the anti-Semitism of the Nazi party—in occupied Paris. Bernadette accompanied this violinist on piano in a performance for a German officer in order to steal a list of Jews to be deported. She passed the list along to an underground organization that helped smuggle these Jews across the southern border to safety in Spain. Their father knew nothing.<sup>42</sup>

Later that year, German officers came to Ermend Bonnal's Paris apartment to request a tour of organ recitals through Germany. Bonnal refused. The officers made reference to knowledge of Bernadette's involvement in the Resistance, hinting at the possibility of her arrest. They suggested she be sent to Switzerland to stay with famed conductor and pianist Edwin Fisher, to avoid punishment. Bernadette refused, and

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<sup>41</sup> The Conservatoire de Bordeaux appears a strange anomaly. It was not a designated branch of the Conservatoire Nationale de Paris, and ran entirely on municipal funds. State oversight of course had the right to monitor it, but it did not appear on roll sheets of the national schools from the war years in the Archives Nationales. "Succursales du Conservatoire National & Écoles nationales de musique," 17 May 1942, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8089 Dossier 1.

<sup>42</sup> Interview with Mayette Bonnal, 9 December 2017.

continued working to smuggle Jews across the border. While she was confined to her bed during a bout with rubella, the Germans took her. She would have been executed, except for the fact that she was a minor. Meanwhile, her father knew the father of one of Pétain's secretaries, and called in favors on her behalf.<sup>43</sup> She was instead sent to Ravensbruck, from which she reportedly escaped.<sup>44</sup> Following the war, unable to bear connection with the Catholic Church any longer, Bernadette changed her name to Sophie.<sup>45</sup>

Her capture must have weighed heavy on Bonnal, who himself did not live to see the resolution. The war had many direct and indirect casualties. One must include non-combat suffering and limited access to medical care, affected by fighting as additional injuries and fatalities attributed to war. Bonnal, remembered by his daughters Marylis and Mayette as participating in long convivial meals and the seaside, took advantage of his traveling by enjoying a day at the beach on the western coast of France outside Bourdeaux, when he suffered a stroke on 14 August 1944 in the midst of the liberation of France. Unable to pass through active fighting to a doctor's care, the situation became fatal. Due to the difficulties of communication, his wife and children learned of his passing over a radio announcement.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Mayette declined to give the name of the secretary or his father as she did not wish any consequences on his descendants; this is not uncommon for those involved in any aspect of either the Vichy government or the Resistance, even decades later.

<sup>44</sup> This fact appeared in a biography of Sophie's son, now a professor of theology in Texas; he declined to comment for this research.

<sup>45</sup> Mayette recalled with great humor Bernadette/Sophie's long distaste for religion, including the nun's belief that she was possessed when she refused to wake up early for mass. Interview with Mayette Bonnal, 9 December 2017.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Mayette Bonnal, 9 December 2017.

## Postwar Scars and Surprises

In the spring on 1945, a fairly large number of students, around 100, were counted. This is especially surprising given the relative size of the school. However, the school lacked some key classes, only offering solfege, singing, and some instruments.<sup>47</sup> The inspection also revealed that the school charged students 10 francs per month for admission; they otherwise collected subventions from the city of Bayonne (133,240) from the state (4,000) and from a special state subvention (7,500), though it appears to have been insufficient to help ameliorate the situation, which worsened the following school year.<sup>48</sup> During the first year of the Liberation, it appears that the classes did pick up fairly quickly, though problems persisted. In a marked difference from the 1940 assessment, the Inspectors Arteon and Etchepare found that students were attending classes regularly, with the exception of the extremely bad weather in January.<sup>49</sup>

In March of 1945, the Special Municipal Delegation sent a disciplinary note to the school, reminding them that they must open and commence courses by a certain level dictated by the municipality.<sup>50</sup> However, poor conditions caused by the war persisted for several years. The 1945 inspection also noted that the school's building continued to be used by the State Police, which severely hindered the continuation of normal order. At the time of the inspection, the director was expecting to reestablish the École premises

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<sup>47</sup> Cellier inspection of École de musique de Bayonne, 29 and 30 May 1945, Archives Nationales, F/21/8821. Instruments offered were flute, oboe—though there were no students—saxophone, trumpet, trombone, and piano.

<sup>48</sup> Cellier inspection of École de musique de Bayonne, 29 and 30 May 1945, Archives Nationales, F/21/8821.

<sup>49</sup> Rapport d'inspection par Areteon et Etchepare, 16 February 1945, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/4.

<sup>50</sup> Disciplinary note from the Délégation Municipale Spéciale, 7 March 1945, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/2.



after the military requisitions ceased. The report decried the lack of woodwind students, the inadequacy of the music library, the disappearance of the French editions, and the lack of pianos in good repair. It recommended the retroactive raise of two professors, though no reason is provided.<sup>51</sup> Rebuilding was slow. In 1945, they began to reintroduce the group violin class, which, like many classes, fell by the wayside as numbers decreased during the occupation.<sup>52</sup>

During the fall of 1945, the ravages of war persisted. Letters indicated severe lack of heat began in November, but no help arrived.<sup>53</sup> Instead, the Mayor suggested individual professors bring in portable electric heaters.<sup>54</sup> By December, Portré indicated in a letter to Mayor Brana that the school was only registering a temperature of only 3 degrees, making any vocalization difficult. The removal of a number of trams complicated getting to school, and many professors questioned even making students come to school.<sup>55</sup> At the beginning of the 1946 school year, the institution lacked any classes in bass, oboe, bassoon, horn, or trombone.<sup>56</sup> In 1946, Director Portré retired, as he had reached the age limit; Jean-François Curaudeau took the helm, having survived deportation to Buchenwald, reflecting a wish among the newly installed French

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<sup>51</sup> Cellier inspection of École de musique de Bayonne, 29 and 30 May 1945, Archives Nationales, F/21/8821.

<sup>52</sup> Réunion de La Commission Administrative de l'École Nationale de Musique, 25 September 1945, Archives Nationale de Bayonne, 13W9/4.

<sup>53</sup> Letter from Mayor of Bayonne to Director Portré, 27 November 1945, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/2.

<sup>54</sup> Letter from Mayor Brana to Portré, 27 November 1945, Archives Municipales de Bayonne 13W9/2.

<sup>55</sup> Letter from Director Portré to Mayor Brana of Bayonne, 15 December 1945, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/2.

<sup>56</sup> Letter from the Minister of Education to the Préfet of the Basses-Pyrénées, 21 October 1946. Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W5/6.

government to elevate those most affected by the war.<sup>57</sup> By the end of that year, in April 1947, inspections report the continued diminished state of the conservatoire, lower numbers of students than normal, but finally recognized a clear path forward under the new director.<sup>58</sup>

Even after the war, those associated with the school were in for a nasty surprise. The Clique Stéphanoise de Bayonne, a musical society, had, as the Germans entered Bayonne in July 1940, hide all their instruments in the attic of the Ecole de Musique, at the behest of the then-mayor M. Simonet. Yet, in the summer of 1944, the danger having passed, these individuals found that the instruments had vanished. The President of the Clique wrote to the President of the special municipal delegation, asking where they had gone.<sup>59</sup> As of 23 October 1944, the Military Authority, specifically Colonel Massé, had taken the instruments. Nothing remained for the school except for a stringed bass.<sup>60</sup>

Not all post-war discoveries at the École de Musique were negative, though they appear equally as surprising. On 15 September 1945, a transportation company asked the Mayor of Bayonne for funding—500 francs—to transport a harmonium from the school of music to the Synagogue, without further information.<sup>61</sup> The synagogue's Ark—built in the style of Louis XVI—and the Torah scrolls were hidden in the Basque Museum from

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<sup>57</sup> See Philip Nord, *France's New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 311.

<sup>58</sup> Cellier inspection of École de musique de Bayonne, 21-22 April 1947, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W5/6.

<sup>59</sup> Letter from the President of the Clique Stéphanoise to the President of the Délégation Municipale, 28 September 1944, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/10.

<sup>60</sup> Letter from the President of the Délégation Municipale to President of the Clique Stéphanoise, 23 October 1944, Archives Municipales de Bayonne, 13W9/10.

<sup>61</sup> Letter from Transports Suhas to the Mayor of Bayonne, 15 September 1945, 13W9/2.

the pillaging Germans, and restored to the synagogue following the Liberation;<sup>62</sup> it is possible that the school likewise protected the instrument until it could be returned, though no archival evidence exists to affirm this possibility. Certainly no mention of a harmonium exists in any of the school's archival material from this era. Though it could have been used as an inexpensive alternative to an organ, photographic evidence reveals that Bonnal taught organ students at an organ. However, after suffering the ravages of war, it would seem odd that a school would hand over their own precious instrument to the synagogue. It appears most likely that the harmonium, which would not have raised suspicions within the walls of a music school, was hidden in plain sight, and kept safe for the synagogue until it could be safely returned. This conclusion also adheres to the kind of quiet resistance found elsewhere in Bayonne.

Under the governance of Vichy and the Occupation for the entire four years, the *École de Bayonne* stands as a testament to the vastly different attention and application paid to relatively small institutions. To be sure, Bayonne as a city, including its citizens who populated the institution, suffered along with the whole of France.<sup>63</sup> The conservatoire's physical location also changed and was sorely compressed, making courses difficult to hold at all. Yet, while the physical place and logistics were certainly impinged upon, the institution received little official attention or oversight outside the normal inspections. In the absence of student records, it is near impossible to tell the impact the Occupation and Vichy regime on individual students and faculty.

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<sup>62</sup> Georges Levitte, "Encyclopedia Judaica: Bayonne, France: Holocaust Period," *Jewish Virtual Library*, published 2008, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/bayonne>.

<sup>63</sup> Pierre Labord, "D'une guerre à l'autre, l'affaiblissement (1914–1945): Bayonne Occupé," in *Histoire de Bayonne*, Josette Pontet, ed. (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1991), 275.

After the June 1944 Allied landings in Normandy, the Milice became even more threatening. They launched appeals in the local press against both the “Gaullist” rebels and “Jewish leprosy,” which quickly turned to threats. The newspaper reported an increase in summary executions or drownings in the river, most likely collaborators and resistance members covertly attacking and retaliating.<sup>64</sup> The bloody summer of 1944 was thankfully short-lived. In response to Allied landings in Provence on 15 August 1944, the German occupiers now needed in southeastern France evacuated Bayonne on 21–23 August 1944, only engaging in small destructions of their blockhouse and other constructions.<sup>65</sup>

Economic recovery was slow. Bread and milk remained scarce, and fruits and vegetables were near impossible to get, well into 1945. Return to politics was certainly swifter. Vichy-installed mayor Marcel Ribetron was quickly replaced by Jean Labourdique, who held the interim position until the local elections on 29 April 1945. Jacques Simonet, son of the deported pre-war mayor, ran against Jean-Pierre Brana, a teacher. Brana won and served two years, after which the surgeon Dr. Maurice Delay replaced him and went on to serve for the next decade.<sup>66</sup>

The Bayonne Conservatoire remains in operation to the present day, now named after one of the Basque Region’s favorite sons, Maurice Ravel.<sup>67</sup> The institution presently serves 1,700 students of various ages and levels, spread over four sites in Bayonne,

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<sup>64</sup> *Histoire de Bayonne*, 278. See also Claude Laharie, “La Milice des Basses-Pyrénées (1943-1944). Un bref aperçu,” in *Vichy et la collaboration dans les Basses-Pyrénées*, ed. Laurent Jalabert and Stéphane Le Bras.

<sup>65</sup> *Histoire de Bayonne*, 278.

<sup>66</sup> *Histoire de Bayonne*, 278–79.

<sup>67</sup> The Conservatoire du Pays Basque—Maurice Ravel is also host to the Symphonique du Pays Basque. Current information on both institutions can be found at [www.ospb.eus](http://www.ospb.eus).

Biarritz, St. Jean-de-Luz and Hendaye. During the years of the Occupation and Vichy regime, it appears that the then-École nationale de musique de Bayonne acutely felt difficulties of new governing forces. In this location, already a small town without the physical resources to house occupying troops and the eventual miliciens, the school was forced into increasingly small quarters and only allowed to use these during limited hours. Such limitations threatened the very existence of lessons. Taken together with difficulty students face in transportation to school, many studied at home rather than attend. The town of Bayonne, devoutly Catholic, did not produce an active or violent resistance. However, perhaps influenced by the outspoken Mgr Vansteenbergh, citizens resisted in smaller ways: buying and holding Jewish properties, and safely storing the synagogue's Ark and Torah. It appears the École de Musique likewise played its roll, housing the harmonium until it could be safely returned.

The difficulties faced in Bayonne as the Occupation continued from November 1942 until the slow liberation of France in the summer of 1944, alongside the increasingly intolerant Vichy regime were certainly experienced by other such institutions. This chapter continues by examining the second half of the Occupation and Vichy at the Conservatoire d'Orléans.

## **ORLEANS**

Two years into the occupation, Orléans, continued to struggle from the extreme destruction from bombing it suffered in 1940. Despite the intense efforts of planning and rebuilding efforts on the part of the Vichy-appointed municipal government, much of the city remained scarred by rubble. Yet the physical reminders of the war were soon to be

outdone by forthcoming German requisitions and imposed hardships. The occupants demanded agricultural goods from this fertile region of the country—purportedly for the maintenance of their troops in France but increasingly sent to German citizens over the Rhine. The Germans moreover requisitioned wheat and meat for troops, hay and oats for horses, the horses themselves from farmers who were already hurting.<sup>68</sup> Goods were not the only thing requisitioned, as the STO began its draft of young French citizens. By December 1942, over two thousand workers from the Loiret department were taken to Germany.<sup>69</sup>

The Jewish population bore the brunt of the hardships. As with the rest of the occupied zone, all Jews had to display the yellow Star of David on their clothing beginning in 1942. Orléans, like Paris, was in close proximity to a Vichy-run concentration camp. Pithiviers, located about 50 miles to the northeast of the city, began as a camp for French POWs, but soon became a location to detain Jews before further deportation. The first instance of mass arrests of Jews taken to Pithiviers occurred in May 1941, and repeated in July 1942, continuing to function as the last stop for Jews in France before deportation directly to Auschwitz. The fact that the first round of mass arrests occurred before the Wannasee Conference and German quotas illustrates Vichy's anti-Semitic proclivities that came from within rather than being ordered by Hitler. Pithiviers

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<sup>68</sup> Yves Durand, *Le Loiret dans la guerre 1939–1945: La vie quotidienne sous l'occupation* (Roanne, Editions Horvath 1983), 37.

<sup>69</sup> Yves Durand, *Le Loiret dans la guerre 1939–1945: La vie quotidienne sous l'occupation* (Roanne, Editions Horvath 1983), 38.

continued to function through the Allied liberation campaign, alongside other Vichy-initiated camps.<sup>70</sup> Figure 31 shows a photo of the prisoners.

**Figure 31: Jews in the camp Pithiviers in France, 1941<sup>71</sup>**



### **The Conservatoire d'Orléans in Decline**

The Conservatoire d'Orléans showed signs of decline, particularly in the pivotal academic year of 1942-1943, affected largely due to conditions faced by many French citizens, most prominently lack of food rations as the war raged on as German forces toiled on the Eastern Front and France was plundered for goods to sustain and feed the citizens and soldiers of the Third Reich. The second two years of the occupation and

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<sup>70</sup> Yad Vashem: The World Holocaust Remembrance Center, "Concentration Camps in France," accessed May 1, 2019 [www.yadvashem.org](http://www.yadvashem.org).

<sup>71</sup> Scherl, SZ Photo, Bridgeman Images, "Jews in the camp Pithiviers in France, 1941 (b/w photo).

Vichy rule were marked by an overall decline in attendance, the Director's constant complaints concerning the state of classes in his school, and the affects of war affecting the daily running and performance of the individuals that inhabited this institution.

As a testament of the connection between the conservatoires and their host cities, each conservatoire had an administrative council made of some dozen-odd prominent members of the population, often doctors, lawyers, and the like. The same of course held true for Orléans, and illustrates how the wartime affects of a town easily reached into the running of the conservatoire. One administrative council member, Lieutenant Clowez was called to military service in October of 1942, shortly before the Case Anton move to total occupation. Given the frequent meetings of the administrative council and the effect they had on the municipality's relationship with the institution—authorizing hiring, concours dates, and the like with coordination and approval of the municipal council and mayor—his absence would be swiftly felt. M. Beccaria swiftly replaced Clowez. Presumably, he felt a connection to the institution, as he had previously donated a collection of manuscripts to the library's holdings in 1941.<sup>72</sup>

The 1942-1943 director's report indicated further strain, going as far as to name the food shortages and family difficulties as causes of increased stress on his students and faculty. During this academic year, Berthelot counted 132 instrumental or vocal students and an additional 164 students only registered for music theory, totaling 296 students, down from 364 students at the end of the last year prior to the war. A total of 190 children received their education for free, as they were fully covered by state and

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<sup>72</sup> Letter 10 October 1942, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire. This statement merely mentions "military service" without stating any details regarding French or German forces; a mere month later, Germany disbanded all French forces following the scuttling of the fleet in Toulon.



municipal funding. Twenty-six of these students came to Orléans from outside the town, some even from outside the department.<sup>73</sup>

The director found the theory instruction wanting, though he did praise the sections taught by Mrs. Dauphin and Mrs. Berthelot, his own wife. Berthelot wrote that the deficiencies stemmed from both under attendance as well as individual hardships, especially lack of food. He likewise criticized the quality of instrumental and vocal students, and singled out instructors, particularly M. Rousseau. He again praised his wife, this time for her piano class. Berthelot also praised one of his own students, Ms. Cécile Toison, who passed the exam for the Certificate of Pedagogical Aptitude in Music Education in the Lycées and Normal Schools, elementary level. Several others competed in the Leopold Bellan Foundation's Annual Competition Awards in solfège, piano, violin, viola, and cello. Happily, Berthelot noted a small increase in pay from 850 to 1,050 for basic courses and 950 to 1,150 for middle and higher courses.<sup>74</sup>

In his reports, Berthelot also noted the condition of the Society des Concerts, analogous to the Parisian group, comprised of a mixture of conservatoire professors, current students, and often, recent graduates. During the 1942-43 report Berthelot bemoaned the "departure of a large number of our performers for Germany or the sites of the STO."<sup>75</sup> No records remain in the municipal or national archives of the number of

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<sup>73</sup> René Berthelot, Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1942–1943, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>74</sup> René Berthelot, Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1942–1943, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire. Revenue for the Conservatoire was spread between the state and municipal governments, and this report did not name the specific source of funding. The Administrative council would have approved the allotment of such funding, regardless of the source.

<sup>75</sup> René Berthelot, Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1942–1943, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

performers or individual musicians of Orléans who were requisitioned as part of the STO, but it seems the number was high enough for Berthelot to remark upon its negative effect on the institution.

### **Security Concerns at the Conservatoire d'Orléans**

It appears that in the midst of the growing tensions, the Conservatoire d'Orléans feared for the safety of its students, especially in the summer of 1943. In a letter to the Mayor on 6 July of that year, the Director expressed his concern that though he had requested eight so-called “Guardians of the Peace” to be present at the evening’s distribution of the yearly prizes, he had received word only that morning that all peacekeepers were engaged, due to an event chaired by the Regional Préfet. The “Guardians of the Peace,” (*Gardiens de la Paix*) were part of the Mobile Reserve Groups (*Groupes mobiles de réserve* or GMR) that were created by Vichy. This paramilitary group, allowed under the Armistice so long as their numbers stayed below 100,000, were tasked with maintaining order. They by no means replaced the miliciens, which were present in Orléans as well.<sup>76</sup> Director Berthelot specifically cited the fear of possible aerial attacks, and effectively washed his own hands of any liability as the peace officers failed to arrive.<sup>77</sup> Despite the obvious worry on the part of the Conservatoire Director, Orléans, like much of France, would not experience bombings at the hands of the Allies until much later, in May of 1944.

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<sup>76</sup> Alain Pinel, *Une police de Vichy: Les groupes mobiles de réserve (1941–1944)*, (Paris: Editions L’Harmattan, 2004), 15–16.

<sup>77</sup> Letter from René Berthelot to Mayor, 6 July 1943, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

The Vichy government increased the control it exercised over the conservatoire's holdings; in the fall of 1943, as the municipal government demanded an inventory of all of its subsidiaries, including the Conservatoire. The resulting inventory paints a picture of their wartime conditions. Figure 32 illustrates the first of a three-page inventory of the Conservatoire d'Orléans, enumerating items by room, down to the bust of Debussy.

Figure 32: Inventory of Conservatoire d'Orléans 1943.<sup>78</sup>

NUMÉROS	DATE des ENTREES	DESCRIPTION DES OBJETS	MONTRE	PRIX D'ACHAT		DATES		OBSERVATIONS
				PAN ENTRÉ	TOTAL	DES SORTIES	DES RETRAITS	
		<b>XII - BUREAUX</b>						
		<b>a) Conservatoire</b>						
		<b>Bureau du Directeur</b>						
1/XIIa		Assemblage style Empire comprenant : 1 table bureau à tiroirs dessus moles- sine, 1 bibliothèque 3 portes dont 1 grille torsadé, 1 fauteuil de bureau siège rembourré, 1 canapé recouvert velours frappé, 1 fauteuil siège et dossier moleskine verte, 18 chaises siège couvert velours rouge	1					
2/XIIa		Comode dessus marbre	1					
3/XIIa		Table de 6 lattes de 70	1					
4/XIIa		Plafonniers diffuseurs oléphane	2					
5/XIIa		Trumeau style Empire avec glace 80x115	1					
6/XIIa		Trumeau en toile avec motif et frange	1					
7/XIIa		Appareil téléphonique de bureau	1					
		<b>Bureau du Secrétaire</b>						
8/XIIa		Bureau chêne genre ministre tiroirs sur les côtés 1,40 x 0,80	1					
9/XIIa		Table bois blanc 1 tiroir pieds carrés 1 m 50	1					
10/XIIa		Classer papirte chêne pieds tournés et tiroir	1					
11/XIIa		Machine à écrire grand chariot Underwood n° 405 Rev - 14	1					
12/XIIa		Appareil téléphonique de bureau	1					
13/XIIa		Grand placard 7 portes pleines tablettes intérieures	1					
14/XIIa		Buste en plâtre de Béatrice d'Aragon (détérioré)	1					
15/XIIa		Glace cadre bambou 40 x 60	1					
16/XIIa		Tringle porte manteaux 4 têtes	1					
17/XIIa		Plafonnier diffuseur	1					
		<b>Bibliothèque</b>						
18/XIIa		Bibliothèque en chêne 8 corps : partie basse : 3 portes pleines 3 tiroirs partie haute : 3 portes vitrées tablet- tes intérieures	1					
19/XIIa		Vestiaires mobiles de 14 têtes chacun	2					
20/XIIa		Tringle porte manteaux 6 têtes	1					
21/XIIa		Porte parapluies fonte bronzée 10 cases	3					
22/XIIa		Lavabo porcelaine, robinet chromé long. 0,80	1					
23/XIIa		Glace avec cadre en chêne 80 x 60	1					
24/XIIa		Plafonnier diffuseur Oléphane	1					
25/XIIa		Buste en plâtre M. Mariotte	1					
26/XIIa		Expire double en chêne	1					
27/XIIa		Bancs dessus recouvert toile 3 m 60	2					
		<b>Salle Debussy</b>						
28/XIIa		Plafonniers diffuseurs Oléphane chêne cuivre	2					
29/XIIa		Fendule	1					
30/XIIa		Estrade pour piano dessus parquet chêne	1					
31/XIIa		Buste Debussy	1					
		<b>Salle de Bain</b>						
32/XIIa		Table bois blanc sans tiroir 1 m x 0,70	2					
33/XIIa		Chaises dessus velours	3					
34/XIIa		Tringles porte-manteaux 17 têtes	3					
35/XIIa		Plafonnier diffuseur	1					
36/XIIa		Chevalet d'école	1					
37/XIIa		Tableau noir réglé	1					
		<b>Vestibule 6ème étage</b>						
38/XIIa		Banquettes recouvertes velours 1 m 60	2					
39/XIIa		Banquette - - - 1 m 40	1					
40/XIIa		Soole - - - - -	1					
		<b>Salle de piano élémentaire</b>						
41/XIIa		Plafonnier diffuseur	1					
42/XIIa		Tables en bois blanc	1					
43/XIIa		Banquette de 2 m 10 dessus velours	1					
44/XIIa		- - - 2 m 40 - - -	1					
45/XIIa		- - - 1 m 16 - - -	1					
46/XIIa		- - - 2 m 60 - - -	1					

<sup>78</sup> Letter and inventory of the Conservatoire d'Orléans 27 November 1943, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

Along with this came the understanding that the Conservatoire would have to comply with the order every 6 months, in each June and December. It seems on face value to attempt to rob the sense of autonomy of the conservatoire, extending a sort of ownership on the part of the state, and by extension, the occupiers, over the physical holdings of the conservatoire.<sup>79</sup>

### **Continued Hardships and Declines at the Conservatoire**

The 1943-44 school year saw a drastic increase in students in comparison to the three previous years, rebounding to a total of 321, closer to the pre-war enrollment numbers. Berthelot noted that the difficulty in road and train travel did diminish the number of students from outside the city, though some still came from neighboring departments of Cher and Cher-et-Loire. Still, the increased number of students, apparently from within the city of Orléans, could signal a want for students to be occupied or to fill a gap in entertainment.<sup>80</sup> Once again, Berthelot praised his wife's theory classes, alongside several others, while he lamented some less-than-stellar faculty in his estimation, though he noted personal circumstances affecting poor performance and attendance, including long illnesses and the conditions brought on by the war.<sup>81</sup>

Berthelot paid special attention in this report to the wind program, something overlooked in previous years. He cited a sharp decline in these instrumentalists, both in quality and quantity, affected negatively by the difficulties of the recession amplified by

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<sup>79</sup> Letter and inventory of Conservatoire 27 November 1943, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires,

<sup>80</sup> René Berthelot, Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1943–1944, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>81</sup> René Berthelot, Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1943–1944, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

the “deportation of the young men,” and the “absence of a military garrison,” in Orléans, purportedly speaking of men who had been deported to Germany as part of the STO. Écoles and Conservatoires in some of the cities in the southern zone were able to draw wind musicians from still-barracked French troops until their disbandment in November 1942. To increase recruitment efforts and replenish this area of the Conservatoire, Bethelot planned to engage some Parisian teachers.<sup>82</sup>

Not all of the report was bleak, and it provided evidence of Berthelot’s tenacious leadership and perseverance during this difficult time. In addition to plans to engage new faculty members in hopes to raise enrollment, Berthelot noted that he was able to successfully hide some of the conservatoire’s library holdings and instruments from the Germans in the basement of the city’s art museum.<sup>83</sup> This certainly points to knowledge of the situation in Paris, where German soldiers plundered the Conservatoire’s instrument museum. The Société des Concerts saw an increase in grant money, from 3,000 to 10,000 francs.<sup>84</sup> In many cities, especially Toulouse, the war left a dearth of performance and cultural events for citizens, and attendance at Société de Conservatoire events rose significantly. These performing ensembles, usually found at larger institutions, including Paris, Toulouse, and Lyon, were again created through a combination of conservatoire faculty and top students, and were in part subsidized by the state government. Like the provincial conservatoires themselves, funding varied from city to city, usually based on the size of the institution and need.

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<sup>82</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d’Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1943–1944*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>83</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d’Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1943–1944*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>84</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d’Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1943–1944*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

The food shortages that plagued the country by 1942 and continued through the end of the war had both direct and indirect effects on the Conservatoire d'Orléans. Though the Conservatoire d'Orléans was spared the requisition of its physical location, it eventually shared an entryway and staircase that housed the heavily guarded ration coupons that were carefully dispersed to citizens. A January 1944 letter from the Officer of the Peace stationed at the Conservatoire related an incident from the previous night. The Officer reports that he refused students and faculty entry to the entryway and staircase as the students and faculty were unable to provide the requisite password. It must be noted that the Guardians of the Peace, under the direction of René Bousquet, were by this time also being used to fight suspected Resistance and the Maquis. Director Berthelot was contacted, but refused to vouch for the group, as he did not know the individuals present; he cited the practice of family members accompanying students to evening lessons, and would not take responsibility if one slipped away and caused issue. The Officer was eventually forced to relent and grant continued access to the Conservatoire class in the evenings, though the conservatoire was warned to give advance instruction to night watchmen in the future.<sup>85</sup>

This illustrates Berthelot as especially reluctant before authority and unwillingness to take on responsibility or raise any questions. It echoed his actions regarding the failure of the Guardians of the Peace attend the awarding of the concours prize ceremony. It seems most likely that, given the Conservatoire d'Orléans' incredible luck in avoiding harsh regulatory measures, the building remaining unscathed and unclaimed by German or Vichy forces, Berthelot wished to keep operations running

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<sup>85</sup> Letter from Officer de Paix Laloux to the Commissaire Central, 13 January 1944. Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires,

smoothly and without incident. This also spoke to the tense situation that Orléans was experiencing by the early weeks of 1944, a situation felt in much of France as the Allied landing became inevitable.

Unfortunately for Orléans and its citizens, the incoming Allied forces and Liberation first meant enduring the physical brutality of war once more. For a city still living amongst the rubble of the 1940 German attacks, this would have been especially devastating. The city was bombed on the 21<sup>st</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, and the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 1944. The new ruins and frequent alerts left the city in disarray and citizens full of anxiety. News of the breakthrough of General Patton's army and their subsequent surge eastward led to a rise in Resistance activity in the area, as was the case across France. Fighting ensued around the area through July 1944; American troops arrived and officially liberated the town on 15 August 1944.<sup>86</sup> As was the case in most places, de Gaulle's French Forces of the Interior, or FFI set about banishing collaborationists from local governments and installing new provisional municipal councils.<sup>87</sup>

For the part of the Conservatoire, Berthelot found it necessary to postpone the 1943-44 concours until the beginning of November 1944, and only issued his end-of year report for that school year in October.<sup>88</sup> Given the relatively swift movement of the Allied troops from the Normandy and Provence landings, the shambolic German retreat, and quick transition in French leadership, this was the case at most institutions. By the following year, the school was finally recovering, and enrollment was listed at 343

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<sup>86</sup> Yves Durand, *La Loiret Dans la Guerre, 1939/1945: La vie quotidienne sous l'occupation* (Roanne: Éditions Horvath, 1983), 173–74.

<sup>87</sup> Durand, *La Loiret Dans la Guerre*, 175.

<sup>88</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1943–1944*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

students. Berthelot continued to report a mix of praise and critique of faculty, but no longer cited outside circumstances as the basis for his commentary. Luckily, he was also able to report an increase in quality for the wind instruments.<sup>89</sup> The Conservatoire d'Orléans remains a small institution, but offers courses in 40 areas of music, dance, and theater for students beginning as young as 7 years old. The Conservatoire remains in its building in the heart of the town.<sup>90</sup>

The Conservatoire Nationale d'Orléans was located in a town that suffered immense physical damage from the initial German bombings in 1940. It likewise fell immediately under the double rule of both the German Occupation and Vichy Regime from the onset of the Armistice onwards. By all means, it should have experienced a very similar wartime to that of the Conservatoire de Paris. Yet, it appears by comparison to have experienced a fairly coherent period during these four years. Its director, René Berthelot, appears to have been the leading force behind this, as he soldiered on and adhered to local policy.

## **LILLE**

The move to total occupation had arguably the least effect on the Conservatoire de Lille, which remained under the control of the Germans based in Belgium. Yet small changes were still enacted. In the German offensive to claim cultural prestige, the

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<sup>89</sup> René Berthelot, *Conservatoire d'Orléans Rapport Annuel, 1944–1945*, Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires, 1R2005: Conservatoire.

<sup>90</sup> As a small institution, information on the Conservatoire à Rayonnement Départemental d'Orléans can be found at [www.orleans-metropole.fr/429/conservatoire-a-rayonnement-departmental](http://www.orleans-metropole.fr/429/conservatoire-a-rayonnement-departmental)



occupiers attempted to overshadow French identity.<sup>91</sup> The Lillois slowly saw statues of French and regional notables disappear from local squares: prominent and popular Third Republic Général Negrier, the poet Auguste Angellier, and the composer Edouard Lalo. Likewise, the Germans quickly moved to harness the industry of the area. They quickly moved in on the booming textile industry in Lille, and added factories to bolster the leather, metallurgy, and chemical industries, despite the shortages that grew in the latter two years of occupation.<sup>92</sup> The situation likewise deteriorated for Jews living in the area. By 1942, wearing the yellow Star of David was compulsory, and a curfew of 8pm was levied. Furthermore, proceeds of property or other items requisitioned from Jews had to be deposited to the consignment, and sales of not-yet requisitioned items was prohibited, to further limit means of income.<sup>93</sup>

A healthy Resistance grew quickly in Lille, perhaps due to rebellion against the oversight of the German Command in Brussels and the purported administrative control of Vichy. False papers proliferated, and obtaining such papers became a major preoccupation for Lillois. As with the rest of France, young persons were called to the Service Travail Obligatoire from Lille. Failure of individuals to present themselves resulted in further restriction of ration cards and searches for the truant individuals.<sup>94</sup> Certainly the British *Special Operations Executive* quickly established itself as the main organizer of resistance in the region perhaps in part due to its relative geographical

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<sup>91</sup> Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 29–30.

<sup>92</sup> Gérard Landry, *Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing sous l'occupation*, (Ouest France: 1982), 51.

<sup>93</sup> Landry, *Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing sous l'occupation*, 77.

<sup>94</sup> Landry, *Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing sous l'occupation*, 83.

proximity to Britain.<sup>95</sup> As demonstrated through archival evidence, quickly found a home at the Conservatoire de Lille.

### **Daily Operations of the Conservatoire de Lille**

As oversight remained the same for Lille and the Conservatoire through the November 1942 shifts, it appeared on the surface that little changed in the day-to-day operations of the Conservatoire. Classes continued to run much as they had for the first two years of the Occupation. Certainly, there was evidence of continued difficulty between faculty members, an extension of ongoing poor faculty relations. In one instance, M. Caquant, professor of elementary piano, bypassed Director Gaujac and wrote directly to Pétain and several other high-ranking officials in the administration, including Hauteceur during the winter of 1943, to request that they mandate the opening of a third upper piano class that he himself would run. Caquant made this request without the knowledge or support of the Director or municipality. When word returned to Lille that Pétain and Hauteceur had no objection to the creation of an additional class, Mayor Dehové and Director Gaujac were forced to state that due to near-constant fluxuation of the number of students, the creation of a new class would prove near impossible to sustain.<sup>96</sup> Ultimately nothing came of this appeal, and there is no record of the Mayor or the Director's response. It does point to still-simmering resentments and perhaps desperation on the part of some faculty members.

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<sup>95</sup> It appears that English radio was fairly easy to access in Lille. See Colonel Rémy, *Avec les Ch'timis: Le réseau Sylvestre-Farmer* (Paris: France-Empire, 1974).

<sup>96</sup> Letter from Mayor Dehové to M. le Préfet de la Région de Lille, 23 March 1943, and Letter from Director Gaujac to Mayor Dehové, 18 March 1943 both Archives municipales de Lille, 1R/2/14.

The dispute between cello professors Vannier and Tallon certainly continued. The nature of their arguments was laid bare only after the war through letters to officials preserved in archives. On 1 December 1942, it was recorded that Mayor Dehové removed Tallon from his post in the advanced class and replaced him with Vannier.<sup>97</sup> In February 1945, well after the Liberation, Tallon wrote to the Minister of Education to complain of this. Tallon related that he and Vannier both performed on cello at the Sebastopol Theater. Vannier, however, left to take a voluntary engagement with the German orchestra at the Grand Theater, to take the place of a German sent to the front. Tallon reported that as a result, Vannier was frequently absent from the Conservatoire.

Furthermore, Tallon alleged that despite Vannier's claims that he took the position only to avoid the STO, Vannier joined the German orchestra on 27 February 1943, and only received orders from the STO on 15 March of that year. Tallon concluded by estimating his own lost wages on account of the loss of his Conservatoire position, which he totaled at 20,020 francs.<sup>98</sup> In a 10 March 1945 letter, the Préfet du Nord to the Minister of Education, stated that he believed Vannier did only accept the German position to avoid the STO, but that Vannier had been mobilized, and Tallon would resume his position.<sup>99</sup> That very month, the mayor reinstated Tallon into Vannier's position following his mobilization.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Letter from M. Tallon to Minister of Education, 7 February 1945, Archives Nationales, F/21/8767.

<sup>98</sup> Letter from M. Tallon to Minister of Education, 7 February 1945, Archives Nationales, F/21/8767.

<sup>99</sup> Préfet du Nord to Minister of Education and Beaux-Arts, 10 March 1945, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8738.

<sup>100</sup> Letter from Mayor of Lille to the Regional Commissioner of the Republic, 14 March 1945, Archives Municipales de Lille, 1R/2/19.

The ongoing faculty disputes can be interpreted in a number of ways. The most uncharitable would appear that Tallon took advantage of the postwar politics to malign Vannier, or that Vannier acted as an open and willing collaborator. Another possible tract would find that in the uncertainty of the later war years and under the threat of deportation to Germany, Vannier took an opportunity to ingratiate himself with the occupant by playing in the German theater. Certainly though *his* call to the STO only came in March of 1943, he would have seen his fellows requested earlier and knew what would soon come. On the other hand, Tallon appeared to have been unceremoniously replaced, and was also trying to scrape by during a tumultuous period. The inherent malice of the epistolary exchanges aside, it revealed the degree of desperation felt by faculty at the Conservatoire de Lille and like institutions. Comparatively, this ongoing and eventual post-war dispute further illustrated the use of shifting political priorities to justify old resentments, as was certainly the case in the posthumous disputes between Ermend Bonnal and Jean Langlais.

Unfortunately, archival documentation from late 1942 through the Liberation Conservatoire de Lille appears sparse, especially in contrast to the other locations considered. Especially disappointing is the lack of data on students and courses offered during this time period. However, a reason for this dearth of documentation has emerged. Indeed, within the walls of the Conservatoire, the Resistance found a home. It is perhaps in an effort to eliminate possible connections that the workaday documents that populate the archival material from other institutions during these years are missing in Lille.

### Resistance within the Conservatoire de Lille

As with Claude Delvincourt in Paris, some in the administration of the Conservatoire de Lille entered into the resistance.<sup>101</sup> Two individuals confirmed as part of Resistance movements were Secrétaire Générale René Vincent and Concierge Jules Ronse. Though it is unclear when Vincent joined the resistance, by February 1943 he had recruited his colleague Ronse to the cause. The pair joined an arm of the resistance aimed at clandestine papers and military operations. Both belonged to the group “Sylvestre,” also called the “Abattoirs” (slaughterhouse), under the direction of British Special Operations Executive Michel Trotobas, better known to his French compatriots as “Capitaine Michel.”<sup>102</sup>

After being badly wounded in the evacuation of Dunkirk in 1940, Trotobas joined the SOE, dubbed “Churchill’s Secret Army,” tasked with “[setting] Europe ablaze.” In one of the SOE’s earliest drops, Trotobas parachuted into France in autumn 1941, but was soon captured and imprisoned near Bergerac. With the help of a wheelchair-bound priest, Trotobas and his fellow agents escaped over the Pyrénées. He again parachuted into France, this time into Lille, in November 1942, with the intention of organizing, arming, and training French resistance cells.<sup>103</sup> His likeness is pictured in figure 33.

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<sup>101</sup> Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 66.

<sup>102</sup> Profile on Jules Ronse, Archives Municipales de Lille, 5H/9/43.

<sup>103</sup> Ben James, “Story of war hero Micheal Trotobas finally revealed 70 years after he was killed by the Germans,” *The Argus* (Brighton, England) (15 January 2016.)

**Image 33: Michael Trotobas, “Captaine Michel.”<sup>104</sup>**



Beginning in April, the group collected supply cards to distribute to the maquisards in the surrounding towns of Hazebrouq, Saint-Omer, and Bailbul. Through May, June, and July, they began to locate power stations, railroad switches, and bridges to blow in the case of an Allied landing.<sup>105</sup> The largest task the group tackled was the destruction of the Fives-Lille locomotive works in the Fives suburb of Lille; Royal Air Force bombs could not achieve this due to the heavy anti-aircraft gun cover. Captaine Michel scouted the area under cover of a new employee and drew up plans. Dressed as policemen—featuring Trotobas as a Gestapo agent—the group assumed the role of an

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<sup>104</sup> Photo of Lance-Corporal Michael Trotobas, (c) 1934, *National Army Museum*, collection.nam.ac.uk.

<sup>105</sup> Profile on Jules Ronse, Archives Municipales de Lille, 5H/9/43.

anti-terrorism search party. Allowed past gates, they quietly planted explosives for thirty minutes. They had already reached their safe house when the entire place went up.<sup>106</sup>

Records can neither confirm nor deny the presence of Vincent and Ronse at this particular event, though it appears that involved the entire resistance cell.

Yet by the fall, the Gestapo began to close in. With incredible foresight, Secretaire Vincent entrusted Concierge Ronse with his clandestine papers, which Ronse hid in the floorboards of the attic in the Conservatoire.<sup>107</sup> Kurt Kohl, Gestapo inspector for La Madeleine, first accosted Maurice Limousin, of the clandestine paper *La Voix du Nord* and close personal friend of Vincent, at his office, while other officers arrived at his house.<sup>108</sup> There, they found his 15-year-old daughter Jeannine, alone while her mother worked at the post office. During their search of the Limousin home, they discovered a notebook in Spanish, and the flustered Jeannine could offer no explanation—her father was taken away to a nearby prison.

This led the Germans to target Vincent. The morning of 20 September, they arrived at the doors of the Conservatoire de Lille. The Germans searched in vain for hidden arms cache—which were hidden in Director Gaujac's bathroom. It remains unknown if the Director Gaujac knew of the cache of weapons. No documents suggest his direct involvement in the Resistance. However, it is hard to believe that he did not at

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<sup>106</sup> Ben James, "Story of war hero Micheal Trotobas finally revealed 70 years after he was killed by the Germans," *The Argus* (Brighton, England) (15 January 2016.) See also Robert Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2015), 326.

<sup>107</sup> Profile on Jules Ronse, Archives Municipales de Lille, 5H/9/43.

<sup>108</sup> *La Voix du Nord*, which began as a clandestine paper publishing military news and information sourced from Great Britain still operates as a regional publication today. It was developed by Jean Cavailles, and Albert von Wolput, a member of the Socialist Party in Lille. See Robert Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows*, 81.

least know and turn a blind eye to the clandestine events occurring in his administration and certainly in his private quarters.

The Germans proclaimed the Conservatoire closed until they could make a full search and took Vincent to their headquarters, where Jeannine Limousin was waiting for news of her father. Upon seeing Vincent's arrival, she took off on her bicycle to alert his family, but was too late. Kohl and his men had already arrived at his home, where they found Vincent's wife and two sons, Robert, 16, and Fernand, 19. Kohl unfortunately discovered two incriminating letters from Fernand in his mother's purse—she hadn't gotten to mail them yet. Fernand fainted on the spot, and was taken to Kohl's office and interrogated under physical torture. His father, René, likewise tolerated eight interrogations but never spoke.<sup>109</sup> They were both deported to Germany where they perished.<sup>110</sup>

Concierge Ronse, now tasked with guiding the Gestapo search of the Conservatoire, led the Germans with a revolver at his back. As they arrived in the attic, a fateful power failure interrupted the search. The Germans sealed the door until they could continue; that night Ronse crossed the roof under cover of darkness to retrieve the hidden papers, which he entrusted to a comrade. His work didn't end there. A mere two days later, on 22 September, Ronse received a midnight drop of new arms, which he assembled and tested in the Conservatoire cellar. On the 26<sup>th</sup>, with the help of Resisters in his unit, they removed the weaponry. Then disaster struck.

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<sup>109</sup> Christine Levisse-Touzé and Dominique Veillon, *Résister sous l'Occupation: Libération-Nord 1940–1944* (Paris: La documentation française, 2013), 121–122.

<sup>110</sup> Profile on Jules Ronse, Archives Municipales de Lille, 5H/9/43.



On 27 September 1943, Ronse was arrested and taken to Loos Prison. He was beaten by the Gestapo at La Madeleine and interrogated for eleven days. In January 1944, he was taken to the prison of Saint-Giles, then to the camp of Estevéghem in German, the prison of Gross-Stelin in Upper Silésia, and finally the concentration camp Mauthausen, in Austria, where he was put to work as a gravedigger. The camp was liberated on 26 April 1945, and on 5 May, Ronse returned to Lille. Given his severely deteriorated state, he was given a medical certificate for his pension. In 1959, he was made an Officer of the Legion of Honor.<sup>111</sup> Ronse was the only one of his resistance cell to survive. The Gestapo shot his leader, Capitaine Michel, on 23 November 1954, alongside his girlfriend outside her home after another SOE agent gave up his location under torture.<sup>112</sup> Gestapo inspector Kohl also died that year, in a gunfight with French Resistant Emile Alain in Wazemmes, outside Lille.<sup>113</sup>

### **Lille Liberated**

After the Allied landing in Normand in June 1944, resistance groups enacted frequent sabotage: locks, railways, stock, fuel depots, and high-voltage pylons were particularly targeted. At the same time, resistance fighters supplied false identity cards, official papers, and stamps to those in need. Desperate individual were given to looting, especially of gardens and farmers. By the end of the month, the German occupiers in

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<sup>111</sup> Profile on Jules Ronse, Archives Municipales de Lille, 5H/9/43.

<sup>112</sup> Ben James, "Story of war hero Micheal Trotobas finally revealed 70 years after he was killed by the Germans," *The Argus* (Brighton, England) (15 January 2016.)

<sup>113</sup> Grégory Célerse. *Histoire de la Gestapo: Buxelles Lille Paris Saint-Quentin* (Lille: Les Lumières de Lille, 2013).

Lille acted anxious, only walking about in groups.<sup>114</sup> The Allies eventually swept through Lille; Liberation was not easy, and resulted in 50 dead and over 600 wounded.

On the afternoon of September 1, the Vichy-installed Mayor Paul Dehove was arrested by the interim municipal council as a political prisoner and taken to Vandamme. Over the next few days, the FFI installed themselves in the town. By September 3<sup>rd</sup>, men proudly wearing the tricolor armbands walked freely in the streets. Abandoned prisoners, left by the retreating Germans, soon joined them. As calm descended upon the city for the first time in four long years; restored to freedom, citizens draped their windows in the tricolor flag, and at 4pm the church bells rang to greet the arrival of British soldiers. Lille became completely liberated on September 4.<sup>115</sup>

It appeared that after the strictures of the war years, the Conservatoire de Lille was eager to move forward. In a new set of regulations dated 25 August 1944, the conservatoire administration questioned some old habits, indicating points of misalignment between policy and practice, and calling out issues perhaps glossed over in the effort to stay functional during the war. It labeled the persistent practice of gender-segregated classes “primitive,” questioned the passing of students to different instructors as they progress from preparatory to elementary to superior courses, and finally probed the virtue of compelling *all* students compete in the solfege competitions, wherein the only outcome would seem public humiliation.<sup>116</sup> These changes did not appear to reflect any particular wartime concern. Yet they expressed a wish for modernization, for a new

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<sup>114</sup> Jean Caniot, *Lille, 1939–1945* (Lambertart: 2009), 63.

<sup>115</sup> Jean Caniot, *Lille, 1939–1945* (Lambertart: 2009), 76–78.

<sup>116</sup> Règlement du Conservatoire de Musique de Lille, 25 August 1944, Archives municipales de Lille, 1R/2/9.

phase, and for a degree of compassion for students and a willingness to adapt to their needs, perhaps especially in light of their recent sufferings.

In 1945, after 31 years as Director of the Conservatoire de Lille, Gaujac took the opportunity to return to his hometown, and succeeded Aymé Kunc as the Director of the Conservatoire de Toulouse. Gaujac remained director in Toulouse for seventeen years, until his death in 1962.<sup>117</sup> The directorship of Lille was handed over to Robert Lannoy. Lannoy, who had been taken prisoner and attempted escape numerous times. Eventually taken to the Stalag XVII B in Austria, he worked as an in-house Kapellmeister. After the war, he received the Resistance Fighter Medal, the Resistant Interné Medal, and the Escape Medal. After his release by Americans, he returned to Paris in 1945, where he earned a First *Second* Grand Prix, which allowed him to skip the stay in Rome, and instead take up the post in Lille, beginning in 1946.<sup>118</sup>

### **Continuity and Change in the Occupied Zone**

The occupied zone, which had been firmly under control of the German forces from the time of the Armistice, did not face obvious transformation after the November 1942 total occupation. For the most part, their governing forces remained in place, unlike the many and frequent changes higher up in the Vichy administration. At the same time, the citizens and institutions in these areas faced the continuing and deteriorating burdens of war, the Germans leaning on the French citizenry as the tides began to turn in the Allies favor.

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<sup>117</sup> Denis Harvard de la Montagne, “Prix de Rome 1920–1929,” *Music et Memoria*. Accessed 12 July 2018. <http://www.musimem.com/prix-rome-1920-1929.htm>

<sup>118</sup> Robert Lannoy, profile, Archives Municipales de Lille, 1R/2/18.

Food shortages and an increase in students called to the STO were prime among the challenges facing the conservatoires and écoles de musique in this area. These issues plagued all of France, and disrupted students and professors lives and performances. The increase in the students called to the Service du Travail Obligatoire also impacted the ability of ensembles to maintain sections and performances, especially for the older male students who were more typically performers on brass instruments. The affects of these challenges, evidenced in the official letters and reports of the institutions profiled here represented an evident threat to their continuation, and instigated various responses. At the École de musique de Bayonne, authorities were contested as Bonnal returned to judge the institution. At the Conservatoire d'Orléans, Berthelot appeared to distance himself and the institution from liabilities to protect its continued interests, while navigating the wartime difficulties and STO as reasons for declining enrollment and quality. Finally, at the Conservatoire de Lille, the Secretaire and Concierge found the situation untenable enough to risk their lives and the institution by making in a home of resistance activities.

Each conservatoire, based on individuals present, the internal dynamics of the establishment, and political bent of the populace and location, reacted differently. In all of these locations, the institutions in question continued to suffer an unrelenting decline as their unique and dismal situation dragged on. Undoubtedly, their neighbors in the newly occupied territory, the Conservatoires in Lyon and Toulouse and the École de musique in Avignon faced a much greater hurdle in changing governing forces compared with their northern counterparts—particularly given their much higher ratios of Jewish populations—alongside the general turmoil wrought by continued fighting in Europe.

**CHAPTER V**  
**Total Occupation to Liberation**  
**The Newly Occupied Zone, 1942-1944**  
**Avignon, Toulouse, Lyon**

The move to total occupation directly affected substantial change in the previously unoccupied zone. While Hitler maintained the “useful fiction on Vichy French sovereignty,” the entirety of France now lay directly under German control.<sup>1</sup> The moment of total occupation, for the southern zone, may have been all the more shocking as it came amid myriad changes. While the occupied zone certainly witnessed great changes in the summer and fall of 1942, the increasingly hostile environment—diminished rations, frequent requisitions, and STO demands—coupled with the entrance of German occupants seemed an especially dark turn of events for the zone libre.

The institutions examined in this zone—the École de Musique d’Avignon, Conservatoire de Toulouse, and Conservatoire de Lyon—had until this point faced changes due to Vichy alone, though these disturbances cannot be underestimated. The largest alterations were confined to the faculties, which faced rupture due to the new lower mandatory age of retirement alongside anti-Semitic exclusionary laws. More troubling were the instances of personal squabbles that took up the new xenophobic directives of the Vichy regime to justify attempts at retaliation. This occurred both in Avignon as Professor Charles attempted to oust Director Allo over his foreign birth, and in Toulouse, where females were denied positions due to purported concerns over

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Paxton, *Vichy France*, 281.

*possible* future male job seekers, as occurred at the Conservatoire de Toulouse. Most terribly, faculty faced expulsion due to Vichy's racial decrees, as was the case for Fanny Zay at the Conservatoire de Lyon. Yet these disruptions pale in comparison to the severe hardships faced as the Germans occupied the whole of France in 1942.

In addition to the outward change in the presence of the German occupation forces, French citizens now faced increased food shortages and requisitions of resources.<sup>2</sup> Though the Germans temporarily *lowered* occupation payments from France in July 1941, by 1942, the renewed vigor of constructing the Atlantic wall, the war of attrition on the Eastern front, and—by 1943—preparations for the Allied invasion led to drastic increased demands in occupation payments.<sup>3</sup> Laval's "*Relevé*" strategy to drastically increase calls to the STO was announced on 22 July 1942; on 22 August he announced all French citizens between 20 and 65 could be considered, and on 4 September Vichy law created the conscription for all French men from 18 to 50 and single French women aged 21 to 35.<sup>4</sup> These German and Vichy measures resulted in a growing black market alongside a growing resistance, especially rural in the southern zone.

French citizens in the southern zone, as in the north, likewise experienced the internal turmoil due to the dawning knowledge of the Holocaust, of which they could no longer claim ignorance, and the distrust in Pétain and the Vichy regime. On 4 July 1942, Vichy agreed to deport foreign Jews from both zones; René Bousquet personally

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<sup>2</sup> See Alan S. Milward, *The New Order and the French Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) and Yves Bouthillier, *Le drame de Vichy, Volume 2: Finances sous la contrainte* (Paris: Plon, 1951),

<sup>3</sup> Marcel Boldorf and Jonas Scherner, "France's Occupation Costs and the War in the East: The Contribution to the German War Economy, 1940–4," *Journal of Contemporary History* 47:2 (April 2012), 294.

<sup>4</sup> H. R. Kenward, *Resistance in Vichy France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 224.

volunteered the inclusion of foreign Jews from the Unoccupied Zone, but bristled at the German Dannecker's conducting inspection of southern internment camps. When Dannecker, unimpressed with the number of deported Jews, demanded 11,000 from the Unoccupied zone in early August 1942, Laval promised 14,500. The first major roundups occurred on 26–28 August, streamlined by census data from the previous year. Numbers from the southern zone from August–September vary drastically, but by the beginning of September, well over 27,000 Jews were deported from the entirety of France.<sup>5</sup> No longer could any French citizen claim ignorance.

The Occupation created difficulties for French citizens, but the Liberation did not come easily. For the Southern Zone, liberation came from Operation Dragoon, the Allied landing near St. Tropez, rather than the Operation Overlord invasion of Normandy. Initially called Operation Anvil in correspondence with Operation Overlord's early name of Operation Sledgehammer, the southern invasion first gained traction at the 28 November–1 December 1943 Tehran Conference, a meeting of the Big Three. Stalin in particular pushed for the Southern France landing rather than Churchill's Balkan landing idea, to keep Western power out of Russia's "zone of influence." The simultaneous landings in Normandy and southern France came to naught as resources were stretched. Yet, after the Normandy landings created a desperate need for supply ports and support, the southern landing was deemed necessary. A photograph of the meeting of the Big Three in Tehran, taken by American G.I. Joseph Miller is featured in figure 34.

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<sup>5</sup> Maurras and Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, 256–260.

**Figure 34: Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill in Tehran.<sup>6</sup>**



Preliminary amphibious commando operations on the Hyères Islands began on 14 August 1944, followed by the mainland landing the next day. Free French forces quickly joined their American counterparts. Resistance efforts aided these attacks by disorienting German troops, who retreated up the Rhône Valley.<sup>7</sup>

Through the continued combination of archival records and scholarly publications on the second half of the Second World War in these southern French towns, this chapter documents that the institutions of musical education in Avignon, Toulouse, and Lyon

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<sup>6</sup> Photo of the Big Three at the Tehran conference, 1943, taken by Joseph Miller, the author's grandfather, then an American G.I. stationed in Tehran. Thanks to the author's grandmother, Helen Aivazian Miller for permission to include this photo.

<sup>7</sup> William Breuer, *Operation Dragoon: The Allied Invasion of the South of France* (New York: Presidio Press, 1996), and Jean-Loup Gassend, *Operation Dragoon: Autopsy of a Battle: The Allied Liberation of the French Riviera, August–September 1944* (Schiffer, 2014).



continued as ever, to respond to these changing circumstances in their own unique ways, attempting to survive, and in some cases thwart, their oppressors.

## AVIGNON

During Pétain's December 1940 visit to Avignon, the Maréchal promised to return, and did so on 10 October 1942, just one month before the move to total occupation. He arrived that morning to the mayor and generals alongside several division of French soldiers, still permitted in the zone libre. The departmental préfet presented Pétain with a wreath, and he was whisked to the town hall, where he delivered a patriotic speech. He subsequently visited a local monument, the Palais des Papes, and planted of a poplar named in his honor. Somewhere between 100,000 and 150,000 people amassed to witness the Chef d'État.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the apparent enthusiasm for Pétain in Avignon, other demonstrations illustrated a of loss of faith in the administration. Though celebrations of French national holidays were extremely modest in the first two years of the Vichy era, by Bastille Day 1942, celebrations became more defiant, with a large gathering staging a parade and dressed in tricolored garments—followed by several arrests. By 11 November of that year, more open invitations to celebrate were announced in advance of the holiday, though again, they were met with retribution. These celebrations were led and instigated by a growing number of individuals engaged in Resistance activities, if not the Resistance movement itself.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Robert Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon et des Avignonnais pendant la Dernière Guerre (Septembre 1939-Septembre 1944)* (Avignon: Editions A. Barthelemy, 1986), 68–69.

<sup>9</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon et des Avignonnais*, 72–78.

The move to total occupation brought significant new oversight to the town. As early as 17 November 1942, the Gestapo arrived in Avignon as the first element of the nearly-two-year occupation. By 20 November 1,820 German officers and soldiers were stationed in the city or in the surrounding riverbanks. By the end of the month, they requisitioned other buildings, including hotels, part of the jail, and the Sainte-Isnard hospice as their hospital. French Collaboration groups worked alongside the German occupiers. On 24 November 1942, 12,000 German occupiers arrived in Avignon, a sizeable number relative to the population, and set about harvesting every ounce of goods from the town. Troops asserted their dominance over the citizenry, taking over the distribution of grey-blue ration coupons, the most visceral need of all French citizens already uncertain of their futures.<sup>10</sup> Requisitions of buildings and goods were likewise directly demanded.<sup>11</sup> As in most of France, the heaviest toll came through STO demands, with a new office of the organization placed in the Salles barracks, near the Avignon train station.<sup>12</sup> By June of 1942, the STO had already taken 1,700 workers to Germany. However, numbers quickly dropped off due to the unwillingness of young men to go east. In a 1943 requisition of 1,407 orders, only 529 young people presented themselves, leading to arrests of workers and prisoners to fill quotas. Defections increased greatly through the course of the year.<sup>13</sup>

These impositions were not met with silence. While the occupation and Vichy's collaboration took hold, the Resistance in Avignon and the Vaucluse began to rise,

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<sup>10</sup> Sylvain Gagnière, Jacky Granier, et. al., *Histoire d'Avignon* (Aix-en-Provence, 1979), 639.

<sup>11</sup> Hervé Aliquot, *La Vaucluse dans la Guerre: La vie quotidienne sous l'Occupation* (Éditions Horvath, 1987), 75.

<sup>12</sup> Gagnière, *Histoire d'Avignon*, 639.

<sup>13</sup> Aliquot, *La Vaucluse dans la Guerre*, 103.

particularly in 1943. Collaborationist lectures, the installation of the milicien school, and Gestapo roundups were met with strikes by the FTP, or Francs-Tireurs et Partisans, the resistance organization organized by the French Communist Party. Ranks were filled with communist railway workers who laid bombs on tracks or removed tracks from around the Avignon rail station and depot, as well as sabotaging trains and troop trains, and derailling a gas train. Sadly, Germans quickly punished any Resisters. Following the January 1943 creation of the Milice, a local order was installed at 71 rue Joseph Vernet, next to the German war court.<sup>14</sup> In February 1943, six railway workers involved in the sabotage were arrested and summarily shot. Eleven were deported, eight of whom never returned. The disparate resistance groups in the Vaucluse failed to ever unite.<sup>15</sup> By April of that year, the Gestapo had firmly installed themselves on the premise of the Saint-Yves in Avignon.<sup>16</sup> Additional threats loomed.

In the early months of 1943, all twenty-year-olds were summoned for a census, receiving demands to present themselves by 5 March for a medical exam related to the Service Travail Obligatoire. A few days later, the exception for students was suspended. The Vaucluse department was expected to provide 1,100 workers by 31 March. False medical certificates proliferated, and some defected to the Maquis, armed guerilla groups in the French countryside made up of STO defectors; defaulters increased steadily through the 1943.<sup>17</sup> The École de Musique and its constituents navigated the difficult final two years of the Occupation and Vichy Regime amid these threats and growing defiance.

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<sup>14</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon et des Avignonnais*, 95–111.

<sup>15</sup> Gagnière, *Histoire d'Avignon*, 640.

<sup>16</sup> Hervé, *La Vaucluse dans la Guerre*, 21.

<sup>17</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon et des Avignonnais*, 115–118.

### Daily Operations at the École d'Avignon

Classes continued much in the same manner during the 1942–1943 school year. Solfege classes of levels preparatory through superior continued for both boys and girls, still segregated by gender. The younger classes numbered around thirty each, and the superior classes around five. The school also offered solfege classes for adults—separated out into elementary, middle, and superior classes themselves. These “adults” though, tended to be only slightly older than the typical solfege students—and some were as young as 15 or 16. Across the school, attendance did diminish. Only ten singers were recorded in class rosters. Twenty-four violinists were spread between the three levels of classes, the majority of which were listed in the elementary levels. Wind and brass instruments counted students only in the single digits, as illustrated in figure 35 on the following page. Director Allo’s chamber music classes continued, though they consisted of only nine members in two chamber ensembles of strings with one piano.<sup>18</sup>

The following year, 1943–1944, courses continued despite the increased difficulties of daily life. The core solfege classes remained largely unchanged from the previous academic year in relation to enrollment numbers, though the oddity of the “adult” solfege class went unpopulated. Enrollment across instruments increased slightly—by a small margin of a few students, nothing unexplained by normal enrollment fluxuation. Overall, the institution remained a small operation, but continued to attract and enroll students.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Class rosters, École de Musique d'Avignon, Archives Municipales d'Avignon 60Z11: Reigstre des eleves 1930–1956.

<sup>19</sup> Class rosters, École de Musique d'Avignon, Archives Municipales d'Avignon 60Z11: Reigstre des eleves 1930–1956.

Figure 35: Instruments à vent 1943–44.<sup>20</sup>

*Instruments à vent*

NOMS	PRÉNOMS	NAISSANCE	DOMICILE	Année de Classe	RÉCOMPENSE	OBSERV.
<i>Flûte C<sup>2</sup> Supérieur</i>						
Bobichon	Robert	25.8.1925		2	2 <sup>e</sup> prix unifié	
Vaulmier	Jacques	12.2.1926		2	1 <sup>er</sup> accord	
<i>Flûte Élémentaire</i>						
Cluat	Jean	10.1.1928		1	3 <sup>e</sup> mention	
<i>C<sup>2</sup> Préparatoire</i>						
Cluat	Suzette	28.1.1929		2	pass. en élémentaire	
Saturel	Jean			1	1 <sup>er</sup>	
<i>Hautbois C<sup>2</sup> Supérieur</i>						
Bernard	Louis	9.1.1928		1	2 <sup>e</sup> accord	
<i>Corn Élémentaire</i>						
Fournier	Roger	11.4.1929		1	2 <sup>e</sup> mention	
Bouchoux	Robert	20.1.1930		1	2 <sup>e</sup> mention	
<i>Clarinette C<sup>2</sup> Supérieur</i>						
Chausset	André	30.4.1926		1	1 <sup>er</sup> accord	
Jourdan	Jacques	1.6.1926		2	1 <sup>er</sup> accord	
<i>C<sup>2</sup> Élémentaire</i>						
Liuoy	Paul			2	1 <sup>er</sup> mention	
Barwin	Karl	28.11.1925		2		
<i>C<sup>2</sup> Préparatoire</i>						
Sergare	Robert	10.3.1931		1	pass. en élémentaire	

Far more telling was a record of absences, recorded during the 1943–1944 school year, which notes an extremely high rate of attrition. One of two sections of the boys' preparatory solfège course began the school year with thirty-seven students. By January of 1944, no fewer than seventeen had stopped attending altogether. Three more followed by March, and another two in April. The second section of boys counted thirty students, three of whom left in January, with one additional student leaving in March. The class of

<sup>20</sup> Class rosters, École de Musique d'Avignon, Archives Municipales d'Avignon 60Z11: Reigstre des élèves 1930–1956.

twenty-five girls in solfege saw one student depart in January, another three in February, and three more in March.<sup>21</sup> Without corroborating data from previous years, comparison and conclusions become difficult to draw, though the rate of attrition appears particularly high and higher for the boys versus the girls. Cross-referencing these students with the class rosters—which included birthdates—reveal students much too young to be considered for the S.T.O. or other wartime efforts. Likewise, the January date of most departures appears chronologically too early to be affected by Allied bombings or landings. Therefore, one may speculate that the drop in attendance may be due to difficulties of daily life, particularly as rations dwindled and requisitions increased. Most likely, these children were called back home to help maintain households as others—possibly fathers or older siblings—were called away.

Unfortunately, the archives for the *École d'Avignon* become sparser during the second two years under the Vichy regime and the new German occupation of the southern zone. For example, no records exist of the inspection of the school, either in the files of the *Ministre des Beaux-Arts* in the *Archives Nationales* or in the files of the *École* at the *Archives Municipales d'Avignon*. The class rosters give the best illustration of the daily experience at the *École*. Handwritten records—as those from 1940–1942—exist to document the awards from the yearly concours at the *École*, demonstrating a continued commitment to holding these award presentations, though they appear undated, and therefore unable to detail alterations in schedule or in location in comparison to previous years. These do, however, list the faculty, giving a clearer picture of the size and scope of the *École* in the midst of war, as shown in figure 36.

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<sup>21</sup> Avignon Absences, 1943–1944, *Archives Municipales d'Avignon*, 60Z10: Rapport des Eleves.

Figure 36: Faculty at the Palamarès 1943.<sup>22</sup>

Professeurs.

M. Allou Charles	Directeur	Musique de chambre et Classe d'orchestre
M <sup>me</sup> Estay Louis	Professeur	Violon C <sup>o</sup> Élémentaire
M. Berte	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Clarinette (temporair)
M. Choullier Max	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Piano C <sup>o</sup> Supérieur
M. Cassan Lucien	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Solfège Préparatoire et Hautbois
M. Colinet Franke	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Solfège moyen et Supérieur
M. Cozme Marius	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Violon C <sup>o</sup> Élémentaire y moyen.
M. Graille Louis	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Euphone
M <sup>me</sup> Guillot Simone	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Piano C <sup>o</sup> Élémentaire
M. Isnardon Lucien	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Flute
M <sup>me</sup> Imbert Elton	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Piano C <sup>o</sup> moyen.
M. Limouze Lucien	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Violon C <sup>o</sup> moyen et Supérieur
M. Martini Michel	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Euphonie.
M <sup>me</sup> Montmejean Edith	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Harmonie.
M. Olivier Charles	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Prasin - Saxophone
M <sup>me</sup> Preat Lucette	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Solfège - C <sup>o</sup> préparatoire Élémentaire
M <sup>me</sup> Trébot Angèle	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Organe - Solfège. Piano, accompagnement
M. Raffaelli Solange	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Chant
M <sup>me</sup> Roux Emma	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Solfège. Élémentaire - moyen et Supérieur
M. Robert Gilbert	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Cor
M. Stouffan Louis	- d <sup>o</sup> -	Violoncelle et Contrebasse

Though several faculty covered more than one class, the number and breadth is impressive for an institution of such limited size. Still, tensions between faculties persisted.

By December 1943, the school was in need of a new harmony professor, and began soliciting applicants, to a position with an annual salary of 6,600 Francs for

<sup>22</sup> Ville d'Avignon, École Nationale de Musique Palamarès, 1942-1945, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 60Z1:Les Palamarès.

teaching six hours of courses a week.<sup>23</sup> In February, they considered three candidates: Melle Edith Montméjean, 1st prize in harmony at the Conservatoire Nationale de Paris, M. Dumaine, 1st prize in harmony in the École des jeunes aveugles de Paris, and M. Roche, a conductor.<sup>24</sup> The position came open upon the dismissal of M. Charles after he attempted to take three months of leave. M. Charles approached the Director about a three month sabbatical, but the municipal council deemed that he intended to stay in Paris and was merely attempting to secure further funding; they ultimately decided to relieve him of his position, perhaps particularly due to his earlier grievances against the well-liked director.<sup>25</sup>

On behalf of the Ministry of Education, Melle Edith Montméjean was approved as temporary professor of harmony, replacing the outgoing M. Charles.<sup>26</sup> The committee overseeing the école in Avignon had considered three candidates, choosing the only female. Melle Montméjean was more highly qualified than the two men, having earned a first prize in harmony at the Conservatoire de Paris, but it is still unusual to see a woman chosen over two men, particularly during a period wherein the state government was pushing for hiring men and returning women to the domestic sphere, and shows a split from the actions at the Conservatoire de Toulouse.<sup>27</sup> Melle Montméjean was selected,

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<sup>23</sup> École Nationale de Musique Nomination d'un Professeur d'Harmonie, 27 Décembre 1943, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 378W35: Dossiers divers sur la conservatoire.

<sup>24</sup> Procès Verbal de la Séance du 5 Février 1944, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 378W35: Dossiers divers sur la conservatoire.

<sup>25</sup> Letter from the Mayor of Avignon to the Préfet de Vaucluse, 7 February 1944, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 278W15: Conservatoire de musique (1913–1978).

<sup>26</sup> Letter from Ministry de l'Education Nationale, 22 April 1944, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 278W15: Conservatoire de musique (1913–1978).

<sup>27</sup> Procès Verbal de la Séance du 5 February 1944, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 278W15: Conservatoire de musique (1913–1978).



alongside her qualifications, per her performance in a concours to test the applicants, held on January 31 that year.<sup>28</sup>

Budgetary documents provide further insight into faculty during the last two years of Vichy. Documents from 1943 and 1944, illustrated the size of the institution as well as the payment of the professors, as shown in figure 37.

**Figure 37: Traitements des Professeurs 1943 and 1944.**<sup>29</sup>

<u>TRAITEMENTS DES PROFESSEURS</u>	
<u>ANNEE 1939 - Ecole de Musique</u>	
Directeur.....	16.500 Frs. par an
Professeurs.....	800 Frs. l'heure année
4 Echelons de.....	230 Frs. par an
<u>Beaux Arts</u>	
Directeur.....	6.325 Frs. par an
Professeurs.....	725 Frs. l'heure année
(Pas d'échelons d'ancienneté).	
<u>Cours Municipaux professionnels d'apprentissage et E.P.S. filles</u>	
Directeur.....	5.060 par an
Professeurs.....	700 Frs. l'heure année
<u>ANNEE 1943 - Ecole de Musique et école des beaux arts</u>	
(1er Janvier)	
Directeur.....	22.000 Frs. par an
4 échelons d'ancienneté de.....	2.000 Frs. " "
Professeurs.....	1.100 Frs. l'heure année
4 échelons d'ancienneté de.....	50 Frs.
chacun pour l'heure année	
Surveillant général école des beaux arts	6.300 frs. par an
<u>Cours Municipaux professionnels d'apprentissage et E.P.S. filles</u>	
Directeur.....	7.000 Frs. par an
Surveillant général.....	5.300 Frs. par an
Professeurs.....	1.000 Frs. par an
<u>ANNEE 1944 - Ecole de Musique et école des beaux arts</u>	
(1 Septembre)	
Directeur.....	31.000 Frs. par an
4 échelons d'ancienneté de.....	2.000 Frs. " "
Professeurs.....	1.600 Frs. l'heure année
4 échelons d'ancienneté de.....	50 Frs.
chacun pour l'heure année	
Surveillant Général école des Beaux arts	
Beaux-arts.....	10.000 Frs.
<u>Cours Municipaux professionnels d'apprentissage et E.P.S. filles</u>	
Directeur.....	10.150 Frs.
Surveillant général.....	7.685 frs.
Professeurs.....	1.450 Frs.
<u>Traitement de base d'un expéditionnaire.</u>	
En 1942.....	11.200 Frs. + I.S.T. 8.000 Fr
actuellement.....	39.000 Frs.

<sup>28</sup> Ecole Nationale de musique Nomination d'un Professeur d'Harmony. Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 278W15: Conservatoire de musique (1913-1978).

<sup>29</sup> Traitements des Professeurs 1943 and 1944, Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 27W15: Conservatoire de musique (1913-1978).

Despite difficulty in the final year of Vichy and the occupation, it appears the school still enjoyed considerable financial support from state subsidies. A February 1944 letter from the Mayor indicates a decision from the previous fall during with the two subsidies received by the École de musique increased from 2,800 to 5,700 francs and from 8,750 to 13,125 francs for the school year.

The mayor noted that these increases do not appear on local budgets due to the lack of communication from the state that left this generous increase unknown to the mayor.<sup>30</sup> It appears that though the Vichy regime desperately wanted to change much of the musical system in France, it could not ignore the arts, and indeed found great value in continuing to support these provincial educational institutions even as it faced continually worse treatment at the hands of the Germans. Maintaining a sense of normalcy through state-monitored institutions, would have become especially important for Vichy as the Allies began to shatter Germany and daily life became increasingly difficult.

### **The Allies Take Avignon**

Unfortunately, as the Allies began efforts to make a ground landing on French shores, the conditions for many citizens worsened before improving. Beginning in fall of 1943, aerial alert sirens became a fixture in Avignon. These were merely alarms, not accompanied by any actual attacks, but these alone became deadly. On their first instance, the shock of the sirens caused the deaths of several elderly who were startled into heart attacks on 4 September 1943. Similar instances continued through November

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<sup>30</sup> Letter from the Mayor of the City of Avignon to Monsieur le Prefet de Vaucluse. February 29, 1944. Archives Municipales d'Avignon, 105W5: Ecole de Musique 1930-1967.

and the early months of the New Year.<sup>31</sup> The town enjoyed a brief calm through most of the spring.

After so many drills and false alarms, citizens paid little attention to the sirens when they began sounding at 10 in the morning on 27 May 1944. The purring of plane engines steadily grew to a roar. Soon, the U.S. Air Force bombers became visible, and, flying at a high altitude began their assault on key German targets in Avignon.<sup>32</sup> Four waves of 80 flying fortresses dropped 1,400 bombs on the south of the city, between the train station and the Rhône. The bombs hit the rail yards and industrial targets but, as is often the case, civilians could not be protected.<sup>33</sup> Initial statements indicated 396 killed, but the figure soon reached 525 in addition to nearly 800 wounded. Over six hundred buildings were completely razed.<sup>34</sup>

A second bombing on 25 June hit the viaduct, a suspension bridge, and the freight station. A 17 July bombing irreparably broke the city's main water pipes. Thankfully, the city's historic sites, including the famed Pont d'Avignon, were left standing, though a small section of a 1909 stone bridge reconstruction was destroyed. Conditions worsened and bombings became more frequent, leaving citizens without water, gas, electricity or radio. Storefronts shuttered and many took to camping near the Palais des Pâpes, where street vendors relocated to sell what produce they had.<sup>35</sup> Bombings increased as the Allied entrance grew closer. On 2 August, the sirens barely gave citizens time to take shelter; viaducts over the Rhone and Durance were hit, along with a switch station and

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<sup>31</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon et des Avignonnais*, 135.

<sup>32</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon et des Avignonnais*, 139.

<sup>33</sup> Gagnière, *Histoire d'Avignon*, 642.

<sup>34</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon et des Avignonnais*, 139.

<sup>35</sup> Gagnière, *Histoire d'Avignon*, 642.

various train tacks, meant to halt German troop movement. Several days later, another bombardment followed, with an array of American aircraft Liberators, Lightning, Hurricanes, and for the first time, Mosquitos, marking the concentration of the U.S. Air Force on Southern France.

Renewed attacks on the viaducts continued the next day, and on 8 August the U.S. Air Force continued the assault on the city center, killing 47 civilians and 40 German soldiers and hospitalizing 80 people. Avignon, which had successfully avoided damage in the 1940 German offensive, lay fairly broken and battered at the war's end. Many deserted the city altogether; even the more remote areas of the region no longer appeared safe. The Maquis in the nearby countryside struggled to maintain control of their troops while Germans shot dozens of hostages as reprisals. Meanwhile, looters plundered farms and terrorized citizens. Only 25–30,000 remained.<sup>36</sup> The city and its institutions had much to recover from.

The road back to normalcy in Avignon, as for much of the continent, took significant time, and was darkened by the retribution that followed the four years of Vichy and German rule. The French Forces of the Interior, known as the FFI, de Gaulle's official term for the resistance fighters near the end of the war in 1944, entered the city where they clashed with the last of the German guard on 20 August. The liberation committee ensconced itself in the old girls school, the political detainees were released and resistance fighters transferred to the hospital. Meanwhile, the president of the special delegation was asked to give way.

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<sup>36</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d'avignon et des Avignonnais*, 174–187.

On 22-25 August, Germans fled, but dropped explosives on the way out. FFI, joined by the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans, the armed resistance associated with the French Communist party, the FTP for short, hunted miliciens and collaborators; a vengeful and patriotic “terror” took hold of the city with 20-50 summary executions at the Place Crillon, the same place where the White Terror had claimed lives 150 years prior. By 25 August Franco-American troops entered the town. A court system held its first meeting on 20 September 1944 against miliciens and collaborators, with quick death sentences and executions to swiftly follow.<sup>37</sup> The rapidity of these actions must have belied citizens’ wishes to move on from this painful period. Small victories appeared. Some time after the liberation of the city, the bust of Marianne, removed and hidden without mention a few years earlier, found its place in the hall of the city hall.<sup>38</sup>

### **The École after the War**

Despite the difficult road ahead for the city, the École de Musique d’Avignon received considerable praise for her immediate post-war efforts. It escaped the heavy bombing by the incoming Allied troops. Director Allo found considerable commendation in the November 1945 inspection of the institution, and was credited with maintaining a remarkable number of new students, particularly given the difficulties of the previous years. As with previous inspections, Inspector Obey noted Director Allo’s work on “musicality and rhythmic vigor” in his chamber music class. Likewise, the solfege classes are commended with particular recommendations for further etudes. Indeed, Max

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<sup>37</sup> Gagnière, *Histoire d’Avignon*, 642-43.

<sup>38</sup> Bailly, *Histoire d’avignon et des Avignonnais*, 249.

d'Ollone suggested that the orchestra join into an inter-school arrangement with Lyon or Pau to perform at civic festivals and similar events.<sup>39</sup>

The school appeared to be making a remarkable recovery. In 1948, Allo shepherded the École through the process of becoming a more respected Succursale du Conservatoire Nationale. In 1984, the institution assumed the name “Le Conservatoire Olivier Messiaen,” to honor their native son.<sup>40</sup> Certainly, these documents portray a rosy picture of the school’s post war life that was almost certainly marked by disruption. Still, it appears that the small size and steadfast direction of this institution shielded them from undue scrutiny or hardship.

## TOULOUSE

Toulouse, as with the rest of the southern zone, groaned under the new supervision and demands of the German forces, and similar storylines of requisitions and shortages appear in this city. It also appears that the fairly visible Jewish community here was severely targeted by the newly installed occupying Germans. This Languedoc city responded to these compounding difficulties and persecution with an emerging resistance movement.

The Toulouse synagogue, located on Palaprat Street and often referred to as the Palaprat Synagogue, remained open and functional for the majority of the war. Due to a large influx of German and Eastern European Jews during the previous decade and those

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<sup>39</sup> André Obey Inspection of École nationale de musique d’Avignon, 28 November 1945, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8773: Ministre des Beaux-Arts Avignon.

<sup>40</sup> “Notice Historique Sommaire sur l’École de Musique de la Ville d’Avignon,” Archives Municipales d’Avignon, 10DHL41: Enseignement artistique: Conservatoire de musique et d’art dramatique.

from the Occupied Zone, particularly Alsace, in the first weeks of the war, there was a large community. In 1942, the Toulouse region counted 18,500 Jews, including 1,000 foreigners. In 1943, that number ballooned to 25,000. Rabbi Moïse Cassorla led the Palaprat congregation until he was forced into hiding in 1943. Rabbi Nathan Hosanski replaced Cassorla, and witnessed the desecration of the synagogue by the miliciens on 25 August 1943. Many congregants, particularly foreign Jews who were never protected even nominally by Vichy, were deported to the concentration camps. Following his capture, Hosanski refused to release the names of his congregants, under threat of execution, saved only by an intervening regional préfet. Hosanski unfortunately died in a 1944 transport.<sup>41</sup>

The existence of two nearby internment camps, Noi and Récébédou, only increased anxieties. These camps, which were pre-existing, were taken over by the Germans and eventually held 6,500 foreign Jews. Noi was located about forty miles from Toulouse, and served as a penal camp. Récébédou, which was located in the city's suburbs, initially served as a reception center for refugees and evacuated Jews, eventually also serving as a medical center for the sick, though lack of proper medical supplies and procedures created squalid conditions. Before 1942, nearly all internees were over 60 and gravely ill. Communicable diseases were the main causes of death. Deportations began in 1942 as Vichy agreed to deliver Jews to the Germans. First they were taken to the Occupied Zone in August 1942, most frequently to Drancy, and then to points unknown,

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<sup>41</sup> Armand Anselm, *Histoire de la Communauté Juive de Toulouse* (Lyon: Alás, 2008), 33.

but almost certainly to Auschwitz. Further raids and deportations only increased, from Toulouse and the neighboring regions.<sup>42</sup>

The Jews were not the only group targeted in Toulouse. In January of 1943, the STO took 8,000-9,000 young men from the Haute-Garonne to Germany, largely from those French citizens born in 1920-22. The STO requisitions of France's youth led many to the Resistance. Toulouse was no different. Much of the Resistance effort here took the form of propaganda efforts to discredit the STO program as highly dangerous, leaning on testimony from those in Germany suffering lack of food and shelter as well as other hardships brought on by the turning of the war gradually against the Germans.<sup>43</sup> Meanwhile, difficulties in housing, displacement, and food at home increased after the move to total occupation, excepting the thriving Black Market, which only ever increased in its value and capacity.<sup>44</sup>

Toulouse never became the center of Resistance like Lyon or even Grenoble, but its Resistance nevertheless grew more active and determined; the occupiers responded in kind.<sup>45</sup> From November 1942 onwards, the German occupation hardened the opposition due to the publically visible roundups and attendant harrassment of the Jewish community. Public opinion had begun to turn a few months before, largely after the defection of a part of the Catholic elites, shaken by the courageous pastoral letter "on the human person" of the Archbishop M Saliege, on 26 August 1942.<sup>46</sup> In Toulouse, the Resistance consolidated just as the Allied landing became expected. Networks such as

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<sup>42</sup> Anselm, *Histoire de la Communauti Juive de Toulouse*, 35.

<sup>43</sup> Michel Goubet, *Toulouse et la Haute-Garonne dans la guerre, 1939-1945: La vie quotidien en Images* (Paris: Éditions Horvath, 1987), 49.

<sup>44</sup> Goubet, *Toulouse et la Haute-Garonne*, 49.

<sup>45</sup> Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 511-12.

<sup>46</sup> Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, 320.



France in Combat or Brutus, recruited socialists, and became more organized. An armed resistance, animated by Spanish guerillas or by foreigners of the *Méné-d'ouvre immigrée*, or the MOI, organized attacks against individuals engaging in acts of collaboration beginning in 1943. The *Main-d'oeuvre immigrée* was a sub-group of the most organized resistance group, the *Francs-tieurs et partisans*, or FTP. The heavy involvement of the MOI in this region attests to the numbers of emigrees and refugees housed in Toulouse throughout the war. For example, on March 1, 1944, the Cinema Variétés, which had projected the German propaganda film, *Jew Suss*, was the target of a resistance attack.<sup>47</sup>

### **Courses Continue at the Conservatoire de Toulouse**

While faculty hostility dominated the École de Musique d'Avignon, the Conservatoire de Musique de Toulouse continued a narrative of relative peace. It experienced neither large faculty upsets nor the student expulsions that plagued other institutions both large and small. Thus, while faculties waged small wars in Avignon, while Paris suffered increasing exclusions, while Lyon and Lille developed increasing resistance activities within their faculties and student population, operations at the Toulouse conservatoire remained even-keeled, demonstrating the broad range of wartime experiences across French cultural institutions.

Descriptions of daily life at the Conservatoire de Toulouse become especially scarce in the second two years of the Vichy regime, when German forces occupied Toulouse. Fortunately, the immaculate record keeping of student enrollment provides a significant window into the classes offered and the fluctuation that occurred during this

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<sup>47</sup> Michel Taillefer, *Nouvelle histoire de Toulouse* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 2002), 282–84.

period. For the most part, these classes continued, and maintained their students, though there is an observable decline in some of the student body, most marked in the instrumental classes that typically catered to older male students, the segment of the population most impacted by calls to the STO.

The Conservatoire de Toulouse enjoyed a significant declamation, or theater program, with about fifteen students of each gender enrolled per year throughout the 1930s and 40s, with little fluxuation during the war.<sup>48</sup> The alumnae of this program likewise continued to support the school through productions at the Capitol Theatre.<sup>49</sup>

The solfege classes, cornerstone of the conservatoire system, divided classes between girls and boys, as with most of the institutions of a certain size, though the class registration make no distinction of levels. Given that multiple faculty were assigned to the solfege classes, it is apparent that though not listed in this manner, it is most likely that the classes were divided between ability and levels of experience. In 1942 and 1943, the girls classes still numbered around 25-30 students enrolled. By comparison, the boys' classes hovered around 35 students per year, even gaining some students during the 1943 registration despite the surrounding upheaval. The solfege courses took in nearly all students, even those who were too young to pursue other lessons. Students students in these classes were of the 10-20 age range.<sup>50</sup>

Comparatively, harmony classes appeared bare. Though not well attended through the 1930s, the girls' harmony class in 1939 counted seven students which dwindled to

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<sup>48</sup> The Conservatoire de Paris boasted the largest declamation (theater) program, though some of the more prominent regional institutions also offered these courses.

<sup>49</sup> Toulouse Inscriptions, Archives municipales de Toulouse, 1R134:Conservatoire de Musique, Liste d'inscription.

<sup>50</sup> Toulouse Inscriptions, Archives municipales de Toulouse, 1R134:Conservatoire de Musique, Liste d'inscription.

non in 1942. The following year saw two students enrolled, but again the class emptied in 1944. The boys' harmony class was likewise sparse through the previous decade, but ballooned in 1943 to nine students before shrinking again in 1944 to only one student.<sup>51</sup>

Piano courses boasted steady numbers throughout the war years. The boys class diminished from twelve in 1942 to five in 1943, but recovered in 1944 to count nine students, indicating a fairly regular fluctuation. Girls' piano courses vastly outnumbered the boys, at nearly thirty students per year and little difference during the increased difficulty of 1943 and 1944. This may also reflect the desire for parents in a working-class town like Toulouse to have their daughters accomplished in an appropriate skill—playing the piano at home. Moreover, piano professors at all institutions across the provinces featured more females than any other course. Certainly ages in this category illustrate a large group of female piano students in their mid-teenage years.<sup>52</sup>

Violin classes maintained their numbers, around ten girls per year through the second half of the occupation, though classes nearly doubled in 1945 and 1946 following the end of hostilities, and were near identical numbers in the boys' classes. Other instrumental courses were less populated than the more popular violin and piano courses, and these weren't segregated by gender, most likely due to their small sizes. A few students per year, boys and girls, took cello lessons. Only a few boys were enrolled in bass, though the enrollment totals changed little through the war. Flutes remained in the single digits, as did oboe, bassoon, and horn students. The clarinet class remained larger, but did drop from nearly twenty students in the first years of Vichy rule to seven students

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<sup>51</sup> Toulouse Inscriptions, Archives municipales de Toulouse, 1R134:Conservatoire de Musique, Liste d'inscription.

<sup>52</sup> Toulouse Inscriptions, Archives municipales de Toulouse, 1R134:Conservatoire de Musique, Liste d'inscription.

in 1943 and 1944. These students appeared on the whole somewhat older, with birth years in the early 1920s, though some more precocious students were included.<sup>53</sup> This could point to calls from the STO, which drastically increased during this time, and would have affected older students after the educational exception was lifted as part of Laval's 1943 Relevé initiative.

Though they fail to provide qualitative data on the students, these inscription records do illustrate a conservatoire still very much alive and functioning through the second half of the Vichy era and the new occupation of the southern zone. Classes experienced minor and regular fluxuation as any institution would, but not in direct and relatable correlation with larger events. Concours, too, continued through these years. Like Avignon, no printed programs for these important public events survive in the archives, but a careful record of each still exists, alongside both yearly exams as well as entrance concours, and two yearly exams, giving significant insights into the regular functions and operation of the institution.

The 1942-43 school year featured a first exam in February 1943. Rather than the indications of first, second, or third prizes as in the concours, these internal records merely record scores awarded by a jury of faculty. The same situation occurred in May, over the course of several days each time. The concours for the school year went forward as usual for a week in June. Each of the classes is listed by subject and professor and contains a list of each student, their scores, and finally a list of those who merited specific

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<sup>53</sup> Toulouse Inscriptions, Archives municipales de Toulouse, 1R134:Conservatoire de Musique, Liste d'inscription.

mentions or awards. The following year continued in the same manner through February of 1944.<sup>54</sup> Figure 38 shows the brass concours from 18 June 1943.

Figure 38: Brass Concours June 1943.<sup>55</sup>

18/11/43

Séance du Vendredi 18 Juin 1943, 15h30 au théâtre  
 Jury: M. Agnès Rume, président: M. Albus, Bentabery, Fayeulle, Hourtal  
 Galinier, Montauriol, Sézay

**1. Corinet**  
 Professeur = M. Dejean : 3 élèves admis  
 Vote pour le 1<sup>er</sup> Prix: M. Sirven 7 voix, un bulletin blanc: 1<sup>er</sup> Prix: M. Sirven  
 Vote pour le 2<sup>ème</sup> Prix: M. Vie 2 voix, Picot 1. Le 2<sup>ème</sup> Prix n'est pas décerné.  
 Vote pour le 1<sup>er</sup> Accessit: M. Pious, Vie, chacun 5 voix, 1 bulletin blanc.  
 1<sup>er</sup> Accessit: exaequo: M. Pious, Vie.

**2. Cor**  
 Professeur M. Vidalot prisonnier de guerre, Suppléant M. Baquisser, 2 élèves  
 A la question y a-t-il lieu de décerner le 1<sup>er</sup> Prix il est répondu par 5 non, 3 oui, cependant  
 sur avis des spécialistes de l'instrument on renouvoiera vote qui donne 6 oui et 2 non.  
 Vote pour le 1<sup>er</sup> Prix: M. Barbonne, Monfeyllard, 5 voix, un bulletin blanc  
 Premier Prix: M. Barbonne, Monfeyllard

**3. Trombone**  
 Professeur M. Brun, 2 élèves  
 A l'unanimité le Jury décide qu'il y a lieu de décerner le 1<sup>er</sup> Prix  
 Vote pour le 1<sup>er</sup> Prix: M. Brouste Gisdal 7 voix, au pinié à M. Gisdal, un bulletin blanc  
 Premier Prix: M. Gisdal, Brouste

**4. Trompette**  
 Professeur: M. Dejean = 4 élèves  
 Par 7 voix contre une, le Jury décide de décerner le 1<sup>er</sup> Prix  
 Vote pour le 1<sup>er</sup> Prix: M. Sirven 7 voix, 1 bulletin blanc, 2<sup>ème</sup> Prix: M. Sirven  
 Vote pour le 2<sup>ème</sup> Prix: M. Dupin 5 voix, Vie 1, un bulletin blanc. 3<sup>ème</sup> Prix: M. Dupin  
 Vote pour le 1<sup>er</sup> Accessit: M. Vie 7 voix, Barbe 5: 1<sup>er</sup> Accessit: M. Vie, Barbe

<sup>54</sup> Concours de Conservatoire de Musique de Toulouse, Archives municipales de Toulouse, 331W2: Seances et concours 1940-1944.

<sup>55</sup> Concours de Conservatoire de Musique de Toulouse, Archives municipales de Toulouse, 331W2: Seances et concours 1940-1944.

### **Relationship with the Toulousian Municipal Government**

In the final year of the Occupation and moving towards the Liberation, the Conservatoire de Toulouse appeared more frequently in the Municipality's documentation; their interactions seemingly pre-date the more expansive overhaul of the conservatoire system that Delvincourt would enact in the two years following the war. In a letter dated 5 January 1944, the Minister of Education addressed a new relationship model between the state, municipality, and the Conservatoire in Toulouse. The modifications were few, but appear to belie some simmering financial issues. In short, this new model confirmed the city's obligation to dedicate an amount of the budget to the Conservatoire at least equal to that of the current fiscal year.

The new model exempted the state from any strict obligation, instead indicating that it would distribute grants and subventions each year within the "limits of budgetary availability." As the convention had not been modified since 1884, the state's previous commitment was fixed at only 12,000 francs, in comparison to the actual allotted amount for 1943, 61,000 francs. At the same time, the new relationship strengthened the state's powers of intervention and control over the system, a plan at odds with the supposed principle of decentralization; yet the municipality felt compelled to accept the new model, and the mayor signed it into existence.<sup>56</sup>

That same year on 20 March, the Conservatoire appealed to the municipal council to raise the rate of teaching for substitute professors—a move that came after the appointment of three women to the faculty on an indefinite basis. These rates had likewise stagnated. Director Kunc campaigned for salary rates of 75 francs for a two-hour

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<sup>56</sup> Municipal Proceedings of the Municipality of Toulouse, 1944, Archives Municipales de Toulouse P01/1944.

class, 100 francs for a three-hour class, and 20 francs per hour for piano accompanists, up from the previous rates of 50, 75, and 10 francs respectively. On the other hand, the registration fee of candidates for a certification of aptitude to teach music or drama had been fixed at 20 francs since 1918, and the Director proposed raising the rate to 100 francs, in one of the efforts to supply the Conservatoire with additional funding. All of the proposed changes were adopted.<sup>57</sup>

At the same time, the director increased the pension allowances for temporary teachers. At the time, temporary teachers who were retired or fired received 800 francs per month, in disproportion to full professors who received about 1,700 francs per month. Director Kunc proposed for those who taught 6 hours per week an annual salary of 22,800 francs, those who taught 12 hours per week a salary of 41,000 per month, beginning on 1 December 1944. These changes were also adopted.<sup>58</sup>

It appears that the efforts to ameliorate the situation of the professors at the Conservatoire de Toulouse were sorely needed as the Director wrote:

Since July 1, 1943, the teaching staff of the Conservatoire de musique has not benefited from any improvements in treatment. It follows that professors' salaries are no longer related to the cost of living and the salaries allocated to municipal employees. We thought that a 30% increase was warranted. The teachers will recognize the care of the Municipal Assembly, showing zeal and accuracy and refraining from any pressure on the students to obtain particular lessons from them. I have the honor, ladies and gentlemen, to propose that you take the following action: Article 1: the salary of the professors of the Conservatoire shall be increased by 30% as from the first of January, 1945. Article 2: Expenditure, ie

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<sup>57</sup> Municipal Proceedings of the Municipality of Toulouse, 1944, Archives Municipales de Toulouse P01/1944.

<sup>58</sup> Municipal Proceedings of the Municipality of Toulouse, 1944, Archives Municipales de Toulouse P01/1944.

228,659 francs, will be taken from the appropriations entered in chapter XX, article 4, of the budget of the staff of the Conservatoire.<sup>59</sup>

The normality of the activities at the Toulouse Conservatoire would suggest some sort of imperviousness to the outside surroundings, perhaps through institutional inertia allowed by favorable circumstances: no bombings or requisitions touched the school. Though the institution was most certainly participant to the misogynistic hiring practices of Vichy, as illustrated in Chapter 3, the relative calm contrasts with the situation in Paris and other regional institutions.

### **Toulouse Liberated**

During the last year of the occupation, there was an increase in everyday Toulousians listening to the London broadcasts, helping persecuted groups like Jews or Resisters, and participating in symbolic and commemorative actions, such as the Bastille Day celebrations.<sup>60</sup> In the weeks before the Allied landings, Toulouse suffered no fewer than five aerial bombings. Though these Allied attacks targeted airplane factories, neighboring residential areas were hit causing civilian casualties. The first bombs fell on Toulouse the night of 5–6 April 1944 and resulted in a dozen victims. However, bombings failed to incapacitate the Poudrerie, an arms factory, which was finally achieved by a saboteur-engineer.<sup>61</sup> Increased resistance attacks and reprisals resulted in further

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<sup>59</sup> Municipal Proceedings of the Municipality of Toulouse, 1945, Archives Municipales de Toulouse P01/1945. Also: Letter from Mayor to the Director, 30 May 1945, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, 331W11.

<sup>60</sup> Goubet, *Toulouse et la Haute-Garonne*, 50.

<sup>61</sup> Goubet, *Toulouse et la Haute Garonne*, 50.



violence. Toulouse's attorney general, who had sentenced resisters to death, was assassinated, alongside the chief of police and several other Vichy-bound officials.<sup>62</sup>

The German troops finally took leave of the Langdoc between 16 and 18 August 1944, in response to the 15 August landing of British and American troops on the Provençal coast. By 19 August, all Germans had evacuated Toulouse. Resistance groups took immediate control of strategic points before the provisional government of the Republic could nominate new leaders.<sup>63</sup> As eager as any to put the dark years behind them, by October of 1944, the City of Toulouse published a booklet that acted as a retrospective of the past four years, naming heroes and documenting the physical destruction; the cover is shown in figure 39.

**Figure 39: Special post-Liberation Municipal booklet.<sup>64</sup>**



<sup>62</sup> Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 512.

<sup>63</sup> Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 512.

<sup>64</sup> *Bulletin Municipal, Ville de Toulouse* (Marseille: imprimerie Gausse & Co, 1944).

The willingness to look towards a brighter future certainly echoed across France.

## LYON

On 11 November 1942 the Wehrmacht entered Lyon.<sup>65</sup> General Niehoff, commander of the France-Sud military region arrived on 17 December 1942, under the 27 November instructions to break up the Vichy-controlled French troops in Lyon under the statement that the French Army had broken their “word of honor.”<sup>66</sup> Germans first occupied Lyon by the 751 infantry regiment of the 326<sup>th</sup> division, a fairly unseasoned group, excepting a small heavily armed battalion. In February 1943, they moved south, replaced by the 9<sup>th</sup> division of reserve grenadiers. For the Wehrmacht’s part, Lyon served as a training area for young recruits. These green German soldiers, in their remarks recorded in letters home, included appreciation of Lyon’s gastronomic site, an illustration of their apparent leisure time.<sup>67</sup>

Further changes were in store for the municipal government. Upon the dissolution of the *zone libre*, Vichy renewed efforts to purify the southern bastions of the Third Republic. Mayor Villiers of Lyon was officially fired, though he resigned on 12 November 1942 before the order could be enacted. The presumptive resignation came most likely due to the mounting—and correct—suspicion that Villiers was working to help the growing Resistance in Lyon. In June 1944, Klaus Barbie held Villiers at Montluc

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<sup>65</sup> Gérard La Marec, *Lyon sous l’Occupation* (Ouest France, 1984), 15.

<sup>66</sup> Gerard Chauvy, *Lyon 40–44* (Paris: Plon, 1985), 225–26.

<sup>67</sup> Chauvy, *Lyon 40–44*, 227–28.

Prison before being sent to Dachau.<sup>68</sup> Certainly the resistance took on a much more organized and driven form in the months following the move to total occupation.<sup>69</sup> Vichy replaced Villiers with Pierre Bertrand on 10 February 1943, alongside an entire new municipality. Bertrand, a Lyon surgeon, served as the leader of the Légion française des Combattants, but lacked any political experience. Bertrand and his municipal council remained in place until the liberation.<sup>70</sup>

The dangers for Jews in Lyon, as with for all of France, increased drastically in 1942, and accelerated through 1943 and 1944. From November 1942, The Gestapo and Sipo-SD took up residence in Lyon's Hotel Terminus. This collaboration intensified after the creation of the Milice on 30 January 1943 and its assembly at the Palais de la Foire on 28 February of that same year. The Milice took up residence at the abandoned premises of the suspended daily paper *Le Progrès* on the rue de la République.<sup>71</sup> These formidable institutions of collaboration existed—and perhaps spurred on—the concurrent growth in the Resistance in a city that struggled to maintain a semblance of daily life.

### **Jewish Students at the Conservatoire de Lyon**

While the students at the prominent Conservatoire de Paris were ultimately dismissed entirely from the school in the fall of 1942, the students in Lyon enjoyed a fair

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<sup>68</sup> “Le renouvellement des élites municipals à Lyon: 1935–1953, *Rives nord-méditerranéennes* [En ligne], (1:1998), 2. Villiers survived the war, and with his status as a deportee, was given deference in the post-war government.

<sup>69</sup> See Gérard Chauvy, *Aubrac: Lyon 1943* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997).

<sup>70</sup> “Le renouvellement des élites municipals à Lyon: 1935–1953, *Rives nord-méditerranéennes* [En ligne], (1:1998), 2.

<sup>71</sup> “Être juif à Lyon pendant la guerre (1940–1944),” in *Lyon dans la Second Guerre mondiale: Villes et métropoles à l'épreuve du conflit* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016), 287.

amount of protection. Just as word was coming to Paris that Delvincourt must fully dismiss his Jewish and half Jewish students, Director Trillat posed questions to the Mayor of Lyon regarding his own student population. On 14 September, he wrote to state that the Conservatoire had a number of Jewish students, and could he accept more? The Mayor duly wrote to the Regional head of the Commission aux Questions Juives the following month to find out. On 14 October, the Mayor received the approval to admit more students to the lower classes, but that upper classes should adhere to guidelines for higher education, alluding to the 3% quota. However, in an unprompted letter dated 19 March, 1943, the Regional director wrote again to the mayor. He stated that no oversight was expected for the regional conservatoires, and that Jewish students could be freely admitted to any level of classes. At least during the war, the reasoning for this was unclear.

Unfortunately, the Conservatoire was unable to protect all of its students. In 1943, the student body was affected by the call for workers in Germany through the STO; unlike those in Paris, who were “put to work” in Delvincourt’s Cadets du Conservatoire, it appears that several singers and instrumentalists were sent to Germany. At the very least, a 1943 report states that some were supposedly to play in German orchestras.<sup>72</sup>

### **Marc Kouzoubachian**

Like Paris, the Conservatoire de Lyon also produced at least one confirmed member of the resistance, Manouk Kouzoubachin, also referred to by his French name, Marc. Kouzoubachian—whose parents escaped the Armenian genocide—studied violin

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<sup>72</sup> Annual Report 1942–1943, Archives Nationales de Lyon, 189 WP 14.

at the conservatoire de Lyon, when in January 1943, he joined a resistance unit. He made this commitment even before becoming a naturalized French citizen in July of that year. Kouzoubachin served with the Partisans in the 1st company from the city of Lyon, working to keep the Maquis de Tarare safe from the Gestapo.

He served in this position for little over a year, when the Gestapo arrested him on 28 February 1944 in the Gare de Lyon. After refusing to speak, he was taken to Mauthausen as a laborer. True to his ideals, he sabotaged machinery, and was severely punished, including being injected with tuberculosis to weaken any escape attempt. Kouzoubachin survived to see the 5 May 1945 liberation of Mauthausen, and was taken back to France on 2 July 1945 by his parents. He only survived five days.

**Figure 40: Manouk Kozoubachian Medal of the Resistance.**<sup>73</sup>



<sup>73</sup> Many thanks to Albert Kouzoubachian, who shared this image via email 14 February 2018.

Charles de Gaulle posthumously decorated Kozoubachian with the medal of the Resistance and the Croix de Guerre in the spring on 1960, shown in figure 40.<sup>74</sup> His efforts were certainly heroic. It appears in Lyon, that the will to resist the new government went even deeper than in Paris.

### **Interference at the Conservatoire de Lyon**

Exclusionary measures in the arts increased after the move to total occupation, and the institutions in Lyon were certainly subject to political oversight. At the same time, these institutions continued to function. The Conservatoire de Lyon soldiered on, and despite the large changes in the local government and surrounding community, the documentation indicates small and regular pedagogical grievances alongside more drastic measures. Trillat received a great deal of uproar upon the announcement that there were no winners of the 1943 Grand Prix for violin and piano, an ongoing tradition in Lyon, which was created in 1931. Previously, merits had been awarded based on performance in chamber and concerto works, in addition to music history questions, theory and transposition problems. Trillat decided to change the award to a basis solely on performance, angering several candidates and prompting several letters to Hauteceour, though the new policy was ultimately not overturned.<sup>75</sup>

The Director's report on the 1942-1943 school year, submitted at the very late date of December 1943, reveals the impact imposed by the STO, and also a quite interesting development regarding students taken to Germany. The director comments

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<sup>74</sup> Details generously shared with the author by Manouk's brother, Albert Kouzoubachian, via email 14 February 2018.

<sup>75</sup> Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8767: Regional Conservatoires: Ministre des Beaux-Arts regarding Conservatoire de Lyon.

that the musicians of the regiments of Lyon and Grenoble, which had been filling out the wind instruments in the Conservatoire ensembles, were mostly depleted in December of 1942 and through the early months of 1943. Trillat also bemoans, momentarily, the departure of students from both instrumental and vocal classes for work in Germany, supposedly as part of the STO. However, he takes on a new tone as he relates that through the “intermediary of Dr. Werner, the German delegate in Paris, most of our instrumental students were assigned to German orchestras.” Trillat continues to comment that these students sent letters back to France, commenting on their new professional status and comparing national musical styles. In a rare hopeful tone, Trillat relates that “they have found, even in total war, music in Germany plays its vital role, allowing them to take advantage of inestimable benefits through this unpredictable means.”<sup>76</sup> With no corroborating evidence, this report appears extremely suspect.

In the same document, Trillat documents an average of 430 students, on the higher side for provincial institutions. He details the number of musical lectures and performances (22 and 21, respectively) and the winners of the 1943 concours. Despite Trillat’s cheery outlook on the students taken to Germany, he does include a note on the Conservatoire stating that the allotted funding is not sufficient for his faculty, and requesting additional funds immediately. He further notes that some of the more precious documents, including first parts, are being stored, alongside costly artworks, by the city of Lyon.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Ennemond Trillat, “Conservatoire de Lyon Director’s Report 1942–1943,” Archives Nationales, F/21/8767.

<sup>77</sup> Ennemond Trillat, “Conservatoire de Lyon Director’s Report 1942–1943,” Archives Nationales, F/21/8767.

The situation regarding faculty salaries apparently reached such a point that at a meeting of the municipal council on 8 March 1943, discussions to reorganize the financial situation at the Conservatoire began. The proposed plans would change the Conservatoire de Lyon from a completely free institution into one in which student tuition could contribute to the salaries of faculty, thereby improving their livings as well as the ability to recruit top musicians to serve on faculty, an issue mentioned in Witowski's 1940 report.<sup>78</sup> Hautecoeur had given his blessing for the Conservatoire de Lyon to take these actions, as he had no other funds to disperse from the state level.<sup>79</sup>

### **The Allies Arrive**

Certainly in the spring of 1944, immediate physical danger reappeared. A 13 March letter from Trillat to the Mayor's office indicates that the school had been evacuated for the second time in recent weeks without any prior warning due to "security reasons," for which the police declined further explanation. Trillat indicated that it was difficult to get word of the evacuation to students and professors who were currently en route for the afternoon classes.<sup>80</sup> On 26 May 1944, Americans bombed Lyon, resulting in over 600 civilian casualties.<sup>81</sup> Sadly, the Conservatoire lost another student, Maurice Pesch, in 1944, when his house was hit by one of the Allied bombs.

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<sup>78</sup> Ville de Lyon, Extrait du Registre des Deliberations du Conseil Municipal, 8 March 1943, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8767.

<sup>79</sup> Letter from Louis Hautecoeur, Ministre des Beaux-Arts to Lyon municipal government, 23 December 1942, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8767.

<sup>80</sup> Letter from Director Ennemond Trillat to Mayor of Lyon, 13 March 1944. Lyon Archives, 189 WP 14.

<sup>81</sup> Le Marec, *Lyon sous l'Occupation*, 19.



By June of 1944, correspondence grew more dire. Trillat, in a 5 June letter to the Mayor, proposed the dates of 14–28 June for the concours; however, he hedged this by stating that if the Mayor informed him otherwise, he could arrange for the preparatory classes to hold their evaluations privately and postpone the upper level classes until the fall. Given the heavy Allied bombings of France in late May 1944, following successful gains invading Italy the previous year, it would not be out of the question for many French assume an Allied landing may soon follow. The date of the letter, just one day before D-Day, provides insight into the upheaval expected by many French citizens. The Mayor dutifully responds on the fateful date of 6 June 1944 that the concours should proceed in smaller segments, as to not have a large concentration of students and administration in the building at any one time—though hedging that the building was not in a particularly dangerous location.<sup>82</sup> Eventually, these tests would be moved altogether to after the fighting had passed.

Trillat's concern for the following year continued over the summer of 1944. In a 6 July letter to the Mayor, he expresses great concern over the number and quality of the faculty of the conservatory, and asks for aid in recruiting and training teachers for the 1944-1945 school year.<sup>83</sup> The Conservatoire was, thankfully and finally, able to open on time in the fall of 1944, but was still suffering significant obstacles caused by the war. Damages necessitated new circumstances for teaching organ, drama, solfege, and chorus

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<sup>82</sup> Letter from the Mayor of Lyon to Director Ennemond Trillat 6 July 1944. Lyon Archives, 189 WP 14.

<sup>83</sup> Letter from Director Ennemond Trillat to Mayor of Lyon, 6 July 1944. Lyon Archives, 189 WP 45.

classes, all of which required special equipment or larger spaces to accommodate students.<sup>84</sup>

In a sad twist of fate, Jacob Mendels, the trombone professor who was able to skirt the anti-Semitic laws and continue teaching throughout the war, was arrested by the Gestapo on 21 July 1944 and taken to Montluc. It is possible that his arrest indicated that he did have three Jewish grandparents, or perhaps in the last days of the Occupation the Gestapo grew less diligent in research. Despite efforts by colleagues, he was taken to Birkenau and eventually Auschwitz. The last time he was seen alive was September 10 of that year.<sup>85</sup> In Trillat's 1944-1945 report, the director indicated that they had still not received word on Mendels, and it was only confirmed later that he had been murdered in the gas chambers at Auschwitz.

### **Lasting Scars of War**

In his director's report of 1944-45, labeled as a "Special Report on the General Situation of the School," Trillat enumerates the ongoing difficulties in the years following the liberation. The prime location of the school on the riverbank of the Saône appeared to create difficulties. First, the building suffered considerable damages from explosives meant to destroy bridges over the Saône; retreating Germans had laid these charges to create delays for the advancing Allied forces in 1944. Compounding on these physical difficulties was the fact that the F. F. I forces, in reclaiming the city had used the

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<sup>84</sup> Letter from Director Ennemond Trillat to M. l'Adjoint aux Beaux-Arts, 21 September 1944. Lyon Archives, 189 WP 14.

<sup>85</sup> "Allocution prononce par M. Ennemond Trillat, Directeur du Conservatoire," *Conservatoire National de Musique et d'art Dramatique de Lyon: Inauguration du monument offert par le Conservatoire à la ville de Lyon, 1939-1944*, 7 July 1947, Archives Municipales de Lyon, 189 WP 814.

Conservatoire building for a barracks with infirmary to treat injured and sick Free French forces, and had also used some further rooms to double as a prison for any Miliciens they managed to capture. Trillat reports that the “building was returned to us in a state of disorder, demolition and dirt,” and goes on to bemoan the broken cupboards and damaged instruments strewn throughout the building. He claims that only the library and the offices of the director and secretary general were left unmarred by French forces. The library did suffer considerable damage from the blasts, though happily the intrepid librarian moved the most prized materials off-site.<sup>86</sup>

The report continues to detail the first year of the Conservatoire following the war. Like much of France, coal was still heavily rationed, and the freezing temperatures added a considerable challenge. The winter reached zero degrees, causing a pipe to burst and flood the already ransacked ground floor. As a result of the heavy damage, most instrumental instructors held lessons in their own private homes. The organ had been exposed directly to the elements and was still undergoing repairs, while students were able to use the organ in the Grand Theatre. Enrollment numbers remained steady, despite the students called to service or who had been taken to Germany as part of the STO. Lagging numbers in the winds were made up for by allowing military band musicians to perform in ensembles. The choir still suffered from lack of male voices.<sup>87</sup> Not all post-war events were so bleak. Fanny Zay survived the numerous raids and roundups conducted in Lyon. She rejoined the faculty in the fall of 1944, and by December the

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<sup>86</sup> Ennemond Trillat, “Special Report on the General Situation of the School, 1944–45,” Archives Municipales de Lyon 189 WP 45.

<sup>87</sup> Ennemond Trillat, “Special Report on the General Situation of the School, 1944–45,” Archives Municipales de Lyon 189 WP 45.

municipality voted to pay reparations for the years of lost wages. In 1966, she was given the silver Medal of Honor for her 27 years and 6 months of civil service.<sup>88</sup>

### Post-war Disclosures and Recognition

Kouzoubachian and others who risked their lives to resist the Occupiers and Vichy certainly represented the Republican spirit in Lyon. Yet questions over why the Conservatoire could openly keep Jewish professor Mendels on faculty, and why the Director could openly state that the student body included Jewish members were only answered after the war. On July 7, 1947, the Conservatoire de Lyon inaugurated a monument to the victims of the war, the Occupation, and Vichy, shown in figure 41.

**Figure 41: Statue at the Bondy Palace honoring students and faculty.<sup>89</sup>**



<sup>88</sup> Personnel file of Fanny Zay, Archives municipales de Lyon, 2225 WP 24. Special thanks to the mayor of Lyon for special access to this file.

<sup>89</sup> Photos by Albert Kouzoubachian, shared with the author 14 February 2018.

It still stands in the Bondy Palace, right on the river in Lyon, though the Conservatoire has since moved to a building on the above hillside. On its base, the names of the victims associated with the conservatoire are inscribed. Alongside Jacob Mendels, Marc Kouzoubachian and Maurice Pesch is Annie Katzmann, an alumnus of the piano class and one-time professor, who was sent to the gas chambers with her entire family, and Myriam Mandil, an organist who disappeared in 1943.

The event was presided over by the reinstated Mayor Herriot, also the President of the Council that oversaw the Conservatoire's running, and Director Trillat. One remark by Director Trillat appears to account safekeeping of Professor Mendels and the students of the conservatoire throughout the war, even after the total occupation. He states:

The conservatoire, it must be said, was protected from the too curious eyes of a sadistic enemy and some unfortunate astray French, thanks to an elite of municipal officials, of which you are the living example, Mr. President [Mayor Herriot], and who were the depositaries of your thought while you were imprisoned and torn from our affection.

Thus we could, without control and in the hope that no denunciations would touch us, knowing that our faculty remained faithful to us, persevere until the liberation, and allow competition by our students targeted by unjust orders.<sup>90</sup>

These comments, apparently directed towards Mayor Herriot, indicate at the very least a few well-placed municipal functionaries keeping the Vichy-installed local government and later the German occupiers from investigating the conservatoire too closely, and a willingness to defy the edicts of Vichy and allow the Conservatoire's Jewish students to continue participating in the end-of-term concours. At most they point to collusion by the municipal government to defy the orders of Vichy. Unfortunately, as with much research

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<sup>90</sup> "Allocution prononce par M. Ennemond Trillat, Directeur du Conservatoire," *Conservatoire National de Musique et d'art Dramatique de Lyon: Inauguration du monument offert par le Conservatoire à la ville de Lyon, 1939-1944*, 7 July 1947, Archives Municipales de Lyon, 189 WP 814. Translation by the author.

regarding resistance efforts, the truth may remain shrouded in mystery; the continued confidence of many involved, even decades after the war certainly demonstrates loyalty, though it impedes scholarship. Furthermore, the letter from the Regional head of the Jewish Question commission stating that there would be no oversight of the conservatoire in terms of Jewish students, was tucked into the program containing this speech in the archives; given the French archival tradition of maintaining documents in the order and presentation in which they are accessioned, it appears that Trillat or the Conservatoire made this distinction.

Lyon, like Paris, bent to some of the edicts of Vichy, including dismissing Fanny Zay. It also, like Paris, bred a resister among its midst, Marc Kouzoubachin. And yet, due, perhaps, to its identity as a fiercely Republican town, backed by its local government and demonstrated by the early riots against collaborative events, Lyon did not bow quite as the Conservatoire de Paris did. The Conservatoire de Lyon, it appears, was able, due to its location and local ideologies, to more straightforwardly act against the wishes of the occupiers and collaborationist state, revealing the variety of reactions displayed within the seemingly monolithic French conservatoire system.

## CONCLUSION

### **Adherence and Resistance within the Field and Institutions**

This study has expanded the understanding of cultural institutions during the Vichy Regime and German Occupation of France by decentralizing the focus on Paris. It has reached out to cultural institutions of the provinces, and joins with existing research on local wartime experiences. By joining and extending both these areas of study, it has begun to write wartime histories of provincial cultural and educational institutions that heretofore have not enjoyed scholarly attention. It has delved into specifics to offer historical narratives that counter larger chronicles, which often fail to take local experiences into account.

This dissertation also complicates our understanding of the conservatoire system by offering a plethora of narratives that differ from the wartime history of the Conservatoire de Paris. It demonstrates the significantly different circumstances provincial institutions operated under, particularly between the zones considered. While Paris did not have a recognized municipal government during the Second World War, these institutions relied on their respective municipal councils and mayors for governance of the majority of their day-to-day operations. These schools thus found themselves within the scope of power of a number of concurrent, and, at times competing, authorities: the state government, state-appointed préfets, state-appointed music school inspectors, the Conservatoire de Paris, and municipal governments. The number of governing forces at times created more scrutiny and at times provided more protection.

The institutions in the immediately Occupied Zone, whose authority structure most closely resembled Paris, represent an unexpectedly diverse set of wartime arrangements and experiences. A major factor in this is the great geographical range included in this zone as it stretched down the Atlantic coast to account for Hitler's wish to seal off "Fortress Europe" and defend her from Allied attacks, particularly given Churchill's proximity. Despite being located in the same zone as Paris, the existence of municipal governments contributed to strong local identities that prevented the degree of capitulation observed in Paris. The range of experience also owes to the history and culture of each location, made from years of actions, experiences, and individuals, all contributing to a unique environment.

The *École de Musique de Bayonne*, located on the Atlantic Coast and just north of the Spanish border, had been welcoming refugees from both the south and north, and, as a devout Catholic population, enjoyed the extremely leftist sentiments of their local priest. Furthermore, having lived peaceably with their Jewish community for centuries, they found a quiet way to resist, most likely providing a hiding place for the Synagogue's harmonium. Meanwhile, the *Conservatoire Nationales de Musique d'Orléans*, with its proximity to Paris, and, as such, presumably the more intense oversight of the German propaganda office that strictly regulated the *Conservatoire de Paris*, adhered to strict policies rather than bring unnecessary scrutiny. Certainly shaken after an initially intense German bombing campaign, they appeared to fear further violence, appealing to the *Guardians of the Peace* in later years for protection. The *Conservatoire de Musique de Lille*, in a city that had experienced a lengthy German Occupation during the First World War, a fact that most likely weighed heavily on the minds and memories of citizens.



Moreover, the highly valuable city, a center of textile production, was overseen by the German High Command in Brussels rather than that in Paris. These factors may have contributed to two of the Conservatoire de musique administration to join the organized resistance movement, even hiding subversive papers in the attic and weapons in the basement.

The initially Unoccupied Zone, smaller than the Occupied Zone, represents a somewhat more cohesive geographical area. Certainly, Vichy viewed the Southern Zone as loyal—especially within the ranks of the municipal governments—to the Third Republic and all that Vichy sought to rewrite. In fact, with no Demarcation Line to prevent the movement of Vichy authorities, it appears that they were more heavily scrutinized. The small *École Nationale de Musique d'Avignon* and the *Conservatoire Nationale de Toulouse*, though the institutions suffered severely diminished enrollment that threatened the justification of courses and professors, especially as older students, especially wind players, who were called away to work for the *Service du Travail Obligatoire*, or who defected to the maquis. Avignon's faculty, under the strain and fears of war, became hostile to one another. At the same time, the *Ministre des Beaux-Arts* encouraged Avignon, as a distinct provincial region, to highlight local musical styles. Though Toulouse was identified as not politically friendly enough to Petain's government to house the French state government, no explicit acts of resistance appear in the documentation of the Conservatoire in this town. Records from Toulouse indicate that the Conservatoire's wartime hiring practices adhered to the overt misogyny promulgated by the National Revolution's return to traditional gender roles, as they kept positions open for the possibility of returning soldiers rather than hire qualified female candidates.

The Conservatoire Nationale de Musique de Lyon, located in the staunchly Republican city that would become known as the Capital of the Resistance, enjoyed significant protection of the municipal government and produced one well-known and posthumously decorated resister, Marc Kouzoubachian. It does appear that they were heavily scrutinized by Vichy, by virtue of being one of the larger and prominent cities in the initially unoccupied zone. They were the only institution in this study, like Paris, forced to dismiss a faculty member, Fanny Zay. Yet, archival evidence supports the conclusion that the Conservatoire knowingly benefitted from an organized municipal effort to protect Jewish students from expulsion in accordance with the racially discriminatory limits Vichy placed on students in educational institutions.

Archival research of the records of these provincial institutions from the signing of the Armistice through the Liberation of France reveal that the *écoles* and Conservatoires experienced a wider array of situations than one would expect from knowledge only of the Conservatoire de Paris. These institutions, intended to replicate the pedagogy of the Conservatoire de Paris on a smaller scale, and meant to mirror one another, instead represent wartime experiences that differ from that and Paris, between zones, and, to a smaller degree, from one another within the same zone. Despite experiencing the same sets of oversight and authority, the reactions from institutions adhere strongly to municipal leanings and local sentiments. Several theories can provide rationale for these observations.

Part can certainly be accounted for by the institutional inertia developed in each provincial *École* or Conservatoire. As anthropologist Mary Douglas stated, institutions are conventions arising from common interests. The common interests then insist that

none will deviate at the possible loss of the coordination. Institutions further operate through encoded expectations, and place the uncertainty under control to as high a degree as possible.<sup>1</sup> Within institutions, individual responsibility is molded into a common shape.<sup>2</sup> The institution, initially convened by individuals, eventually directs the behavior of the individual, to a degree that the individuals believe in the common interests.

Yet, while each institution certainly developed its own set of shared goals and collective understanding, and fell under the same state governance, they also existed within the scope of their geographical locations and attendant cultures. Each of the schools considered—Avignon, Bayonne, Lille, Lyon, Orleans, and Toulouse—displays unique institutional culture. Bourdieu's *champ*, or field, comprises a non-homogenous setting in which individuals operate, most often in subordination to a larger field of class and political power. The field likewise represents the range of possibilities: what may this field produce, culturally speaking, and how it will be received, given its place of origin.<sup>3</sup>

Each *École* and *Conservatoire* could be considered a field of its own, but they also existed within a municipality and group dynamics of their locales, and enveloping field. Those locations each came with their own cultural and socio-political tenors that deeply affected the institution at any given moment, but especially at the pivotal moment of upheaval caused during the Vichy Regime and Nazi occupation. In extremely Republican Lyon, resistance activities flourished. In Lille, which had experienced an extensive occupation during the First World War, and was near enough to England to pick up radio

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 46–48.

<sup>2</sup> Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, 91.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, edited and introduced by Randall Johnson (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1993), 30–32.

signals and also British Special Forces also became a home for resisters. Bayonne, a devoutly Catholic city, appeared to support Vichy. However, given their centuries-old Jewish community, found small ways to resist. Different institutions were encircled and influenced by their physical, cultural, and ideological surroundings.

This is not to discount the actions of individuals; while institutions most certainly informed the thinking of the individuals within their walls, they also influenced those institutions in turn.<sup>4</sup> Individual agency may illustrate an extension of the cultural and political field in which the player acts, but may also demonstrate significant individual agency. Certainly Director Claude Delvincourt in Paris differed from his predecessor at the same institution; rather than comply with racist statutes, he joined the resistance and worked to protect his students. In Paris, Delvincourt face a great deal of scrutiny while some institutions in the provinces enjoyed less oversight due to geographical distance.

In Lyon, Director Trillat shared some biographical details with Delvincourt; both had been injured in the First World War; this perhaps solidified their opinions against any Collaborative efforts from Vichy. However, while Delvincourt worked in a fairly compliant institution, archival documentation and Trillat's own words indicate an organized municipal effort to thwart the racial laws of Vichy. Marc Kouzoubachian also seemed influenced by his personal story; after his family escaped the Armenian genocide, he may have been unwilling to watch history repeat itself. In Lille, the individuals in the administration, Secrétaire Générale René Vincent and Concierge Jules Ronse joined the Resistance movement, hiding both documents and munitions in the Conservatoire. Finally, though documents are sparse, it appears that individuals at the *École de Musique*

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<sup>4</sup> Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, 120.

de Bayonne took steps to safely store the synagogue's harmonium. These individual actions illustrate further deviations from any attempt to paint history with a broad brush.

Following the Liberation, the Vichy "Constitution" ruled null and void—and declared that the Republic never ceased to exist. Yet the repercussions continued in the years following the Liberation. In addition to thrusting the conservatoire system into an intense four years of socio-political negotiations, also generated sweeping reforms, overseen by Claude Delvincourt.<sup>5</sup> This reform, begun during the years of Vichy and the Occupation, certainly includes vestiges of this era. It focuses largely on recentralization and adherence to hierarchy and a centrally disseminated pedagogical design.<sup>6</sup>

These reorganizations, though seemingly made in the spirit of the Liberation, were begun during the Vichy Regime and the German Occupation and began under the auspices of collaboration. In fact, Alfred Cortot appealed to Hautecoeur to model French music education after that of the Third Reich, with an emphasis on regional and folk.<sup>7</sup> In fact, Cortot included several published booklets on music education in the Third Reich in his files, as show in figure 43. The post-war organization appeared to reassert the central power of the Paris Conservatoire, though in the following decade, these schools became increasingly independent and eventually branches severed direct ties to Paris, instead functioning solely as institutions unique to their municipalities. Many adopted names that

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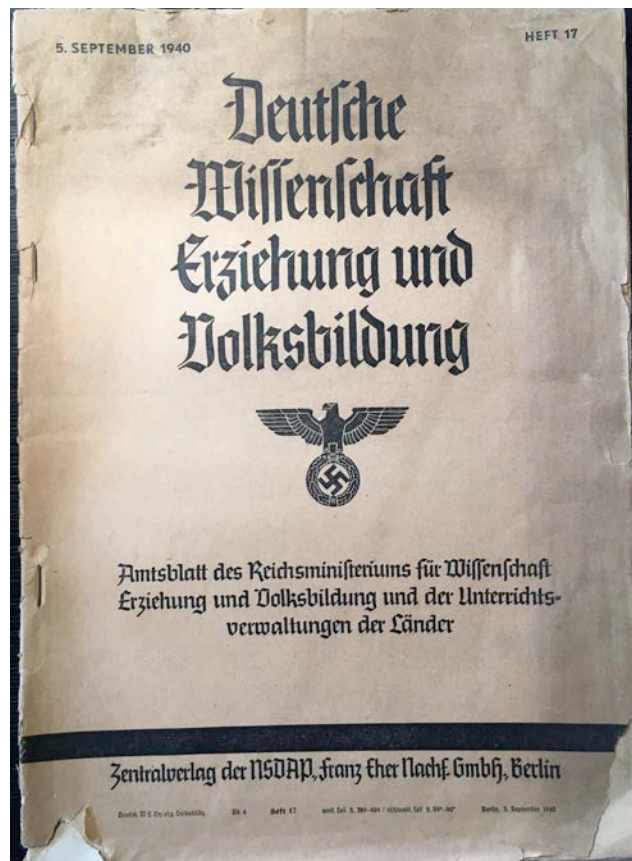
<sup>5</sup> Claude Delvincourt, "Rapport sur une reorganization daminsitration de la Musique et de l'Enseignement Musical en France," Archives Nationales de France, AJ/37/402: Conservatoire: organization.

<sup>6</sup> See Agnès Callu, "Le Conservatoire de Paris: Les réformes structurelles (1937–1947)," in Myriam Chimènes, *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, (Éditions Complexe, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Cortot Correspondance Enseignement Reform, Archives Nationales de France, F/21/8093: Réforme de l'enseignement musical.

reflected successful composer-graduates, such as the Maurice Ravel Conservatoire in Bayonne.

**Figure 42: German Scientific and Popular Education**



The four short years of the Vichy Regime and German Occupation wrecked havoc on France, its citizens, and its cultural institutions. Within the provincial institutions of the Conservatoire, Vichy and the Occupation caused faculty turnover due to dismissals, caused simmering resentments to bubble over, interrupted exams, and took heavy tolls on the institutions physical buildings. It also produced several resisters, some intimately intertwined with the institution.

While large nation-wide studies of culture and war provide overarching themes and neatly packaged narratives, they also flatten and silence the reality of counter narratives that local histories provide. By descending into the particulars of provincial institutions, historians can provide a more accurate narrative of the vastly diverse manifestations of war and its effects on culture and education. Placing external pressures on cultural institutions—in this case the multifaceted pressures of the physical difficulties of war, the pernicious threat of violence by the occupiers, and the new xenophobic and racist political angel of the Vichy Regime that permeated French culture—caused each institution to react and respond according to its unique fault lines forged over decades in distinct municipal situations and guided by individuals working within both the fields of the institutions and their local surroundings.

The study of provincial institutions under the Vichy Regime and Nazi Occupation both extended and complicated our current understanding of cultural in the French provinces during this transformative time. It is my hope that this dissertation continues to expand research on the effects of the Vichy regime and Nazi occupation of France on musical life, and takes a crucial step forward in moving outward from the focus on Paris to consider a broader historical reality for the whole of France.

**APPENDICES**



**APPENDIX A: Armistice Agreement Between the German High Command of the Armed Forces and French Plenipotentiaries, Compiègne, 22 June, 1940<sup>1</sup>**

Between the chief of the High Command of the armed forces, Col. Gen. [Wilhelm] Keitel, commissioned by the Fuehrer of the German Reich and Supreme Commander in Chief of the German Armed Forces, and the fully authorized plenipotentiaries of the French Government, General [Charles L. C.] Huntziger, chairman of the delegation; Ambassador [L'Éon] Noël, Rear Admiral [Maurice R.] LeLuc, Army Corps General [Georges] Parisot and Air Force General [Jean-Marie Joseph] Bergeret, the following armistice treaty was agreed upon:

**ARTICLE I.**

The French Government directs a cessation of fighting against the German Reich in France as well as in French possessions, colonies, protectorate territories, mandates as well as on the seas.

It [the French Government] directs the immediate laying down of arms of French units already encircled by German troops.

**ARTICLE II.**

To safeguard the interests of the German Reich, French State territory north and west of the line drawn on the attached map will be occupied by German troops.

As far as the parts to be occupied still are not in control of German troops, this occupation will be carried out immediately after the conclusion of this treaty.

**ARTICLE III.**

In the occupied parts of France the German Reich exercises all rights of an occupying power. The French Government obligates itself to support with every means the regulations resulting from the exercise of these rights and to carry them out with the aid of French administration.

All French authorities and officials of the occupied territory, therefore, are to be promptly informed by the French Government to comply with the regulations of the German military commanders and to cooperate with them in a correct manner.

It is the intention of the German Government to limit the occupation of the west coast after ending hostilities with England to the extent absolutely necessary.

The French Government is permitted to select the seat of its government in unoccupied territory, or, if it wishes, to move to Paris. In this case, the German Government guarantees the French Government and its central authorities every necessary alleviation

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<sup>1</sup> United States, Department of State, Publication No. 6312, Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918–1945 Series D, IX 671-676. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1956.

so that they will be in a position to conduct the administration of unoccupied territory from Paris.

#### **ARTICLE IV.**

French armed forces on land, on the sea, and in the air are to be demobilized and disarmed in a period still to be set. Excepted are only those units, which are necessary for maintenance of domestic order. Germany and Italy will fix their strength. The French armed forces in the territory to be occupied by Germany are to be hastily withdrawn into territory not to be occupied and be discharged. These troops, before marching out, shall lay down their weapons and equipment at the places where they are stationed at the time this treaty becomes effective. They are responsible for orderly delivery to German troops.

#### **ARTICLE V.**

As a guarantee for the observance of the armistice, the surrender, undamaged, of all those guns, tanks, tank defense weapons, war planes, anti-aircraft artillery, infantry weapons, means of conveyance, and munitions can be demanded from the units of the French armed forces which are standing in battle against Germany and which at the time this agreement goes into force are in territory not to be occupied by Germany. The German armistice commission will decide the extent of delivery.

#### **ARTICLE VI.**

Weapons, munitions, and war apparatus of every kind remaining in the unoccupied portion of France are to be stored and/or secured under German and/or Italian control—so far as not released for the arming allowed to French units.

The German High Command reserves the right to direct all those measures which are necessary to exclude unauthorized use of this material. Building of new war apparatus in unoccupied territory is to be stopped immediately.

#### **ARTICLE VII.**

In occupied territory, all the land and coastal fortifications, with weapons, munitions, and apparatus and plants of every kind are to be surrendered undamaged. Plans of these fortifications, as well as plans of those already conquered by German troops, are to be handed over.

Exact plans regarding prepared blastings, land mines, obstructions, time fuses, barriers for fighting, etc., shall be given to the German High Command. These hindrances are to be removed by French forces upon German demand.

#### **ARTICLE VIII.**

The French war fleet is to collect in ports to be designated more particularly, and under German and/or Italian control to demobilize and lay up—with the exception of those units released to the French Government for protection of French interests in its colonial empire.

The peacetime stations of ships should control the designation of ports.

The German Government solemnly declares to the French Government that it does not intend to use the French War Fleet which is in harbors under German control for its purposes in war, with the exception of units necessary for the purposes of guarding the coast and sweeping mines.

It further solemnly and expressly declares that it does not intend to bring up any demands respecting the French War Fleet at the conclusion of a peace.

All warships outside France are to be recalled to France with the exception of that portion of the French War Fleet which shall be designated to represent French interests in the colonial empire.

#### **ARTICLE IX.**

The French High Command must give the German High Command the exact location of all mines which France has set out, as well as information on the other harbor and coastal obstructions and defense facilities. Insofar as the German High Command may require, French forces must clear away the mines.

#### **ARTICLE X.**

The French Government is obligated to forbid any portion of its remaining armed forces to undertake hostilities against Germany in any manner.

French Government also will prevent members of its armed forces from leaving the country and prevent armaments of any sort, including ships, planes, etc., being taken to England or any other place abroad.

The French Government will forbid French citizens to fight against Germany in the service of States with which the German Reich is still at war. French citizens who violate this provision are to be treated by German troops as insurgents.

#### **ARTICLE XI.**

French commercial vessels of all sorts, including coastal and harbor vessels which are now in French hands, may not leave port until further notice. Resumption of commercial voyages will require approval of the German and Italian Governments.

French commercial vessels will be recalled by the French Government or, if return is impossible, the French Government will instruct them to enter neutral harbors.

All confiscated German commercial vessels are, on demand, to be returned [to Germany] undamaged.

#### **ARTICLE XII.**

Flight by any airplane over French territory shall be prohibited. Every plane making a flight without German approval will be regarded as an enemy by the German Air Force and treated accordingly.

In unoccupied territory, air fields and ground facilities of the air force shall be under German and Italian control.

Demand may be made that such air fields be rendered unusable. The French Government is required to take charge of all foreign airplanes in the unoccupied region to prevent flights. They are to be turned over to the German armed forces.

#### **ARTICLE XIII.**

The French Government obligates itself to turn over to German troops in the occupied region all facilities and properties of the French armed forces in undamaged condition. It [the French Government] also will see to it that harbors, industrial facilities, and docks are preserved in their present condition and damaged in no way.

The same stipulations apply to transportation routes and equipment, especially railways, roads, and canals, and to the whole communications network and equipment, waterways and coastal transportation services.

Additionally, the French Government is required on demand of the German High Command to perform all necessary restoration labor on these facilities.

The French Government will see to it that in the occupied region necessary technical personnel and rolling stock of the railways and other transportation equipment, to a degree normal in peacetime, be retained in service.

#### **ARTICLE XIV.**

There is an immediate prohibition of transmission for all wireless stations on French soil. Resumption of wireless connections from the unoccupied portion of France requires a special regulation.

#### **ARTICLE XV.**

The French Government obligates itself to convey transit freight between the German Reich and Italy through unoccupied territory to the extent demanded by the German Government.

#### **ARTICLE XVI.**

The French Government, in agreement with the responsible German officials, will carry out the return of population into occupied territory.

#### **ARTICLE XVII.**

The French Government obligates itself to prevent every transference of economic valuables and provisions from the territory to be occupied by German troops into unoccupied territory or abroad.

These valuables and provisions in occupied territory are to be disposed of only in agreement with the German Government. In that connection, the German Government will consider the necessities of life of the population in unoccupied territory.

#### **ARTICLE XVIII.**

The French-Government will bear the costs of maintenance of German occupation troops on French soil.

#### **ARTICLE XIX.**

All German war and civil prisoners in French custody, including those under arrest and convicted who were seized and sentenced because of acts in favor of the German Reich, shall be surrendered immediately to German troops.

The French Government is obliged to surrender upon demand all Germans named by the German Government in France as well as in French possessions, colonies, protectorate territories, and mandates.

The French Government binds itself to prevent removal of German war and civil prisoners from France into French possessions or into foreign countries. Regarding prisoners already taken outside of France, as well as sick and wounded German prisoners who cannot be transported, exact lists with the places of residence are to be produced. The German High Command assumes care of sick and wounded German war prisoners.

**ARTICLE XX.**

French troops in German prison camps will remain prisoners of war until conclusion of a peace.

**ARTICLE XXI.**

The French Government assumes responsibility for the security of all objects and valuables whose undamaged surrender or holding in readiness for German disposal is demanded in this agreement or whose removal outside the country is forbidden. The French Government is bound to compensate for all destruction, damage or removal contrary to agreement.

**ARTICLE XXII.**

The Armistice Commission, acting in accordance with the direction of the German High Command, will regulate and supervise the carrying out of the armistice agreement. It is the task of the Armistice Commission further to insure the necessary conformity of this agreement with the Italian-French armistice.

The French Government will send a delegation to the seat of the German Armistice Commission to represent the French wishes and to receive regulations from the German Armistice Commission for executing [the agreement].

**ARTICLE XXIII.**

This armistice agreement becomes effective as soon as the French Government also has reached an agreement with the Italian Government regarding cessation of hostilities. Hostilities will be stopped six hours after the moment at which the Italian Government has notified the German Government of conclusion of its agreement. The German Government will notify the French Government of this time by wireless.

**ARTICLE XXIV.**

This agreement is valid until conclusion of a peace treaty. The German Government may terminate this agreement at any time with immediate effect if the French Government fails to fulfill the obligations it assumes under the agreement.

This armistice agreement, signed in the Forest of Compiègne, June 22, 1940, at 6:50 p.m., German summer time.

HUNTZIGER  
KEITEL

**APPENDIX B: Establishment of the Vichy Government and Act No. 2**

## LOI CONSTITUTIONNELLE DU 10 JUILLET 1940

The National Assembly adopted,

The President of Republic promulgates the Constitutional Law, which reads as follows:

Single article.

The National Assembly gives full power to the Government of the Republic, under the authority and signature of Maréchal Pétain, to promulgate by one or more acts a new constitution of the French State. This constitution must guarantee the rights of labor, family, and homeland.

## CONSTITUTIONAL ACT NO. 2, DEFINING THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHIEF OF THE FRENCH STATE, JULY 11, 1940

We, Marshal of France, Chief of the French State, in consideration of the Constitutional Law of July 10, 1940,

Decree:

ARTICLE I. Section 1. The Chief of the French State shall have full governmental powers. He shall appoint and revoke the appointment of ministers and of state secretaries, who shall be responsible only to him.

Section 2. He shall exercise legislative power in the Council of Ministers:

1. Until the formation of the new Assemblies.
2. After this formation, in case of tension in foreign affairs, or of a serious internal crisis on his own decision and in the same form. In the same circumstances, he may issue all regulations of a budgetary or fiscal nature.

Section 3. He shall promulgate laws and assure their execution.

Section 4. He shall make appointments to all civil and military posts for which the law does not provide any other method of appointment.

Section 5. He shall have full power over the armed forces.

Section 6. He shall have the right of granting pardon and amnesty.

Section 7. Envoys and ambassadors of foreign countries shall be accredited to him.

He shall negotiate and ratify treaties.

Section 8. He may declare a state of siege in one or more parts of the territories.

Section 9. He may not declare war without the previous consent of the Legislative Assemblies.

ARTICLE II. All provisions of the constitutional laws of February 24, 1875, and July 16, 1875, which are incompatible with this act are hereby abrogated.

Vichy, July 11, 1940

PH. PETAIN

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59 rue Geynemer, 93380 Pierrefitte-sur-Seine  
www.archives-nationales. Culture.gouv.fr

#### **Archives municipales d'Avignon**

6 rue Saluces, 84000 Avignon  
www.archives.avignon.fr

#### **Archives municipales et Départementales de Bayonne**

39 avenue Duvergier de Hauranne, 64100 Bayonne  
<http://www.bayonne.fr/culture-et-loisirs/culture/448-archives-municipales-et-departementales.html>

#### **Archives municipales de Lille**

Hôtel de Ville, Place Augustin Laurent, BP 667, 59033 Lille Cedex  
Archives.lille.fr

#### **Archives municipales de Lyon**

1 Place des Archives, 69002 Lyon  
www.archives-lyon.fr

#### **Orléans Métropole Archives municipales et communautaires**

5 rue Fernand Rabier, 45000 Orléans  
archives.orleans-metropole.fr

#### **Archives municipales de Toulouse**

2 rue des Archives, 31500 Toulouse  
www.archives.toulouse.fr

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