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University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Music

Media, Migration and the Music Aesthetic :

Julius Burger's Radio Potpourri (1933-1945)

by

Ryan Hugh Ross

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 5th, 2023

University of Southampton

Abstract

Faculty of Humanities

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Media, Migration and the Music Aesthetic :

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by

Ryan Hugh Ross

In 1933, the Nazi Regime seized the reins of power in Germany. Their subsequent invocation of anti-Semitic legislation caused a rupture in the lives and careers of countless artists, actors, authors, composers, musicians and performers. Many from this 'Lost Generation' emigrated to the safety of neighbouring countries (*i.e.* Belgium, France, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, etc.) while others travelled further abroad to nations such as Canada, the United States and Australia. Within Great Britain, talented émigré figures such as Walter Goehr (1903-1960), Leo Wurmser (1905-?), Berthold Goldschmidt (1903-1996), and Mátyás Seiber (1905-1960) found employment in the British Broadcasting Corporation and made valuable contributions to shaping British radio programming. However, one émigré's lasting and influential contributions to this central British institution have been overlooked in musicological and media studies research to date. This thesis records the research undertaken on the pioneering radio genre, the 'Radio Potpourri', by Viennese émigré composer Julius Burger (1897-1995) and their influence on the BBC's Variety department between 1933 – 1945. The research involved utilises recently rediscovered autograph manuscripts of these radio compositions in tracing their origins. These developed from earlier classical music forms, such as the opera pasticcio and its employ as an accompaniment technique in early silent cinemas, and were then remediated specifically for radio at the Funkstunde AG Berlin. In 1934, the Radio Potpourri was then transferred to the BBC Variety department where it became an influential mainstay in British light music programming into the 1950s.

Evidence suggests Burger's nomadic existence as an exile during this period directly affected his compositional style. This project has examined the Radio Potpourri through the lenses of nationalism/imperialism, migration and anti-Semitism to trace their potential effects on his compositional aesthetic between 1934 and 1945. Through musicological and textual analysis of archival documentation and autograph manuscripts, I propose new insights into the process of remediation for the medium of radio while highlighting the influential implementation of the Radio Potpourri genre in British radio programming in the early 20th century. Equally, this investigation into the wider effects of exile and migration on Julius Burger's musical compositions contributes to established musicology research on the connections between music and exile.

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List of Accompanying Materials

Julius Burger Composition Catalogue: please see Appendix B for more information.

Julius Burger Documents Catalogue compiled from files of the BBC Written Archive, Caversham (WAC): Please see Appendix C for more information.

Music of Julius Burger at the BBC Sheet Music Library – Perivale, London: Please see Appendix F for more information.

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Ryan Hugh Ross

Title of thesis: Media, Migration and the Music Aesthetic : Julius Burger's Radio Potpourri (1933-1945)

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signature:Date: 5 July 2023

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Definitions and Abbreviations

- Chapter Potpourri..... similar to the premise of a serial radio programme. A segmented work for radio comprising of segment or ‘chapters’ which join together to form a larger potpourri. Chapter representation can vary from a single song arrangement to a Miniature Potpourri. Individual chapter themes can vary widely from chapter to chapter while still governed by the Chapter Potpourri’s central subject theme. There is no definitive duration for this variant.
- Colony A territory which is subject to rule from a larger entity through direct rule- usually in the form of a governor and administration.
- Divertissement..... music (usually with spectacle) which is intended for entertainment or diversion. It has been utilised in a wide array of entertainment from ballet, comedy, serenades, opera and special concerts.
- Dominion Former colonised territories which have a degree of devolved self-governance but are still officially part of the British empire with the monarchy as figurehead.
- Fantasia..... An instrumental composition whose formal and stylistic characteristics vary widely from free, improvisatory types to strictly contrapuntal and more or less standard sectional forms.
- Grand Potpourri self-contained work which utilises musical themes or excerpts from existing musical works which are then arranged and combined with incidental music around a central subject theme. Examples are approximately one hour in duration and are accompanied by scripted narration to supplement the performance.
- Hörspiel Radio drama written specifically for radio and deriving from Germany in the early 20th century. The genre utilises plot driven dialogue, music and sound effects to illuminate the characters and story. This can include works specifically written for radio, plays originally conceived for the theatre, and selections from music theatre and opera.
- Mandate an authorization granted by the League of Nations to a member nation to govern a former German or Turkish colony after the First

Definitions and Abbreviations

World War. These territories were called a mandated territory, or mandate.

Miniature Potpourri..... comprises of musical themes or excerpts from existing musical works formed together around a central subject theme while employing the use of original incidental music to transition between selections.

Miniature Potpourris have a duration of approx.. 6-10 minutes but can be lengthened or shortened to fit specific time requirements and can be presented separately as a solitary work or combined with multiple Miniature Potpourris to form chapters of a larger, segmented construction for broadcast.

Pasticcio Opera a musical work constructed utilising various pieces from different composers or sources which are then adapted to fit a new or existing libretto.

Protectorate the relationship between two states one of which exercises some decisive control over the other.

Quodlibet A composition in which well-known melodies and texts appear in successive or simultaneous combinations.

Radio Potpourri Music based genre written exclusively for the medium of Radio. Archetypal structure consisting of a collection of pieces or excerpt themes from pre-existing works which were then arranged together in a mélange piece around a predetermined theme or subject.

Remediation A media theory which focuses on the incorporation or representation of one medium which is then 'repurposed' for presentation in another medium.

Rhapsody a one-movement work which lacks a formal structure and features a range of contrasting sentiments, colour and tonality.

Chapter 1 Introduction and Overview

In June 1991, a 94-year-old Julius Burger sat in the audience of Alice Tully Hall in New York's Lincoln Center poised to hear an orchestral concert. The performance comprised selections of his own compositions and, despite being created decades earlier, they were only now receiving their premieres. This special event had been organised by New York City attorney Ronald S. Pohl, Esq. out of kindness for his aged friend. The performance was well received, with selections performed by the Orchestra of Saint Luke's conducted by Maestro Paul Lustig Dunkel (1943 - 2018). Perhaps more importantly, the concert led to the Viennese-born Burger's rediscovery as one of the few remaining living artists whose lives and careers were forever altered by the Nazi regime's anti-Semitic and genocidal policies. The initial rediscovery of Julius Burger and his music in the early 1990s led to a series of concerts and media attention as well as a commercial recording of his orchestral music.¹ To date, very little research has been conducted which investigates the composer's career or large and varied oeuvre of music spanning more than 70 years.

While volumes of research have now been produced on the wider effects of this historic rupture which began with the Nazi government's *Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service* (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*) in 1933, previously unknown émigré figures continue to be uncovered belonging to this "lost generation" of composers, musicians, artists, authors, and filmmakers. Unfortunately, for each individual rediscovered, many others will forever be lost to the annals of history.

Before the Nazi regime's seizure of power and ensuing anti-Semitic policies, Julius Burger's career appeared to have a strong foundation for success. After studying with composer Franz Schreker (1878-1934) at the Universität für Musik und Darstellend Kunst, Wien as well as the Hochschule für Musik - Berlin in the early 1920s, he apprenticed as an assistant conductor at the Metropolitan Opera in NYC (1924-27). Upon returning to Berlin in 1927, Burger assisted conductor Otto Klemperer (1885-1973) at the Kroll Opera while moonlighting as a conductor, composer and arranger for the Funkstunde AG Berlin. While Germany's Funkstunde radio broadcasting system stems from the same period as their British counterpart, German radio programming was at the forefront of innovative programming due to their experiments in remediation or repurposing of classical art forms for the technical advances of radio. However, this competitive edge was

¹ Malcolm MacDonald, "Julius Burger (1897-1995): Orchestral Music," Liner Notes, Radio Symphonie Orchester, Berlin, cond. Simone Young, Recorded 26-28, 30 September 1994, Toccata Classics, TOCC 0001, 2007, CD.

drastically diminished with the anti-Semitic purge of the public sectors by the Nazi regime in 1933. As a result, Burger was forced to resign from the Funkstunde in April of that year.

Consequently, the culminating events caused Burger's physical displacement from the life he created in Berlin. Equally, his once promising career as a composer of more "serious" music as well as popular light music quickly unravelled and he was forced to seek safety and employment elsewhere. The result left Burger 'falling through the cracks' - musically, culturally and indeed nationally. Burger's peripatetic life forced him to live and compose out of a suitcase throughout Europe between 1934 and 1939 throughout Belgium, France, London with sporadic journeys back to Vienna.²

Despite his wandering existence, he was successful in gaining employment with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in London. In late 1933, Burger was contracted to create an hour-long light music programme in a new radio genre which he had pioneered at the Berlin Funkstunde over the previous three years. This offered Burger a much needed financial life line. Other émigré figures such as Walter Goehr (1903-1960), Egon Wellesz (1885-1974), Paul Pisk (1893-1990), Erwin Stein (1885-1958) and Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), who were aided by English Musicologist, Edward Dent (1876-1957).³ Despite their precarious position, many émigrés found employment within the BBC - although not necessarily in the capacities which they had worked previously in Germany. In a reversal from his colleagues, Burger was successful in transferring his Radio genre to the newly created BBC Variety Department, which was in need of innovative programmes to fill its roster but did not possess legal avenues or gain advocates to lobby on his behalf to remain permanently in the relative safety of the UK.⁴ The success of these Radio Potpourri prompted not only domestic broadcasts but international syndication with

² Please see the following sources for more information: Francis L. Carsten, "German Refugees in Great Britain 1933-1945," in *Exile in Great Britain : Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, ed. Gerhard Hirshfeld (England: Berg Publishers Ltd, 1984), p.11-28. ; Marion Berghahn, *Continental Britons : German-Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1984). ; John P. Fox, "Nazi Germany and German Emigration to Great Britain," in *Exile in Great Britain : Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, ed. Gerhard Hirshfeld (England: Berg Publishers Ltd, 1984), p. 29-62.

³ Through his many contacts and his position as a professor of music at the University of Cambridge, Dent smoothed access to visas or equivalent credentials for many to remain in Britain. For more information on Dent, please see: Edward Joseph Dent, *The Papers of Edward Joseph Dent, 1882-1968*, GBR/0272/PP/EJD, King's College Archive Centre, Cambridge, England.

⁴ In an internal memo from 28 October 1936, BBC conductor/composer Mark Lubbock states : "Dr. Buerger is the inventor of the Radio Potpourri, an extremely popular feature as both listeners' letters and the press reports confirm. He has already composed and arranged several of these potpourris. Each one takes him not less than three months to complete, as it involves writing at least five hundred pages of full score." Source: Mark Lubbock, "BBC Internal Memo, re: Julius Burger's Visa Status," 28 October 1936, from Burger, Julius, '31 - '42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham - England.

Swedish and American companies according to archival documentation.^{5 6} Even during the Second World War, when many “enemy alien” compositions were kept from broadcast, Burger’s musical creations were part of the BBC Variety department’s offerings. Evidence also suggests these were equally influential in shaping the department’s programming until its dissolution in 1967.

Burger’s ‘Radio Potpourri’ utilised pre-existing musical works which were then arranged and woven together around a central subject theme. Additional narration and sound effects were then added to create a moving picture of sound. These works, written for the BBC between 1933 - 1945, have been overlooked in the wider musicological studies of musical migration and media studies of radio. Burger’s success within the BBC Variety department and frequent broadcasts of his works throughout the 1930s and 1940s presents a new perspective in which to investigate the migrant experience in 1930s Britain and their sometimes tenuous interactions with the governing and programming decisions at the BBC. This thesis contributes to the wider research in musicology and media history in order to present a narrative of the use of Radio Potpourri as a remediated, transcultural product influential in German and British radio.

1.1 Methodology/Theoretical Approach

This research investigates the larger effects of migration, nationalism, anti-Semitism and the rise of remediation in 1930s Great Britain by focusing on émigré composer Julius Burger’s compositions for the BBC (1933-1945) described as ‘Radio Potpourri’. These works were a unique and expanded form of simple potpourri for the medium of radio. They were chosen for examination due to their rediscovery in early 2019 as well as their importance as the primary compositions by Burger during this volatile period.

Often the impetus with recently rediscovered composers of this period is to search for the serious “masterwork” to discern their place in the canon of Western classical music. This was the initial approach of this research. Additionally, research in this field is dominated by “serious” musical compositions by modernist émigré composers due to the growing dominance of musical modernism in the 1930s. What is to be made of composers who don’t necessarily fit the mould of Second Viennese School modernism? In a wider purview, the implementation of mass media (*i.e.* radio) caused a shift in mediums in which music was consumed (LPs, radio, television) and also

⁵ Stanford Robinson, “Letter to Julius Burger, Re: Swedish radio syndications,” 19 April 1939, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁶ Stanford Robinson, “Letter to Julius Burger, Re: North American potpourri broadcast,” 20 July 1942, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

gave rise to the creation of the cultural consumer tier deemed the 'Middlebrow'.⁷ While the term originally stems from the discredited science of Phrenology, it reached a watershed moment in Joan Rubin's 1991 monograph titled *The Making of Middlebrow Culture*. Rubin applied the concept to literary studies and opened a new sub disciplinary field in which to examine literary classics.

More recently, research into the middlebrow concept has been used as an analytical tool in musicology and presents new models in which to re-evaluate modernism. Important contributors to this line of research include Musicologists Christopher Chowrimootoo and Kate Guthrie. Chowrimootoo's 2018 publication *Middlebrow Modernism : Britten's Operas and the Great Divide* focuses on the aesthetic duplicity of mass culture and modernism by re-examining the operas of Benjamin Britten while Kate Guthrie's 2021 publication *The Art of Appreciation : Music and Middlebrow Culture in Modern Britain* examines the questions of mass culture and art music through music appreciation of the middlebrow in pre and post war Britain. Equally, Guthrie's research examines the various networks in education, government, media (particularly pre-war Britain) as well as artists who utilised the appeal of middlebrow for mass media purposes. While this thesis doesn't specifically focus on evaluating Burger's Radio Potpourri through the lens of middlebrow music, its the concepts re-evaluation, particularly as it pertains to music of 20th Century Britain, provides new perspectives in which to evaluate music which doesn't necessarily fall within previously defined parameters of modernism.

The discovery of thousands of pages of autograph manuscripts in the BBC Sheet Music Library in early 2019 diverted the primary focus of this thesis from Burger's serious compositions to the investigation of these "middlebrow" light music works for radio. Despite numerous examples of "serious" compositions within Julius Burger's oeuvre, very few were composed between his exile in 1933 and his second compositional period, which commenced in 1967. This leaves the Radio Potpourri, written between 1933-1945, as the primary sources which span Burger's main period of displacement.

1.1.1 Methodology

The core research methods comprise of musicological and textual analysis. These methods have been applied to archival documentation pertaining to Julius Burger. This documentation has primarily been sourced from the BBC Written Archives - Caversham, the Exilarte Center for Banned Music at MDW in Vienna as well as materials and an interview provided by Burger family

⁷ Keir Keightley, "Music for Middlebrows: Defining the Easy Listening Era, 1946-1966," *American Music* 26, no. 3 (2008): 309-35. Accessed 14 April 2020. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40071710>

friend, Dr. Trude Zörer. As these works were solely created for and performed by the BBC Variety department, the corporation's published magazine, *Radio Times*, has also been utilised as a primary source. Finally, the preserved autograph manuscript scores from the BBC Sheet Music Library in Perivale, England serve as an indispensable primary source.

Despite the meticulous preservation of Burger's papers and manuscripts at the the Exilarte Center for Banned Music at MDW, relatively little information was available regarding this 'London' period. Contact was then made with a family friend of Julius Burger, Dr. Trude Zörer who provided an assortment of Julius Burger's personal files from her private collection. These include vital documents, recordings, photos and a notebook in Burger's handwriting which comprised of original poetry, lists of his original compositions in chronological order as well as instrumentation listings for each piece. Additionally, Dr. Zörer agreed to an interview as part of this research. Both proved vital to the process of varying and reconstructing the composer's biographic and professional timelines.

The BBC Written Archives, Caversham possess nearly four hundred pieces of archival material contained in two file folders which directly focus on Burger's engagement with the corporation. These files contain correspondence between Burger and other BBC colleagues as well as internal memos, contract requests and copyright approvals. Analysis of this material provided valuable insights into the complex environment of the BBC Variety department and Burger's interactions within the corporation while also adding context to his tenuous employment during this period. However, this material was not catalogued which made referencing difficult. Therefore, a chronological catalogue has been created which provides a catalogue number, document description, corresponding photo number, media type and date of composition. Finally, the investigation revealed thematic patterns within Burger's aesthetic which evolved from subject themes which are 'Austro / Germanic' to 'Cosmopolitan' and later, to themes which have been identified as 'Anglocentric'. These have then been analysed through examination of the surviving manuscript scores.

Radio Times magazine, comprising of articles by established journalists and music professionals, reviews as well as broadcasting information for the BBC radio services, provide a vital source from which to construct an overview of the Radio Potpourri. This source also reveals important information about the reception, construction and broadcasts of this remediated radio genre. Two relevant article examples by BBC producer/conductor Stanford Robinson (June 1935 'Preparing an Hour's Pot-pourri' and his December 1937 'Themes of London') provide insights into the creative process and construction of a typical Radio Potpourri programme. Others within this magazine provide context into the reception and subject matter of these remediated

programmes. Two such critiques include the January 1935 article 'Will Offenbach Come Back?' by Francis Toye (1883-1964) well as BBC contributor Ralph Hill's (1900-1950) February 1938 review titled 'A Musical Humorist'.^{8 9} Each appeared in *Radio Times* to coincide with scheduled broadcasts of the biographic potpourri *Life of Offenbach* and offer examinations of Offenbach and his music from opposing perspectives. Finally, the periodical contains broadcast listings and programme descriptions which provide pertinent information of each work's duration, specifications of performing ensembles and soloist requirements, other creative personnel involved with the work as well as the work's subject theme. In some instances, these listings also include a detailed catalogue of pieces which have been incorporated into the potpourri. Such was the case with the premiere of Burger's 1936 potpourri of love songs, *Liebstraum*.¹⁰

Musical scores play a significant role in this thesis. The collection of manuscripts rediscovered in two searches of the BBC Sheet Music Library (February 2019 ; March 2020) comprise the primary sources for examination. An overall survey has been conducted of these Radio Potpourris and each has been cross-referenced against relevant documentation from the BBC Written Archive (WAC) Caversham, the Exilarte Archive at MDW, *Radio Times* magazine and other relevant research to provide an overview of each work. This was conducted to aid in the process of tracing the genre's potential origins as well as to identify any patterns in their construction. The task has been collated into a composition catalogue which provides relevant information such as work title, composition date, work description, broadcast information, instrumentation and a BBC catalogue number (if applicable). The following scores have then been analysed in greater detail: *Holiday in Europe* (1934), *The Life of Offenbach* (1934), *Boer War Songs* (1937), *Themes of London* (1937) and *The Empire Sings!* (1938). The surviving manuscript scores exist as full orchestral conductor's scores in their original autograph manuscript format with the exception of *Life of Offenbach*. An analysis of this latter work has been conducted by reconstructing the score utilising manuscript fragments, archival documentation, relevant articles and descriptions from *Radio Times* magazine.

It is not only the music which has been examined but also the properties which define these works as remediated creation for the peculiarities of radio. This includes accompanying narration, production directions and scored sound effects. The interdisciplinary examination of this new medium within the context of media history is essential in order to contribute to existing narratives in British radio history. Equally, the circumstances around the previously mentioned

⁸ Francis Toye, "Will Offenbach Come Back?," *Radio Times*, 4 January 1935, Vol. 46, No. 588, p.7.

⁹ Ralph Hill, "A Musical Humorist," *Radio Times*, 25 February 1938, Vol. 58, No. 752, p.10.

¹⁰ Contributor, "Musical Melody of Love: Buerger Pot-Pourri," *Radio Times*, 31 January 1936, Vol.50, No. 644, p.13, 20, 24, 36.

examples have also been evaluated which further contribute to the investigations of the effects on Burger's aesthetic approach by examining these works through the lenses of migration, nationalism and anti-Semitism.

1.1.2 Radio Potpourri: Remediation

The repurposing or 'remediating' of existing classical artforms for the media advances of radio was first introduced in the *Der Deutsche Rundfunk* in 1924 to mean:

"...a completely new work, composed exclusively for broadcast, which took into account the peculiarities of a medium that was entirely acoustic."

More recently, Scholars Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin define Remediation as:

"...the way in which one medium is seen by our culture as reforming or improving upon another."

They later add that it is:

"...the formal logic by which new media refashion prior media forms."¹¹

The process of remediation presents a valuable tool in which to aid in the investigation of Radio Potpourri's evolution from earlier music genres into music specifically for the technological advances of radio. The evolutionary properties and the creative process behind the Radio Potpourri genre were first addressed in an article from June 1935 by BBC Conductor Stanford Robinson titled 'Preparing an Hour's Potpourri'. He wrote:

Musical Potpourri? It doesn't sound a very original idea. But a Julius Buerger potpourri for soloists, chorus, and orchestra, lasting an hour, is to the ordinary potpourri, which plays for nine or ten minutes, as a modern Cunarder to a primitive paddle-steamer. Buerger has specialised in this type of programme, peculiarly suitable for the medium of radio, and has brought it to a point very near perfection.

He later added:

I can give you no idea of Buerger's skill in arranging the score, his incredibly ingenious dovetailing and combinations of melodies. You will notice those for yourselves. But I can give you some impression of the trouble taken in the preparation of such a programme. To begin with, the preparation of each potpourri entails hours of thought in the selection of material, made more

¹¹ Jay David Bolter, Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p.59, 273.

difficult by the vast amount of available music, the writing of three hundred pages of full orchestral score- no trifling labour, even considered as mere manual work. The vocal and orchestral parts run to another 1,100 pages.¹²

This article alludes to the possibility of a larger pool of influence than a continuation of the simple potpourri genre. This research proposes Radio Potpourri is derived from earlier classical forms which were then remediated into a new musical genre to accommodate the advances of radio.

To support the idea that Radio Potpourri was a new radio form, several precursor genres have been identified for their similar qualities. These have been defined, examined and have undergone comparative analysis with Burger's approach to the genre. This is necessary to establish if there is any connection between the construct's evolution. Traditional potpourris are relatively simple works comprising of intertwined themes which span as little as several minutes. Burger's potpourris for radio, however, are more thematically complex than its simpler namesake. In the case of Burger's most often used Radio Potpourri archetype- the Grand Potpourri- their duration has been expanded into hour-long epics. The following genres have been identified for comparison to Burger's potpourri including the Quodlibet, the Divertissement, the Rhapsody, the Fantasia and the use of Pasticcio in opera.

Through comparisons with these similarly structured genres, it is theorised Radio Potpourri derives many aspects of its foundational structure from opera pasticcio which was utilised in repurposed form in the early 20th Century as an accompaniment technique in early Silent cinemas.¹³ Burger was a practitioner of this genre as an accompanist in the late 1910s and early 1920s in Vienna's silent cinemas. He then experimented with these techniques at the Berlin Funkstunde where they were melded with other compositional styles. This new form was then perfected at the BBC in London as Radio Potpourri.

Burger's genre represents only one of many attempted experiments in the pursuit to repackage traditional artistic forms for the technological advances of radio. Other artistic experimentations also developed in these laboratories of sound of Germany's Weimar Republic, such as the Hörspiel radio dramas of 1920s and 1930s. These drew on literary sources, *i.e.* the novel, to develop a new format of presentation. A prominent example from this period includes Alfred Döblin's *The Story of Franz Biberkopf* (1930), a remediation of his successful novel *Berlin*

¹² Stanford Robinson, "Preparing an Hour's Pot-pourri," *The Radio Times*, 19 June 1935, Vol. 48, No. 616, p.3.

¹³ Curtis Price, "Pasticcio,"

Alexanderplatz (1929).¹⁴ This radio play has been meticulously investigated by Peter Jelavich in his 2006 book *Berlin Alexanderplatz : Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture*. This literary experiment shares many similarities with the Radio Potpourri and serves as an important comparison at harnessing mass media within the same German institution.

Other European examples include the early BBC radio operas by Ezra Pound – including the 1931 broadcast of *The Testament of Francois Villon* and the unfinished *Cavalcanti*. Both are examined by Margaret Fisher in her 2002 publication *Ezra Pound's Radio Operas : The BBC Experiments, 1931-1933*.¹⁵ Fisher's research examines the context in which Pound wrote his radio operas, the trends in radio and film of the period while providing insight into the studio production of these works. Pound's two works are then compared to other proponents of radio remediation including works by Filippo Tommaso Emilio Marinetti (1876-1944), Walter Ruttmann (1887-1941) and Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956). This research concludes with a copy of the original script and production notes for further insight. This is relevant to the examination of Radio Potpourri as it offers practical insight into the conception, creation and production of a similar music-based work within the BBC institution. Fisher also highlights the efforts of British radio to pose possible solutions to the question of converting classical forms for the technological advances of radio.

After examining the potpourri manuscript scores discovered in the BBC Sheet Music Library-Perivale, London and conducting a cross-analysis with archival documentation from the BBC Written Archives-Caversham, three main archetypes have been identified. These include the Grand Potpourri, the Miniature Potpourri and the Chapter Potpourri. Each type has been defined with relevant examples. These variants can be further delineated into four main categories by similarities in their overall subject themes. These consist of the Geographic Potpourri, Biographic Potpourri, the Historic Potpourri and the General category Potpourri. The latter is reserved for those which do not readily share thematic commonalities with other works. Each variant has been defined and an example has been selected from the surviving manuscripts for analysis.

1.1.3 Migration

A second primary lens in which to examine the Radio Potpourri and its influence on the genre's development is migration. Burger's displacement from Berlin in 1933 and migration directly created the conditions for Radio Potpourri's implementation in the BBC's programming where it

¹⁴ Peter Jelavich, "Politics and Censorship at the Berlin Radio Hour; Cultural Programming and Radio Plays," in *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture* (London: University of California Press, 2006), p. 36-61; 62-92.

¹⁵ Margaret Fisher, *Ezra Pound's Radio Operas : The BBC Experiments, 1931-1933* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2002).

aligned with BBC founder John Reith's principles to inform, educate and entertain. It is an example of a technological transfer of a programme genre which was first put into practice at the Berlin Funkstunde and then brought to the newly formed BBC Variety department. Within the BBC, the genre's popularity contributed to a lasting influence on the department's programming into the 1950s.

In order to examine the influence of migration on BBC's programming, the governing structures of the BBC have been reviewed. Focus has been concentrated on the corporation's Variety department in which the Radio Potpourri genre was contracted and implemented. Martin Dibbs's 2019 work *Radio Fun and the Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air* provides vital context through its examination of this department from a programming standpoint.¹⁶ However, this does not readily address the role which displacement and migration played within the BBC's programming or governing structures.

Fortunately, over the past several decades, musicologists have been dedicating research to the study of displacement and enforced migration on composers such as Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff's 1999 work *Driven into Paradise*.¹⁷ This eminent collection of essays focuses on the emigration from Nazi-occupied Europe by elite composers and intellectuals and addresses the broad topics of acculturation, identity, displacement, exile and case studies of specific individuals, places and institutions. In a similar thread as Brinkmann and Wolff's publication, Daniel Snowman focuses the subject of his 2002 research *The Hitler Emigrés* on the influence these émigrés exerted on British cultural history in the fields of architecture, music, choreography, film, history, philosophy, science, literature, broadcasting and publishing.¹⁸ For these research purposes, this text contributes to the wider perspective of the German émigré in 1930s British society.¹⁹

Research on the wider topic of displacement includes Erik Levi's *Music in the Third Reich*.²⁰ This seminal work explores the ambiguous relationship between music and politics and is particularly pertinent to the purposes of this thesis in the examination of forced migration, anti-Semitism and the role of radio in music of this period. Equally, *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities*

¹⁶ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Media series (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

¹⁷ Reinhold Brinkmann and Wolff Christoph, eds. *Driven into Paradise* (London: University of California Press, 1999).

¹⁸ Daniel Snowman, *The Hitler Emigrés* (London: Chatto and Windus Publishing, 2002).

¹⁹ Several important examples include the following: Charmian Brinson, Richard Dove, *German-speaking Exiles in the Performing Arts in Britain after 1933* (Amsterdam: Rodolpi Publishing, 2013). See also: Marion Berghahn, *Continental Britons: German-Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1984). ; Günter Berghaus, "Producing Art in Exile: Perspectives on the German Refugees' Creative Activities in Great Britain," in *Theatre and Film in Exile: German Artists in Britain, 1933-1945*, ed. Günter Berghaus (Oxford: Berg Publishers Ltd., 1989), p.1-14.

²⁰ Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian Press, 1994).

and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond edited by Erik Levi and Florian Scheduling contributes to bridging the topics of music and displacement through a wide range of theoretical and practical articles on art, pop, folk and jazz music, migration, diaspora, etc.²¹

Particular focus has been afforded to Musicologist Florian Scheduling's research on the role of migration at the BBC. His 2014 paper *Problematic Tendencies* examines the contributions of émigré figures to the BBC during the Second World War.²² These include Walter Goehr (1903-1960), Leo Wurmser (1905-?), Ernst Hermann Meyer (1905-1988), Artur Willner (1881-1959), Franz Reizenstein (1911-1968), Berthold Goldschmidt (1903-1996) and Mátyás Seiber (1905-1960). Scheduling's 2019 publication *Musical Journeys : Performing Migration in 20th Century Music* continues this line of research while drawing on other established sources on the topics of migration and displacement including the work of musicologists such as Brigid Cohen, Sabine Feisst and Werner Heister.²³ His book explores identity and musical aesthetics of migration through a series of vignettes including Hanns Eisler's (1898-1962) exile in Paris, Matyas Seiber's work in London and Istvan Anhalt's (1919-2012) experiences in Montreal. Scheduling's examination of Matyas Seiber's engagement with the BBC provides an excellent insight into the role of institutions as mediators and distributors of music. Through Seiber's experiences, Scheduling also provides a template with which to view Burger's own interactions with the BBC and the effects of migration on his identity and aesthetic.

1.1.4 Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism

The thematic aesthetic of Burger's Radio Potpourri made an abrupt change from 1937 onward from themes comprised of a multicultural and/or transnational nature to works which focus on subject themes of British nationalism and imperialism. But why would Burger, a Jewish Austrian, make this shift? Was it a policy shift from the BBC's governing board? Was it an attempt to gain favour and bolster a case for a future visa application as Germany postured to claim Austria as part of the Third Reich? What can an examination of this shift – particularly in relation to Burger's tour of British empire, *The Empire Sings!*, reveal about the attitudes toward nationalism and empire in 1930s BBC? This thesis investigates this shift in Burger's own aesthetic as well as the renewed promotion of British nationalism in BBC programming during the years immediately preceding the Second World War.

²¹ Erik Levi, Florian Scheduling, *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2010).

²² Florian Scheduling, "Problematic Tendencies : Émigré Composers in London, 1933–1945," in *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Erik Levi (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), p. 247-271.

²³ Florian Scheduling, *Musical Journeys : Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019).

Burger's earliest potpourris centre on subject themes which are 'Germanic' in nature or derive from themes and composers who originate in Germany or Austria.²⁴ These are categorised as 'Austro / Germanic' for the two nations shared commonalities in their cultural, linguistic and ethnic identities – particularly between 1918 – 1945. Burger's aesthetic then shifted onto subject themes which were multicultural and transnational in outlook. For purposes of this research, these 'cosmopolitan' works are defined as:

"...music is based on a philosophy of inclusion, drawing on inspiration from multiple influences in culture."²⁵

It is important to acknowledge the complicated use and historic baggage of the term 'cosmopolitan' throughout the last two centuries. While the term's origins are grounded in 19th century negative connotations of elitism and were equally used as a thinly veiled anti-Semitic trope referencing the rootless nomad, cosmopolitanism has undergone a reclamation in recent decades as a positive tool of analysis and evaluation in musicology.²⁶

From 1937 onward, Burger's aesthetic drifts toward Anglocentricism, comprising works which accentuate British imperialism and nationalistic themes.²⁷ The ideology of British nationalism is based on the premise that a British citizen's loyalty and devotion to the nation-state surpasses other individual or group interests. Burger's Anglocentric potpourri were devoted to promoting this "British" music of the nation-state and empire utilising an array of modern, classical, folk and acculturated music from the far reaches of the imperial territories. The Radio Potpourri's construction is similar to a receptacle in which all sorts of music can be added and thematically packaged. This new product could then be harnessed to promote a tailored narrative for Great Britain through programmes such as the *Songs of the British Isles* (1938).²⁸ Some other prominent examples from this new aesthetic include the Miniature Potpourri *Boer War Songs* (1937) as well as *Themes of London* (1937), a celebration of the imperial capital represented by a music collage of British music spanning more than three centuries.

The Empire Sings! (1938) is a musical survey of the British Empire's global territories as it existed immediately preceding the Second World War. *The Empire Sings!* or *Songs of the British Empire*,

²⁴ Harry Ritter, "Austria and the Struggle for German Identity," *German Studies Review*, Vol. 15, Winter 1992, p.111-129. See also: Bruce Campbell, "Landscape-Region-Nation-Reich: German Folk Song in the Nexuses of National Identity," in *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p.128-139.

²⁵ Sarah Collins, "What Is Cosmopolitan?: Busoni and Other Germans," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 99, Issue 2, Summer 2016, p. 201–229. ; See also: Sarah Collins, "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities," *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume 99, Issue 2, Summer 2016, p. 139–165.

²⁶ See Section 6.1 of this project for an expanded definition and use of this term.

²⁷ Ferruccio Busoni, *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1907).

²⁸ For more information on *Songs of the British Isles-1938*, please see 'Chapter Potpourri' in Chapter Five: Defining Radio Potpourri of this case study.

as it is also referred to, is an hour-long piece with intermediary narration.²⁹ This geographic *mélange* takes the listener on a sound tour of the British colonies and territories, utilising folk music and popular tunes from the locations to delineate the journey. This is a significant example of cultural transfer as many of the native tunes from territories of the period were not notated in the western system but rather, were recorded onto discs with which he then made his transcriptions. These seemingly interconnected works from vastly different cultures were then packaged and broadcast as 'British' through their connection as conquered subjects of the empire.

Prominent examples of these the nationalistic and imperialistic themes have been examined through the lens of Cultural Imperialism which is defined as:

“...the imposition of various cultural aspects of a politically or economically dominant community onto another non dominant community.”³⁰

According to Humanities scholar Jeffery Herlihy-Mera in his 2018 work *After American Studies : Rethinking the Legacies of Transnational Exceptionalism*, Cultural imperialism tends to be gradual, contested and incomplete but has an ultimate goal of reinforcing the dominant narrative through said symbols, legends and myths until the dominated populace abandon other cultures and identity with the new symbols.³¹ Research on the concept of cultural imperialism has been shaped and influenced by the work of scholars such as John Tomlinson's (b.1946) 1991 publication *Cultural Imperialism : A Critical Introduction*, Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) 1979 work *Omnes et Singulatim : Towards a Criticism of Political Reason*, as well as the work of Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) and Edward Said (1935-2003).

Edward Said's examination and criticism of imperial systems, culminating in his work *Culture and Imperialism*, was conducted by examining cultural products of empire *i.e.* the British novel.³² His examination reveals how the process of colonial imperialism is present in nearly every interaction between the West and the rest of the world and has left a far-reaching legacy on the colonised, despite the post Second World War push toward decolonisation. Said's investigation of the novel presents a template in which to explore other cultural mediums. In the case of *The Empire Sings!*, the cultural product is a programme designed for the mass media device of radio and consists primarily of music.

²⁹ Contributor, "The Empire Sings!," *Radio Times*, 22 May 1938, Vol. 59, No. 764, p. 20, 30, 32.

³⁰ Theresa Weynand Tobin, "Cultural Imperialism," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 26 May 2020, Accessed 15 August 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/cultural-imperialism>

³¹ Jeffery Herlihy-Mera, *Rethinking the Legacies of Transnational Exceptionalism* (New York: Routledge, 2018), p.24.

³² Edward S. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus Publishing, 1993).

But is this really an example of cultural imperialism? Or more likely an example of the BBC's long promoted narrative on the British Empire – an altruistic version which promotes societal and cultural improvements in living through education technological advances and commerce? Jeffery Richards' 2001 work *Imperialism and Music* provides context to the use of music within the 1930s British Empire.³³ Richards' in-depth research on British imperialism in music spans from the Royal Titles Act of 1876 to the last imperial coronation of Queen Elisabeth II in 1953. He approaches the subject from the point of view of a cultural historian by examining topics ranging from British composers Edward Elgar and Arthur Sullivan, music composed for official functions to imperial content across a range of musical forms. This thesis utilises Richard's identification and examination of imperial narratives in music to aid in establishing the pervasiveness of imperialism in the late 1930s.

The role of institutions cannot be overlooked for their influence in society. The BBC saw itself as the guarantor of British culture and tradition by the time it was granted a monopoly over the radio waves in 1927. In turn, the BBC became a champion of the British ideal and institutions of monarchy and imperialism. Thomas Hajkowski's 2010 publication *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53* examines the British national identity as promoted by the BBC in the final decades of Empire. Hajkowski takes a two-step approach in his examination of British national identity within BBC programming.³⁴ First, he focuses on the previously mentioned institutions of monarchy and imperialism and to what extent the BBC championed and constructed the monarchy around the guise as grantor of British individualism, freedom and pluralism. The second half examines the BBC's implementation of these ideals in the home countries of Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland – balanced against the local and regional identities of these countries. Hajkowski's framing of British identity and the often-dual loyalties, coupled with his insightful observations and examples within 1930s programming, offer useful tools in which to draw comparisons to Burger's thematically Anglo-centric potpourri titled *The Empire Sings!*.

Equally, Jennifer Doctor's 1999 work *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936* offers insight into the role of BBC in influencing critical and public responses to modernist music utilising internal policy decisions.³⁵ Her research reconstructs the internal structures of BBC personnel in investigating their influences on music broadcasting choices. While Burger's Radio Potpourris are

³³ Jeffery Richards, *Imperialism and music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

³⁴ Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

³⁵ Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936 : Shaping a Nation's Tastes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

not categorised as ‘modernist’, Doctor’s research reveals other realms of influence within the BBC and wider British music establishment which could account for the shift in musical aesthetic.

1.2 Process and Overview

Before this topic is examined in depth, it is essential to provide a brief biographic overview of Julius Burger, spanning from his birth in Vienna’s second district of Leopoldstadt in 1897 to his forced resignation at the Funkstunde AG Berlin in April 1933. This not only provides context to Burger’s displacement but also the contributing factors which aided in the creation of his remediated genre, the Radio Potpourri.

1.2.1 Chapter Two - Prologue: The World of Yesterday : Julius Burger’s Vienna (1897-1920) & Berlin (1920-1933)

This short entry offers a biographic overview of Julius Burger’s life and compositional career prior to his engagement with the BBC in late 1933. This provides necessary context into his training, compositional aesthetic and career experiences which contribute to the creation of the Radio Potpourri.

1.2.2 Chapter Three - Rediscovering Radio Potpourri

Little published information on Julius Burger’s London years (1934-1939) was available during the search for primary source materials. Therefore, this research is based on detailed analysis from a large collection of previously unknown primary sources, including autograph manuscript scores. These works, created for the BBC between 1933-1945, were thought to have been lost, along with a majority of the music library of the period, when the BBC Studios at Broadcasting House - London were damaged during a bombing campaign of the ‘Blitz of 1940’ on the 15th of October.³⁶ According to press coverage from the period, a German bomb with a delayed timing device, was dropped on the building and lodged in the music library. It later exploded and destroyed nearly all score collections present.³⁷

³⁶ David Hendy, “The Bombing of Broadcasting House,” BBC.com, accessed 5 June 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/100-voices/ww2/bh-bombs>

³⁷ Several accounts by BBC staff, present in the building on 15 October, provide further details of the event. See the following: GC Browne, “Statement by Miss GC Browne 17-10-1940,” RE: 15 October 1940, BBC Written Archives, Caversham-England, accessed 14 September 2020, <https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/historyofthebbc/ww2/R49-61%20-%20Statement%20by%20Miss%20G%20C%20Browne%20-%2017-10-1940.pdf>

Fortunately for this research, many of Burger's Radio Potpourri manuscripts survived and were rediscovered in 2019 among the BBC Music Library collection (currently located in BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London) during a primary source search for this thesis. These works were filed under the anglicised spelling as 'Burger' and highlight Burger's ability to meld various genres and techniques together to present the centuries-old potpourri genre in a new way. A survey of these recently uncovered works has been undertaken and selections from Radio Potpourri catalogue have been chosen for closer examination.

1.2.3 Chapter Four - Origins

Radio Potpourri hold many foundational characteristics with preceding genres. One genre in particular, the practice of pasticcio in opera and operetta whose origins stem from practices in mid 17th century opera, offers many similarities from which this new genre is compared. In addition, its reconfigured use as a means to provide music accompaniment to silent cinema presentations in the early 20th century has also been investigated as a possible inspiration of Radio Potpourri. This practice became widespread in the early 20th century and led to printed collections of pastiche soundtracks by publishers such as Universal Edition's *Vindobona Collection*, published between 1926 and 1932.³⁸

While film music continued to evolve and become a genre onto itself, remediation began to play a major role in radio. These reimagined radio works, based on traditional art forms, utilised everything from the novel, classical concert music, popular music and music hall acts to operas and plays. The Hörspiel, developed within the German Funkstunde system, is one such example which is also examined. This chapter concludes with an examination of the German Funkstunde AG Berlin and the BBC Variety department in London. Each respective entity's operating structure, programming and examples from their efforts at remediation have been examined. This is vital to establish the origins of the Radio Potpourri and its practice within each company. It also provides clear evidence Julius Burger's radio genre was a trans-cultural object which was successfully transferred from Berlin's Funkstunde studios in Berlin to the fledgling BBC Variety Department in London.

1.2.4 Chapter Five - Defining Radio Potpourri

Chapter five examines the Radio Potpourri in an attempt to taxonomize its archetypal structures. These three main archetypes have been outlined through examination of surviving manuscripts

³⁸ Claus Tieber, Anna K. Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," in *The Sounds of Silent Films* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK Publishing, 2014), p. 84-102.

and other primary sources including the Grand Potpourri, the Miniature Potpourri and the Chapter Potpourri. These have been created utilising similarities in their construction such as duration, use of narration and intended presentation formation. To aid in the discussion of these works in the wider purview of BBC programming of the period, these can be further categorised by their main subject themes into four main groups – the Geographic Potpourri, the Biographic Potpourri, the Historic Potpourri and the General category Potpourri (consisting of works which do not share thematic similarities with others).

1.2.4.1 Geographic Potpourri

The Geographic potpourri relies on narrative story progression and a travel itinerary while using music associated with specific cultures to delineate the journey. These topical works can focus on the music and landmarks of a single city, such as the 1935 work *City of Music*.³⁹ The plasticity of the potpourri also allows the geographic potpourri to expand the musical journey's periphery global proportions such as the 1935 work, *World Tour*.⁴⁰

As an example of the compositional and narrative attributes of the Geographic category, the 1934 collaboration between Burger and Viennese author Artur Kulka titled *Holiday in Europe* has been examined. In a succession of episodes and led by their tour guide, this Radio Potpourri follows a honeymooning couple as they embark on a trans-European journey throughout the sights and sounds of Paris, Barcelona, Rome, Tyrol, Vienna, Budapest, Prague, Berlin and Russia. This auditory journey is accomplished by use of imaginary trains, planes, automobiles and cruise liners as the musical score projects visions of the continental regions and their diverse cultures.

1.2.4.2 Biographic Potpourri

Unlike the Geographic potpourri, which utilises imaginary journeys as its subject theme, the Biographic potpourri relies on a subject theme which portrays the life of an influential composer through their compositions. An examination of the 1934 Radio Potpourri *Life of Offenbach* provides insight into this category. Although the master score is missing, an overview has been created of this work utilising several primary sources. These include a vocal score fragment found among rediscovered manuscripts (apparently composed as a later addition), original broadcast listings and accompanying articles from the *Radio Times*. Archival materials from the BBC Written Archive Caversham, including personal correspondence and internal documentation, have also

³⁹ *City of Music* was described as "A new Pot-pourri of Viennese Music by Julius Buerger of Vienna" and premiered on 24 July 1935 at 8:30PM on BBC National Service. The work was performed by the BBC Theatre Orchestra and Chorus and conducted by Stanford Robinson. Source: Contributor, "City of Music," *The Radio Times*, 19 July 1935, Vol. 48, No. 616, p.40, 50, 52.

⁴⁰ Contributor, "World Tour," *The Radio Times*, 22 November 1935, Vol. 49, No. 634, p.64, 76, 79.

been critical to reconstructing this work. Burger presents a musical portrait of Offenbach using selections from *Orphée aux enfers* (Orpheus and the Underworld), *La belle Hélène* (The Beautiful Helen), *Barbe-bleue* (Bluebeard), *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* (The Grand Duchess of Gérolstein), *La Périchole* and *Les Contes D'Hoffmann* (The Tales of Hoffmann).⁴¹

This examination not only provides examples of how this subset differs from the others but equally aids in evaluating the role of reception in this potpourri's creation as well as its role in the wider music programming at the BBC. Burger's pastiche use of selections from Offenbach's operettas for this potpourri also reinforces the theory this genre was influenced by pasticcio's frequent practice in opera and operetta and more importantly, its remediated form for silent cinema accompaniment in the early 20th century. At its core, this potpourri and its companion *Johann Strauss : A Biography in Music* are essentially forms of pasticcio, drastically altered, for the medium of radio. An examination of two *Radio Times* critiques on the topic of Offenbach provide insight into Burger's biographic work while also engaging in wider questions on the prevalence of anti-Semitic and nationalistic attitudes within the culture. These opposing articles, including "Will Offenbach Come Back? : 'The Life of Offenbach'" written British critic Francis Toye (1883-1964) and BBC editor Ralph Hill's (1900-1950) "A Musical Humorist", were published to accompany *Life of Offenbach's* January 1935 premiere and February 1938 revival.^{42 43} Lastly, evidence suggests the success of the Biographic Potpourri had a lasting effect on BBC Variety dept. programming. A comparative analysis of similarly structured musical biographies featuring composers of the Western classical music canon has been undertaken utilising programme listings from period issues of *Radio Times* magazine. This contributes to the theory the Radio Potpourri had a wider influence on BBC Variety programming than originally perceived.

1.2.4.3 Historic Potpourri

Historic Potpourri center on an historic event, period or multiple historic periods for their subject theme. Three examples are examined from this category including the 1937 Miniature Potpourri *Boer War Songs* and the Grand Potpourris *Themes of London* (1937) and *City of Music* (1935). *Boer War Songs* is a reminiscence of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) utilising popular parlour and military tunes of the period and is arguably the first example of Burger's aesthetic shift toward Anglocentric music. *Themes of London* is a celebration of the British imperial capital which offers glimpses of London throughout more than three centuries of music selections, ranging from

⁴¹ Harold Neden, "Homage to Offenbach," *Radio Times*, 14 April 1950, Vol. 107, No. 1383, p.14.

⁴² Francis Toye, "Will Offenbach Come Back? : *The Life of Offenbach* told in story with music from his operas on Monday and Tuesday," *Radio Times*, 4 January 1935, Vol. 46, No. 588, p.7.

⁴³ Ralph Hill, "A Musical Humorist : Ralph Hill reviews a new book on Offenbach, whose music will be featured in a programme on Sunday (National)," in *Radio Times*, 25 February 1938, Vol. 58, No. 752, p.10.

Medieval street seller cries to the smoke-filled jazz clubs of 1930s London. *City of Music* similarly reveals historic moments in different locations of Vienna in a series of vignettes. Both *Boer War Songs* and *Themes of London* contribute to the examination of the shift toward nationalism and imperialism in Burger's compositional output of the period.

1.2.4.4 General Potpourri

The plethora of potpourri which make up the General Potpourri category are too numerous to examine individually and do not readily share common subject theme characteristics with other works. Therefore, I do not allot a chapter for these purposes.

1.2.5 Chapter Six - *The Empire Sings!* : Imperialism, Nationalism, and the aesthetic shift

Chapter six examines the apparent aesthetic shift in Burger's Radio Potpourri and the potential causes for such a directional change. Evidence suggests Burger's aesthetic shifted from relying on Austro/Germanic and later, cosmopolitan subject themes towards an aesthetic of Anglocentric nature, which evidence suggests began in 1937. The 1938 Grand Potpourri *The Empire Sings!* has then been examined for its positive portrayal of British nationalism and imperialism through music. Is this a proponent of cultural imperialism? What does its creation reveal about the BBC's programming in 1938 and what does it reveal about Burger's own precarious situation during this volatile period in European history? Despite research suggesting only a handful of émigré works were broadcast by the BBC during the height of the Second World War, evidence shows Burger's radio programmes were broadcast throughout much of the war on primary BBC services. This evidence suggests the previously overlooked Radio Potpourri genre was more influential in BBC programming than previously perceived.

1.2.6 Chapter Seven – Conclusions

Chapter seven presents my conclusions for this research project.

1.2.7 Chapter Eight - Epilogue: "Mr. Nobody", New York (1939-1995)

Chapter eight provides a brief biographic overview of Julius Burger, spanning from his emigration to the United States in March of 1939 until his death in 1995, aged 98.⁴⁴ Burger's life in New York

⁴⁴ "New York, New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1909, 1925-1957," Julius Burger, 1939, NARA microfilm publication T715 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). Accessed

City, while initially a major financial struggle, eventually led to work as an arranger at CBS for conductors Andre Kostelanetz and Arthur Fiedler. In 1949 Burger returned to the staff of the Metropolitan Opera, where his primary responsibilities were as a répétiteur and assistant conductor. Yet again, his expertise in composition and arranging were put to use in several instances, resulting in the 1954 'potpourri' ballet *Vittorio* (consisting of ballet music from multiple Verdi operas), a new revised adaptation of Offenbach's *La Périchole* (1956) and original entr'actes for the 1957 production of Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin*.

Burger did not return to original composition until the late 1960s. However, these new compositions represent much of his 'serious' compositional oeuvre. These late period compositions include three string quartets, large scale orchestral pieces, instrumental chamber and choral works and over two dozen lieder settings of Germanic poetry. Nearly thirty-five years after his initial displacement, Burger's late compositional aesthetic seemingly resumes where Burger left off in the early 1930s and is grounded in the Austro-Germanic idioms of this past with some segues into modernist styles prevalent in 1930s Weimar Berlin. This shows an engagement between his nationalist memory and his internationalist outlook. This concept, which philosopher Lydia Goehr deemed "Doubleness of Exile", certainly applies to the works of this late period (1967-1995).⁴⁵

via familysearch.org website, 12 March 2018, URL: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:242G-8TG?from=lynx1UIV7>

⁴⁵ Lydia Goehr, "Music and Musicians in Exile: The Romantic Legacy of a Double Life," in *The Quest for Voice: On Music, Politics, and the Limits of Philosophy*, The 1997 Ernest Bloch Lectures (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 174-207.

Chapter 2 Prologue

2.1 Youth and Early Education

Julius Burger (Bürger) was born on 11 March 1897 in Vienna's 2nd District of Leopoldstadt. He was the fifth of nine children to Josef Bürger (1859 – 1916?), a tailor and Chaje (Clara) Bürger (1864 – 1942), a homemaker. Josef was a native of Vienna while Chaje's origins stem from the Galician town of Kamionka Strumilowa, now called Kamianka-Buzka and located in modern Ukraine.¹ As an adolescent, Burger was admitted to the Kaiserlich Koeniglichen Erherzog Rainer Gymnasium from 1908 until the summer of 1913. The Gymnasium, which was renamed in 1989 after former pupil Sigmund Freud, was located in the 2nd district.² The prestigious school also boasts anatomist Julius Tandler (1869–1936), and neurologist, psychiatrist and founder of Logotherapy Victor Emil Frankl (1905–1997) among former pupils of note.³

Burger later attended the Kaiserlich Koeniglichen Maximilian Gymnasium (Wasagymnasium) in Vienna's 9th district until completion in 1916.⁴ The institution served as one of the prime educational centres for the children of Vienna's cultivated Jewish bourgeoisie in the early twentieth century.⁵ Examples of the Gymnasium's illustrious alumni include writer Felix Braun (1885–1973), and composer Max Deutsch (1892–1982) as well as many influential émigrés including conductor Kurt Adler (1907–1977), composer Hans Gál (1890–1987), composer and musicologist Wilhelm Grosz (1894–1939), conductors Erich Kleiber (1890–1956) and Josef Krips (1902–1974) and writer Stefan Zweig (1881–1942).⁶ While still a student at the illustrious Gymnasium, Burger composed his first work in 1915, a lied setting of Heinrich Heine's *Dämmernd liegt der Sommerabend*.⁷

Although it was evident the young Burger had a fine singing voice, he chose music composition as his career path and commenced formal study at the Faculty of Arts, University of Vienna in

¹ "Chaje (Klara) Bürger," Wiener Stadt und Landesarchive, (Vienna City and Provincial Archive), search conducted by Michaela Laichmann, 20 December 2021.

² Walter Jahn, "Geschichte des Sigmund Freud-Gymnasiums," Sigmund Freud Gymnasium website, Accessed 19 November 2021, URL: <https://www.freudgymnasium.at/index.php/schulorganisation/geschichte>

³ Walter Jahn, "Geschichte des Sigmund Freud-Gymnasiums,"

⁴ "Reifezeugnis," issued by Prüfungs-Kommission für K.K. Franz Joseph Real Gymnasium, 31 July 1916, Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte Zentrum der MDW, Vienna, Austria.

⁵ Marsha L. Rosenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), p.108-114.

⁶ Zweig detailed his experiences at the Gymnasium in "At School in the last Century" (Die Schule im vorigen Jahrhundert), the second chapter in his posthumous autobiographical work *Die Welt von Gestern* (1942). Source: Stefan Zweig, "Die Schule im vorigen Jahrhundert," from *Die Welt von Gestern: Erinnerungen eines Europäers* (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1942).

⁷ Heinrich Heine, "Dämmernd liegt der Sommerabend (LXXXV)," in *Die Heimkehr* from *Buch der Lieder* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1827).

autumn 1916, continuing until summer 1917.⁸ According to archival registration documents, Burger attended lectures with the likes of musicologist Dr. Guido Adler (1855 - 1941) as well as Austrian - British composer and musicologist Dr. Egon Wellesz (1885-1974). Other lectures were proctored by renowned educators such as Richard Wallaschek (1860–1917), Hermann Grädener (1844–1929), Wilhelm Fischer (1886–1962) and Robert Reininger (1869–1955).⁹

In the autumn of 1917, Burger began studies at the Universität für Musik und Darstellend Kunst, Wien where he undertook practical study in harmony and piano and participated in the choral school. In his second academic year at the academy, he added piano accompaniment and cello studies. Most notably, he also began study in composition and counterpoint with renowned Austrian composer Franz Schreker (1878 – 1934).¹⁰ Schreker's influence on Burger's compositional style is readily apparent and is evident in his compositional oeuvre spanning more than seven decades.

Aside from his formal studies, Burger worked as a keyboard accompanist in some of Vienna's silent film theatres. This improved his abilities as a pianist and equally contributed to his mastery of improvisation and arranging. His exposure to the pastiche accompaniment practices of these early silent cinemas provides one possible inspiration for Burger's later Radio Potpourri creations. During this period he also found employment as an accompanist to Moravian tenor Leo Slezak (1873–1946) on concert tour.¹¹

2.2 Berlin period (1919–1933)

Burger left his studies with Schreker at the Universität für Musik Wien in 1919 and enrolled at the Hochschule für Musik Berlin to study under the German composer Engelbert Humperdinck (1854–1921). However, this arrangement lasted only until the Easter of 1920 as Humperdinck's availability was already limited due to continued illness.¹² During this period, Burger married Olga Emma Fechner in the summer of 1920.¹³ Little is known about this marriage although it represents the first of Burger's three marriages between 1920 and 1933.

⁸ Julius Bürger, "Enrolment documents," from the Archiv der Universität Wien, Winter 1916/1917, p.119-121 and Summer 1917, p.089.

⁹ Julius Bürger, "Enrolment documents,"

¹⁰ Julius Bürger, "Enrolment document," from Universität für Musik und Darstellend Kunst Wien, Matrikel Nr.(285), 1917/18; 1918/19.

¹¹ Malcolm MacDonald, "Julius Burger (1897-1995): Orchestral Music," Liner Notes, Radio Symphonie Orchester, Berlin, cond. Simone Young, recorded 26-28,30 September 1994, Toccata Classics, TOCC 0001, 2007, CD, p.3.

¹² "Julius Bürger," *Verzeichnis der Studierenden im Jahresbericht der Hochschule für Musik Berlin*, Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 1, Jahresbericht 1919/20, p.19.

¹³ "Heiratsliste für Julius Bürger und Olga Emma Fechner", 8 June 1920, Heiratsregister der Berliner Standesämter 1874-1936, Landesarchive Berlin, Germany, p. 252.

In spring of 1920, it was announced Franz Schreker had been appointed director of the Berlin Musikhochschule. Upon hearing of his former teacher's appointment, Burger returned to Vienna and rejoined Schreker's studio. He then made preparations for a permanent move to Berlin in the Autumn of 1920. Other Schreker students who followed include Alfred Freudenheim (1898–1941), Alois Hába (1893–1973), Jascha Horenstein (1898–1973), Ernst Krenek (1900–1991), Alois Melichar (1896–1976), Karol Rathaus (1895–1954) and Isaak Thaler (b.1902 –?).¹⁴ Schreker's tutorial approach championed the development of individual compositional style over imitation. This contributed to an environment in which each student created their own distinct style as well as a mastery of the discipline. Their skills were not lost on the examination committee at the Berlin Musikhochschule, which included German musicologist Georg Schünemann (1884 – 1945). He later recalled his first interactions with the Schreker class in a 1928 issue of the music journal *Anbruch*.¹⁵

Schreker's updated approach to the curriculum required regular performances of new compositions by the conservatory's students. These were performed for one another in a concert setting. One such performance, on 18 June 1921, featured Burger's *Doppelfuge für Zwei Klavier* (now lost) alongside works by Ernest Krenek (*Sonate fis-Moll für Violine und Klavier* and *Serenade für Klarinette, Violine, Bratsche und Violoncello*), Alois Hába (*Quartett für Zwei Violinen Bratsche und Violoncello*) and Paul Höffer (1895-1949) (*Sonate in E-Dur für Klavier*).¹⁶

While enrolled at the Hochschule, Burger also undertook conducting which bolstered an already impressive skill set as composer, pianist, and accompanist. After completing his studies at the Berlin Hochschule in 1922, he began work as a korrepetitor for Karlsruhe Opera where he stayed until 1924. His skills as a conductor were later recognised by conductor Bruno Walter (1876–1972) after proving himself at a performance of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* with a reduced orchestra and after little rehearsal.¹⁷ In 1924, Walter recommended Burger for an apprenticeship at New York's

¹⁴ Christopher Hailey, "The Call to Berlin," in *Franz Schreker (1878-1934): A Cultural Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.122.

¹⁵ "It was amazing what these young Schreker students could do. We gave them contrapuntal problems to solve, examined their strict and free styles, heard one fugue after another (both vocal and instrumental), gave them themes for modulation and improvisation, examined their musicality and ear training - these students were skilled in everything. As many exams I have witnessed since, I have never again encountered such an artistic level." - from Georg Schünemann's article "Franz Schreker als Lehrer" in Franz Schreker 50th Birthday edition of *Anbruch* Magazine, March/April 1928. ; English version: Christopher Hailey, "The Call to Berlin," in Franz Schreker (1878-1934): A Cultural Biography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.122.; Original Source: Georg Schünemann, "Franz Schreker als Lehrer," *Franz Schreker zum 50. Geburtstag* (Schreker issue), *Anbruch* 10/3-4, March/April 1928, p.109-111.

¹⁶ This concert was repeated on 26 June 1921. Source: Dietmar Schenk, Markus Böggemann, Rainer Cadenbach, *Franz Schrekers Schüler in Berlin: Biographische Beiträge und Dokumente*. Schriften aus dem UdK-Archiv Band 8 (Berlin: Universität der Künste Berlin, 2005), p.163-166.

¹⁷ Albrecht Dümling, "Melodien sind dem Emigranten näher als die Fakten der Erinnerung," *Der Tages Spiegel*, 16 July 1994.

Metropolitan Opera under conductor Artur Bodanzsky (1877–1939).¹⁸

2.2.1 Apprenticeship at the Metropolitan Opera, New York

Burger worked for three seasons with the Metropolitan Opera from 1924 to 1927 in which he served as a répétiteur, coach, and accompanist both for company auditions as well as the popular Met Gala Concerts which featured renowned singers such as baritone, Lawrence Tibbett (1896 – 1960).¹⁹ During his apprenticeship, Burger was invited by Bodanzky to record several piano rolls for the American Piano Company's (AMPICO) line of reproducing player pianos. These four hand arrangements were recorded with pianist Milton Suskind (1898-1975) and range from '*Parsifal and the Flower Maiden*' (Wagner, Rubenstein), the overture from *Pique Dame* (von Suppe), the overture from *Sakuntala*, op. 13 (Karl Goldmark) and *Symphony No. 40 in G minor* (W.A. Mozart).²⁰ These recordings resulted in a degree of recognition but were more likely undertaken to supplement Burger's income. During this period, he also accompanied acclaimed contralto Ernestine Schumann-Heink (1861-1936) on a multi-stop tour between her home in Coronado Beach, California and San Francisco. The experience, in aid of disabled veterans, was likely a convivial experience as Burger gifted Schumann-Heink a manuscript copy of his lied 'Abendleuten' (1920). This now resides in the Schumann-Heink Collection at Claremont Colleges Library in California.²¹

Up to this point, Burger's oeuvre included a handful of noteworthy compositions ranging from lieder for voice and piano ('*Dämmernd liegt der Sommerabend*' (1915), '*Seliges Ende*' (1919), '*Abendleuten*' (1920), '*Lieder im Abend*' (1926)) to a pair of orchestral lieder in the line of Mahler ('*Legende*' (1919) and '*Stille Der Nacht*' (1923)). Two other works from this early period included a choral work, *Miserere* (1917) and a symphonic overture titled *Ozeanfahrt, 1925*.²²

¹⁸ Walter wrote that "Herr Bürger is an excellent musician – at home in opera and concert – a very good accompanist, brilliant coach for singers and deserves every recommendation." Source: Bruno Walter, "Recommendation for Julius Bürger," Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte Zentrum der MDW, Vienna, Austria.

¹⁹ Met Opera Gala Concert - Twentieth Sunday Night Concert. Metropolitan Opera House, March 22, 1925, Metopera database, Metropolitan Opera Archives, CID: 89870, keyword search 'Julius Burger', Accessed 25/06/2020, URL: <http://archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm>

²⁰ According to the company's 1998 catalogue, Burger's recorded titles include: 6590 (65903H): *Parsifal and the Flower Maiden* - Wagner-Rubenstein; 6494 (64943H): *Pique Dama Overture* - von Suppe - Herbert; 6533 (65333H), 6545 (65453H): *Sakuntala Overture* (2 parts) - Goldmark; 6442 (64423H), 6443 (64433H), 6449 (64493H), 6444 (64443H): *Symphony in G minor, No.40* - W.A. Mozart. Source: Albert M. Petrak (ed.), *Ampico Piano Roll Catalog*, The Reproducing Piano Roll Foundation, 1998, Accessed 23/03/2019, URL: https://www.player-care.com/ampico_catalog.pdf

²¹ Julius Burger, "Abendläuten," *Ernestine Schumann-Heink, A Contralto's Legacy Collection*, Honnold/Mudd Library Special Collections, Claremont Colleges Digital Library, No. esh00126, Accessed 18 November 2020, URL: <https://ccd.claremont.edu/digital/collection/p15831coll6/id/688/rec/1>

²² The piece was likely inspired by Burger's annual summer voyages to Europe in the Metropolitan's off seasons. It was performed as part of an orchestral concert by the Berlin Radio Orchestra, conducted by Bruno Seidler-Winkler (1880-1960). *Ozeanfahrt, 1925* was broadcast on the Berlin Funkstunde on 22 April 1931 at 8PM. Source: Playbill, "Mittwoch, den 22 April 1931- Berlin Funkstunde," Julius Burger, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham, England.

2.2.2 Return to Berlin

After concluding his Metropolitan apprenticeship in 1927, Burger returned to Berlin where he was employed as assistant to resident conductor of the Kroll Opera, Otto Klemperer (1885–1973).²³ The company, formerly part of the Staatsoper Unter den Linden, was re-opened as a separate entity with an inaugural performance of Beethoven's *Fidelio* on 19 November 1927.²⁴ Under Klemperer, the company pursued a vision to bring opera's traditional form into the present by presenting new, progressive works representative of the forward thinking and experimental atmosphere of the young Weimar Republic's cultural scene. In total, 44 world premieres were presented in its short existence. These included modernist compositions by the likes of Paul Hindemith (*Neues vom Tage*, 8 June 1929) and Arnold Schoenberg (*Begleitmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene*, 6 November 1930), among other premieres of works by Ernst Krenek (*Leben des Orest*, March 1930), and Leos Janáček (*Z mrtvého domu*, June 1931).²⁵

Klemperer's attempts to modernise the operatic scene of Berlin were not received warmly and incurred a conservative backlash. According to an interview of Burger conducted by Dr Trude Zörer late in his life, rumours of the company's demise had been circulating in early 1930, including that the Prussian state parliament would no longer support the Kroll Opera.²⁶ Ultimately, declining ticket sales as well as the dire economic situation in the 1930/31 season were major contributors to the company's demise. Burger resigned as assistant conductor and moved to full time employment with the Berlin Funkstunde in 1930. Only months later, the Kroll Opera closed its doors permanently at the conclusion of the 1930/31 season with a final performance of Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* on 3 July 1931.²⁷ This marked a major blow to the German republic's modern cultural scene. The company theatre was refashioned to house the German parliament after the Reichstag fire on 27 February 1933 and became a stage for the literal demise of the Germany's Weimar Republic.

From 1930 onward, Burger was solely employed as a conductor, arranger, and composer at the relatively young Berlin Funkstunde. Here he had an early success with the broadcast of his

²³ Archival documents show Burger was also employed in a freelance capacity with the Berlin Funkstunde during this period. Source: Cornelis Bronsgeest, "Erklärung, RE: Julius Bürger," 22 February 1956, Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte Zentrum der MDW, Vienna, Austria.

²⁴ Peter Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: Volume 1, 1885-1933: His Life and Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.253-60.

²⁵ Peter Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: Volume 1, 1885-1933: His Life and Times*, p.256.

²⁶ Upon hearing the news, Burger offhandedly made the comment "Ich bin die erste Ratte, die das Schiff verlässt" ("I am the first rat to leave the ship") to a fellow member of staff. This was later relayed to Klemperer who made his displeasure known. Source: Julius Burger, "Julius Burger speaks to Trude Zörer on his friendship with Joseph Schmidt," interviewed by Dr. Trude Zörer, date of recording unknown, audio, 24:22, from the Private collection of Dr. Trude Zörer.

²⁷ Peter Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer: His Life and Times. Volume 1, 1885–1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.366-67.

symphonic overture *Ozeanfahrt*, 1925. However, the compositions which proved most successful for Burger in his new role were of a genre he deemed 'Radio Potpourri'.²⁸ These remediated works utilised the traditional potpourri form by expanding its length and incorporating a storyline and narration over a tapestry of musical themes specifically for the medium of radio. Burger's earliest known Radio Potpourri, titled *Hallo London, Here's Berlin*, was broadcast from the Funkstunde's studios in Berlin in a simulcast partnership with the BBC London on 14 November 1932.²⁹ The programme, consisting of light orchestral and vocal music from musical comedies and operas, featured tenor Joseph Schmidt (1904-1942), soprano Elisabeth Friedrich (1893-1981), soubrette Edith Schollwer (1904-2002) and actor Eugene Rex (1884-1943) with the German Concert Orchestra conducted by Eduard Künneke (1885-1953).³⁰

This was not the first occasion Burger had engaged with the Austro-Hungarian and Romanian tenor Joseph Schmidt as the two had previously worked together at the Kroll Opera. They also enjoyed a collaboration through concert and operetta broadcasts staged for the Funkstunde during this period. Their friendship led Burger to compose two commercial successes for Schmidt. The first, titled 'Zigeunerlied' or "Gypsy Song", was recorded in February of 1930 for Ultraphon Berlin.³¹ The second piece, titled 'Launisches Glück', utilised thematic material from Johann Strauss II's song 'O Schöner Mai' from the operetta *Prinz Methusalem* (1877) to create a piece for Schmidt with new lyrics by Leopold Hainisch (1891-1979).³² The work was incorporated into a production of the Strauss operetta *Ein Tausend und eine Nacht* featuring Schmidt and was regularly performed by the singer in concert.³³ The piece gained even greater recognition when it was featured in the 1933 German film *Ein Lied Geht um die Welt* starring Schmidt.³⁴

By the time of the film's release (9 May 1933), Burger had already been forced to resign from his position at the Berlin Funkstunde.³⁵ Following the Nazi Regime's passage of the Enabling Act

²⁸ Radio Potpourri utilise themes or sections from existing musical works which are then combined with incidental music around a central theme. They are generally self-contained and performed as a solitary piece. Scripted narration commonly accompanied the piece to supplement the performance.

²⁹ Contributor, "Hallo London, Here's Berlin," *Radio Times*, 11 November 1932, Vol. 37, Issue 476, p.44r.

³⁰ Contributor, "Hallo London, Here's Berlin,"

³¹ Joseph Schmidt, "Zigeunerlied," by Julius Bürger, Lajos Kiss and his Zigeunerorchestra, Recorded 12 February 1930, 30422, Germany: Ultraphon / Telefunken E 373, Austria: Kalliope K 702. Source: Alfred A. Fassbind, *Joseph Schmidt: Sein Lied ging um die Welt* (Zürich: Römerhof Verlag, 2012), p.299.

³² Although Burger's name is not included in Fassbind's listing, it does appear on the single which was issued in 1932 on Parlophon. Source: Joseph Schmidt, "Launisches Glück" by Julius Bürger, Leopold Hainisch, Lyrics, Staatskapelle Berlin, cond. by Dr. Weissmann, recorded 18 February 1932, 133438: Germany - B.48154, 133438-3: Germany- Parlophon B. 48154 / Odeon 0-25982, England - Parlophone R 1330, Australia - R 3550, America- Decca P-20311. Source: Alfred A. Fassbind, *Joseph Schmidt: Sein Lied ging um die Welt* (Zürich: Römerhof Verlag, 2012), p.290.

³³ A notable broadcast includes 31 October 1937 performance from New York City's Carnegie Hall on. Source: Alfred A. Fassbind, *Joseph Schmidt: Sein Lied ging um die Welt*, p.304.

³⁴ Original German version: *Ein Lied geht um die Welt*, directed by Richard Oswald, (Rio Film, Premiered 9 May 1933 Ufa-Palast am Zoo, Berlin), 0:16:20 to 0:18:36. English Language adaptation: *My Song Goes Round the World*, directed by Richard Oswald, British International Pictures, 1934.

³⁵ In response to previous correspondence with BBC Variety Department director Eric Maschwitz, Burger

in March of 1933 (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*), Burger's life in Germany became untenable.³⁶ He returned to Vienna and married Rose Blaustein on 20 August 1933. This was his third marriage and Rose's first.

Although he returned to the relative safety of the Austrian capital, the political situation in 1933 had also moved towards right wing authoritative rule under Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss (1892-1934). Thus, Burger looked for work outside Austria. After previous unsuccessful attempts, Burger gained a contract with the newly created BBC Variety department in late 1933. The contract set a fateful course for both composer and corporation and led to the popularisation of the now largely forgotten radio genre "The Radio Potpourri".

provided a short biography for the company to provide to various news publications. Burger states: "Left Berlin 1933 April, on account of the Hitler Government." Source: Julius Burger, "Letter to Eric Maschwitz," 21 January 1935, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre-Reading, England.

³⁶ Burger's name later joined the hundreds of artists and musicians who were effectively blacklisted in the notorious Nazi sponsored encyclopaedia *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (1940). Source: Theo Stengel, Herbert Gerigk, *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Berlin: Bernhard Ahnefeld Verlag, 1940), p.44.

Chapter 3 Rediscovering Radio Potpourri

Julius Burger's temporal circumstances in this period highlight the predicament he and many similarly exiled musicians and composers faced. In Burger's case, his self-perception as a composer of serious music remained central to his identity. This was fostered by some of the eminent composers of the early 20th century (*i.e.* Engelbert Humperdinck, Franz Schreker, among others). They evidently saw Burger as part of the next generation of "Germanic music" torch bearers to carry on their legacy. However, his precarious existence meant, for the most part, he had to cease original composition and pursue work which would 'put food on the table.' His work with the BBC over the following twelve-year period provided this stability. Where Burger previously composed orchestral works, chamber music and lieder, his primary occupation was to create arranged collage works comprised of music by others.

These Radio Potpourris were hour-long programmes which appear to have their roots in classical compositional forms. At an initial glance, Radio Potpourri is but one product of the reconceptualization efforts of these earlier forms by early 20th century artists for the advances in mass media. Although the works do not primarily consist of Burger's own original "serious" art music, they are nonetheless strong sources from which to examine these remediation efforts in early radio. Equally, they have the potential to reveal the wider effects of geo-political forces and exile on the artistic aesthetic.

But there is a problem. When I started this research, it was not clear if any of these Radio Potpourri works or relevant materials still existed, considering the first compositions were written over eighty years ago. These included manuscript scores, recordings, written documentation or the like. Compounding difficulties, the scores for these radio works were not published and were not among the collections held at the BBC Written Archive in Caversham, England or the Burger manuscript collection installed at the Exilarte Centre for Banned Music (MDW) in Vienna, Austria at the beginning of this research.¹

This chapter surveys Julius Burger's Radio Potpourris titles and details the surprising rediscovery of a large collection of manuscript sources.

¹ Unknown, "Nachlass_1. Bestandsaufnahme (Burger liste)," Exilarte Zentrum der MDW, Vienna, Austria.

3.1 A Survey of Materials

Burger's works for the BBC during this period provide useful insight into his aesthetic and self-perception during this turbulent time. However, these works were first thought to have been lost in the Second World War during the German bombing campaign of London, known as 'the Blitz', in 1940. Much of the BBC Studios music library housed at Broadcasting House - London was destroyed on 15 October 1940. This was one of the corporation's main repositories for music and its destruction from a German bomb led to the conclusion that Burger's radio manuscripts (pre-1940) may have been destroyed as well. During the early stages of this search, another hypothesis was proposed these works could have been lost or misplaced in the period of divestment of the BBC's collections which began in the 1980s.² One can point the sale of the Hulton Press Library in 1988 and the reorganisation as the BBC Worldwide Ltd. in 1995 as two such examples.³

Although these persuasive arguments are applicable to many 'lost' BBC music works of the period, documentation preserved in the BBC Written Archive - Caversham led to other conclusions. Evidence, in the form of letters and contracts, indicated several of Burger's Radio Potpourri works from this period were contracted after the Blitz of 1940. This includes the *New World Rhapsody* (1942), *Victory Rhapsody* (1945) and the *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody* (1945). This evidence provided the possibility some examples between late 1940 and 1945 may have survived. These are addressed in the following sections.

3.1.1 Initial Survey

3.1.1.1 Overview

The Written Archives in Caversham retain two folders regarding Burger's employment. They contain an assortment of original contract requests, correspondence, and internal memos. The documentation also provided a foundation from which to examine the numerous interactions between Burger's contacts in the BBC music department of the period and, equally, offered insights into the creation process and production of these radio works.

Among these, and perhaps the most valuable for my research purposes, is the correspondence between Burger and two main points of contact, English BBC Variety Director Eric Maschwitz (1901-1969) and English conductor Stanford Robinson (1904-1984). These documents span from 1934 until 1946. This correspondence provides valuable insights into Burger's contractual

² Sarah McDonald, "15/10/04 © Sarah McDonald, Curator Page 1 10/15/04 Hulton Archive – History In Pictures" (PDF). Getty Images. Archived from the original (PDF) on 27 May 2013. Accessed 22 August 2020.

³ Asa Briggs, *Competition*, Reprinted edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 713.

obligations with the company as well as the creative process behind these works. They also provide insight into his tenuous personal situation, caused by the volatile geopolitical climate of the 1930s.

Other documents from the BBC Written Archives, including contract requests, planning correspondence and copyright approvals, proved useful in tracing the Radio Potpourri's transformation from its early employ at the Funkstunde AG Berlin to the hourlong constructs popularised by The BBC Variety department. An overview of these documents also revealed thematic patterns within Burger's aesthetic of this period. The primary subjects or 'subject themes' of early Radio Potpourri revolved around themes which comprised of music by German or Austrian composers or were an extension of the "Germanic" cultural identity. These Austro-Germanic works and their categorisation is addressed in further detail in section 6.1 - *An Oeuvre of Broadcasts* - of this project.

Examples from this aesthetic category included his earliest known potpourri *Hallo London, Here's Berlin* (1932) as well as the potpourri *Vienna* (1933). Both works utilised source material by composers of Austrian or German derivation. Another early example from this category is a proposed 1935 programme which utilises Franz Schubert's lieder cycle *Die schöne Müllerin* (Op. 25, D. 795). This work, listed for baritone or tenor, is an unaltered musical presentation of the original cycle with additional intermittent narration written by Burger. This effectively makes the work a Hörspiel, as noted on its preserved narrative script in the BBC Written Archive-Caversham. While the original narrative script was submitted in German, it was translated into English for presentation to British and colonial audiences.

The subject themes of Burger's potpourri then appeared to broaden into a wider "cosmopolitan" aesthetic from mid 1934 to include works such as *Holiday in Europe* (1934) and *World Tour* (1935).

These cosmopolitan works largely drew on a variety of cultural music and popular tunes from a multitude of genres deriving from nations across Europe and the globe. Cosmopolitanism as a concept has a plethora of historic baggage attached. However, its reclaimed use for purposes of this research are defined and justified in greater detail, along with the Austro-Germanic category in Chapter 6. The cosmopolitan aesthetic then appears to shift again to Anglocentric presentations of British nationalism from 1937 onward.

These apparent aesthetic shifts not only provide useful insight into the Radio Potpourri's structure and conception but also lend some creditability to the premise Burger's exile and the volatile geopolitical climate of the 1930s may have influenced these subject themes choices.

3.1.1.2 Investigation

Sparse biographic information was available previous to my investigations. The most comprehensive documents included a handful of articles from the early 1990s as well as the programme notes included in the Toccata Classics commercial album release of *Julius Burger : Orchestral Music*.⁴ It was established from these documents Burger had been contracted with the BBC in the 1930s and created radio programmes for the corporation. However, little additional information, such as specific programme titles or broadcast dates, was provided. One document among the files at the BBC Written archive, titled *The Potpourris of Julius Bürger*, proved to be key in uncovering this information.⁵ The document, as well as an accompanying letter dated 12 June 1942, revealed nine Potpourri titles and provided a foundation in which to launch further investigation.⁶ Each title included a brief description for the corresponding potpourri and its most recent broadcast date as of mid 1942. In one instance, the document provided a figure indicating the percentage of the public listeners who tuned into a recent broadcast.⁷ The number of titles, as well as the surprising discovery of additional potpourri works by BBC music contributors Walter Goehr and conductor Stanford Robinson (post 1939), provide further evidence of the form's influence on BBC Programming and popularity with the British public.⁸ After an extensive search of the BBC Written Archives as well as the Burger estate installed at the Exilarte Center Archive at MDW in Vienna, I concluded neither the manuscripts nor copies of the Radio Potpourri programmes were present.

I next pursued the hypothesis the works may still be present in the extensive collections of the BBC Sheet Music Library in Perivale-London. An initial catalogue search was conducted at my request by the organisation's archivists. This proved unsuccessful. A second inquiry, conducted in February 2019, was successful by utilising the recently rediscovered document list titled '*Potpourris of Julius Bürger*' among the BBC Written Archive's collection. The anglicised spelling of

⁴ Malcolm MacDonald, "Julius Burger (1897-1995): Orchestral Music," Liner Notes, Radio Symphonie Orchester, Berlin, cond. Simone Young, recorded 26-28,30 September 1994, Toccata Classics, TOCC 0001, 2007, CD.

⁵ Stanford Robinson, "The Potpourris of Julius Bürger list," 12 June 1942, Burger, Julius, '42-'51, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

⁶ Stanford Robinson, "The Potpourris of Julius Bürger list," 12 June 1942, Burger, Julius, '42-'51, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham - England.

⁷ The 18 February 1940 broadcast of *The Empire Sings!* had radio audience comprised of 18.2% of BBC radio subscribers, according to the 12 June 1942 list. This is an interesting example of early listener research which was pioneered in the BBC Variety department. Unfortunately, only one potpourri title bears this information and thus, further research utilising this documentation could not be pursued in this research project. Source: Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Media series (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), p.93-97.

⁸ Stanford Robinson, "The Potpourris of Julius Bürger list," 12 June 1942, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham - England. ; * For more information on the Radio Potpourri works by Goehr, Robinson and other émigré figures, please see pages 87; 206 in this dissertation.

Burger's name 'Buerger' appeared frequently on other documentation and was key to the successfully locating said manuscripts. It is pertinent to note, while Julius Burger originally spelled his name with the Germanic umlaut ü (Bürger), the BBC largely anglicised his name with an 'ue' instead of the ü as 'Buerger'. He later legally changed his name to 'Burger' by dropping the umlaut upon taking US citizenship on 23 May 1944.⁹ All three spellings appear in this research. However, I primarily utilise the post-1944 spelling unless otherwise noted.

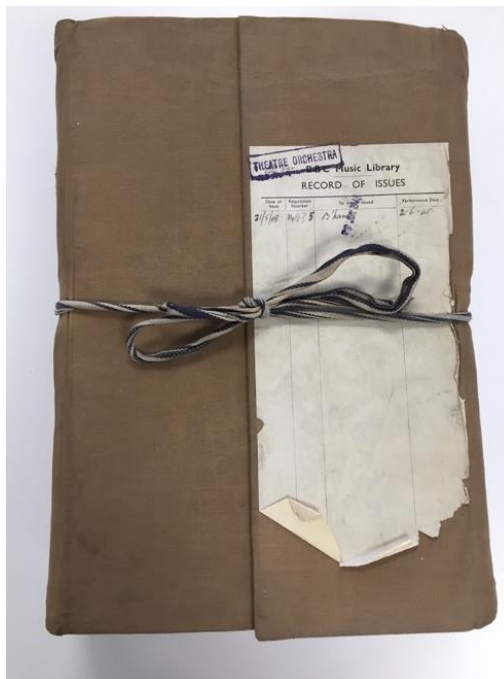


Figure 3.1 *Manuscript Bundle Container*

3.1.2 The Burger Manuscripts

The successful search yielded a list of 16 selections from an older library catalogue.¹⁰ This included 11 listed potpourri titles, four smaller arrangement titles and one listing for an original work. Potpourri titles include *Edmund Audran Potpourri* (1936), *The Empire Sings!* (1938), *Edmund Eysler Potpourri* (undated), *Festival of Folk Music* (1936), *Holiday in Europe* (1934), *Homage to Johann Strauss* (1936), *The Life of Jacques Offenbach* (1934), "London: A Radio Potpourri" (1937), *Melodies of Leo Fall* (1934), *Selection of Boer War Songs* (1937), *Selection of Military Marches* (1938). Smaller arrangements include *Caravan in F*- traditional song, 'Come Dorothy Come'- trad. Swabian Song in E, 'Farewell Gypsie'- song in E and 'Oh No, John!' - folksong in G. The original

⁹ United States Certificate of Naturalisation, Julius Burger, 23 May 1944, Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte Zentrum Archive (MDW), Vienna, Austria. Accessed 31 October 2018.

¹⁰ Julius Buerger, "Work Titles," from BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, Accessed 9 February 2019.

work included in this catalogue list was *Suite of Five Pieces from Vienna*, although the physical manuscript was not located at the BBC.¹¹

<u>BUERGER, Julius</u>	
CARAVAN: song (traditional) in F	φ 1·picc.121/2230/timp.perc/hp/str
COME, DOROTHY, COME: traditional Swabian song in E for SATB soli, chorus & orch	φ 2121/2000/str 2120*
EDMUND AUDRAN POTPOURRI	φ 2221/2230/timp.perc/hp/str
The EMPIRE SINGS: radio production-potpourri of international songs for SSATB[=Bar] soli, & orch	φ 2(2picc)222/3331/2timp.perc.tr.A.T.bamboo pipe.bells empty biscuit tin. cast.crot.cym.scym.2sticks.tabor. tamtam.tomtom.wd-board.2xyl.vib.zither/acdn.bjo.cel. gtr.hp.mand.mandola.org.pf/str
EDMUND EYSLER: a selection of works by Edmund Eysler	φ 2121/2230/perc/hp/str 13'
FAREWELL GYPSIE: song in E	φ 2121/2230/perc/hp/str/chorus
FESTIVAL OF FOLK MUSIC: potpourri of European folk music for radio production	φ 2222/3330/timp.perc(cast.cymbalom.glock.tabor.zither, domra[=balalaika]hp.mand/str/SATB chorus
HOLIDAY IN EUROPE: incidental music to radio production	φPC 2222/3220/perc.glock.vib/bjo.hp.pf/granophone record of street noises/str/fv chorus
HOMAGE TO JOHAN STRAUSS: potpourri of melodies of Johann Strauss	φ 2122/3230/timp/hp.2pf/str/SSSSATB soli & chorus
The LIFE OF JACQUES OFFENBACH: a life story in music	φPC 2(picc)222/4331/timp.perc/hp.pf/str/SSATB soli
LONDON: a radio potpourri	φ 212.2asx.tsx.barsx.bsx.1/2321/perc.glock.vib.xyl/ bjo.cel.gtr.hp.hpsd.org/str/SMzATBar soli.chorus
MELODIES OF LEO FALL: potpourri	φ 2(picc)121/2220/timp.perc.glock.xyl/hp/str 10'
OH, NO, JOHN: folksong in G	φ 2121/1000/hp/str
SELECTION OF BOER WAR SONGS for soli, chorus & orch	φ 2(picc)121/2230/timp.perc.glock/hp/str 7'
SELECTION OF MILITARY MARCHES	φ 2(picc)222/3331/perc/str
SUITE OF FIVE PIECES FROM VIENNA	
1. Schubert's birth-place	4. Vionnese song
2. Ballet in the Opera House	5. Merry-go-round in the Prater
3. Changing of the guard on the Burg Ring	
	φ 2(picc)121/2230/timp.perc.glock.vib.xyl/hp/str

Figure 3.2 Julius Buerger Potpourri titles. BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London.

An additional survey of The BBC Sheet Music Library collections, conducted in March 2020 by BBC staff at my request, has yielded additional Burger manuscripts.¹² These include: *A Potpourri of Schubert Waltzes* (1936), *Archibald Joyce Waltz Potpourri* (1939) and *New World Rhapsody Potpourri* (1942). Several smaller arrangements of works including 'Excelsior', 'Bedowin [sic] Love Song', 'Reve Divin' ('O Vision Deceiving'), 'Asleep in the Deep' and 'The Little Damozel' were also located. However, these titles were not viewed before concluding this research due to Covid restrictions. The following sections provide an overview of these materials.

¹¹ Julius Buerger, "Work Titles," from BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, Accessed 9 February 2019.

¹² See Appendix F: "Music of Julius Burger at the BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale-London".

3.2 A narration of works

A large amount of information can be ascertained from the two caches of documents preserved at the BBC Written Archive-Caversham. These provide valuable insight into Burger's activity and interactions within the BBC between 1933-1945. However, to better understand the Radio Potpourri for their derivation, construction and use, an analysis of the manuscript potpourri scores needed to be conducted. This analysis would not only provide valuable information on their construction, narration and instrumentation but could potentially also aid evaluating whether the collapse of Burger's national imaginary and tenuous existence during the London period had a direct effect on his aesthetic at this critical juncture.

3.2.1 2019 BBC Sheet Music Library Survey (viewed)

Although three titles from the original 1942 list and older BBC Sheet Music catalogue list including 'Caravan', 'Farewell, Gypsie' [sic] and *Suite of Five Pieces from Vienna* were not located, a wealth of materials spanning the breadth of Burger's career with The BBC were made available for viewing.¹³ Located manuscripts from the first survey were viewed by special arrangement at the BBC Written Archive - Caversham over the course of several weeks in March and April 2019.¹⁴ The items arrived in four large bundles and contained an approximate total of 6,000 pages of manuscript scores titles including: *A Potpourri of Melodies by Edmund Eysler* - Undated (Full Score), *A Potpourri of Melodies by Leo Fall* - 1934 (Full Score), *Holiday in Europe*-1934 (Full Score, Piano Reduction), *Life of Offenbach* -1934 (Orchestral parts), *Festival of Folk Music*- 1936 (3 Full Scores; Conductor Score in 3 parts), *Potpourri Melodies by Edmund Audran*-1936 (Full Score), *The Life of Johann Strauss*-1936 (Orchestral Parts), *Boer War Songs Potpourri* - 1937 (Full Score), *Themes of London* - 1937 (Full Score in 3 parts), *The Empire Sings! or Songs of the British Empire* - 1938 (Full Score), *Military Marches Potpourri* - 1938 (Full Score). Several surviving single arrangements were also rediscovered including arrangements of A traditional Swabian Song titled 'Come Dorothy, Come' - (undated) and the traditional English folk song 'Oh No, John!' (1938).^{15 16} Appendix I- "Radio Potpourri Manuscript Overview and Descriptions" provides an overview of

¹³ Julius Burger, *Five Little Pieces from Vienna*, (Unpublished). Vienna: Exilarte Zentrum der MDW, Undated.

¹⁴ N.A., "Julius Burger Radio Potpourri (1933-1945)," from BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London. Viewed at BBC Written Archive, Caversham-England.

¹⁵ Volkslied, Swabian. "Come, Dorothy, Come," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 16, no. 375 (1874) pp.483-88, Accessed 22 August 2020, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3352227>

¹⁶ BBC Accounts, "Contract Request for *Oh No, John!*," 9 May 1938, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham - England ; "Julius Burger Radio Potpourri" (1933-1945), manuscript scores, from BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London.

Chapter 3

these materials utilising the manuscript scores and supplemental archival documents from the BBC Written Archive, Exilarte Archive at MDW and *Radio Times* magazine.

After viewing these manuscripts and cross referencing them with other archival documentation, several things became apparent. Stanford Robinson features heavily as the conductor for a majority of the works in broadcast. This strengthens his place as one of Burger's main points of contact and collaborators. A second observation pertains to the duration of these works. The majority of the potpourris are allotted one hour in broadcast listings within *Radio Times* magazine. However, several shorter potpourri works also survive among these archival manuscripts which align more closely to traditional potpourri durations of approximately six to eight minutes. Equally, there are several single arrangements also present among these works.

3.2.2 March 2020 BBC Sheet Music Library Survey

The following titles were located in a second search for Burger manuscripts at the BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale in March of 2020. They have not been viewed due to the Covid-19 Pandemic restrictions but pose an excellent source from which to continue research into the Radio Potpourri. Titles include: *A Potpourri of Schubert Waltzes* (1936), *Archibald Joyce Waltz Potpourri* (1939?), *New World Rhapsody* (1942). Other smaller arrangements by Burger were located as part of the second survey. This includes titles 'Excelsior', 'Bedowin [sic] Love Song', 'Reve Divin' ('O Vision Deceiving'), 'Asleep in the Deep' and 'The Little Damozel'.

3.2.3 Lost Manuscripts

Despite the large number of titles revealed in these two surveys of the BBC Sheet Music Library, Burger's earliest known BBC potpourri - *Vienna* (1933) - remains lost. Other titles presumed lost include Grand Potpourris *City of Music* (1935), *World Tour* (1935), *Liebstraum* (1936), *Edwardian Melodies* (1944), *Victory Rhapsody or The Nations Sing!* (1945), *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody* (1945) and the 1935 composition *Inquest for Columbine* (1935). Detailed overviews for each work including descriptions, known creative personnel and broadcast information have been compiled. For recovered works, relevant BBC catalogue score information has also been provided. This document can be found in the end material as Appendix I.

3.3 Conclusions

There is no apparent pattern or rationale for these missing works, such as the previously mentioned bombing of Broadcasting House in 1940. One hypothesis is these potpourris may have been misplaced in the major reshuffle of the collection over the following decades. While several

of these scores have not been viewed due to the ongoing pandemic, documentation from the BBC Written Archive and archival issues of *Radio Times* from the period have yielded useful insights into the construction of these potpourri.

To date, surveys of the BBC Written Archives attest to the identification of at least nine Solitary or 'Grand' Potpourris, approximately thirteen Miniature Potpourris, one Chapter Potpourri and over fifty singular arrangements created by Julius Burger. Of this total, seven Grand Potpourri, six Miniature Potpourri and seven single arrangements have been discovered in the BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale-London.

Aside from Burger's contributions to the development of the Radio Potpourri genre, this research also focuses on the composer's contributions in influencing BBC programming through the potpourri medium. The Burger collection at the Exilarte Centre Archive (MDW) has been invaluable in biographic research of the composer. However, the archive contains little documentation from the London years between 1933 and 1939.¹⁷ In this absence, documentation from the BBC Written Archive-Caversham has provided additional biographic and compositional context from this volatile period. In the following section, I draw on these sources to trace potential sources from which the Radio Potpourri genre may have derived.

¹⁷ Unknown, "Nachlass_1. Bestandsaufnahme (Burger liste)," Exilarte Zentrum der MDW, Vienna, Austria.

Chapter 4 Origins

Radio Potpourri was received at the BBC as a unique “invention” by members of the BBC Variety department management during Burger’s tenure with the company. At first glance, this tailor-made genre for radio certainly appears to be a new creation. As BBC conductor Stanford Robinson wrote in the 19 July 1935 Issue of the Radio Times:

Musical Potpourri? It doesn’t sound a very original idea. But a Julius Buerger [*sic*] potpourri for soloists, chorus, and orchestra, lasting an hour, is to the ordinary potpourri, which plays for nine or ten minutes, as a modern Cunarder to a primitive paddle-steamer. Buerger [*sic*] has specialised in this type of programme, peculiarly suitable for the medium of radio, and has brought it to a point very near perfection.¹

This quote highlights the Radio Potpourri as a vastly expanded and improved genre, apparently adapted by Julius Burger for radio which, on the surface, seems to stem from something already established in music. The potpourri genre, constructed by incorporating pre-existing tunes into a solitary piece, pre-dates Burger’s use in London and Berlin by several centuries.² The loose definition of musical potpourri allows for broad interpretation with its main principle of construction (stated above) sharing commonalities with several other genres which, like potpourri, stem from the late 17th and early 18th Centuries. Where does this seemingly new genre derive from?

4.1 Tracing Historic Origins

To address these points, several genres are briefly examined for their similarities to Radio Potpourri in an attempt to discern its origins. These include the Quodlibet, the Divertissement, the Rhapsody, the Fantasia and the Pasticcio.

Like potpourri, operatic pasticcio can be utilised to form new works by drawing upon pre-existing musical themes or songs which are then grouped together into a solitary piece for presentation.³ This practice was widely employed from the 18th century onward and its practice was later

¹ Stanford Robinson, “Preparing an Hour’s Pot-pourri,” *The Radio Times*, 19 July 1935, Vol. 48, No. 616, p.3.

² Andrew Lamb, “Potpourri,” Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 25 June 2020. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.22189>

³ Curtis Price, “Pasticcio,” Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 25 June 2020. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21051>

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remediated in the early 20th Century to accentuate and accompany silent films.⁴ This poses a further source for comparison. The practice was used to great effect by accompanists throughout the era from the 1910s to the early 1930s. According to an interview conducted with family friend, Dr. Trude Zörer, Burger was an active participant in this capacity and would have had exposure to the practice as an accompanist. She recollected:

... he said that during his youth he loved to play for silent films. These silent movies required a pianist, and this (playing for silent films) gave him tremendous joy.⁵

This provides an additional source from which the idea of Radio Potpourri could have derived while equally lending further evidence to the possibility Radio Potpourri is an evolutionary, rather than an entirely new, genre.

Lastly, Radio Potpourri has been examined as a potential product of an accelerated period of remediation in the early 20th century, instigated by playwrights, authors, composers, musicians and artists in their efforts to repurpose these classical art forms (such as the novel, opera and concert music) for the modern media advances of radio. In their 1999 publication *Remediation: Understanding New Media*, Scholars Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin proposed a new framework in which to consider how media continually borrows from and refashions other media. They define this concept 'Remediation' as:

...the way in which one medium is seen by our culture as reforming or improving upon another.⁶

They later add that it is:

...the formal logic by which new media refashion prior media forms.⁷

Both the Funkstunde AG Berlin and the BBC in London were early to embrace new programming formats which repurposed or remediated older cultural products, such as the novel or musical compositions, in their broadcasting schedules. These two experimental laboratories of radio have been examined to better understand their influence on the evolution of Radio Potpourri. Equally, I examine how Burger's forcible resignation in 1933 from his position as a composer, arranger and conductor at the Berlin Funkstunde instigated a cultural transfer of this fledgling German radio

⁴ Claus Tieber, Anna K. Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," in *The Sounds of Silent Films* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK Publishing, 2014), p. 84-102.

⁵ Dr. Trude Zörer, "Recollections on friendship with composer Julius Burger," Question 4, page 2, Interviewed by Ryan Hugh Ross, 30 October 2019, Video, 1:12:42.

⁶ Jay David Bolter, Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p.59.

⁷ Jay David Bolter, Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media*, p. 273.

genre to the newly created BBC Variety department, where its popularity influenced cultural programming within the British corporation.

Through this analysis, we can better understand the derivation of Burger's genre. We can also ascertain whether the Radio Potpourri is representative of a new 'invention', a composite of multiple genres with similar attributes, or whether it is evolved from Burger's experiences with the pasticcio form utilised in many of the Viennese silent film theatres of the early 20th century.

Until an evaluation and comparative analysis of these like genres is undertaken, we cannot be certain of Robinson's claim of Radio Potpourri as a new invention. Furthermore, the London period (1933-1939) marks the beginning of steady decline in new original "serious" compositions which, aside from the completion of a small number of orchestral works and stage commissions, did not resume until 1967. Aside from a handful of orchestral compositions, most of Burger's compositions in this period were for the Radio Potpourri medium. These serve as the main music sources in which to trace the effects of his displacement on his compositional aesthetic.

The search for Radio Potpourri's origins begins with an examination of its precursor, the simple 'musical potpourri'.

4.1.1 Musical Potpourri

The application of the term 'potpourri' for musicological purposes has its origins in the 18th century.⁸ Early manifestations consisted of individual, non-repetitious sections compiled together which lack strong relationship or connection. These early forms commonly utilised popular folk songs or dance tunes as primary source material while contemporary forms broadened to include thematic material from opera, operetta and stage musicals.

From the 18th Century, the term 'potpourri' began to be liberally applied to arrangements of opera melodies.⁹ Two such examples of this type of potpourri include works by Josef Gelinek (1758 - 1825) *'Domjuan' et 'Figaro'* for piano (utilising thematic material from W.A. Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro*, K. 492) and *Potpourri tiré des airs de 'Zauberflöte'* (with themes derived from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, K.620). While Gelinek's potpourris and variations were appreciated for their inventiveness and pedagogical value by contemporaries, they were considered to be 'without any special inner content' according to one critic of the era. Similar criticisms of potpourri exist throughout the 18th and 19th centuries and continued into the 20th Century.

⁸ Andrew Lamb, "Potpourri,"

⁹ Andrew Lamb, "Potpourri,"

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Despite the perception of the potpourri as a form of entertainment for the “lower classes” in previous centuries as well as frivolity of the “middlebrow” culture by Modernists of the 20th century, one can still point to examples of this form in the oeuvres of prominent post-Romantics. One such example is Ernst Krenek’s *Potpourri, Op.54* for symphony orchestra (1927).¹⁰ Krenek even alluded to the use of musical potpourri in an October 1929 issue of *Melos & Anbruch*. Within the article, he claimed the design of opera should be like a potpourri :

This necessitates first of all a definite relaxation and simplification of structure, for the most complicated and denser this is the more obligating its internal relationship becomes, and the harder it is to be free from these obligations at the determining moment. The fluid character of the dramatic arc of expression, which does not circuitously run back on itself but is purely linear, demands, rather, that the music does not emerge with too much reflexivity and recapitulation out of what is, in a certain sense, the potpourri-like conception of the whole-in contrast to a logically severe, symphonic means of formation.¹¹

Krenek’s former tutor, Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), disapproved of the form and its embrace, referring to Krenek’s comments on the use of potpourri as “...a parody of all logical thinking” as well as “...a mass of things adding up to nothing.”¹² Six years previously, however, Schoenberg had utilised the genre himself; referring to the light-hearted concluding section of the final movement of his 1923 work *Serenade* as a “potpourri.”¹³ It is a curious reference considering his strong aversion to the form only a few years later.

4.1.2 Similar Genres

The plastic nature of the potpourri and its implementation shares many similar qualities to other genres. The following four genres are examined before focusing on the potential similarities between Burger’s Radio Potpourri and opera pasticcio.

4.1.2.1 The Quodlibet

The Quodlibet first emerged in mid 16th Century German literature as a humorous parody featuring catalogue poems consisting of loosely related lists on a central theme.¹⁴ Within a short

¹⁰ Garrett Bowles, “Ernst Krenek [Křenek],” Works list, Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 23 February 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.15515>

¹¹ Ernst Krenek on the design of opera in *Melos & Anbruch*, October 1929. Source: Peter Tregear, *Ernst Krenek and the Politics of Musical Style* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2013), p.69.

¹² Arnold Schoenberg, “Glosses on the theories of others (1929),” in *Style an Idea : Selected Writings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), p.313.

¹³ Bryan R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 1908-1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.217-18.

¹⁴ Quodlibet - Latin for ‘what you please’. Source: Maria Rika Maniates, Peter Branscombe, Richard Freedman, “Quodlibet,” Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 23 May 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.22748>

period, the quodlibet was repurposed for use in musical works.¹⁵ Like potpourri, the quodlibet utilises pre-existing material from other compositions in its construction. It is most commonly used to display technical virtuosity or humour.¹⁶ This genre did have resurgence in 19th Century Viennese theatres through its incorporation into many presentations such as Singspiel, Viennese farces as well as pasticcio opera into modern day theatre works.

Burger would have been aware of this form from his studies and work in opera. Additionally, at least one potpourri in Burger's oeuvre aligns with the quodlibet's overarching theme of humour such as his 1945 work *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody*.¹⁷ However, unlike the quodlibet, the Radio Potpourri's subject themes can be focused on any subject ranging from an historic event or nationalistic or geographic themes. Additionally, Burger's genre can project any emotion. Therefore, the Quodlibet has been excluded as a potential derivation source.

4.1.2.2 The Divertissement

The Divertissement was prevalent in the 17th and 18th centuries. It consisted of music (usually with spectacle) which was intended for employ in a wide array of entertainment from ballet, comedy, serenades to opera and special concerts.¹⁸ In the 18th century, the genre was also incorporated into Opéra Comique as well as chamber and keyboard works.¹⁹ ²⁰ In the 19th century, the divertissement was incorporated into grand opera and was generally situated in the third act of a given opera. During this period, it also began to be utilised in vaudeville and ballet.

While Burger certainly drew on source material from operas, operettas as well as songs, choruses and ensemble works, no direct examples within his radio works exist which could be categorised as a Divertissement. However, within Burger's other compositions, one could also draw

¹⁵ The first use of the term with reference to music was in the 1544 publication by Wolfgang Schmeltzl in Nuremberg under the title *Guter seltzer und künstreicher teutscher Gesand, sonderlich etliche künstliche Quodlibet*. Source: Maniates, Branscombe, Freedman, "Quodlibet,"

¹⁶ The Quodlibet became a prevalent genre throughout the Renaissance in various forms and titles (Ensalada in Spain, the Misticanza in Italy, Medley in England and the Fricassée in France). Source: Maniates, Branscombe, Freedman, "Quodlibet,"

¹⁷ *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody* was completed in 1945 but due to copyright complications, it was never broadcast. For a complete list of works, please see Rhapsody section of 'Origins' in this case study. Source: Rita Wayne, "Letter (for W.R. Reid) to Stanford Robinson, RE: American Musical Comedies Potpourri," 26 March 1946, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹⁸ James R. Anthony, M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, "Divertissement," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 25 June 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07865>

¹⁹ An example of its use in Opéra Comique is *Le Fragments de M. De Lully*, based on works by Jean Baptiste Lully (1632-1687). Arranged Libretto by Danchet; Music and supplement by Campra. Performed at the Academy Royal de Musique in 1702 - Paris. Source: Rebecca Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera : A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p.xi, 289-90.

²⁰ An example of divertissement's employ in a chamber work includes *Apothéose de Lully* (1725) by François Couperin utilises Lully's 'Vol de Mercure aux Champs-Élysées' and a 'Descente d'Apollon' in a trio texture. Source: James R. Anthony, "Divertissement," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 25 June 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07865>

comparisons between the genre and his 1954 commission for the Metropolitan Opera titled *Vittorio*.²¹ This one-act ballet was created in partnership with ballet master Zachary Solov and utilises thematic material and ballet music from several of Giuseppe Verdi's operas.²²

4.1.2.3 Rhapsody

Two further possibilities for comparison are the Rhapsody and the Fantasia, both of which are derived from 16th Century Europe. The Rhapsody was first utilised as a literary form but began to be fused to music in late 18th century England and Germany. In the field of music, a Rhapsody is a one-movement work which lacks a formal structure and features a range of contrasting sentiments, colour and tonality.²³ The form was very popular in the 19th and early 20th centuries among innumerable prominent composers including one of Burger's own mentors- Engelbert Humperdinck.²⁴

Burger included the term *Rhapsody* in the titles of three late potpourris: *the New World Rhapsody* (1942), *Victory Rhapsody* (1945) and the *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody* (1945). These do appear to share some stylistic similarities with the Rhapsodic form, particularly with the form's long-standing associations with nationalistic and epic tendencies in orchestral settings. It provides possible evidence to suggest Burger may have begun to move away from composing in the Radio Potpourri genre to something more stylistically representative of a Rhapsodic nature. However, the term is not applicable to Radio Potpourri which widely vary in subject themes.

Furthermore, a definitive conclusion cannot be drawn due to the Rhapsody examples either being lost or inaccessible at the present time. The long-standing associations of nationalistic and epic tendencies in orchestral Rhapsodic genre are prevalent in Burger's latter works and lend some credibility to the argument for categorising them as such. Under these criteria, one could also potentially categorise *The Empire Sings!* (1938) as a Rhapsody for its nationalistic subject theme.

²¹ John Martin, "The Dance: Premiere-The Metropolitan Opera presents a Ballet," *The New York Times*, 10 December 1954, Vol.104, No.35386, p.34.

²² The score includes music from *Aroldo* (1857), *La Battaglia die Legnano* (1849), *I Lombardi* (1843), *Alzira* (1845), *Un Giorno di Regno [Il Finto Stanislao]* (1840), *Giovanna d'Arco* (1845), *Luisa Miller* (1849) as well as material from ballet music within the operas of *Macbeth* (1865 version), *Il Trovatore* (1853), *Vespri Siciliani* (1855), *Ernani* (1844) and *Don Carlo* (1867). These were then arranged into a cohesive work supplemented with original material from Burger. Source: Julius Burger, "Vittorio, Ballet in 3 scenes by Zachary Solov," Box 25, 1.2.3.1., Skizzen und Sonstiges 1.2.3., Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte Zentrum der MDW, Vienna, Austria.

²³ John Rink, "Rhapsody," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 25 June 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23313>

²⁴ Though Humperdinck was not widely known for composing in the Rhapsodic form, it is plausible Julius Burger could have gained further insights into the form through his study under the composer. Source: John Rink, "Rhapsody," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 25 June 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23313>

4.1.2.4 The Fantasia

Like the Rhapsody, the Fantasia has been utilised and adapted into subsequent variations over the last four centuries.²⁵ Its earliest manifestations were in the form of keyboard and printed tablatures in Italian, German and French territories. Although the popularity of the keyboard fantasia was on decline by the late 17th century, it remained in use in historically German and Austrian territories.²⁶

Although Burger's Radio Potpourris for the BBC do not immediately appear to have a direct relationship with the fantasia, one possible connection can be made in reference to the genre and its nationalistic connotations which were prevalent in 19th Century Poland. A comparative example is Chopin's *Grand Fantasia on Polish Airs* Op.13. This 'national fantasy' utilises the free, episodic manner of the 18th century fantasia but employs well-known melodies of Polish dance with nationalistic overtones.²⁷ The work's emphasis on Polish dance can be interpreted as promoting the nationalistic folk culture as a means of resisting domination by external forces.²⁸ Subsequent works of this nature were frequently referred to as fantasies because of employ of these "national" themes.²⁹

Many parallels exist in the concept and construction of both the 'national' fantasia and the Radio Potpourri genre with the exception of their intent. While both utilise a central theme and pre-existing material to create a unified work, the vast majority of Radio Potpourri are cosmopolitan works and apolitical in nature. There are, of course, possible exceptions to the employment of nationalistic music themes in Burger's later potpourri. These stem from 1937 onwards. One such example is *Themes of London* (1937) which focuses on the British capital throughout four centuries while utilising cultural music from the British Isles. Three other examples share similarities with the nationalistic fantasia including the Grand Potpourri *The Empire Sings!* (1938), the Miniature Potpourris *Military Marches* (1938) and *Boer War Songs* (1937). *The Empire Sings!* utilises songs and excerpts deriving from Great Britain and its colonial territories. The *Military Marches (Regimental Marches)* potpourri, part of the *Songs of the British Isles* Chapter Potpourri,

²⁵ Sources: Cristopher S. Field, "Fantasia," ; Manfred Schuler, " Hans Kotter," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 10 July 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.15422>

²⁶ It was later included in the repertoire of composers such as J.S. Bach's *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue in D minor*, BWV903 (1720) and multiple Rhapsodic works by the composer's son, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714 - 1788). C.P.E. Bach's twenty-three Rhapsodic and improvisatory works in the style, written for clavichord, span from 1753 to 1787. Source: Eugene E. Helm, "Fantasia – 18th Century," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 6 July 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40048>

²⁷ Halina Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 2008), p.89.

²⁸ Halina Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, p.62.

²⁹ Halina Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, p.89.

shares similarities with the nationalistic fantasia genre for employ of British marching songs associated with various British regiments.³⁰ Likewise, *Boer War Songs* utilises music hall songs and ballads which were popular among British troops during the conflict.³¹

Burger's oeuvre does include one work which is deemed a 'Fantasia' or 'Fantasy'. This is his 1942 work *the Roumanian [sic] Fantasy*, composed for and recorded by conductor Andre Kostelanetz and his orchestra for the Columbia Masterworks label. Sadly, Burger is uncredited as the composer on the commercial recording.³² The work appears to draw its inspiration from Georg Enescu's *Romanian Rhapsody No.1*, Op.11 (1901) and shares structural similarities in its employ of folk songs and dances.³³ While this work also shares many similarities in construction with the potpourri, it isn't associated with Burger's compositions for the BBC. Therefore, it has been discounted from further discussion. A final genre comparison, the Pasticcio, offers the most likely sources of influence in the creation of Radio Potpourri.

4.1.3 Pasticcio: From Opera to Film and Radio

Pasticcio is a musical work constructed utilising various pieces from different composers or sources which are then adapted to fit a new or existing libretto.³⁴ This genre presents the strongest evidence as a source of inspiration for the Radio Potpourri for its remediated use as musical accompaniment to silent film presentations throughout Europe and the United States. Particular focus has been paid to the pasticcio's use as an accompaniment practice in early 20th century Viennese silent cinemas of the period in which Burger was an active practitioner.

4.1.3.1 Pasticcio Opera

Pasticcio or 'pastiche' form in opera has its origins in mid 17th Century Italy and was derived from a necessity to fulfil the popular demand for opera. This demand for new operatic music was exacerbated by the construction of numerous new court and public theatre venues across the Italian peninsula during the period.³⁵

³⁰ Contributor, "Military Marches," *Radio Times*, 16 September 1938, Vol. 60, No. 781, p.22.

³¹ For analysis on *Boer War Songs*, please see the Historic Potpourri section in this study.

³² The recording of "Roumanian Fantasy" is listed as: "November 26, 1944 - XCO-33901/02.

TRADITIONAL: *Roumanian Fantasy* (Gypsy Songs) (5:34) 78s: Columbia 7427-M. 45s: 4-7427-M. LPs: AAL-4 (also labeled AL-4). Source: James H. North, *Andre Kostelanetz on Records and on the Air: A Discography and Radio Log* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010), p.10.

³³ Noel Malcom, "George [Enesco, Georges] Enescu," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 23 June 2020, URL: <http://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08793>

³⁴ Curtis Price, "Pasticcio," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 8 July 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21051>

³⁵ Curtis Price, "Pasticcio,"

Although the process of substitution posed possible conflicts between the new material and the overarching dramatic content of the work, the pasticcio was utilised frequently in the majority of Italian opera revivals from the late 17th Century onward.³⁶ Its use continued to grow in popularity among European opera houses throughout the 18th and into the 19th Century. Pasticcio's versatility made it popular among composer and theatres alike. Its use by monumental composers such as Giovanni Bononcini (1670-1747), Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741) and George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) lent further credibility to the genre.³⁷

While Italian pasticcio began to wane in native theatres from the late 18th and early 19th Century, the genre's popularity and versatility enabled further evolution into other forms elsewhere in Europe. Such derivative examples include the ballad opera, English comic opera, opéra comique and singspiel elsewhere in Europe. Although less dominant as a central genre, pasticcio continued to be incorporated into operatic works throughout Europe into the late 19th and early 20th Century.³⁸ With the advent and popularisation of silent film in the late 19th century, the pasticcio genre was again utilised, in a reconfigured form, for entertainment purposes. However, instead of appearing in the opera house, pasticcio was now subsumed into the burgeoning field of cinema by various ensembles and soloists.

4.1.3.2 Pasticcio and Early Cinema

Pasticcio's repurposed use as a means to enhance silent cinema presentations is yet another genre for comparison. Both Radio Potpourri and silent film pasticcio are not direct continuations of classical forms but are instead plausible answers to the questions posed by the new technological advances in media. To demonstrate pasticcio's role in silent cinema presentations as well as one possible source of inspiration for Burger's Radio Potpourri genre, some historic background on film itself is required.

The earliest scientific article on the topic of living imagery or "*persistence of vision*" was first published in 1829 by Joseph Antoine Ferdinand Plateau (1801-1883).³⁹ Plateau subsequently patented his own moving image device in 1832 which achieved much of the descriptions he outlined in his article. The device, which he deemed the '*Phenakistiscope*', utilised slightly varied images painted onto a disc which, when spun, created the illusion of an animated image.⁴⁰ Similar

³⁶ Curtis Price, "Pasticcio,"

³⁷ Curtis Price, "Pasticcio,"

³⁸ Curtis Price, "Pasticcio,"

³⁹ James Wierzbicki, "Origins, 1894-1905," in *Film Music : A History* (London: Routledge Publishers, 2009), p.14.

⁴⁰ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.14.

moving image devices followed shortly after with the invention of the '*Stroboskope*' by Simon Ritter von Stampfer (1790-1864) and the '*Zoëtrope*' by English inventor William Horner (1786-1837). Further advances led to the creation of early cinematographic devices including the experiments by Baron Franz von Uchatius (1811-1881) in Germany, the invention of the '*Zoopraxiscope*' and the multi camera experiments of British-born Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904).

Other important contributions include the invention of single shot celluloid film cameras by George Eastman (1854-1932) in 1884 as well as advances in filmstrips by Thomas Edison (1847-1931) for use in his Kinetograph and Kinetoscope devices.⁴¹ The opening of Edison's first Kinetoscope viewing parlour in 1894 New York City represented a major step forward in transforming early film devices from mere toys into a cultural art form, based around the ancient tradition of storytelling.⁴²

The following year, the Lumière brothers (August and Louis) applied for patent of their *cinématographe* and shortly thereafter, began public screenings of their films.⁴³ It is not known definitively whether musical accompaniment was present at the Lumière brother's first film presentation on 28 December 1895 in Paris. However, their London premiere, which took place only a few weeks later, did include musical accompaniment on Harmonium. Further screenings in London on 20 February 1896 also utilised musical accompaniment.⁴⁴ Over the next several months, orchestral accompaniment was also added to the screenings. The joining of these two mediums ushered in a new age of artistic expression and, equally, created a new form of media consumption.

4.1.3.3 Musical accompaniment

Early silent cinema presentations of the 1890s were an extension of well-established entertainment forms such as vaudeville and melodrama plays. Naturally, musical accompaniment to early film presentations was seemingly an organic progression.⁴⁵ Musical accompaniment in early silent cinemas was utilised for several reasons. Primarily, music lent credibility to the on-

⁴¹ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.14-15.

⁴² James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.16.

⁴³ The device was a formidable improvement on Edison's Kinetoscope and was created by first reverse engineering Edison's invention. Several of these improvements include the use of celluloid film, which meant the *cinématographe*'s recording speed could be slowed. This, in turn, allowed for longer duration of recorded footage. Coupled with the vastly reduced size of the device itself in comparison to Edison's device, the *cinématographe* could now easily be transported in a box mounted to a tripod and was powered by a hand crank instead of electricity. Source: James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.17-18.

⁴⁴ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.20-21.

⁴⁵ Mervyn Cooke, "Film Music," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 29 July 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09647>

screen imagery. Accompaniment later evolved to heighten the theatrical experience by embellishing dramatic moments with appropriately emotive music.⁴⁶ Sound effects also became frequently common to further increase the realism of onscreen offerings. A secondary reason for the employ of musical accompaniment was for practical reasons. The melodic strains from a pianist, ensemble or orchestra both entertained audiences while drowning out the mechanical noises produced by the projection equipment.

The instrumentation for a typical cinema screening's accompaniment could range from a reduced orchestra ensemble to a single pianist or organist depending on the funding available to the theatre. The size of venue and location of the screening were also factors in the accompanying instrumentation choices as facilities designed specifically for cinema presentations were rare at the turn of the 20th century. An orchestra would rehearse with the film beforehand in order to precisely synchronise chosen music quotations with various scenes or dramatic moments. Organists or pianists would typically have to rely on their improvisation skills and breadth of memorised repertoire to enhance the storyline of the evening's offerings.⁴⁷ In most cases, this was undertaken with little or no rehearsal and, as such, forced all musicians involved to rely on their musicianship and quick thinking to accommodate the fast pace of the film.⁴⁸

While commissioned scores for a specific film began to emerge within the first decade of the twentieth century, such as Saint-Saëns' score for the 1908 Henri Lavedan (1859-1940) film *L'assassinat du duc de Guise*, the practice did not gain traction until the second half of the silent era in the early to mid 1920s.⁴⁹ A prominent example from the United States includes a hybrid score for the American epic *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) by Joseph Carl Breil (1870-1926), which was comprised of original music as well as arranged selections by composers such as Tchaikovsky and Wagner.⁵⁰ Early European scores include the 1922 score by Arthur Honegger (1892-1955) for the French film *La roue*, Gottfried Huppertz's (1887-1937) score for the 1926 German-made Fritz Lang (1890-1976) film *Metropolis* as well as the Dimitri Shostakovich (1906-1975) score for the late era Russian film *The New Babylon* (1929).⁵¹ Shostakovich had previously worked as a silent-cinema pianist and would have had first-hand knowledge of the intricacies of the burgeoning art form. His occupational experiences further serve as examples of the cross transfer of between the new field of cinema music composition and the practice of live accompaniment.

⁴⁶ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.21.

⁴⁷ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.19-22.

⁴⁸ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.21.

⁴⁹ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.48.

⁵⁰ Mervyn Cooke, "Music for Silent Films (section one) : Film Music," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 29 July 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.09647>

⁵¹ Mervyn Cooke, "Music for Silent Films (section one) : Film Music,"

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Early silent film relied on individual musicians and their own breadth of internal repertoire. This meant a particular film's soundtracks could vary widely from cinema to cinema. The accompaniment was less dependent on the film's content and more reliant on the interpretations by the musicians. Repertoire, likewise, varied widely and was represented by an amalgamation of popular instrumental pieces, hymns, popular tunes, folk melodies and sound effects. As previously mentioned, cinema's close association with stage and theatre made its utilisation of operatic music a natural progression. Along with this musical transplant came the useful pasticcio genre. The core of early film accompaniment repertoire relied on Romantic idioms prevalent in opera and operetta of the day. Common practices also included the employ of the leitmotif generally associated with the operas of Wagner. Leitmotif became a foundational tool in shaping the narrative and structural framework for this fledgling genre.⁵²

4.1.3.4 Cinematic Pasticcio in Practice

As silent film progressed and the idea of musical accompaniment began to gain momentum, so did the impetus to standardise the use of music in order to enhance a film's storyline. This would then frame the film as a solitary art form which could be consistently reproduced with the director and screenwriter's intended emotive qualities intact. Early attempts in the standardisation process took the form of musical selection suggestions published in trade magazines and 'cue books'. These provided guidelines and score compilation lists to aid accompanists. According to film historian James Wierzbicki, cue books were brief and totalled four pages or less. These provided visual cues for musical transitions and included a list of music selections, including work title and composer, which approximately corresponded with scenes in a given film.⁵³

Occasionally, these would also include a bar count or time duration in which to play the selections. However, named compositions were not consistently provided. Cue books typically provided emotive musical terms or genres such as "*Begin with andante, finish with allegro*" or "*Irish jig*" while identifying starting and ending points to coincide with specific moments in a given film.⁵⁴ The primary focus of music accompaniment was to enhance a film's story and made no clear delineation between musical genre boundaries in the process. This meant various genres were melded together, utilising a wide pastiche technique, to reach the widest possible of

⁵² Mervyn Cooke, "Film Music,"

⁵³ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.35-41.

⁵⁴ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : History*, p.36.

audiences.⁵⁵ This tapped into the mass culture which reached across social or cultural boundaries rather than focus on a solitary demographic or genre.⁵⁶

One of the earliest examples of these music guides or 'cue sheets' is the 1909 promotional brochure titled *Edison Kinetogram*.⁵⁷ This was distributed by Edison Pictures to aid in the standardisation process. While Edison and his company are credited as one of the primary proponents of standardising silent film musical accompaniment, other prominent pioneers in the field of 'cue sheets' include Max Winkler (1888-1965), John S. Zamecnik (1872-1953) as well as Giuseppe Becce (1877-1973). Between 1919 and 1933, Becce published a series of cue guides titled *Kinothek : Neue Filmusik (Kinothek)*. This served as an anthological source which could be used to cross reference cinematic music by situation or mood.⁵⁸ He later collaborated with Hans Erdmann (1882-1942) and Ludwig Brav (1896-1951) in the publication of a film music encyclopaedia titled *Allgemeines Handbuch der Filmusik* in 1927.⁵⁹

While early cinemas were borrowing from the musical practices of opera and operetta theatres of the period, they also went as far as to transfer these works in their entirety to modern medium. Early film adaptations of opera crossed onto the silver screen in works such as George Méliès (1861-1938) 1904 adaptation of Gounod's 1859 Opera *Faust*. The film, titled *Damnation du docteur Faust or Faust and Margarite*, was a condensed, fifteen minute version and was billed to the French public as "*pièce fantastique à grand spectacle en 20 tableaux (d'après le roman de Goethe)*" (*New and Magnificent Cinematographic Opera in 20 Motion Tableaux (based on Goethe's novel)*).⁶⁰ Two other examples include Thomas Edison's own adaptation of Gounod's opera, released under the title *Faust* (1909) and the pasticcio film score to Vitagraph's 1911 adaptation of Verdi's *Il Trovatore* compiled by Charles P. Müller.⁶¹ While these adaptations drew on the original libretto and score, the music was drastically reduced to only the central compositional themes. These were then put into brief sequences in comparison to the opera's original scenes. This was necessary in order to accommodate the relatively short duration of early silent films while considering the reduced instrumentation of the accompanying ensemble in comparison to a standard opera orchestra.

⁵⁵ Peter Morgan Barnes, "Survival and Revival," in *Pasticcio Opera : History and Context* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022).

⁵⁶ Dwight MacDonald, *Masscult and Midcult: Essays against the American Grain*, ed. John Summers (New York: New York Review of Books Publishing, 2011), p.3-10,17.

⁵⁷ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.50.

⁵⁸ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music : A History*, p.50-57.

⁵⁹ James Wierzbicki, *Film Music*, p.57.

⁶⁰ Jacques Malthête, *Laurent Mannoni, L'oeuvre de Georges Méliès* (Paris: Éditions de La Martinière, 2008), p.164.

⁶¹ Rick Altman, *Silent Film Sound* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p.255-257.

4.1.3.5 Recorded accompaniment

In a grand scenario, a theatre would employ a small orchestra. For midsize theatres, instrumentation could be reduced for a small ensemble or string quartet while small theatres or those on a tight budget would employ a single pianist or organist to accompany film selections. Later developments in technology, such as the advent of audio overlay and synchronisation machinery, would eventually eliminate the need for live musical accompaniment. Early examples of these devices, such as Carl Robert Blum's *'Rhythmnome'*, stem from the latter half of the 1920s and provided pre-set rhythmical cue to a conductor.⁶²

Other ways of providing pre-recorded musical selections relied on systems such as the Vitaphone disc system, developed by Western Electric's Bell Laboratories in the mid 1920s.⁶³ The Vitaphone was essentially a record player which relayed recordings to accompany a chosen film. Similar experiments in pre-recorded soundtracks had been conducted by Thomas Edison as early as 1904, utilising a kinetophone film sequence of Wagner's *Parsifal* accompanied by a phonograph. However, this technique did not provide a consistent means of synchronising the soundtrack with the film. Other advances in technology, pioneered by Western Electric, allowed the sound to be recorded directly onto the celluloid film itself in synchronicity with the image.⁶⁴ This meant a complete musical score could be commissioned to emphasise a storyline and then precisely synchronised to a given film. This advancement completely revolutionised the artistic process.

Sound standardisation and the resulting through-composed scoring eventually led to film scores being appreciated as art in their own right. Composers such as Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897-1957) (*Captain Blood* -1935 ; *The Adventures of Robin Hood* - 1938), Max Steiner (*King Kong* - 1933), Karol Rathaus (1895-1954) (*Der Mörder Dimitri Karamasoff* or *'The Murderer Dimitri Karamasov'* - 1931) and Friedrich Hollaender (1896-1976) (*Der blaue Engel* - 1930) are now commonly recognised for their associations with film music rather than their serious compositions in more traditional forms.⁶⁵

4.1.3.6 Silent Film Accompaniment in Vienna

Silent film had gained great popularity throughout the Western world by the first decade of the twentieth century. The growing film industry coincided with new avenues for musical performance and expression. While the use of music became increasingly synonymous with films

⁶² Mervyn Cooke, "Film Music,"

⁶³ Cass Warner Sperlign, Cork Millner, Jack Warner, *Hollywood be Thy Name: The Warner Brothers Story* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), p.111.

⁶⁴ Mervyn Cooke, "Film Music,"

⁶⁵ Mervyn Cooke, "Film Music,"

of the silent film era, one could hardly discuss the developments of film accompaniment while ignoring the practice in the 'City of Music' of Vienna. According to researchers Claus Tieber and Anna K Windisch's paper titled *The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930*, Viennese presentations of film accompaniment typically drew on the genres and styles commonly associated with the city. These included selections of waltzes, marches, arias from operettas and operas, operatic potpourris, Wienerlieder and canonical classical works.⁶⁶

Viennese film accompaniment originally derived from entertainment music deemed '*Unterhaltungsmusik*' - a semi pejorative term meaning '*light music*'. The term's application to silent film accompaniment alludes to cinema's early associations as a novelty form of entertainment for the "lower classes". While other major world cities of the period (*i.e.* Berlin, London, Paris and New York City) began to build specific cinematic venues or expand existing theatres for these purposes, the city of Vienna did not contain a substantial number of venues specifically for film with a capacity over 1,000. Equally, the largest cinema theatres in early 20th Century Vienna were situated in the Prater. Their location reinforces the claim that the medium was, at first, a novelty given the Prater's association with entertainment and its amusement park - the Wurstelprater. According to Tieber and Windisch, the connotations were short-lived as the relatively young Viennese Bourgeoisie class took interest and began to patronise film presentations. One can also point to the 'special event' screenings of musically accompanied films in eminent classical music venues, such as the Beethovensaal and the Wiener Konzerthaus, as further contributors to the fledgling artform's legitimization.⁶⁷ For example, the Wiener Konzerthaus, completed in 1913, included purpose-built space to accommodate two film projectors.

Viennese musicians under the employ of these early cinemas often consisted of a single pianist and violinist. This accompaniment could be expanded to include string quartets, smaller instrumental ensembles, or salon orchestras drawn from source venues such as dance halls, restaurants, wine gardens, salons, and the like.⁶⁸ As films grew in length and complexity, they were further legitimised as an artistic form through a combination of increased demand and rising popularity among the Bourgeoisie class. Likewise, previous '*Unterhaltungsmusik*' or '*light music*' repertoire in cinemas began to expand to include a more stylistically diverse palate. These selections were often chosen by an appointed Kapellmeister to further accentuate the films

⁶⁶ Claus Tieber, Anna K. Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," in *The Sounds of Silent Films* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK Publishing, 2014), p. 84-102.

⁶⁷ Tieber, Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," p.84-102.

⁶⁸ Tieber, Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," p.84-102.

increased palate of emotional complexity. This shift coincided with the Austrian film industry's expansion from 1913 onward.

Among the more popular subjects in Austrian films were those centred around musical themes. Like opera and operetta, these films often used songs or arias as the main drawing attraction.⁶⁹ Theatres began regularly utilising well known vocalists as soloists as well as employing quartets and choirs to perform potpourri arrangements of works from operettas and operas. An early example includes the 1913 Austrian film *Der Millionenonkel*, which features operetta star Alexander Girardi (1850-1918) performing music by composer Robert Stolz (1880-1975).⁷⁰

The industry in early 20th Century Vienna still largely relied on Kapellmeister or individual players to decide on repertoire due to the relatively few trade journals or repertoire booklets available at this time. This began to change when Viennese publishers began to release arrangement collections and musical potpourri specifically for film accompaniment in the latter years of silent cinema. Universal Edition's *Vindobona Collection* is one such example.⁷¹ The series, published from 1926-1932, contains arrangements of 'Modern' compositions for small and full orchestra by recognisable figures such as Karl Goldmark (1830-1915), Gustav Mahler (1860-1911), Max Reger (1873-1916), Alexander Zemlinsky (1871-1942), Franz Schreker (1878-1934) and Ernst Krenek (1900-1991), among others. A second example, *Filmona (Film-Illustrations-Musik: Die Neue Sammlung moderner Film-Illustrations-Musik)* points to a larger consumer demographic than the exclusive Viennese public. These were not only issued in the German language but also in French and English as well. Works in this collection were written by Viennese composers Franz Eber (1901-1962), Victor Hruby (1894-1978) and Emil Bauer (1874-1941) and were categorised by their emotive qualities to heighten corresponding scenes in any given film.⁷²

As a reflection of other European and American film industrial practices of the period, commissioned scores to accompany Austrian films were a rarity throughout most of the silent film era. The earliest known Viennese example is Erich Hiller's score for the 1911 Asta Nielsen film *Der Schwarze Traum*. One of the best known examples is the 1926 Austrian film adaptation of *Der Rosenkavalier*, arranged from the 1911 comic opera, by the opera's original composer, Richard Strauss (1864-1949).⁷³ Further examples of Viennese born composers who are synonymous with the through-composed film scores include the previously mentioned composers Max Steiner as well as Erich Wolfgang Korngold.⁷⁴ Steiner's 1933 film *King Kong* was the first full length score for

⁶⁹ Tieber, Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," p.84-102.

⁷⁰ Tieber, Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," p.84-102.

⁷¹ Tieber, Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," p.84-102.

⁷² Tieber, Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," p.84-102.

⁷³ Tieber, Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," p.84-102.

⁷⁴ The Steiner family had long been active in the theatre business. His father worked as a theatrical

a Hollywood studio and utilised many theatrical based techniques such as repeated motifs and themes.⁷⁵ A further example of Steiner's crossover use of theatrical devices in film music can be found in his film score for *Cimarron* (1930).⁷⁶ The film, directed by Wesley Ruggles (1889-1972), was the first sound film or 'talkie' to include non-diegetic music (*i.e.* music which is audible only to the audiences) to emphasise emotional, unspoken elements of the narrative.⁷⁷ This technique shows its likely origins from Steiner's many years as a theatre composer.

4.1.3.7 Film Music and Radio Potpourri

While through-composed film scores would become the standard from 1930s onward, silent cinema of the 1910s and 1920s relied heavily on live accompanied performance. The apparent lack of access to cue sheets in Vienna and the increasing number of film releases, coupled with the relatively few through-composed film scores and lack of synchronisation techniques, left the practice of artistic musical interpretation largely preserved in cinemas.⁷⁸

The history of the pasticcio genre and its role in the evolution of early film music present parallels in the concept and compositional formation of Julius Burger's BBC works deemed Radio Potpourri. According to an interview conducted with his long-time friend Dr. Trude Zörer, Burger was employed as a piano accompanist in the era of silent cinemas, like composer Dimitri Shostakovich.⁷⁹⁸⁰ This was likely undertaken to supplement his income while studying at the Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien and later, in Berlin while still a student at the Hochschule für Musik. This work would have required Burger to possess excellent skills as a pianist while drawing on a large repertoire of music with an array of emotive qualities, spanning multiple genres. The occupation would further require performing these selections to precisely align with the film of the day.

producer while his grandfather served as manager of the Theater an Der Wien. Steiner's training and experiences, as both conductor and composer in many European theatres, were easily transferrable to film composition. Source: Kate Daubney and Janet B. Bradford, "Max(imilian Raoul Walter) Steiner," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, March 2020, Accessed 30 July 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.3000000221>

⁷⁵ Kate Daubney and Janet B. Bradford, "Max(imilian Raoul Walter) Steiner,"

⁷⁶ Kate Daubney and Janet B. Bradford, "Max(imilian Raoul Walter) Steiner,"

⁷⁷ Non-diegetic music is audible only to the film's audience. Source: Mervyn Cooke, "Film Music,"

⁷⁸ "As hinted earlier, our research on Vienna's cinema music did not yield any cue sheets- a common device to organise film music on the part of distributors and producers in the US - or other forms of music suggestions. To our knowledge, neither film production companies nor music publishers were offering cue sheets for specific films in Vienna. Hence, used music was mostly pre-existing and we could also argue that solo musicians, pianists, or harmonium players- relied on memory and extemporisations over known pieces for much of their accompaniment." Source: Claus Tieber, Anna K. Windisch, "The Sound of Music in Vienna's Cinemas, 1910-1930," *The Sounds of Silent Films* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK Publishing, 2014) p. 84-102.

⁷⁹ "...he said that during his youth he loved to play for silent films. These silent movies required a pianist, and this (playing for silent films) gave him tremendous joy." Source: Dr. Trude Zörer, "Recollections on friendship with composer Julius Burger," Question 4, page 2, Interviewed by Ryan Hugh Ross, 30 October 2019, Video, 1:12:42.

⁸⁰ Mervyn Cooke, "Music for Silent Films (section one) : Film Music,"

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By creating impromptu pastiche works as a silent film accompanist, Burger would also have acquired a particular aptitude for arranging. Likewise, his years of study, early occupational apprenticeship at the Metropolitan Opera and employment as assistant to Otto Klemperer at the Kroll Opera would have provided a firm understanding of opera and, at the very least, a familiarity with pasticcio opera. Pasticcio's employment in opera and its practice in film accompaniment share many qualities with Radio Potpourri. All three weave together excerpts of cross-genre works into a score utilising incidental music in support of a larger story. Unlike Steiner, who used his skills in musical theatrics for the medium of film, Burger transferred these qualities to the employ of Radio. In film, the story is primarily conveyed through a visual format with audio as a secondary or supporting device. While radio shares many similarities to film as a story-reproducing device, its only sensory medium is through audio production. This meant Burger had to rely solely on descriptive narration and carefully chosen musical selections, woven together to convey the desired story. Much the same process which Burger would have used as an accompanist in the silent cinemas of Vienna and Berlin.

Other parallels between early cinematic music and the radio programmes include the duration of the 'Grand Potpourri' with those of films from the early 1930s. Silent films originally emerged as shorter works with approximate duration spans of 10 to 30 minutes generally. This is similar to a generic potpourri which also utilised a similar duration. Both film and potpourri eventually evolved in complexity and duration to approximately 60 minutes. The evolution of early cinema music and the increase in demand for radio programming provided fertile grounds for cross media repurposing of musical styles and techniques or "remediation" from the theatre to film production and radio composition.

4.2 Remediation for Radio : Berlin to the BBC

4.2.1 Funkstunde AG Berlin

The advances in mass media technology in the early 20th Century provided the potential to reach vastly increased audiences and became a particular focus of composers, playwrights and artists alike. One major question faced these purveyors of culture: how can the established classical art forms be tailored to fit the new technological advances of mass media? While artists and intellectuals across the world began working on solutions, in Germany, the establishment of the country's first official radio entertainment program in 1923 provided a laboratory in which these solutions could be tested. The Deutschenstunde AG was housed in Voxhaus building (Haus der Vox-Schallplatten- und Sprechmaschinen-AG) near Berlin's Potsdamer Platz. The Deutsche Stunde

or “German Hour” made its first broadcast on 29 October 1923 at 8PM with the station’s first director Friedrich Georg Knöpfke (1874-1933) exclaiming:

Attention! Attention! Here the transmission point in Berlin is in the Voxhaus on wave 400 meters. Ladies and gentlemen, we would like to inform you that the entertainment broadcasting service will begin today with the distribution of music performances by wireless telephone. Use is subject to approval. ⁸¹

This was later followed by a live performance of the cello solo with piano accompaniment titled *Andantino* by Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962). The work is an arrangement of a piece by Giovanni Battista Martini (1706-1784) and was performed on the cello by Otto Urack (1884-1963) and accompanied by Fritz Goldschmidt (1886-1935).⁸² Six weeks later, the Funkstunde AG or ‘Radio Hour AG’ was established as the successor to the Deutschenstunde. Within the first six months, the Funstunde had an estimated 100,000 listeners and, despite the volatile financial situation in Germany caused by rampant inflation, four years later, subscriptions reached nearly two million subscribers.⁸³

The station broadcast reach also vastly increased at a brisk pace. It went from a potential transmission reach of 9.2 million people in 1924 in the North German Broadcast district (reaching Berlin, Potsdam and numerous upper districts of Magdeburg, Frankfurt an der Oder, Schwerin, Stettin and parts of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz and Prussia) to a reach of approximately 8.8 million in 1929 within this area. This technological advance provides massive potential audience for the performative arts.

4.2.1.1 Funkstunde Programming

Programming during the company’s early period largely catered to the “*middle*” and “*upper bourgeois*” classes as radio sets were generally too expensive for the wider public due to rampant inflation. Airtime was almost exclusively devoted to classical music. This included live broadcasts of opera and operetta transmitted from the Berlin Staatsoper as well as presentations from the radio studio. Equally important were orchestral concerts comprised of “*The most respected representatives...*” from the preclassical period to the romantics, neo-romantics and

⁸¹ Original: „Achtung, Achtung! Hier ist die Sendestelle Berlin im Voxhaus auf Welle 400 Meter. Meine Damen und Herren, wir machen Ihnen davon Mitteilung, dass am heutigen Tage der Unterhaltungsrundfunkdienst mit Verbreitung von Musikvorführungen auf drahtlos-telefonischem Wege beginnt. Die Benutzung ist genehmigungspflichtig.“ Source: Brigitte Baetz, “ Erster Hörfunksender in Deutschland nimmt seinen Betrieb auf,” Deutschlandfunk.de website, 28 October 2013, Accessed 3 November 2020, URL: <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/90-jahre-radio-erster-hoerfunktender-in-deutschland-nimmt-100.html>

⁸² Brigitte Baetz, “ Erster Hörfunksender in Deutschland nimmt seinen Betrieb auf,”

⁸³ “Broadcasting In Germany. Twenty-Five Stations,” *The Times*, 6 Oktober 1927, p.6.

impressionists.⁸⁴ Additional music offerings included frequent broadcasts which featured specialised evenings comprised of compositions by singular composers. Literary programming was also one of the company's primary pillars. They offered a variety of programming from lectures to dramatic presentations by the likes of literary giants such as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) as well as "high culture" plays by the likes of Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-1946), Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929), Georg Kaiser (1878-1945) and Arthur Schnitzler (1862-1931).⁸⁵

Programming eventually became more egalitarian to include mixed broadcasts of contemporary popular music as radio ownership increased in the late 1920s and early 1930s. This change to formatting and an ever increasing audience size prompted the need for new material and in turn, opened the door to new experimental programming to meet said demand. Several new types of radio programming began to take shape.

4.2.1.2 Program Experiments

Since radio lacks a visual component, literary and stage works began to quickly be remediated for broadcast. This not only included previously well-established plays and adaptations of novels, but also newly commissioned works for the medium. One such genre, the "Hörspiel" or radio drama, utilises plot driven dialogue, music and sound effects to illuminate the characters and story. This can include works specifically written for radio, plays originally conceived for the theatre, and selections from music theatre and opera. The term was first introduced in the *Der Deutsche Rundfunk* in 1924 to mean:

...a completely new work, composed exclusively for broadcast, which took into account the peculiarities of a medium that was entirely acoustic.⁸⁶

Some examples of Hörspiel, written specifically for the medium of radio, include Hans Flesch's (1896-1945) 1924 work *Zauberei aus dem Sender : Versuch einer Rundfunkgroteske (Magic on the Air : Attempt at a Radio Grotesque)*. This is widely credited as the first German radio play and was broadcast on 24 October 1924.⁸⁷ Another early contributor to the Hörspiel genre was the German novelist and playwright Alfred Döblin (1878-1957). He felt the radio medium was primed to produce a new form of art where the line between epic and dramatic forms would be dissolved

⁸⁴ Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz : Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture* (London: University of California Press, 2006), p.68.

⁸⁵ Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz : Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture* (London: University of California Press, 2006), p.68-72.

⁸⁶ Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz : Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture*, p.82.

⁸⁷ Hans Flesch, 'Magic on the Air : Attempt at a Radio Grotesque', translated by Lisa Harries Schumann and Lecia Rosenthal, *Cultural Critique*, Vol. 91, University of Minnesota Press, Fall 2015, p.14-31, Accessed 23 February 2022, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/culturalcritique.91.2015.0014>

through incorporating lyric elements, music and sounds into a solitary form. Equally, he felt literature of the period was overly artistic and artist centric. He instead encouraged authors to rethink their social role and revert to the simpler form of storytelling before such tales were concentrated in the written medium; effectively devolving a '*schriftsteller*' (writer) into the '*sprachsteller*' (speaker).⁸⁸

Döblin went on to remediate a version of his successful novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1929) into a Hörspiel for radio which he titled *Franz Biberkopf*, after the main character. This was scheduled for broadcast in September 1930 but was halted due to artistic differences, censorship concerns and was eventually cancelled altogether.⁸⁹ An internationally successful example of the Hörspiel is Friedrich Wolf's work titled *SOS...rao rao...Foyn* (1929). The work was broadcast in November of that year and is a dramatization of the events surrounding the 1928 crash of the Italian Arctic exploration airship the *Italia*.⁹⁰

Other examples of early German remediation experiments for radio include the reimagined adaptations and translations of Jacques Offenbach's operettas by Austrian writer, satirist and playwright Karl Kraus (1874-1936). Known for his satire and critiques of Austrian society in his periodical *Die Fackel*, Kraus presented his reimagined Offenbach works in recitals and stage performances throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s. Between 1930 and 1932, Kraus directed these texts as an "*Offenbach cycle*" on Berlin radio.⁹¹

In music, one can point to other traditional examples which were remediated for presentation via radio, such as the joint composition *Der Lindberghflug* (The Lindbergh Flight) by Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) and Kurt Weill (1900-1950) with text by Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956).⁹² The experimental piece was originally designed to demonstrate the technological possibilities of radio and premiered 27 July 1929 in Baden-Baden as part of the festival for German Chamber Music. It later went through several versions including a new musical version by Weill which premiered 5 December 1929 at the Kroll Oper Berlin, conducted by Otto Klemperer (1885-1973) as well as post war 1949/50 version by Brecht. The latter utilised texts partially set to music.⁹³

⁸⁸ Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz : Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture*, p.94-95.

⁸⁹ Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz : Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar*, p.114-119.

⁹⁰ Friedrich Wolf, "Sos...rao rao...Foyn- Krassin reitet Italia," (1929), in Bodo Würffel (Hrsg): *Frohe sozialistische Hörspiele*, Frankfurt am Main, 1982, p.41-66.

⁹¹ Laurence Senelick, "Tales from the Vienna Stage," from *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.94-97.

⁹² Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Paul Hindemith," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, December 24, 2021, Accessed 17 February 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Paul-Hindemith>

⁹³ Joachim Lucchesi, Ronal K. Shull, *Musik bei Brecht* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1988), p.461.

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Other notable musical experiments in remediation stem from the oeuvre of German émigré composer Walter Goehr (1903-1960). Goehr, a former pupil of Ernst Krenek and Arnold Schoenberg, was active in radio early in his professional career. Two examples include a score for Alfred Döblin's ill-fated radio Hörspiel *Franz Biberkopf* as well as the score for Lion Feuchtwanger's (1884-1956) "radio cabaret" titled *Pep or God's own Country* (1929).⁹⁴ Perhaps his most notable work for radio is his 1931 opera *Malpopita*. This radio opera was conceived specifically for the particular specifications of radio broadcast and was premiered on Berlin Radio in April of 1931, conducted by Erich Kleiber (1880-1956).⁹⁵

While continental radio, particularly the German Funkstunde, had a head start in the remediation process, it wasn't completely alone. As early as December 1922, the British Broadcasting Company aired a production of Johann Strauss's opera *The Last Waltz* from the Gaiety theatre in London. Shortly after, the company made plans for future presentations from their London studio premises. This resulted in remediated presentations of works such as Eduard Künneke's (1885-1953) *The Cousin from Nowhere (Der Vetter aus Dingsda)*.⁹⁶ The fledgling BBC also began to experiment with commissioning their own radio operas. Examples from the 1930s include the 26 October 1931 premiere broadcast of Ezra Pound's (1885-1972) *The Testament of François Villion* (1931). A second radio opera by Pound, *Cavalcanti* (1932), was also commissioned but was not broadcast in his lifetime.⁹⁷

Operettas were also readily becoming part of the BBC's regular programming. One such example includes the New Year's Day 1932 premiere of *Goodnight, Vienna!* The work was a collaboration between English composer George Posford (1906-1976) and English entertainer, playwright and later, BBC executive, Eric Maschwitz (1901-1969) and had been specifically composed for radio broadcast by the BBC.⁹⁸

4.2.1.3 Radio Potpourri at the Funkstunde

Julius Burger's career in radio began at the Berlin Funkstunde in 1927 as a part time conductor and arranger while still employed as an assistant conductor to Otto Klemperer at the Kroll Opera.⁹⁹ He eventually left the employ of the Kroll opera in 1930 to pursue full time employment

⁹⁴ The latter was premiered at the 1929 Baden-Baden Festival along with Brecht, Hindemith and Weill's *Der Lindberghflug*. Sources: "Musik-Hörspiele," in *Film-Kurier*, 13 May 1929. ; Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz : Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture* (London: University of California Press, 2006), p.111.

⁹⁵ Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz : Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture*, p.111.

⁹⁶ Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz : Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture*, p.201.

⁹⁷ Margaret Fisher, *Ezra Pound's Radio Operas : The BBC Experiments, 1931-1933* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2002).

⁹⁸ Contributor, "Goodnight, Vienna!," *Radio Times*, 1 January 1932, Vol. 34, No. 431, p.48.

⁹⁹ Cornelius Bronsgeest, "Erklärung," 22 February 1956, from the Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte

at the Funkstunde AG Berlin. Beside his duties as a conductor and arranger for the company, Burger also set forth in creating his own remediated musical works for radio. His earliest known work for the Funkstunde was the symphonic overture *Ozeanfahrt, 1925*. Although written for radio broadcast, the overture followed traditional music practices.¹⁰⁰ Shortly after its live broadcast on the Funkstunde on 22 April 1931, Burger broadened his compositional scope to include less traditional formatting ideas to which eventually led to the creation of the Radio Potpourri.

The earliest known example of his 'Radio Potpourri' is the 1932 work *Hallo London, Here's Berlin*. The work was broadcast on 14 November 1932 from the Funkstunde's studios in Berlin while simultaneously transmitted by the BBC from their studios in London.¹⁰¹ The potpourri comprised of arrangements of light orchestral and vocal selections derived from various musical comedies and operettas. Its listing in the 11 November 1932 issue of *Radio Times* describes the work as:

...of a type [of programme] that is frequently broadcast by Berlin, and will give British listeners a typical example of what is popular with German Radio audiences.¹⁰²

The premiere performance included an impressive collective of performers including Austro-Hungarian/Romanian tenor Joseph Schmidt (1904-1942), German soprano Elisabeth Friedrich (1893-1981), German soprano Edith Schollwer (1904-2002), German actor Eugen Rex (1884-1943) and was accompanied by the German Concert Orchestra under the conductor Eduard Künneke. Burger is not credited as the originator of this work in the *Radio Times* listing. However, a letter from Burger to Eric Maschwitz dated 21 January 1935 reveals while employed at the Funkstunde, Burger penned:

"...wrote there the potpourri "Hallo London, Here is Berlin" and that it was his "...anonymous debut in London."¹⁰³

Like Hörspiel, the Radio Potpourri genre were newly devised works designed to take into account the peculiarities of radio in a remediated medium. Hörspiel focused the play or drama on the storyline which was accentuated with an accompanying music score and sound effects to supplement the performance. Radio Potpourri, on the other hand, primarily focused on the

Zentrum der MDW, Vienna, Austria.

¹⁰⁰ *Ozeanfahrt, 1925* concluded an 8:20PM orchestral concert performed by the Berlin Funkstunde Orchestra and conducted by Bruno Seidler-Winkler. Source: "Gleichbleibende Vortrasungsfolge - Mittwoch, 22. April 1931," Funkstunde AG Berlin schedule playbill, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹⁰¹ Contributor, "Hallo London, Here's Berlin," *Radio Times*, 11 November 1932, Vol.37, No.476, p.441.

¹⁰² Contributor, "Hallo London, Here's Berlin," *Radio Times*, 11 November 1932, Vol.37, No.476, p.441.

¹⁰³ Julius Burger, "Letter to Eric Maschwitz," 21 January 1935, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

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musical score which is then accentuated with narration and sound effects to supplement the performance. Like Döblin's concept of devolving the overly stylised, artist-centric literary works into a less formalised, approachable format, the Radio Potpourri equally steps back from the guise of "serious" masterworks toward a simpler form of middlebrow entertainment for radio.

While the Funkstunde AG Berlin was making strides in the development of new radio programming, the political rupture of early 1933 prompted scores of composers, playwrights, artists and radio specialists to leave Germany. Adolf Hitler's appointment to Chancellor on 29 January 1933 put the Nazi party in position of power. In the weeks following his appointment, the party sought to increase their majority in parliament and further consolidate control over the German government. This process accelerated when the German Parliament building, the Reichstag, was set on fire and destroyed on 27 February 1933. Germany's President Hindenburg (1847-1934) then signed the Emergency Decree for the Protection of the German People (Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat) the following day. The decree effectively declared a state of emergency and suspended many democratic aspects of the Weimar Republic including basic personal freedoms like freedom of speech, the right to own property, and the right to trial before imprisonment.¹⁰⁴

The parliamentary elections on 5 March 1933 secured the party considerable gains but not a majority control of the legislative body. In response, Adolf Hitler proposed the *Enabling Act (Ermächtigungsgesetz)* or 'Law to Remedy the Distress of People and Reich' (*Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich*). This legislation effectively gave him the power to bypass parliamentary procedure and rule by decree. The bill passed the required two thirds majority vote on 24 March 1933, firmly handing the reins of power to the Nazi party. A flurry of legislative bills followed. One such bill, the *Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums)*, was passed on 7 April 1933 and capitalised on Nazi anti-Semitic ideology by excluding Jews and political opponents from all civil service positions.

The bill's implementation created a mass wave of forced resignations and redundancies in numerous sectors and effectively allowed the Nazi regime to choose replacements loyal to party ideology.¹⁰⁵ The Berlin Funkstunde, which had been nationalised in January 1933 and renamed the Reichsender Berlin, was a prime target. Forced resignations at all levels of the company went

¹⁰⁴ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "The Reichstag fire," Holocaust Encyclopaedia, Accessed 28 February 2021, URL: <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-reichstag-fire>

¹⁰⁵ "Law for the Reestablishment of the Professional Civil Service (April 7, 1933)," in *United States Chief Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, Volume III*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1946, Document 1397-PS, pp. 981-83. (English translated accredited to Nuremberg staff; edited by GHI staff., URL: https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1520)

into effect. Dismissals in upper management included director Friedrich Knöpfe (1874-1933), Chairman of the Supervisory board Hans Bredow (1879-1959) as well as station manager Hans Flesch (1896-1945) who had previously been dismissed in 1932 and replaced by party member Richard Kolb (1891-1945). Literary Department head Edlef Köppen (1893-1939) was replaced by Austrian playwright Arnolt Bronnen (1895-1959).¹⁰⁶ Despite his Jewish lineage, Bronnen was given the position as head of the Funkstunde's Literary department after signing the *Gelöbnis treuester Gefolgschaft* or "Proclamation of loyalty of German writers" which served as a public declaration of allegiance to Adolf Hitler. His name, along with 88 other German writers and poets, was published in the Berlin newspaper *Vossische Zeitung* on 26 October 1933. Among others who were forced to resign include the radio choir's conductor Maximilian Albert (1887-1974), the head of opera and operetta Cornelis Bronsgeest (1878-1957), orchestra conductor Bruno Seidler-Winkler (1880-1960), Austrian writer Artur Kulka (dates unknown), and conductor/composer Berthold Goldschmidt (1903-1996).

These few examples represent only a fraction of those who were effectively excluded from further employment in their previous capacities within Germany. Many prominent figures had their works removed from future performance schedules and by the late 1930s, composers, authors, playwrights, academics and intellectuals saw their works banned altogether. A prominent example of such a compiled "banned" list in the field of music is the Nazi regime sponsored encyclopaedia *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (*Lexicon of Jews in Music*), published in 1940 by Theo Stengel (1905-1995) and Herbert Gerigk (1905-1996).¹⁰⁷

4.2.2 Berlin to the BBC

With no effective means of income, many of these figures sought refuge outside Germany in Paris while other fled to the Netherlands, Belgium, England and the United States. Burger returned to Vienna following his forced resignation in April. By late 1933, Burger's previous correspondence with the BBC proved fruitful and he was given a commission to create a potpourri of music for the newly created BBC Variety Department. The result was a Radio Potpourri titled *Vienna*, which comprised of music material by Austrian waltz composers Joseph Lanner (1801-1843) and Johann Strauss (1804-1849). The work was premiered on the BBC London regional service and conducted by Burger on 4 January 1934 with an encore the following day on the National service.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Heinrich Mann; Thomas Mann, "88 writers," from *Letters of Heinrich and Thomas Mann, 1900-1949*, Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism 12 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p.367-68.

¹⁰⁷ Julius Burger's name appears on page 44 of this edition. Source: Theo Stengel, Herbert Gerigk, *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Berlin: Bernhard Ahnefeld Verlag, 1940), p.44.

¹⁰⁸ Contributor, "Vienna," *Radio Times*, 29 December 1933, Vol.41, No. 535, p.972, 976.

A late December issue of *Radio Times* magazine described the work as follows:

The 'pot-pourri', or non-stop hour of music, is a form of entertainment which Julius Bürger and other conductors have popularised from German and Austrian broadcasting studios. Dr. Bürger has come from Vienna to conduct the B.B.C. Theatre Orchestra, bringing with him the elaborate score of a brand-new pot-pourri which will have its first broadcast in England.¹⁰⁹

4.2.2.1 Burger and the BBC Variety Department

Vienna (1933) proved a successful transfer to the newly minted BBC Variety department, which had only been in operation for approximately six months. Many of the department's programs quickly became embedded in the British public's national psyche and, like in Germany, radio was quickly becoming an integral part of home life in the UK.¹¹⁰ BBC Variety Department was devised in June 1933 in a desire to professionalise the corporation's approach to the productions of light entertainment programs including pop and Dance music, orchestral and instrumental concerts, musical comedies, revue and vaudeville acts as well as cinema music.¹¹¹ It also served as a way to compete with the popular programming of continental radio stations which regularly poached listeners.

The writer, playwright and BBC associate Eric Maschwitz was tapped to become director of the new Variety department. Maschwitz had joined the BBC in 1926 and served as the editor of *Radio Times* Magazine prior to taking his position in the Variety department.¹¹² The new department was an amalgamation of separate sections of the corporation's entertainment staff, previously scattered throughout the corporation's broadcasting house. These included the Revue and Concert party programs (headed by John Watt, Harry S. Pepper and Doris Arnold) Radio operetta and light productions (Denis Freeman and Mark Lubbock) Music Halls (John Sharman and Brian Michie) and Light Opera and Old Time Musicals (Gordon Mc Connel and Charles Brewer).¹¹³

Variety was allotted two studies in the basement of Broadcasting House in London which were exchanged for St. George's Hall in November 1933.¹¹⁴ The entirety of the BBC was led by John Reith (1889-1971) who had been with the company as the General Manager since the company's

¹⁰⁹ Contributor, "Vienna," *Radio Times*, 29 December 1933, Vol.41, No. 535, p.972, 976.

¹¹⁰ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Media series (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), p.2.

¹¹¹ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.20.

¹¹² Editor, "Radio Times Facts and Figures," RadioTimesArchive.co.uk website, 2013, Accessed 23 November 2021, URL: <http://www.radiotimesarchive.co.uk/facts.html>

¹¹³ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.48.

¹¹⁴ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.49.

formation in 1922. He then oversaw the reorganised corporation from 1927 to 1938. Reith's indelible imprint on British radio is massive. He saw the radio's potential as a means of diffusing knowledge and culture to all of society. Reith believed this would improve all levels of British society by offering entertainment comprising all that was best in music, drama and literature. These Reithian principles were set out in his 1924 manifesto *Broadcast over Britain* and shaped programming and content throughout 1930s and 1940s.¹¹⁵

Although the department offered comedy shows, lectures as well as radio plays, music played a significant role in the department's offerings. The department produced diverse musical programmes in the form of concert parties, theatre organ programs, live broadcasts from theatres and music halls as well as lavish productions of operettas, musical comedies and concerts of dance and jazz music. Examples of early programming which were brought into the department included *The Kentucky Minstrels* (1933-1950) and *Songs from the Shows* as well as the music hall and variety theatre programmes such as *Palace of Varieties* and *Music Hall*. The latter two were part of the regular Variety department's line-up into the 1950s.¹¹⁶ Programme examples which were conceived especially for the Variety department include *Café Colette* and *In Town Tonight* (1933-1950). *Café Colette* comprised of continental dance music which was set in a faux Parisian café. The program used sound effects such as corks popping, clinking glasses and French conversations in the background to create a realistic atmosphere which consistently fooled listeners.¹¹⁷ Both were conceived and produced by Maschwitz.

The department quickly became the "Bread and Butter" of the BBC with the largest audiences. Its popularity placed increased pressure on the department as well as drove a need for new and interesting material. To illustrate this point, one only need to look at the increase in the department's programme line-up and broadcasting hours of this period. Since June 1933, the Variety department was using up material at a brisk pace. This prompted a call for not only performers such as ballad singers, crooners, impersonators, comedians and singers capable of light opera, but also writers, composers, arrangers, producers and technicians. From January 1933 to January 1935, The BBC's broadcast hours increased from 28 programmes totalling 29 hours of light entertainment per month (six months prior to Variety's formation) to 61 programmes totalling 48 hours per month.¹¹⁸ By January 1936, this increased to 87 programmes totalling 59 hours per month. The department's budget and staff numbers also increased in order to devise

¹¹⁵ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.5.

¹¹⁶ Denis Gifford, *The Golden Age of Radio* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1985), p.143-145.

¹¹⁷ Jeffery Richards, *Cinema and Radio in Britain and America, 1920-60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), p.51.

¹¹⁸ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.49.

and produce new programming uniquely aligned to the BBC ethos. During this period, the corporation began to rely less on the traditional forms of entertainment for programming and instead increase efforts to devise their own remediated formats.¹¹⁹

The apparent popularity of Burger's Radio Potpourri *Vienna* (1933) as well as Variety Department's demand for new material contributed to the genre's favourable use by the corporation. Within weeks of the broadcast of *Vienna*, Burger was commissioned to write a Miniature Potpourri of melodies by Leo Fall.¹²⁰ By April 1934, he had completed a second Grand Potpourri *A Holiday in Europe* for the corporation.¹²¹ By November of that year, Burger was asked to provide outlines for a further three Radio Potpourri by Variety director Eric Maschwitz.¹²² The Radio Potpourri had now taken root in the BBC and became a regular part of the new department's programming.

The effective banning of so many established artists, musicians, conductors, composers, writer and technical experts in Germany and their subsequent emigration was a major gain to the BBC. The corporation benefitted from émigré expertise as well as the radio programming developments refined within Germany's radio companies such as the Funkstunde AG Berlin. Burger was one of many such émigrés to contribute to the success of the BBC. Other émigrés who worked for the corporation include composer Walter Goehr (1903-1960), pianist Leo Wurmser (1905- ?), German composer Ernst Hermann Meyer (1905-1988), Czech composer Artur Willner (1881-1959), German born composer and pianist Franz Reizenstein (1911-1968), German composer Berthold Goldschmidt (1903-1996) and Hungarian composer Mátyás Seiber (1905-1960).¹²³ While many of these émigrés were not employed in the same capacity as they enjoyed in the German Funkstunde, they made lasting contributions to the BBC.

Radio Potpourri is a product of centuries of evolution in Western classical music in multiple musical forms and genres, spanning from the 17th Century to the early 20th Century. Its origins most closely align with the simple potpourri form and equally shares many similarities with use of

¹¹⁹ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.51-53.

¹²⁰ Sources: Stanford Robinson, "Letter to Julius Burger Re: Leo Fall potpourri," 9 March 1934, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England. ; Stanford Robinson, "Letter to Julius Burger Re: Leo Fall broadcast," 30 April 1934, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹²¹ Stanford Robinson, "Letter to Julius Burger Re: Holiday in Europe," 21 July 1934, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹²² Eric Maschwitz, "Letter to Julius Burger Re: potpourri outlines," 12 November 1934, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹²³ Florian Scheduling, "Problematic Tendencies': Émigré Composers in London, 1933–1945," in *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music*. Ed. By Erik Levi (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), p. 247-271.

the pasticcio genre in early silent film accompaniment. Radio Potpourri stands as an example of early 20th century remediation experiments of earlier classical forms for the technological advances of radio. The potpourri's transfer from use in German radio companies of the 1920s and 30s to the BBC Variety department in 1934 serves as an example of a technological transfer of a cultural development from one civilisation to another.

Chapter 5 Defining Radio Potpourri

Early in his association with the BBC, Julius Burger proposed a form of radio programme which became known as the Radio Potpourri. As established in the previous chapter, these works were an amalgamation of the traditional 'simple' potpourri form with the opera pasticcio genre. The latter was used in a remediated form to provide early silent film accompaniment. Burger's potpourris were written exclusively for the medium of Radio with the archetypal structure consisting of a collection of pieces or excerpt themes from pre-existing works which were then arranged together in a *mélange* piece around a predetermined theme or subject.

After the initial survey of these works several things have become apparent. The substantial variety of Radio Potpourri subject themes and their plastic nature necessitate the creation of a system of categories in order to further ascertain the construction, functionality and programming possibilities of this genre. This will help determine whether the Radio Potpourri is a single form governed by a broad definition, exists in the form of multiple variants within a larger structure or whether these are considered potpourri at all and instead represent something completely different. Categorisation is also necessary for analysis in future sections of this dissertation.

It is readily apparent Radio Potpourri share only base similarities with other genres. While both the Radio Potpourri and traditional forms of potpourri utilize pre-existing themes grouped together to form the body of a new work, the loose defining parameters of the simple form make categorisation elusive. However, three reoccurring archetypes have been identified from an examination of the surviving manuscripts. These have been defined and extrapolated on in the following examples.

5.1 Archetypal forms of Radio Potpourri

5.1.1 The Solitary or 'Grand' Potpourri

The 'Grand' Potpourri, categorised as such for its greatly expanded use of musical content and performance length, can vary in duration but average approximately one hour. This archetype utilises musical themes or excerpts from existing musical works which are then arranged and combined with original incidental music around a central subject theme. Examples in this category are self-contained, performed as a solitary piece and are accompanied by scripted narration and sound effects to supplement the performance. The Grand Potpourri represents the primary archetype of Radio Potpourri refined by Burger from previous genre manifestations.

The Grand Potpourri has received its own category, not only for the archetype's expansive use of music to form the subject material but also for its expanded duration in comparison to a typical 'simple' potpourri. Descriptions of these attributes, along with overviews of two of Burger's Radio Potpourri (*City of Music* (1935) ; *Themes of London* (1937)) were the subject of two separate articles for the *Radio Times* by BBC conductor Stanford Robinson. Their vivid descriptions lend credibility to the necessity to group potpourri with these attributes together.¹ While the subject themes vary widely, these archetypal attributes frequently appear in Burger's Radio Potpourri and categorising them into an overarching group has provided a way to obtain an overview of these radio works as a whole, how they are set apart from previous manifestations of similar genres and how their implementation, duration and construction function as a remediated genre for radio.

Various examples of this archetype are examined in the following Geographic, Biographic, Historic and General potpourri sections. Of the nineteen Grand Potpourri titles broadcast at the BBC between 1934 and 1950, fifteen were conceived and created by Burger with music as the main intended focus.² The remaining four, while still considered potpourris, are inclusive adaptations of novels or radio dramas with accompanying music and share similarities with the Hörspiel genre. The latter group will not be examined as part of this dissertation.

5.1.2 The Miniature Potpourri

The Miniature or "Mini" potpourri closely resembles traditional 'simple' potpourri examples from which Burger partly derived his new concept for radio. Like Grand Potpourri, this archetype is comprised of musical themes or excerpts from existing musical works formed together around a central subject theme while employing the use of original incidental music to transition between selections. Unlike Grand Potpourri which have an approximate duration of one-hour, 'mini' potpourri are approximately 6-10 minutes in length but can be lengthened or shortened to fit specific time requirements. It can be performed separately as a solitary work or combined with multiple Miniature Potpourris to form chapters of a larger, segmented construction for broadcast. Such amalgamated works are categorised as 'Chapter Potpourri'.

Twelve examples have been definitively identified as belonging to the mini potpourri variant, although evidence suggests Burger may have written many more. Several identified examples of this variant include *A Potpourri of Melodies by Leo Fall* (1934), *A Potpourri of Melodies by Edmond*

¹ See: Stanford Robinson, "Preparing an Hour's Pot-pourri," *Radio Times*, 19 July 1935, Vol. 48, No. 616, p.3.; Stanford Robinson, "Themes of London," *Radio Times*, 3 December 1937, Vol.57, No.740, p.12.

² This total does not include *Hallo London, Here's Berlin* (1932) as it was primarily initiated by Funkstunde AG Berlin rather than by the BBC.

Audran (1936) and *Boer War Songs* (1937) which was created for the serial programme *Victorian Melodies*.^{3 4 5}

These works are typically shorter in duration, and are focused on a simplified subject theme based around a particular location, event or idea rather than utilising the greatly expanded and complex themes found in the Grand Potpourri. The 'Mini Potpourri' generally lack narration as a proponent of the storyline and instead focus primarily on carefully chosen musical inclusions to illuminate its subject theme. The frequent appearance of this type of compact potpourri and its obvious differences to the larger, hour-long archetype necessitated the creation of another category. The category further adds to the theory of Radio Potpourri's evolution from more traditional forms and highlights Burger's use of this versatile form to fit any occasion required by the BBC.

5.1.3 The Chapter Potpourri

This archetype is closely aligned with the structure of a serial radio programme. A typical Chapter Potpourri is broadcast on a regular or semi-regular basis with each broadcast presenting a new segment or 'chapter' of the larger potpourri. Each segment or chapter can be represented by anything from a single song arrangement to a "Mini Potpourri". However, the latter is more frequent. A centralised, overarching theme is essential to the Chapter Potpourri form. While the individual 'Mini Potpourri' still must relate to the central theme, its individual subject theme can vary widely from chapter to chapter. These self-contained, shorter works are broadcast as part of a much larger work around a central theme. There is no definitive duration of the "Chapter Potpourri". Similarly, no definitive duration is defined for the individual chapters which can be tailored to suit the requirements of the broadcast schedule. If a chapter is represented by a Miniature Potpourri, it often adheres to the predefined time constraints of approximately 6-10 minutes. The duration of a chapter represented by a singular arrangement can vary. To expound on this form, an overview of Burger's involvement in five of the first six chapters of the potpourri *Songs of the British Isles* (1938) has been provided.⁶

³ A *Potpourri of Melodies* by Leo Fall was composed between 7 and 24 February 1934 in Vienna, Austria. It was first broadcast on 4 November 1934 on the BBC North Regional Service - London at 6:30PM and was performed by The BBC Theatre Orchestra, Conducted by Stanford Robinson. Source: Contributor, "Leo Fall Potpourri," *The Radio Times*, 2 November 1934, Vol. 45, No. 579, p. 376.

⁴ A *Potpourri of Melodies* by Edmond Audran was written in 1936 while Burger was in Alt Aussee, Austria according to the dedication in the signed manuscript. Sources: Julius Burger, *Potpourri of Melodies by Edmond Audran*, 1936, Call Number MMS3496, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London. Broadcast information Unknown.

⁵ *Boer War Songs* was composed in early 1937. It was first broadcast on 14 March 1937 on the BBC Regional Service at 7:10PM and was performed by the BBC Theatre Orchestra and Revue Chorus, Conducted by Mark Lubbock. Source: Contributor, "'Boer War Songs' as part of *Victorian Melodies*," *The Radio Times*, 12 March 1937, Vol. 54, No. 702, p.22.

⁶ Burger was associated with five of the original six chapters of *Songs of the British Isles* which ran from 7 May 1938 to 7 November 1938. The Miniature Potpourri which made up each chapter revolved around a

The Chapter Potpourri archetype was created out of necessity to investigate and explain the existence of multiple, primarily Miniature Potpourris, which appear in close succession in Burger's radio oeuvre and were governed by a single overarching subject theme. Burger's approach toward two such Chapter Potpourris – *Songs of the British Isles* and *The Story of the Waltz*– illustrate the use of 'Mini Potpourri' and arrangements as part of a larger programme. One could explain their existence as a typical serial radio programme, however, they have been grouped in their current category as they align closely with the overarching principles of Radio Potpourri in their overall construction and function. Equally, each chapter is represented by a mini potpourri or arrangement which contributes to the larger overall theme. Burger's hand in their conception as a primary composer/arranger portray this construct as a potential successor to the Radio Potpourri programme, as noted in the 1939 listing for the radio programme *The Story of the Waltz*.⁷

5.1.3.1 *Songs of the British Isles: A Chapter Potpourri*

Songs of the British Isles was first broadcast in a series of segments throughout 1938. Its description in *Radio Times* on 7 May 1938 provides a synopsis as "A Programme of traditional Folk Music" and lists the arrangers as Gwen Williams and Stanford Robinson, producer G. J. B. Allport and performed by the BBC Theatre Orchestra, BBC Chorus and soloists.⁸ Burger's name as a contributor to this project is curiously absent. Contract requests for segments 1 - 4 and 6 of *Songs of the British Isles*, preserved in the BBC Written Archive at Caversham, show Burger's involvement as an arranger for the programme. Several reasons for this omission are offered. One explanation could be attributed to the fact Burger only arranged two pieces for the first chapter and therefore is not credited in the 7 May *Radio Times* listing. Its general description (without Burger credited) could have then been utilised for future issues to save time in publication.

Perhaps it was assumed a programme of traditional music of the British Isles would have a better reception if the programme was presented by musicians and performers whose surnames were more aligned with common 'British' ones. Given the rising political tension between Great Britain and Germany in 1938, presenting a programme of this nature with an arranger named Julius 'Bürger' may not have maintained the desired appearance as a quintessentially 'British' programme. Further segments of this project were produced in 1940. However, Burger was no longer involved with the project, having emigrated to the United States the previous year.

theme of British folk music.

⁷ Contributor, "The Story of the Waltz," *Radio Times*, 14 April 1939, Vol.63, No.811, p.22.

⁸ Contributor, "Songs of The British Isles No.1," *Radio Times*, 7 May 1938, Vol. 59, No. 761, p.7, 77, 80.

While the subject matter of *Songs of the British Isles* varies from chapter to chapter, the overarching subject theme consists of traditional folk arrangements derived from the cultures of the British Isles. These were broadcast intermittently over several months, beginning in late spring of 1938. Few of the arrangements from this programme have been recovered archival documentation from the BBC Written Archive at Caversham revealed that Burger served as an arranger for five of the first six chapters.⁹ A reconstruction of these chapters has been undertaken utilising this documentation including contracts, copyright orders, and internal memos. These have yielded individual piece titles from which the thematic material was sourced, the individual subject theme for each chapter and the broadcasting date from which to construct a picture of the larger potpourri.

The first chapter of *Songs of the British Isles* premiered on 7 May 1938. According to documentation, Burger contributed two arranged pieces of traditional folk including 'Simon the Cellarer' and 'Oh, No John!'.¹⁰ This was followed by the second chapter, *Songs of the British Isles No.2*, with Burger's arrangement of the English folk song 'Sir Elgamore' on 5 June 1938. These two chapters were not broadcast at regular intervals.¹¹

Songs of the British Isles No.3 consisted of two sets of works. The first comprised of Celtic folk tunes from Wales ('David of the White Rock' ; 'Y Deryn Pur', 'Tra Bo Da') with an inclusion of a traditional Scottish tune ('The Bonny Earl of Murray'.)¹² The second potpourri set of the third chapter, titled *Morris Dances*, was broadcast on 14 August 1938 with a repeat the following day.¹³ While a comprehensive list of pieces for the dance portion was not found in archival documentation, one can imagine the use of traditional dance tunes such as 'the Molly Dance' from Cambridgeshire, 'the Stave Dance' from southwest England, 'the Abbots Bromley Horn

⁹ For more information, please see Appendix H: *Songs of the British Isles Chapter Potpourri Overview No.1-4*; 6.

¹⁰ These were broadcast on 7 May 1938 on the BBC National Service with the BBC Theatre Orchestra and BBC Chorus and conducted by Stanford Robinson. Source: Contributor, "Songs of the British Isles No.1," *Radio Times*, 29 April 1938, Vol. 59, No. 761, p.7, 77, 80. ; Unknown, "BBC Contract for *Songs of the British Isles*," 9 May 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England.

¹¹ Sources: Contributor, "Sir Elgamore," *Radio Times*, 3 June 1938, Vol. 59, No. 766, p.26, 28. ; Unknown, "BBC Contract for Songs of the British Isles- Sir Elgamore", 22 June 1938, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England.

¹² Sources: Unknown, "Contract for *Songs of the British Isles No.3*, Set 1: Welsh Songs," 4 July 1938, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England. ; Unknown, "BBC Contract for *Songs of the British Isles*," 9 May 1938, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England. ; Unknown, "BBC Contract for Songs of the British Isles No.3, Set 2: Scottish Songs," 26 August 1938, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England.

¹³ Sources: Unknown, "BBC Contract for Songs of the British Isles No.3, Set 2: Morris Dances," 11 July 1938. from Burger, Julius. 31-42. R27/40/2. BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius. BBC Written Archive Centre-Reading, England. ; Contributor, "Morris Dances," in *Songs of the British Isles*, *Radio Times*, 12 August 1938, Vol. 60, Issue 776, p.18, 29.

Dance’ as well as ‘the Nantgarw Tradition dances’ from Wales. The latter were set to well-known folk tunes of the period with ‘Y Gaseg Eira’ (‘The Snow Mare’) and ‘Ty Coch Caerdydd’ (‘The Red House of Cardiff’) as potential examples.^{14 15}

Songs of the British Isles No.4 included a Miniature Potpourri titled *Regimental Marches*. It was broadcast on the 18 September and, according to archival documentation, included a mixture of the ‘Lincolnshire Poacher’, ‘Speed the Plow’, ‘Wi’ a Hundred Pipers’, ‘The British Grenadiers’, ‘Men of Harlech’, ‘John Peel’ and ‘Life on the Ocean Wave’.¹⁶

A second, separate arrangement order was also placed for the 18 September broadcast and included ‘A Bit of a Sing’ (in D) by Chris Rowley, ‘A Lift on the Way’ (in F) by R. Jackson and ‘Bonny Bride’ (in F) by Luke Smith.¹⁷ These were included in the same broadcast as *Regimental Marches* but it is not clear by archival documentation alone how they would have been presented as part of the larger production.

Although Burger was not involved with the fifth chapter presentation of *Songs of the British Isles* (broadcast on 9 October 1938), he did contribute a Miniature Potpourri for the sixth titled *Sea Shanties*. This was arranged for broadcast on 7 November 1938. It included pieces ‘Billy Boy’, ‘Bound for the Rio Grande’, ‘Johnny Come Down to Hilo’, ‘Shenandoah’, ‘Storm along John’, ‘What Shall We Do with A Drunken Sailor’, ‘A Roving I’, ‘The Drummer and the Cook’, ‘Fire Down Below!’ and concludes with the finale ‘Rule Britannia’.¹⁸ This potpourri is constructed utilising naval subject themes which allude to Great Britain’s Imperial superiority from the 18th century and into the early 20th century.

5.1.3.2 *The Story of the Waltz*

A further potential example of the Chapter Potpourri archetype stems from April 1939. This segmented potpourri, titled *The Story of the Waltz*, comprised of a series of four waltz potpourris,

¹⁴ Sources: Unknown, “BBC Contract for Songs of the British Isles No.3, Set 2: Morris Dances,” 11 July 1938, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England. ; Loïs Blake, “The Nantgarw Dances.” *Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1966, p. 102–106, Accessed 21 Sept. 2020, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/4521744

¹⁵ For more on Morris folk dances, see: Loïs Blake, William Sidney Gwynn Williams, *Welsh Morris and other country dances*, first published by Gwyn, 1938 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2009) ; Cecil James Sharp, Herbert C. Macllwaine, *The Morris Book: With a Description of Dances as Performed by the Morris-men of England -in two parts* (London: Novello and Company, 1907).

¹⁶ Miss Duncan, “Julius Burger’s Miniature Pot-pourri of Military Marches,” 24 August 1938, From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive Caversham, England.

¹⁷ M.V. Green, “Copy Order for Songs of the British Isles,” 18 September 1938, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive Caversham, England.

¹⁸ M.V. Green, “BBC Copy Order for Sea Shanties Potpourri,” 26 October 1938, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham - England.

each in a distinct type. Despite the 16 April 1939 *Radio Times* listing describing four potpourris in this series, it includes five distinct chapters in its description comprising of:

...old Viennese folk song waltzes, Archibald Joyce's waltzes, waltzes from the operas, old music-hall waltzes, Edwardian musical comedy waltzes. These are all linked together to form one complete pot-pourri.¹⁹

It is unclear to what extent Burger was involved with this potpourri as he is not named in the *Radio Times* description. According to archival documentation at the BBC Written Archive, at least one segment in this potpourri (*Archibald Joyce waltzes*) was created by Burger sometime before January 1936.

Two other waltz-based potpourris exist in surviving manuscripts of Julius Burger's radio oeuvre including the Miniature Potpourri titles- *Potpourri of Schubert Waltzes* (1936) and a potpourri setting of waltzes originally composed by BBC conductor Mark Lubbock (*Potpourri of Waltzes by Mark H. Lubbock*). However, it is not clear whether these titles were part of the larger construct of this waltz work from current documentation alone. Additional descriptions from the April 1939 listing (*i.e. Viennese folk song waltzes, Archibald Joyce waltzes, waltzes from operas, old music-hall waltzes, Edwardian musical-comedy waltzes*) appear to reflect the subject themes of Burger's potpourri created in the first few years with the BBC. Despite these similarities, additional documentation credited *The Story of the Waltz* potpourri to BBC composer George Walter (Walter Goehr) (1903-1960).²⁰ Further complicating this work's potential classification is the existence of an hour-long Grand Potpourri under the same title which was listed as a "Romantic potpourri" in a March 1935 issue of the *Radio Times*.²¹ However, this 1935 description, while similar, deviates from the 1939 Broadcast descriptions.

Two other relevant observations of this work are apparent from its April 1939 *Radio Times* listing. First, according to the work's *Radio Times* listing, the programme was billed as "...a successor to the pot-pourri."²² Despite this rebranding attempt, the 1939 manifestation of *The Story of the Waltz* still relies heavily on the Radio Potpourri genre's structure, concept and shares many similarities to the Chapter Potpourri - *Songs of the British Isles* (1938). Second, Burger's Radio Potpourri genre was a mainstay of BBC Variety programming by April 1939. His emigration to the

¹⁹ Contributor, "The Story of the Waltz," *Radio Times*, 14 April 1939, Vol. 63, No. 811, p.22.

²⁰ Stanford Robinson, "Pot-pourris of Walter Goehr (George Walter)," 1 June 1942, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham - England.

²¹ Goehr's earlier potpourri under the title *The Story of the Waltz* premiered on the BBC Regional Service at 7:15PM on 20 March 1935. Source: Contributor, "The Story of the Waltz," *Radio Times*, 15 March 1935, Vol.46, No.598, p.52.

²² Contributor, "The Story of the Waltz," p.22.

United States only weeks prior posed a programming issue, and one solution was to present previous potpourri material in a newer format in order to bridge the gap in programming.

The three archetypal variants, the Grand, Miniature and Chapter Potpourri, represent the genre of Radio Potpourri as refined by Julius Burger during his association with the BBC. These have been examined following sections for their ramifications in the burgeoning radio programming of 1930s and 1940s British Empire.

5.2 Subgenre Categories

The three main Radio Potpourri archetypes can further be broken down into sub-categories. The potpourri's malleable nature provides the potential for tailored work to fit any occasion.

However, patterns have been identified among the subject themes of the oeuvre which have made further categorisation necessary. These have been grouped into four main subgenres: the Geographic potpourri, the Biographic potpourri, Historic potpourri and the General potpourri. Although these are most frequently constructed in the Grand Potpourri archetype, they are not limited to any one archetype. For each subgroup, an example has been selected which further expands on their construction and functionality.

The three main archetypes show the primary avenues in which Burger formulated his arranged mosaics of music. Their plastic nature meant these could be made utilising an expansive variety of musical genres and based around any subject theme. However, upon an overview examination of the surviving manuscripts, several reoccurring subject themes presented themselves which warranted further investigation. Further classification was required to understand how these works were constructed and what types of subject themes existed within said works. This not only provides critical insight into how Burger's implementation of these arrangements set the Radio Potpourri apart from previous genres and other contemporary remediated radio genres (*i.e.* the Hörspiel) but can also highlight why this genre became a popular mainstay at the BBC Variety Department, where it continued to influence BBC programming in the years that followed.

While many more subcategories could potentially be created through future study of these works, the subcategories outlined in this research (Geographic, Biographic, Historic and General) have been delineated utilising the potpourris 'like' subject themes. This has been done in order to offer a better understanding of the radio potpourri's potential as a versatile programming format and to shed light on Burger's creative approach through an examination of the three primary subcategories (Geographic, Biographic and Historic potpourri).

5.2.1 The Geographic Potpourri

The majority of Burger's Grand Radio Potpourri belong to the "Geographic Potpourri" category. These works take the listener on a journey by utilising music from a travel itinerary. They operate as a lens which can be focused to provide a series of snapshots of a single city or expanded to provide a view of countries and cultures on a global scale. The Geographic potpourri on the micro scale utilise 'musical postcards' to provide a musical image of its subject city. Examples include Burger's 1933 work *Vienna*, the 1935 work *City of Music* (focused on the sites and music synonymous with Vienna) as well as the 1937 work *Themes of London*. In the latter two works, Burger not only utilises a geographic device but also provides snapshots from various historic periods in time from these locations. Therefore, these have been examined as 'Historic' rather than 'Geographic' potpourri.

The earliest known example of the Geographic subgenre on a macro scale is *Holiday in Europe* (1934). This work follows a honeymooning couple as they take a fantasy holiday to many of the major metropolitan centres across the continent. This was closely followed by the 1935 work *World Tour* which follows a group of British tourists on a cruise ship around the globe. *The Empire Sings!* (1938) builds on this concept by offering an exploration of the sights and sounds of the British Empire, then at its height of geographic dominance. A further example from this subgenre includes Burger's *New World Rhapsody* (1942), which focuses its subject theme on a journey among the Pan-American nations and cultures. The geographic subgenre was later used as a potpourri template by Burger to celebrate the allied victory in Europe in the 1945 work *Victory Rhapsody*.

5.2.2 Biographic Potpourri

The second subgenre, the Biographic potpourri, is represented by two Grand Potpourris - *The Life of Offenbach* (1934) and *Johann Strauss: A Biography in Music* (1936). These works utilise musical selections from a particular composer's oeuvre while utilising intermittent narration to create a musical dramatization of their life. These are the only two known examples within Burger's Radio Potpourri repertoire. However, evidence suggests this category had a lasting influence on BBC Variety department programming and is investigated with evidentiary examples in section 5.4.4 of this chapter.

5.2.3 Historic Potpourri

A third potpourri subgenre, the Historic Potpourri, was utilised to commemorate historic events or periods. Examples include such potpourri as *City of Music* (1935), *Boer War Songs* (1937),

Themes of London (1937) and *Victory Rhapsody* (1945). While *Boer War Songs* doesn't directly commemorate a specific battle or event, it does serve as a historic time capsule of popular tunes and battle songs from the period surrounding the Second Boer War (1899-1902). Similarly, *Victory Rhapsody* or "*The Nations Sing!*" (1945) was first broadcast on 13 May 1945, only four days after the signing of the *Unconditional Capitulation of the Wehrmacht* (*Bedingungslose Capitulation der Wehrmacht*) which formalised the unconditional surrender of the Nazi regime in Europe. This celebratory potpourri consisted of a large two-part work which included traditional folk music from the commonwealth in the first section and a "parade" of national music and anthems of all 33 allied nations.²³

5.2.4 General Potpourri

The fourth and final subset is the General potpourri. While future comparative research in this category may result in further subset categories, the subject themes in this grouping do not readily share similar attributes with others in Burger's potpourri repertoire. Therefore, a further category was created for these works in which the subject themes can vary widely. One such work includes an imaginary Eurovision-style competition from 1936 titled *Festival of Folk Music*. In this potpourri, the narrator assumes the role of a witty, live broadcast correspondent as he announces a pan-European folk song and dance competition. This work has all the appearances of a 1930s version of the Eurovision Song Contest – albeit pre-empting the popular competition by fifteen years. Further examples of this subset include the 1936 Grand Potpourri, aptly titled *Liebesträum*, which utilises a subject theme based on love songs and the *Miniature Potpourri of Melodies by Edmond Audran* (1936). Due to the wide array of selections in this category, an example for analysis has not been offered.

As with all the four subgenres, examples can belong to any of the three archetypal variants and vary on subject theme within the confines of their type. Each subgenre has been defined and examined utilising a potpourri from their respective category. This has been undertaken to highlight Burger's compositional form, use of content and situations around the creation and investigate whether his personal circumstances may have contributed to his subject choices and ever evolving aesthetic style.

²³ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 11 January 1945, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England.

5.3 Geographic Potpourri

The Geographic subgenre is the most frequently used in Burger's BBC Radio Potpourri output. It spans the entirety of his engagement with the corporation from his 1933 work *Vienna* to the 1942 work *New World Rhapsody*. Grand Potpourri titles in this category include *Vienna* (1933), *Holiday in Europe* (1934), *World Tour* (1935), *The Empire Sings!* (1938) and *New World Rhapsody* (1942). Two works which could also be considered part of this category including the Historic potpourris *City of Music* (1935) and *Themes of London* (1937) as they not only include historic subject themes but also utilise travel itineraries in their storylines. To show the Geographic potpourri in practice, the 1934 work *Holiday in Europe* has been chosen as an example for examination.

5.3.1 *Holiday in Europe* (1934)

Holiday in Europe represents Burger's second Grand Potpourri for the BBC. Completed on 2 April 1934 and first broadcast in July of that year, it is billed as:

...an hour's long nonstop music - a holiday tour with an itinerary including Paris, Barcelona, Rome, Tyrol, Vienna, Budapest, Prague, Berlin and Russia.²⁴

It was promoted as "A Summer Potpourri" and follows a young honeymooning couple (played by actors Charles H. Mason and Cathleen Cordell) as they doze by the bandstand in Hyde Park and dream about their forthcoming trip abroad.²⁵ While the premiere broadcasts, on 17 & 18 July 1934, called for two voice actors and two vocal soloists (performed by soprano, Ina Souez (1903-1992) and tenor, John Hendrik (1904-2004)), its 1938 revival seemingly combined the actor and singing roles with tenor, Webster Booth (1902-1984) and Soprano Gaby Vallé performing the roles of the honeymooning couple.²⁶

²⁴ Contributor, "Holiday in Europe," *Radio Times*, 7 January 1938, Vol. 58, No. 745, p.18.

²⁵ Contributor, "Holiday in Europe," p.105, 112.

²⁶ Contributor, "Holiday in Europe," p.18.

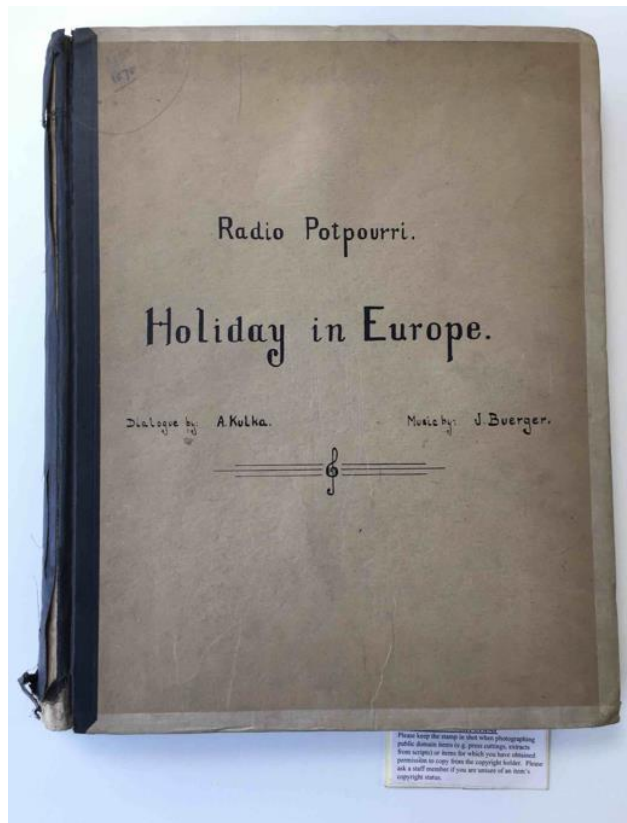


Figure 5.1 *Holiday In Europe* (1934) Manuscript Cover

In a succession of episodes and led by their tour guide (played by Ivan Samson), the newlyweds travel throughout Europe by means of imaginary trains, planes, automobiles and cruise liners as the musical score projects visions of the regions and cultures at each stop. This trans-European holiday commences in London before progressing onto:

Barcelona and a bullfight... an Italian scene, the Prater in Vienna, Budapest and gypsies, Berlin and soldiers marching through the Unter-den-Linden, old German student drinking songs, Russia with its exciting music and a woman singing the old Russian folk song 'Sarafan'.²⁷

The storyline, as with all Geographic Potpourri, is propelled forward by using intermittent dialogue, musical bridges between segments, and narration. Sound effects, such as the drone of an airplane engine, the whistle of a locomotive or the bucolic sounds of local fauna, are utilised to create realism and to help delineate the journey. While the musical selections and their national/cultural associations sit as the centrepiece of the Radio Potpourri concept, the dialogue, narration and sound effects allow for an actual storyline to form and provide much needed context. Without the use of these narrative tools, the Radio Potpourri would simply be a

²⁷ Contributor, "Holiday in Europe," p. 112.

succession of musical selections and not a “...moving picture in sound” as referred in the work’s description for the *Radio Times*.²⁸

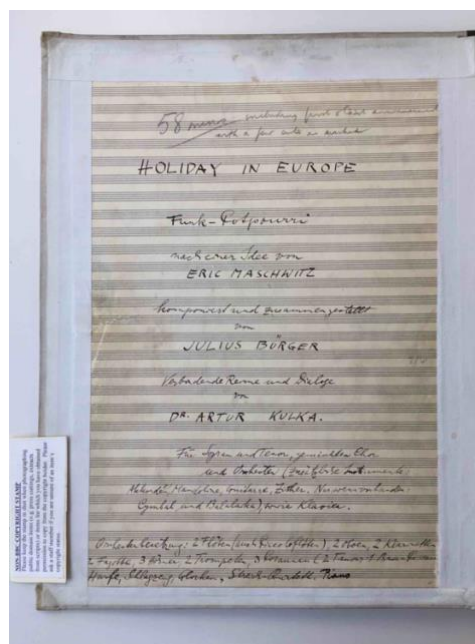


Figure 5.2 *Holiday in Europe* (1934) Dedication page

Radio Potpourri owes its success at the BBC to the warm reception by Eric Maschwitz. In the case of *Holiday in Europe*, it also appears the idea for this production stemmed from the Variety department Director, according to manuscript orchestral score’s dedication. By many accounts, Maschwitz’s management over individual projects was light handed. Despite this fact, it is apparent Burger valued his opinion and corresponded regularly with the department director when deciding on thematic subjects for the Radio Potpourris. This collegial friendship is also made apparent in preserved correspondence from 1937 regarding the concept for *Themes of London*.

In the case of *Holiday in Europe*, little correspondence has been preserved. The initial stages in its creation most likely took place in Vienna as both Burger and his collaborator, Artur Kulka were based in the city during the early half of 1934. The manuscript was then edited and translated into English in London before rehearsals and then given its live broadcast premiere on 17 July of that year. Besides the principal actors, soloists and narrator, the work drew on the combined forces of the BBC Revue Chorus, the entire Effects Department and an augmented BBC Theatre Orchestra with the addition of guitars, mandolins, zithers, accordions, balalaikas, a cimbalom and the characteristically ‘Viennese’ addition of a Schrammel quartet. The stylised quartet generally included two violins, a double necked contra guitar and a G clarinet with an occasional addition of

²⁸ Contributor, “Holiday in Europe,” p.40.

a button accordion.²⁹ Burger's incorporation of the quartet lent authenticity to the various segments which focused on the territorial capitals of the former Hapsburg Empire (*i.e.* Vienna, Budapest and Prague). The Schrammel quartet was led by Welsh violinist/conductor Rae Jenkins who had expertise and was an avid collector of "gypsy music".³⁰

The BBC effects department provided everything from the mechanised sounds of the aeroplane, automobile and train engines to the buzz of crowded marketplaces and rowdy beer halls, the soft chatter in the cafes and tranquil sounds of the countryside comprising of bellowing Alpine cows and their clanging bells. Additionally, gramophone recordings were also used to supplement the performances. One example of its use in *Holiday in Europe* appears in the Italian section which requires a clip from a speech by then Italian Prime Minister, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945).

5.3.2 Potpourri Overview

Holiday in Europe begins with the honeymooning couple lounging on a warm summer's day in front of the Hyde Park bandstand. As they converse about their upcoming European holiday, the band performs 'God Save the King' before segueing into a rendition of the English folk ballad 'Summer is A Cumin' In'. This is supplemented with sounds effects of a park (*i.e.* bird calls, soft chatter) in the background. The couple then begin to fall into dreamy slumber as the theme from Schumann's 'Träumerei' (mvt. 7 from *Kinderszenen*, Op.15 (1838) is played lightly by the orchestra in the background.³¹

5.3.2.1 Paris

The scene quickly shifts with the entrance of the strings and woodwinds performing animated incidental music, marked 'Attacca'. This segment is overlaid with recorded sound effects of an aeroplane engine and propellers in ascent. Shortly thereafter, the engine effects fade into the background while the narrator speaks rhythmically over the piece 'Paris, the City where love is King!', performed on piano.³² Instrumentation later grows to include a banjo, full orchestra and

²⁹ Joyce Kennedy, Michael Kennedy, and Tim Rutherford-Johnson (editors), "Schrammel Quartet," Oxford Dictionary of Music (6th Ed.), Oxford University Press, 2013, Accessed 28 November 2020, URL: <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199578108.001.0001/acref-9780199578108-e-8116?rskey=qg7JQH&result=8021>

³⁰ In a biographic entry for Jenkins, Trevor Herbert writes: "Recognising the increasing importance of broadcasting, he formed 'The Caravan Players' to perform gypsy music on the BBC. This led to a life-long fascination with gypsy music, which he researched assiduously throughout Europe, collecting a repertory of more than two thousand pieces." Source: Trevor Herbert, "Jenkins, Henry Horatio (Rae) (1903-1985), violinist and conductor," Dictionary of Welsh Biography, 4 August 2015, Accessed 10 December 2020. URL: <https://biography.wales/article/s10-JENK-HOR-1903>

³¹ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Music Library, Perivale - London, p.6-11.

³² Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Music Library, Perivale - London, p.14-21.

chorus before eventually fading away, leaving only an accordion and tenor soloist performing 'Sous les Toits de Paris' in English as the travel guide enters to usher the couple into the famous Montmartre district.³³ The song concludes with the addition of the full chorus and is overlapped with the sounds of a coffee house and a small café orchestra performing dance music. Eventually this café scene is interrupted with a fade in of sound effects including horses, a crowd in the street and marching. The couple exit the café to find a military parade, complete with a marching band, performing 'La Marseillaise' and sung by the BBC Chorus. The anthem grows to include the entire orchestra before giving way to the sound effects of a rail yard, indicating a train journey. This is immediately followed by the sound of castanets and the narrator's descriptive survey of the Spanish countryside as well as the bustling city streets of the next stop, Barcelona.³⁴

5.3.2.2 Spain

Spain marks the second stop along this imagined journey and is framed in the narration as a visit to the idealised version of Europe, removed from the political upheavals of the 1930s.

Tonight all Europe is our playground. Not the Europe of actuality, but a phantom family of nations, at peace within themselves and with each other. So let us go southwards to Spain, there to build a dream castle. It is not the war-scarred country of the headlines, but the Spain of George Burrow, with the peasants that Zuloaga has immortalised, working contentedly in their fields and vineyards. We'll make for Barcelona, where the sea breeze will be welcome. Barcelona - where the station platform seems interminable, and the luggage ports countless. That city of intense activity; wide spaces and narrow streets, at night hung with clusters of fairy lamps; the vast floor market; the bull ring; music halls and tiny cabarets; weird folk songs to the strumming of guitars; dancing senhoritas [sic] and the tense rhythm of their castanets.³⁵

The couple arrive in Barcelona, greeted with the lively sounds of Spanish music and sound effects, and enter a crowded bullring. The scene is set by the narrator through several rhythmically spoken verses and accompanied piano, followed by a brief orchestral bridge. The opening phrase of the Act 4 Overture from Bizet's *Carmen* is then incorporated. It is quickly followed by a short rendition of the opera's famed Toreador aria 'Votre toast, je peux vous le rendre' performed by the BBC chorus and theatre orchestra. Thematic material from *Carmen*'s Act 4 overture then seamlessly follows. Incidental dance music then acts as a musical bridge into the traditional Spanish folk song 'No Quiero Casarme', sung in Spanish by a soprano soloist and accompanied on

³³ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.21-33.

³⁴ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.33-44.

³⁵ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p. 45.

piano. At the song's reprise, the string quartet joins, followed by the full orchestra in a small dance section. The segment concludes with sung verse by the soprano soloist, accompanied by shouts of "Ole!" by the male chorus.

5.3.2.3 Italy

The narrator returns to announce the transition as the orchestra (minus the string sections) perform incidental music of Italian strains marked '*Tempo di Marcia Italiana*'. The imaginary journey to Italy is made *via* an ocean liner, as made evident by directions for the effects department including sounds of a seaport, shouts and the whistle of the ship's horn.³⁶ At the halfway point, Burger introduces an underlying, solemn theme played by trumpets and trombones. The orchestra then assumes the theme, supplemented by a recording of the distant cathedral bells of St. Peter's Basilica in Vatican City - Rome. The narrator returns:

Hark! St. Peter's bells proclaim, Ancient Rome's immortal fame. Hark: it echoes down the dome
Rome! Rome! Rome!³⁷

The Chorus then returns with an *a capella* rendition of the liturgical chant 'Jesu, Rex Admirabilis'.³⁸ This segues to the narrator's description of Naples while a mandolin, guitar and strings play in the background. Shouts of "Eviva" are heard, prompting the orchestra to play the central theme of the Italian National Fascist Party's official hymn 'Giovinezza'.³⁹ A commotion ensues as a speech by Mussolini is played via recording while an *a capella* chorus swells with the main verse of 'Giovinezza'.⁴⁰ A workhouse whistle ends the scene while the string section, mandolin and guitar accompany a tenor soloist performing 'O Sole Mio' in English translation. The piece is then handed off to a soprano soloist, supported with the soprano/alto sections of the

³⁶ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale, London, p.75-83.

³⁷ This differs from Burger and Kulka's original German language version which reads: "*Wo einst die Legionen zogen, Cäsars stolze Adler flogen, Künden Glocken hoch vom Dom. Rom-Rom-Rom!*"; English translation: "*Where once the legions marched, Caesar's proud eagles flew, bells ring high from the cathedral. Rome-Rome-Rome!*" Source: Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe*, Orchestral Score, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.84.

³⁸ This is an excerpt of the hymn *Jesu, Dulcis Memoria*. It is attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) with a later version from 1586 by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (c. 1525-1594). Sources: *Jesu, rex admirabilis*, 3vv, 1586²; H xxx, 2. Lewis Lockwood, Noel O'Regan and Jessie Ann Owens, "Palestrina [Prenestino, etc.], Giovanni Pierluigi da ['Giannetto']," *Works List-Hymns*, Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 2 January 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20749> ; Michael Martin, *Iesu Rex admirabilis, O Jesus, King Most Wonderful*, *Treasury of Latin Prayers* website, Accessed 26 December 2020, URL: <https://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Hymni/IesuRex.html>

³⁹ 'Giovinezza' also served as the unofficial national anthem of Italy between 1924-1943. Source: Nicholas Farrell, *Mussolini: A New Life* (New York: Sterling Publishing Company, Inc., 2005), p. 238.

⁴⁰ This section was later cut for the 1938 broadcast.

chorus. Following the conclusion of this arrangement, the full orchestra and chorus return with a rendition of 'Finiculi, Finicula' in English to close the Italy segment.⁴¹

5.3.2.4 Tyrols and Austria

Ending in bursts of laughter from the chorus, the journey segues into the next segment with narrated descriptions of the journey north into the Tyrols. The narration is accompanied by original incidental music for woodwinds, strings and the sound effects of an automobile engine until the couple reach the Austrian border. The incidental music morphs into a call and response between the flutes and clarinets supplemented with sound effects of distant cowbells, yodellers and the continuous drone of the automobile. Upon the conclusion of this portion, the sound effects fade out as a solo Zither plays the introduction to the Styrian anthem '*Hoch von Dachstein an*' (*Dachsteinlied*).⁴² The zither is then joined by sopranos and altos of the chorus singing an amalgamation of the first two verses of the anthem. At the conclusion of this arrangement, the Zither launches into a Ländler song, joined by the woodwinds, brass, cymbals and bass drum. It is completed with happy shrieks and heavy dancing sound effects.⁴³ As the sound effects fade, the string section returns with the full chorus to perform the refrain from Rudolf Siczzyński's (1879-1952) popular ballad 'Wien, Wien nur du allein' ('Wien, du Stadt meiner Träume').⁴⁴ While the narrator makes interjections over the music, the couple now arrive on the outskirts of Vienna.

The journey continues to the village of Grinzing. The village, synonymous with idyllic landscapes and vineyards, is located on the northwestern periphery of Vienna near the famed Vienna Woods (Wienerwald). The Grinzing segment takes place in a wine cellar (Heuiger) with an arrangement of the Ralph Benatzky (1884-1957) piece 'Ich muss wieder einmal in Grinzing sein' (1915).⁴⁵ After an introduction sung by the tenor soloist in English, the melody line is assumed by the soprano soloist and accompanied by the Schrammel quartet. The quartet then continues with an interlude as the couple enter the fairgrounds of the Prater before moving seamlessly into the Viennese song 'Fein, fein schmeckt uns der Wein' (Fine, fine we like the Wine) by Edmund Eysler (1874-

⁴¹ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.99-108.

⁴² Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.108-114.

⁴³ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.115-123.

⁴⁴ Rudolf Siczzyński, *Wien, du Stadt meiner Träume*, op.1, 1913 (1914). Source: Peter Kemp, "Siczzyński, Rudolf," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 30 December 2020, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.48861> ; Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Manuscript score, Call no. MSS1878 - Buerger, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.123.

⁴⁵ Benatzky's piece 'Ich muss wieder einmal in Grinzing sein' was written for his wife Josma Selim in 1915. Sources: Andrew Lamb, "Benatzky, Ralph [Rudolph Josef František]," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 5 January 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02632> ; See also : Michael Hans Kater, *The Twisted Music. Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

1949).⁴⁶ Burger scored the inclusion for soprano soloist in English and accompanied by piano.⁴⁷ Solo violin later joins at the introduction of the chorus line.⁴⁸

Eysler's iconic song is followed by a particularly well-placed piece of advertising for Burger as he incorporates one of his own compositions, 'Launisches Glück'.⁴⁹ The piece is based on themes from Johann Strauss II's aria 'O Schöner Mai' from the operetta *Prinz Methusalem* (1877). Burger's rendition was first recorded in 1932 by Austro-Hungarian / Romanian tenor Joseph Schmidt (1904-1942).⁵⁰ The song was sung in an English for the 1934 premiere of *Holiday in Europe* by tenor John Hendrik accompanied by saxophones, trumpets, trombones, vibraphone, piano percussion and Schrammel quartet. A short tango interlude for full orchestra follows the piece which prompts dialogue from the husband character: "Conductor! A Waltz!"⁵¹ This brings the potpourri back to the chorus line of 'Launisches Glück', performed by tenor soloist and previous accompaniment.⁵² Burger then concludes the Austrian segment, supplemented with the sound effects of a rustling brook, by incorporating an *a capella* rendition of Franz Schubert's 'Der Lindenbaum', No.5 from *Winterreise*, D.911 for soprano / alto chorus.⁵³

5.3.2.5 Hungary

As the couple prepare to leave, the narrator returns:

We have travelled by air, by sea and by car. For the next stage in our journey we take a river steamer which flies the Hungarian flag; and from Vienna, we glide down the might Danube until, after 13 hours' journey, we sight that amazing city- Buda Pesth [sic].⁵⁴

⁴⁶ The work was featured in Eysler's operetta *Der lachende Ehemann* which premiered on 19 March 1913 at the Bürgertheater in Vienna. Sources: Leo Melitz, *Führer durch die Operetten* (Berlin: Globus-Verlag, 1917), p. 110–112.

⁴⁷ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.154-63.

⁴⁸ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.158.

⁴⁹ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.163-69.

⁵⁰ Joseph Schmidt, "Launisches Glück" by Julius Bürger, Leopold Hainisch, Lyrics, Staatskapelle Berlin, cond. by Dr. Weissmann, recorded 18 February 1932, 133438: Germany - B.48154, 133438-3: Germany-Parlophon B. 48154 / Odeon 0-25982, England - Parlophone R 1330, Australia - R 3550, America- Decca P-20311. ; Alfred A. Fassbind, *Joseph Schmidt: Sein Lied ging um die Welt* (Zürich: Römerhof Verlag, 2012), p.290.

⁵¹ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.171

⁵² Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.172-75.

⁵³ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.176-79.

⁵⁴ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.180.

The journey now proceeds *via* an imaginary river steamer, complete with the sound effects of rushing water and the steamer's whistle, while a large orchestral bridge plays underneath the narration.⁵⁵ The narrator, accompanied by piano soloist, returns to set the scene in rhythmic recitation:

Buda pesth [sic], where every day, wandering bands of Gypsies play - songs of gladness, songs of sadness music - all the rest is madness!⁵⁶

Solo violin, cymbals and Schrammel Quartet then introduce a characteristically gypsy-like zigeunerlied, the aria 'Komm, Zigan' from Act I on Emmerich Kálmán's (1882-1953) operetta *Gräfin Mariza* (1924).⁵⁷ Burger scores the piece for tenor soloist, accompanied by cornets, tambourine, strings and interjections by the rest of orchestral sections. The Hungarian section concludes with Burger's arrangement of a traditional folk dance, 'the Csárdás', for solo violin, cymbals, Schrammel quartet and peppered with intermittent dialogue.⁵⁸ The piece incrementally increases in tempo throughout, moving from a 'moderato' marking onto 'presto' before concluding the segment at a breakneck 'prestissimo' tempo.⁵⁹ The inclusion finally comes to an abrupt halt, marked by a blast from a train whistle, as the guide shouts to the couple to get on the train.

5.3.2.6 Czechoslovakia

The narrator returns to make the next transition clear:

From Buda Pesth [sic] we take a north-westerly course - by train this time- into Czechoslovakia, bound for Prague - Praha - ancient capital of Bohemia, a town of lofty towers and noble palaces. Bohemia!⁶⁰

Burger marks the introduction for Czechoslovakia with an orchestral piece (unidentified) for woodwinds, triangle, timpani, harp and strings.⁶¹ The potpourri then pays homage to "the father

⁵⁵ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.181-189.

⁵⁶ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.189-191.

⁵⁷ Sources: Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.194-99. ; Andrew Lamb, "Gräfin Mariza", Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 1992, Accessed 5 January 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O901956>

⁵⁸ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.199-202.

⁵⁹ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.200-09.

⁶⁰ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.208.

⁶¹ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.209-14.

of Czech music” Bedřich Smetana (1824-1884) by incorporating an excerpt of ‘Venkovska Svatba’ (Peasant Wedding) deriving from the second movement ‘Vltava’ (*Die Moldau*) of his six symphonic poem cycle - *Má vlast*, JB 1:112/2 (1874). This musical addition showcases Burger and Kulka’s creativity as they draw of the melody to create vocal parts for soprano and tenor soloists. This new arrangement is completed with a section for SATB chorus and accompanied by Smetana’s original orchestration.⁶² The soprano sings:

When in Prague, the polka calls you ‘come and dance’ it seems to say such a rhythm must entrap you bring laughter- light and gay.⁶³

The tenor then repeats the phrase. The husband, Dick, then shouts “*Quick, to the opera house!*” The potpourri immediately launches into an excerpt of the Act I chorus from Smetana’s *Pradana nevesta* (*The Bartered Bride*) (1866), sung in English by full chorus and accompanied by woodwinds, trumpet, timpani and strings.⁶⁴ A large orchestral interlude follows until the chorus re-enters to conclude the Prague section with the phrase:

Let the whole world hear our song. Let us dance the whole day long.⁶⁵

5.3.2.7 Berlin

Smetana’s happy melodies are drowned out by the sound of marching as the music quickly transforms into a military march. The narrator returns:

And now northwards again to Berlin. Naples, Barcelona, Buda Pesth [sic] - how far they seem! Twanging mandolins, the clatter of castanets, those yearning Tzigane melodies- here’s a city whose music is more martial: where life’s more real, more earnest.⁶⁶

The Berlin segment commences with a short rendition of a marching tune (unidentified), scored for tenor, trumpet, bass drum and strings.⁶⁷ After a short bridge, a soprano soloist sings the chorus of ‘Untern Linden’ (‘Under the Linden’) from Walter Kollo (1878-1940) and Rudolf Bernauer’s (1890-1955) operetta *Wie einst im Mai* (1913). The song extols the vibrant, busy atmosphere of Berlin’s central promenade, Unter den Linden. The soloist is accompanied by

⁶² Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.215-17.

⁶³ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.215

⁶⁴ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.218-24.

⁶⁵ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.224-230.

⁶⁶ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.233-235.

⁶⁷ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.234-36.

trumpet, glockenspiel, piano and string section.⁶⁸ This transitions into the refrain of another popular German song, 'Puppchen, du bist mein Augensterne' ('Dolly, You are the Star of my Eyes') from the three-act song and dance farce, *Puppchen* (1912). The work was composed by Max Winterfeld (1897-1942) under his pseudonym, Jean Gilbert.⁶⁹ Both inclusions, as with nearly all in this potpourri, have been rewritten in English.

This brief pop tune section abruptly ends with shouts of "Heil!" as the potpourri returns to an instrumental arrangement of the earlier marching tune before bridging into an excerpt from the overture to Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, WWV 96 (1867).⁷⁰ The manuscript score contains pages from an Edition Peters score pasted inside, meaning Burger did a direct quote of this work rather than make adjustments for the potpourri. Equally, the dialogue shout of "Heil!", the Nazi party's long associations with the city of Nuremberg and Hitler's affinity for Richard Wagner's music suggests Burger was making a passing reference to the governing regime.

The *Meistersinger* excerpt is then followed by an a capella arrangement of J. S. Bach's hymn 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott', BWV 80 for tenor / bass chorus.⁷¹ Sounds of marching briefly return before the soprano / alto chorus enter and to perform an *a capella* rendition of verse one of Franz Schubert's 'Das Wandern' from *Die schöne Müllerin*, Op. 25, D. 795.⁷² The reference fades out as the newlyweds are welcomed into a beer hall with the boisterous student drinking song 'Gaudeamus igitur' ('De Brevitate Vitae'), sung by tenor / bass chorus and accompanied on piano.⁷³ As the song concludes, the couple spill out into the evening streets, greeted by a nightingale's song. Burger scored this section for harp, glockenspiel, celeste and strings which provides an emotive quality of twilight in Berlin.⁷⁴ A clock then strikes ten o'clock as an a capella chorus re-enters and perform the first verse of 'In stiller Nacht' ('In the quiet Night') from *Deutsche Volkslieder*, Woo, No.42 (1894) by Johannes Brahms (1833-1897).⁷⁵

⁶⁸ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.237-39.

⁶⁹ Andrew Lamb, "Gilbert, Jean [Winterfeld, Max]," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 5 January 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11129>

⁷⁰ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.244-47.

⁷¹ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.248-49.

⁷² Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.249-52.

⁷³ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.252-556 ; James J. Fuld, "Gaudeamus igitur," in *The Book of World-famous Music: Classical, Popular, and Folk*, Fifth Edition (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2000), p. 241.

⁷⁴ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.256-60.

⁷⁵ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.260-64.

5.3.2.8 Russia

A trumpet then blares, signalling the end of the Berlin segment. The narrator returns:

Still further north - to Russia! What do you know of the vast inscrutable country? Do you think vaguely of giant Cossacks in the thundering avalanche of a cavalry charge? Of Siberian steppes and frozen plains? 'A weary waste expanding to the skies? The leaps and twirls and shouts of frenzied dancers, or the melancholy chant of river boatmen?'⁷⁶

This section begins with the iconic folk piece 'Эй, ухнем!' ('Yo, heave-ho!' or 'Song of the Volga Boatmen'), sung by *a capella* tenor soloist and four part tenor / bass chorus.⁷⁷ It is immediately followed by a well known folk song by Alexander Egorovich Varlamov (1801-1848), 'Красный сарафан' (1834) ('Krasniy sarafan' or 'The Red Sarafan').⁷⁸ Burger scored the arrangement for soprano soloist, accompanied by balalaika, and string section.⁷⁹ Sounds of factory, including heavy machinery, emerge and allude to the industrialised heart of modern Soviet Moscow. The narrator describes this transformation with a rhythmic recitation over incidental music:

In medieval Moscow,

Half barbaric, half Tartaric

There was leisure, there was treasure

Fit for cruel, jewelled queens.

In busy Moscow

Ev'ry tower flaunts the power

Of the hammer sickle clamour from the Soviet machine.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.265.

⁷⁷ *Эй, ухнем!* or 'Song of the Volga Boatmen' was collected by Mily Balakirev (1836-1910) and published in his book of folk songs in 1866. Sources: James J. Fuld, James J. Fuld, "Gaudeamus igitur," in *The Book of World-famous Music: Classical, Popular, and Folk*, Fifth Edition (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2000), p.520. ; Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.265.

⁷⁸ 'Krasniy sarafan' was first published in Varlamov's song collection *Русские песни Н. Цыганова*, No.16 (*The Russian Songs by N. G. Tsiganov*) in Moscow in 1934. It is a setting of a poem by N. G. Tsiganov in a folk idiom. Sources: Geoffrey Norris, "Varlamov, Aleksandr Yegorovich," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 6 January 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29054>

⁷⁹ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.266-270.

⁸⁰ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.270.

This section, utilising the whole orchestra, is a scene from a military industrial complex nightmare. The music is competed by a barrage of sound effects which pepper the segment with blaring sirens, marching commandos, cavalry on horseback, tanks rumbling and aircraft engines as the orchestra steadily grows to *fortississimo*.⁸¹ When it seems the nightmare can't get any more frantic, the honeymooning couple snap out of their dreamlike state and are left wondering if this fantastic journey was all a dream. Only the string section remains, which returns to the comforting theme of Schumann's 'Träumerei' (mvt.7, *Kinderszenen*, Op.15 (1838). The potpourri concludes with the chorus singing *a capella* 'ahs' and a final, sustained fortissimo chord by the orchestra as the narrator concludes:

"Happy in England.....

Yet do I sometimes feel a languishment

For skies Italian.....

I wonder if by any chance, Jon Keats wrote that sonnet on such a January night as this!"⁸²

Holiday in Europe was completed on 2 April 1934 from Vienna and was broadcast a total of three times by the BBC.⁸³ It is the earliest example of the popular geographic category of potpourri and highlights the use of a "travel itinerary" as central to its subject theme. The plasticity of Radio Potpourri allows for the incorporation of a wide array of musical inclusions into this cosmopolitan work spanning from traditional folk, polkas, student drinking songs, pop tunes, marches, hymns, as well as excerpts from symphonic tone poems, operas and operettas. Equally, *Holiday in Europe* illustrates the importance of the narration in the progression of the storyline as well as the use of sound effects to enhance the realism of the journey.

5.4 The Biographic Potpourri

While the Geographic potpourri subset accounts for the bulk of Burger's Grand Potpourri output, the Biographic potpourri has its subject theme focused on the life and compositions of an influential composer. This is accomplished through a succession of vignettes or snapshots from a composer's life, supplemented with various music compositions from their respective oeuvres. Two Biographic potpourri examples have been composed in the hour-long Grand Potpourri

⁸¹ Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.270-279.

⁸² Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.284.

⁸³ The final page of the *Holiday in Europe* manuscript includes an autographed composition date. Source: Julius Burger, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS1878-Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.286.

programme format and utilise narration to convey the story between sections. To show how this subgenre functions, Burger's earliest known Biographic potpourri, titled *Life of Offenbach* (1934), is extrapolated on.

This is necessary to show how this subset differs from the others but equally aids in answering larger questions of reception's role in its creation. By examination Burger's use of Offenbach's operas and operettas in the construction of *Life of Offenbach*, this analysis further reinforces the connection between pasticcio opera/ operetta and its remediated use in silent film accompaniment. At its core, this potpourri and its companion *Johann Strauss: A Biography in Music* are essentially forms of pasticcio remediated for the medium of radio.

By examining the operas from which the excerpts are taken, the argument can be made that Radio Potpourri is also an extension of cultural transfer which had been taking place for centuries throughout Europe, with particular emphasis in the 19th and early 20th centuries Paris, Vienna, Berlin and London. As Offenbach's works became increasingly popular in mid 19th Century Europe onward, so too did the practice of altering the works for the varied demographics in which they were being performed. Prime examples include the numerous German language translations of Offenbach operettas for Viennese and German productions as well as the English language translations for British productions. Equally, the music scores were also frequently altered to suit particular audiences. One can point to Erich Korngold's heavily modified score for Max Reinhardt's 1931 work *Helen*, a reimagining of Offenbach's *La belle Hélène*, as a prime example of this.⁸⁴

Examining Radio Potpourri as an extension of pasticcio opera as well as a remediated device of cultural transfer provides some insight into a problem which many composers had been grappling with since the radio's inception - how can the time-honoured traditions of music and live performance be remediated for the technological leap of radio, void of the visual experience, while maintaining integrity of the story? The Funkstunde AG Berlin seemed to be progressing on this question before the Nazi party seized control in 1933 by implementing experimental programming and lectures. Some of the prominent examples related to Offenbach include the reimagined presentations of his operas by figures such as writer and playwright Karl Krauss (1874-1936).⁸⁵ Julius Burger was an active participant in this 'laboratory of sound' from 1930 until 1933. He later took his experiments at the Funkstunde with him to the BBC and, in doing so, brought new ideas to the fertile ground of the young corporation. These newly crafted hybrid programmes

⁸⁴ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2017), p.258-9, 261.

⁸⁵ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.94.

are a prime example of cross-cultural pollination which came to influence BBC programming in the early years of radio.

But why use Offenbach as the subject of this particular work? Why not choose a composer closer to Burger's own aesthetic such as his accomplished teacher, the opera composer Franz Schreker? What can the Offenbach's reception in Britain tell us about the influence of Offenbach's music in shaping British theatre? Equally, what can two contrasting articles on Offenbach reveal about the role of anti-Semitism and nationalism on this music? In order to address these questions, two critique articles from the *Radio Times* on the topic of Offenbach have been examined. Each respective article appeared in the magazine to accompany performance announcements for the Biographic potpourri. The first opinion piece, "*Will Offenbach Come Back? : 'The Life of Offenbach'*", was written by British critic Francis Toye (1883-1964) and appeared in the 4 January 1935 issue.⁸⁶ The second article by British author Ralph Hill (1900-1950) was titled *A Musical Humorist : Ralph Hill reviews a new book on Offenbach, whose music will be featured in a programme on Sunday (National)*. Hill's article provides a review of Siegfried Karcauer's 1937 work *Offenbach and the Paris of his Time* and was published to accompany the 27 February 1938 revival of Burger's potpourri.⁸⁷ These snapshots are significant as they contribute to the wider discussion on anti-Semitism and nationalism in the creation, production and reception of compositions by émigré composers who were employed by the BBC in the 1930s and 1940s.

The Life of Offenbach and its positive reception is made evident by its six broadcasts on the BBC Home and National services from 1934 to 1950. This provides evidence to support the argument Radio Potpourri exerted some influence on the young BBC Variety department as they struggled with the question of radio through programming. *Life of Offenbach's* biographic companion, *Johann Strauss: A Biography in Music*, was arguably an even bigger success and enjoyed eight broadcast performances on the Regional, National and Home services between 1936 - 1949.⁸⁸ Although only two in the Radio Potpourri genre were biographic programmes, the subject framework appears to have spawned similar programmes featuring other prominent composers in the BBC radio line-up over the proceeding decades. While these utilised either lecture or narration and music to tell the story and were not a carbon copy of the genre, they still pose the question: Were these later programmes influenced by Burger's potpourri genre for radio or could this be a case of natural evolutionary progression?

⁸⁶ Francis Toye, "Will Offenbach Come Back? : *The Life of Offenbach* told in story with music from his operas on Monday and Tuesday," *Radio Times*, 4 January 1935, Vol. 46, No. 588, p.7.

⁸⁷ Ralph Hill, "A Musical Humorist : Ralph Hill reviews a new book on Offenbach, whose music will be featured in a programme on Sunday (National)," in *Radio Times*, 25 February 1938, Vol. 58, No. 752, p.10.

⁸⁸ See '*Radio Potpourri : 1934-1950*' in Appendix for further information.

5.4.1 *Life of Offenbach (1934): An Overview*

After the success of his Radio Potpourris of the previous year, *Vienna* (1933) and *Holiday in Europe* (1934), Burger now reconfigured his genre to illuminate the life and works of German-born French composer Jacques Offenbach. His name is synonymous with the numerous monumental stage successes in the Opera Buffa and Opéra Comique genres as well as burlesque works during the French Second Empire in Paris. Burger's *Life of Offenbach* was written in late 1934 and was first broadcast 7 January 1935 at 9PM on The BBC Regional Service and reprised at 8PM the following evening on the National Service.⁸⁹ The work would later be revived for broadcast several times over the next fifteen years, lending evidence to its popularity as a programme.⁹⁰

While the individual instrumental parts of this work have been mostly preserved, the master score containing Austrian / later British writer Artur Kulka's narration has not been located.⁹¹ Furthermore, the surviving parts for both of Burger's Biographic potpourris appear to be incomplete, complicating research efforts. Fortunately, other sources have provided some context in which to reconstruct this work. This includes a vocal score fragment (apparently composed as a later addition), original broadcast listings, accompanying articles from the *Radio Times* as well as BBC Archival materials in the form of correspondence, contract request and internal memos.

From these sources, it is possible to ascertain the main sources which Burger drew on to compose this tribute to Offenbach. A recovered works list from The BBC Written Archive, dated 7 February 1939, describes the potpourri:

The Life of Offenbach is traced from his early beginnings as a cellist through all his great successes and concludes with *The Tales of Hoffmann*.⁹²

A later *Radio Times* broadcast description, from the 16 April 1950 revival, provides a vital list of the major operetta excerpts included. These include "*Orpheus in the Underworld, La Périchole, La Belle Hélène, Bluebeard, The Grand Duchess, and The Tales of Hoffmann*."⁹³ While the 1950 *Radio*

⁸⁹ The original cast included soloists Suzanne Bertin (soprano), Gladys Palmer (Contralto), Webster Booth (Tenor), and Stearn Scott (Bass) as well as a small cast of players. The BBC "Wireless" Chorus and Theatre Orchestra completed the performing ensemble which was conducted and produced by Stanford Robinson. Source: Contributor, "Life of Offenbach", *Radio Times*, 4 January 1935, Vol. 46, No. 588, p.7, 28, 31.

⁹⁰ Stanford Robinson, "Burger Potpourris", Internal memo, 12 June 1942, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51. R27/40/2. Music-General. File Folder II of II. BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

⁹¹ For a list of parts and instrumentation in *Life of Offenbach*, see 'Appendix B: Julius Burger Composition Catalogue'.

⁹² Unknown, "Potpourris by Julius Burger [sic]," BBC Internal Memo, 7 February 1939, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives - Caversham, England.

⁹³ Harold Neden, "Homage to Offenbach," *Radio Times*, 14 April 1950, Vol. 107, No.1383, p.14.

Times listing provides source titles from which Burger drew his musical excerpts, it does lead to further questions.

The first description leaves open the possibility *Life of Offenbach* had works for cello incorporated into the score to highlight Offenbach's earlier career as an instrumentalist. Dozens of Offenbach's cello compositions, stemming from 1839 onward, could have served as source material in this respect. However, no descriptions or notes have been discovered which provide any such titles. Furthermore, listings provided in a January 1934 and an April 1950 listing in *Radio Times* show differences in the potential source material titles which Burger may have drawn from. In both listings, the titles provided are inclusive only of opera and operetta works. For example, the 8 January 1934 *Radio Times* advert features a portrait of Offenbach with text providing a vague overview of the work:

1819 Offenbach-on-Main.....1833. Paris.....1853. *Pepito*.....*Orpheus in the Underworld*.....
Geneviève.....*La Vie Parisienne*.....*Helen*.....*The Grand*
Duchess.....*Madame Favart*.....1880 *Tales of Hoffmann*.⁹⁴

This varies from Harold Neden's detailed *Radio Times* description for the 16 April 1950 revival which includes primary excerpts from Offenbach's *Orpheus in the Underworld* (1858), *La belle Hélène* (1864), *Barbe-bleue* (1866), *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* (1867), *La Périchole* (1868) and *Les Contes D'Hoffmann* (1881). The earlier listing includes some of the same titles such as *Orpheus in the Underworld* (*Orphée aux Enfers*). However, the addition of several other titles, such as Offenbach's one act opéra comique *Pepito* (1853), five act opéra buffe *La vie Parisienne* (1866), the three act opéra buffe *Geneviève de Brabant* (1859) and the three act opéra comique *Madame Favart* (1878) complicates reconstruction efforts.

Without access to a complete master score of this work or a broadcast recording, it is not possible to answer if Burger's musical biography included the composer's early years as a cellist or instead structured the potpourri only utilising excerpts from his operettas between 1858 (*Orphée aux Enfers*) and his final work in 1881 (*Les Contes d'Hoffmann*).

Other anomalies add difficulty to investigations of this work. The *Radio Times* listing from 1938 includes English writer Wilfrid Rook Ley as the author of narration in addition to serving as the narrator for broadcast. It is possible the original narration was rewritten for future broadcasts and therefore the narration originator, Artur Kulka, is not credited. A second anomaly appears in the 1950 listing regarding the composer of *Life of Offenbach* that lists composer/conductor Leo

⁹⁴ Contributor, "The Life of Offenbach," *Radio Times*, 4 January 1934, Vol. 46, No. 588, p.34.

Wurmser (1905 -?), along with Burger in the accreditation. It is possible Wurmser was contracted to make alterations to the work for revival but it is unclear what exactly his involvement with the piece entailed.

Despite these various anomalies, conflicting descriptions and sparse archival documentation, I have utilised the source works listed in Neden's April 1950 *Radio Times* description for *Homage to Offenbach* (i.e. - *Life of Offenbach*) as well as a fragment "insert section" to offer a partial reconstruction of this popular Radio Potpourri.

5.4.1.1 "Vocal Insert Section"

Fortunately for this research, a portion of a piano/vocal reduction score labelled as 'Vocal insert section' was preserved among Burger's BBC manuscripts. This insert consists of 31 pages, inclusive of measures 991 to 1386. It reveals *The Life of Offenbach* may not have been simply a chronologically ordered compilation programme but rather a nuanced work which incorporates carefully chosen excerpts to portray the composer. It is also apparent from this insert that the potpourri includes source material from outside the narrow list provided in the 1950 *Radio Times* description. This becomes evident from first page of the 'inserted section' which includes "Gendarmes' Duet" from act two of Offenbach's opéra bouffe, *Geneviève de Brabant*.⁹⁵ The comical duet is sung by the men-at-arms and was added as part of Offenbach's expanded three act 1867 version.⁹⁶ *Geneviève de Brabant* is based on the mythic figure of the same name, falsely accused of infidelity and cast out to live in the wilderness. She lives in obscurity until her husband, Duke Sifroy, discovers the truth and welcomes her back into his kingdom.⁹⁷

Burger followed the jovial duet with arranged adaptations from *La Pèrichole* which includes the entire Act One 'Letter Aria' for mezzo-soprano titled 'O mon cher amant', among others.⁹⁸ The aria is then bridged into the next selection utilising incidental music and narration into the 'Shepherd's Song' from *La belle Hélène*.⁹⁹ This work was not present in the original Offenbach opera but is derived from a musical adaptation by Erich Korngold for the 1931/2 Reinhardt production in England, with adapted English translation by A.P. Herbert.¹⁰⁰ It was recorded in

⁹⁵ This was added to the 1867 three act version which was revised by Hector-Jonathan Crémieux. It premiered on 26 December 1867 at the Théâtre des Menus-Plaisirs, Paris. Source: Kurt Gänzl, *The Encyclopaedia of the Musical Theatre* (Oxford: Blackwell publishing, 1994).

⁹⁶ Kurt Gänzl, *The Encyclopaedia of the Musical Theatre* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1994).

⁹⁷ Kurt Gänzl, "Offenbach's sexy medieval spoof "Geneviève de Brabant," *The Encyclopaedia of the Musical Theatre*, 30 June 2015, Accessed 08 February 2021, URL: <http://operetta-research-center.org/offenbachs-sexy-medieval-spoof-genevieve-de-brabant/>

⁹⁸ Julius Burger, Vocal Score Insert for *The Life of Offenbach*, Call No. MSS2891, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, 1934, mm.1026-1274.

⁹⁹ Julius Burger, Vocal Score Insert for *The Life of Offenbach*, 1934, Call No. MSS2891, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p. 23, mm.1274-1278.

¹⁰⁰ C.W. Marshall, "A.P. Herbert's *Helen* and every Marriage since 1937," *Theatre Notebook*, Vol.67,

1932 for Columbia Records by the English tenor William Heddle Nash.¹⁰¹ The insert section concludes with a short musical interlude before segueing into a rendition of the waltz ‘De crains deur fureur...’ utilising thematic material from Act II finale of *La belle Hélène*.¹⁰²

While there is no indication when these additions were made or whether they would have been part of the original potpourri by Burger, several observations are readily apparent from viewing this short insert. First, the selections were incorporated utilising an English translation. This makes sense considering the potpourri was written for consumption by native English speakers. Second, if Burger wrote this insert, it is likely he did not look exclusively to the original French editions when sourcing his excerpts. This is made apparent with the alterations to the ‘Cousins trio’ from *La Périchole*, as well as the inclusion of the 1931 Erich Korngold (1897-1957) arrangement ‘Shepherd’s Song’ from the Max Reinhardt English language production. Third, Burger’s potpourris typically utilise a large body of musical material incorporated into the main subject theme of an individual potpourri. Burger and Kulka would have employed a storyline to determine the necessary musical selections. If the vocal insert section is indicative of the rest of the potpourri, the work would not have followed a rigidly chronological line from work to work but instead, probably revisited previous themes or incorporated or overlapped various musical themes throughout the work. Even in the biographic subgenre, the music may vacillate from one work to another in various periods while maintaining a chronological storyline.

5.4.2 Primary Musical Sources

The 1950 *Radio Times* description of Burger’s *Life of Offenbach* reads like a dazzling ‘greatest hits’ soundtrack to supplement the story of Offenbach’s life. Selected titles include *Orphée aux enfers* (Orpheus and the Underworld), *La belle Hélène* (*The Beautiful Helen*), *Barbe-bleue* (*Bluebeard*), *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* (*The Grand Duchess of Gérolstein*), *La Périchole* and *Les Contes D’Hoffmann* (*The Tales of Hoffmann*).¹⁰³ Each title is described and some selections from each have been given in order to provide a general shape of what this potpourri may have looked like.

No.1, 2013, p. 44-57.

¹⁰¹ Adam Ramet, “HEDDLE NASH La Belle Helene : Shepherd's Song (Herbert / Offenbach arr. by Korngold) COLUMBIA DB815,” YouTube, posted 8 January 2019, Accessed 11 November 2020. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=20hvtJcP10>

¹⁰² Julius Burger, Vocal Score Insert for *The Life of Offenbach*, 1934, Call No. MSS2891, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p. 23, mm.1307-1386.

¹⁰³ Harold Neden, “Homage to Offenbach,” *Radio Times*, 14 April 1950, Vol.107, No.1383, p.14.

5.4.2.1 *Orphée aux Enfers (Orpheus in the Underworld)*

The list begins with Offenbach's first major hit- the satirical reimagining of the Greek myth *Orphée aux Enfers*. The two act 'opéra buffon' premiered at the Theatre des Bouffes-Parisiens (Salle Choiseul) in 1858. The work was later expanded into a four act 'opéra féerie extravaganza' (Théâtre de la Gaîté) in 1874.¹⁰⁴ While the myth had been utilised by other composers including Claudio Monteverdi (*L'Orfeo*, SV. 318 in 1607), Christoph Gluck (*Orfeo ed Euridice* in 1762), Joseph Haydn (*L'anima del filosofo* in 1791), Offenbach offered his own unique, farcical spin. The hugely successful work included famous showstoppers such as the 'Galop infernal' which appears in the overture and the final scene. Also known as the 'Can Can', the number became a staple in the burlesque venues of Paris such as the Moulin Rouge and the Folies Bergère. Other recognisable tunes which Burger could have incorporated include John Styx's Aria – 'Quand j'étais roi de Béotie' from Act II (1858 version), Eurydice's aria – 'La mort m'apparaît souriante' from Act I or possibly the humorous 'fly' duet (Duo de la Mouche) between Eurydice and Jupiter – 'Il m'a Semble sur mon Epaule' from Act II.

5.4.2.2 *La belle Hélène (The Beautiful Helen)*

The next work provided in the 1950 *Radio Times* description is the opéra bouffe - *La belle Hélène*. Offenbach premiered the work at the Théâtre des Variétés in December 1864. It represents a return to the themes of classical mythology. It was likely an attempt to replicate the success previously accomplished with *Orphée aux Enfers* which had catapulted Offenbach to established status. *La belle Hélène's* story centres on the Greek figure Hélène of Sparta as she flees her husband, King Menelaus in order to elope with Paris of Troy, the event that led to the mythic Trojan war. The work's premiere in Paris was an instant success and, shortly thereafter, it premiered in Vienna, Berlin (under the title *Die Schöne Helena*) and Brussels in 1865. The following year, a German language version was also premiered in Hungary. English and German audiences of the early 1930s would have been familiar with this work due to the successful Max Reinhardt production. His adaptation first premiered in Berlin's Theatre am Kurfürstendam in 1931 before being taken abroad to Manchester as an English language version under the title *Helen* in December of that year.¹⁰⁵ *Helen* was later brought to the Royal Adelphi Theatre in London.¹⁰⁶ This adaptation wasn't fully true to the original score and was heavily adapted by

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Lamb, "Orphée aux enfers ('Orpheus in the Underworld')," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2002, Accessed 6 February 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O004618>

¹⁰⁵ Neville Cardus, "Troy Without Tears," *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 December 1931, No.26,616, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ After the conclusion of the London run of *La belle Hélène*, Reinhardt returned to Germany but eventually left after the Nazis assumed power in 1933. He continued to work in Europe until the Austrian

Reinhardt's colleague, composer Erich Korngold.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the work was a success in its Manchester preview as well as its run in London's West End. Burger incorporated at least two works from this version including Korngold adapted piece 'The Shepherd's Song' and the Act II finale waltz theme. These are two known examples among many other likely additions to the Radio Potpourri.¹⁰⁸ The original 1864 *La belle Hélène* ran at the Théâtre des Variétés until February when it was replaced by Offenbach's *Barbe-bleue (Bluebeard)* in February 1866.¹⁰⁹

5.4.2.3 *Barbe-bleue (Bluebeard)*

Barbe-bleue first appeared at the Théâtre des Variétés, Paris in February 1866, quickly followed by productions in London, Vienna and Brussels later the same year.¹¹⁰ The work was composed in 1865 while Offenbach was touring and conducting the premieres of other works in Vienna, Brussels and Cologne.¹¹¹ Notably, his eldest daughter Berthe was married in the course of writing this work and the similarities with the libretto may have attracted him to this work's subject matter.¹¹² While it was considered a success, the work fell out of repertoire. However, in 1929 a German language production for Berlin's Metropol Theatre signalled its return. The production was produced by Fritz Friedmann-Friedrich (1883-1934) under the title *Blaubart*. This new production starred tenor Leo Slezak (former employer of Burger) in the title role with Katharina "Käthe" Dorsch (who was later Herman Goering's mistress) in the role of Boulette.^{113 114} This production was also taken to Vienna the following year.¹¹⁵

The operetta's libretto by Meilhac and Halévy is based on the 1697 work *Histoires ou contes du temps passé* by Charles Perrault (1628-1703).¹¹⁶ *Barbe-bleue* is a satirical reimagining of Perrault's

Anschluss in 1938 when he emigrated to the United States. Source: Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.258-9, 261.

¹⁰⁷ Kurt Gänzl, "La belle Hélène," *Operetta Research Center*, 2001, Retrieved 15 January 2021, URL: <http://operetta-research-center.org/la-belle-helene-opera-bouffe-3-acts/>

¹⁰⁸ Julius Burger, Vocal Score Insert for *The Life of Offenbach*, 1934, Call No. MSS2891, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London.

¹⁰⁹ Alexander Fairs, *Jacques Offenbach* (London: Faber & Faber, 1980), p.134, 138-39.

¹¹⁰ Jacques Offenbach, "Correspondances avec Meilhac et Halévy," *Programme book for Barbe-Bleue*, (Strasbourg: Opéra du Rhin, 1996), p.85-87.

¹¹¹ Jacques Offenbach, "Correspondances avec Meilhac et Halévy," *Programme book for Barbe-Bleue*, (Strasbourg: Opéra du Rhin, 1996), p.85-87.

¹¹² Claude Dufresne, "Barbe-Bleue: les tourbillons de sa creation," *Programme book for Barbe-Bleue*, Opéra du Rhin, 1996, p.91-94.

¹¹³ Malcolm MacDonald, "Julius Burger (1897-1995): Orchestral Music," Liner Notes, Radio Symphonie Orchester, Berlin, cond. Simone Young, Recorded 26-28, 30 September 1994, Toccata Classics, TOCC 0001, 2007, CD, p.3.

¹¹⁴ Sources: Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 280-81. ; Kurt Gänzl, "Barbe-Bleue Opéra-bouffe in 3 acts," *The Encyclopaedia of the Musical Theatre*, 1 January 2001, Accessed 18 January 2021, URL: <http://operetta-research-center.org/barbe-bleue-opera-bouffe-3-acts/>

¹¹⁵ Kurt Gänzl, "Barbe-Bleue Opéra-bouffe in 3 acts," *The Encyclopaedia of the Musical Theatre* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1994).

¹¹⁶ Hugh Chisholm, "Bluebeard," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11 Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911).

work, based on a legend with its origins stemming from medieval Europe. A homicidal aristocrat, Bluebeard is a habitual polygamist who first marries and then murders his successive wives. In the final act of Henri Meilhac (1830-1897) and Ludovic Halévy's (1834-1908) version, the deceased wives return from the grave to enact revenge on the Bluebeard. Some recognisable musical selections which could have been incorporated into the Radio Potpourri include Bluebeard's Act I entrance – 'Je suit Barbe-bleue vogue', the peasant woman Boulette's aria from Act I – 'V'la z'encor de drôl's de jeunesses' or possibly the Act II duet between shepherdess Fleurette and shepherd Saphir – 'Tous les deus, amoureux'.¹¹⁷ Although this work enjoyed only a short-lived revival in Berlin and Vienna in 1929-30, it would have been known to Burger due to his associations with Slezak, his proximity to the music circles and travel between the two cities. Equally, the productions took place only a few years before Burger began work on this potpourri. In Offenbachian chronology, *Barbe-bleue* originally premiered following the closing of premiere run of *La belle Héléne*. Thus making it a natural choice for inclusion into Offenbach's biographic story.

5.4.2.4 *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein (The Grand Duchess of Gérolstein)*

La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein is next on the 1950 *Radio Times* listing for *Life of Offenbach*. It is among other works written at the height of Offenbach's popularity of the 1860s. The work was composed for the 1867 Paris Exhibition to a libretto by long-time collaborators Meilhac and Halévy. The storyline is presented as a satire on the monarchical powers of 19th Century Europe and the theme of thoughtless militarism. It follows the tyrannical Grand Duchess Gérolstein as central character, as she pursues a sexual fetish for uniformed men. Her desire is so overpowering that the Duchess goes as far to declare a needless war in order to facilitate her urges. The central character is a parodied caricature of the Russian Empire's longest ruling female leader, Catherine the Great (1729-1796).¹¹⁸

The April 1867 premiere at the Théâtre des Variétés was an immediate hit and was attended an impressive array of royalty and heads of state from across the continent.¹¹⁹ Subsequent

¹¹⁷ Andrew Lamb, "Barbe-bleue (Bluebeard)," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2002, Accessed 19 January 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O900737>

¹¹⁸ Adrian Corleoni, "Jacques Offenbach: *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*, operetta in 3 acts," Allmusic.com, 2021, accessed 21 January 2021, URL: <https://www.allmusic.com/composition/la-grande-duchesse-de-gérolstein-operetta-in-3-acts-mc0002393226>

¹¹⁹ Those in attendance included Emperors Napoleon II of France and Franz Joseph of Austro-Hungarian Empire, Tsar Alexander II of Russia, future King of England Edward VII, Otto von Bismarck of Prussia.

Others who attended a performance of the original production include Kings of Bavaria, Portugal, and Sweden, the Sultan of Turkey, the Viceroy of Egypt. Sources: Peter Gammond, *Offenbach, His Life and Times* (London: Midas Books, 1980), p.88-93. ; Gabriel Grovlez, "Jacques Offenbach: A Centennial Sketch," *The Musical Quarterly*, July 1919, Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 329-337. Accessed via JSTOR on 21 March 2021, URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/738195>

productions were launched the same year in Vienna, in New York City's Théâtre Français (September 1867) and in London's Covent Garden with English translation (November 1867).¹²⁰ A 20th Century production in London took place at the Daly's Theatre in 1937, two years after the Radio Potpourri's premiere. The Grand Duchess offers many recognisable numbers which may have been incorporated into Burger's potpourri such as the Duchess's Act I aria 'Ah! que j'aime les militaires!' ('Ah! I love the Military'), the family sabre song 'Voici, le sabre de mon Père' and the baritone song of Fritz in Act II 'En très bon ordre nous partimes' ('All in Good Order, Colours flying'). Other possibilities include the bouffe trio 'Max état soldat de fortune' ('Max was a soldier of fortune') or possibly the Act III Duchess song 'Il était un de mes a'ieux' ('There lived in Times now long gone').¹²¹

The *Grand Duchess of Gérolstein* premiered at a stressful period for the French Second Empire. Three years after its premiere, the French were defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. After the defeat, major socio-political shifts and the fall of the France's Second Empire caused this anti-militarist work to quickly disappear in French theatres.¹²² These shifting tides coincided with a receptive change of Offenbach's satirical operetta as well. Both the French and German press attacked the composer, accusing Offenbach of possessing loyalty to the opposing side. Equally, both sides maligned him in caricatures and anti-Semitic slander.¹²³ This period was likely not given detailed attention in the Radio Potpourri retelling but one can readily draw parallels between Offenbach's experiences and the prominent resurgence of anti-Semitism in 1930s Europe. This period marked a shift in Offenbach's compositional style from the opéra bouffe genre to one more akin to the stylings of the opéra comique genre. This shift is made evident in his next opera, *La Périchole*, in which he largely dispensed with satire.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Sources: Kurt Gänzl and Andrew Lamb, *Gänzl Book of Musical Theatre* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989) ; Author, "The Grand Duchess of Gerolstein," *The Guide to Musical Theatre*, Accessed 23 January 2021, URL: http://www.guidetomusicaltheatre.com/shows_g/grand_duchess.htm ; Author, "The grand Duchess of Gerolstein," *The Guide to Musical Theatre*, Accessed 23 January 2021, URL: http://www.guidetomusicaltheatre.com/shows_g/grand_duchess.htm

¹²¹ Andrew Lamb, "La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2002, Accessed 23 January 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O901961>

¹²² All of Offenbach's works were later banned in Germany after the establishment of the Reich Chamber of Culture on 22 September 1933. Policies of the Nazi Regime officially prohibited performances of works by Jewish composers including Offenbach. Sources: Matthias Kauffmann, "Operetta During the Nazi Regime," *The Cambridge Companion to Operetta*, edited by Anastasia Belina and Derek B. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 261–271. ; John Kenrick, "French Operetta: Offenbach and Company," *The Cambridge Companion to Operetta*, edited by Anastasia Belina and Derek B. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) pp. 17–31.

¹²³ John Kenrick, "French Operetta : Offenbach and Company," from *The Cambridge Companion to Operetta*, edited by Anastasia Belina and Derek B. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p.28-29.

¹²⁴ John Kenrick, "French Operetta : Offenbach and Company," p.28.

5.4.2.5 *La Périchole*

La Périchole marks a change in style for Offenbach. This work aligns more with *Opéra Comique* rather than the opéra bouffe and burlesque styles of his previous successes. The Meilhac and Halévy libretto is based on the 1829 French one act *Le carrosse du Saint-Sacrement* by Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870) and is set in 18th Century Peru. The work revolves around the street entertainer Périchole and her lover Piquillo, who struggle to earn a meagre existence. The viceroy Don Andès de Ribeira spots Périchole after a performance and offers her a new life. There are echoes of the storyline of Verdi's *La Traviata* as well as similarities to George Bernard Shaw's (1856-1950) *Pygmalion*, although the latter wasn't premiered until 16 October 1913 at Vienna's imperial Hofburgtheater.¹²⁵ Offenbach's original two act version premiered 6 October 1868 at the Théâtre des Variétés and was later expanded to a three-act work in 1874.¹²⁶

This work was equally important to the careers of English operetta team Gilbert and Sullivan, who wrote a one act companion work, *Trial by Jury*, specifically for a 1875 English translation production at the Royal Theatre-London.¹²⁷ Several numbers from *La Périchole* have been identified in the insert section, including material adapted from the Act I appearance of the three cousins or 'Chansons des Trois Cousines' - Promptes à servir... as well as Périchole's 'Letter Aria' – 'Ô mon cher amant, je te jure'.^{128 129}

Other numbers which could have been incorporated into Burger's potpourri could include Périchole and Piquillo's Act I duet 'Le conquérant dit à la jeune Indienne' (The Conquerer said to the young Indian), Périchole's comedic Act I 'Topsy Song' titled 'Ah, quel diner!', the Act III slow waltz love song 'Tu n'es pas beau, tu n'es pas riche' ('You are not beautiful, you are not rich') or possibly elements from the Act III finale.

Twenty-two years after *Life of Offenbach* was first broadcast, Burger again revisited *La Périchole* in professional capacity. In this instance, he was commissioned to adapt and orchestrate the score

¹²⁵ Peter Conolly-Smith, "Shades of Local Color : *Pygmalion* and Its Translation and Reception in Central Europe, 1913-1914," *Shaw*, 29 January 2009, Vol. 29, p. 127–44, Accessed 22 January 2021, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40691864>

¹²⁶ The original two act version enjoyed international success from premieres in Brussels (5 December 1868) to New York City (Pikes Opera House - 4 January 1869), Vienna (9 January 1869) Stockholm (6 February 1869), London (27 June 1870), Rio de Janeiro (1869) and Buenos Aires (1870).

Sources: *La Périchole. L'Avant-Scene Opéra*, No.66, August 1984. ; *The New Kobbe's Opera Book*, Eleventh edition, ed. The Earl of Harewood and Anthony Peattie (London: Ebury Press, 1997), p.550.

¹²⁷ This was part of a triple bill which included Charles Collette's one act farce *Cryptoconchoidsyphonostomata*. Source: Michael Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan : A Dual Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.101-109.

¹²⁸ Julius Burger, "Promptes à servir...", in Vocal Score Insert, *The Life of Offenbach*, (1934), Unpublished manuscript, Call No. MSS2891, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, 1934, p.9-17.

¹²⁹ Julius Burger, "Promptes à servir...", in Vocal Score Insert, *The Life of Offenbach*, (1934), Call No. MSS2891, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.19-23.

for the Metropolitan Opera's English version in 1956.¹³⁰ The adaptation employed English lyrics by Maurice Valeny (1903-1996) and music selections chosen by Jean Morel (1903-1975) and Ignace Strasfogel (1909-1994).¹³¹ The Metropolitan adaptation included additional interpolations from other scores including:

...a circus sequence to fill out Act I, a ballet to bolster Act II...¹³²

This pastiche style of arranging shows many hallmarks of Burger's past experiences with Radio Potpourri at the BBC. One could draw the conclusion that without Burger's earlier work in the Radio Potpourri genre, particularly in conjunction with *The Life of Offenbach*, the 1956 Metropolitan production and subsequent published edition for Boosey and Hawkes would have been musically quite different.

5.4.2.6 *Les Contes D'Hoffmann* (*The Tales of Hoffmann*)

The last work on the 1950 *Radio Times* listing includes Offenbach's final opera *Les Contes D'Hoffmann*. This opéra fantastique is likely his most recognisable work internationally and, as with *La Périchole*, it continues Offenbach's move away from bouffe opera toward a style of a more serious nature. This work also highlights the stylistic shift in his choice of librettists. *Hoffmann* marks a move away from his successful partnership with librettists Meilhac and Halévy and instead employed French librettist Jules Barbier (1829-1901). His libretto is based on three short stories by German author Ernst Theodor Amadeus (E.T.A.) Hoffmann (1776-1822) including *Der Sandmann* (1816) for Act I, *Rath Krespel* (1817) for Act II and *Die Geschichte vom verlorenen Spiegelbilde* (1815) for Act III.¹³³ The format of Offenbach's ultimate work is akin to a pastiche opera with a continuous storyline throughout and each act compartmentalised into a smaller story of its own. The plot follows the character of Hoffmann, a poet, who regales an audience of

¹³⁰ Editor, 'La Périchole Premiere' Metropolitan Opera Archives, 21 December 1956, New York, Accessed 12 August 2020, URL:

<http://archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/scripts/cgiip.exe/WService=BibSpeed/fullcit.w?xCID=173510&limit=2500&xBranch=ALL&xodate=&xedate=&theterm=La%20P%20E9richole%3A%20Conductor%20%5BMorel.%20Jean%5D&x=0&xhomepath=&xhome=>

¹³¹ Kolja Lessing, "Ignace Strasfogel," *Franz Schrekers Schuler in Berlin: Biographische Beitrage und Dokumente*, by Schenk, Böggemann & Cadenbach (Berlin: Universität der Künste Berlin, 2005), p. 118-122.

¹³² Irving Kolodin, "La Perichole Review," *Saturday Review*, New York, NY, 5 January 1957, Accessed 12 August 2020, URL:

<http://archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/scripts/cgiip.exe/WService=BibSpeed/fullcit.w?xCID=173510&limit=2500&xBranch=ALL&xodate=&xedate=&theterm=La%20P%20E9richole%3A%20Conductor%20%5BMorel.%20Jean%5D&x=0&xhomepath=&xhome=>

¹³³ Sources: Betsy Schwarm, "Coppélia," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 16 February 2016, Accessed 22 February 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Coppelia-ballet-by-Delibes> ; William Kumbier, "Composed Composers: Subjectivity in E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Rath Krespel*," *Studies in Romanticism*, Vol. 43, no. 2, (2004): p. 231–255. JSTOR, Accessed 22 Feb. 2021, URL: www.jstor.org/stable/25601673 ; Cynthia Chalupa, "Re-Imaging the Fantastic: E. T. A. Hoffmann's '*The Story of the Lost Reflection*,'" *Marvels & Tales*, vol. 20, no. 1, (2006): p. 11–29, JSTOR, Accessed 22 Feb. 2021, www.jstor.org/stable/41388773 ; Betsy Schwarm and Linda Cantoni, "The Tales of Hoffmann", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 22 March 2016, Accessed 22 February 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Tales-of-Hoffmann>

his eager students the story of his three great loves. Each act represents another love story successfully ruined by different manifestations of the antagonist (*i.e.* Coppélius - Act I, Dr. Miracle - Act II and Dapertutto - Act III). The work, excluding Act III, premiered four months after Offenbach's death at the Opera Comique on 10 February 1881.¹³⁴ The contemporary four-act version was not presented in public until 7 December 1881 at the Ringtheater in Vienna.¹³⁵

This opera offers a treasure trove of numbers from which Burger could have chosen. Several prominent possibilities include the tavern drinking song 'Drig, Drig, Dri, maitre Luther' and the Doll's Aria 'Les oiseaux dans la charmille' from Act I, Antonia's aria 'Elle a fui, la tourterelle' from Act II or possibly the famous barcarolle 'Belle Nuit, Ô nuit d'amour' from Act III sung by the characters of Nicklausse and Giulietta.¹³⁶ Equally, the epilogue presents itself as a suitable source of material in order to conclude a musical tribute to the composer, although this section was left unfinished at the time of Offenbach's death.¹³⁷

The Life of Offenbach marks the first potpourri of a biographic nature for Burger. We can ascertain from the inserted vocal section, these main titles are not the only Offenbach works which Burger choose from. They more likely represent timeline "mile" markers throughout the course of the musical biography, around which excerpts and themes from multiple works of the relative period are also incorporated. (As in the case with the "Gendarmes' Duet" from *Geneviève de Brabant* (1867)). These represent the main structure of Burger's work.

5.4.3 Why Offenbach?

Why would Burger choose Offenbach, a German who was synonymous with satirical opéra bouffe of the 2nd French Empire, as the focus of his first Biographic potpourri? Wouldn't it be easier to choose one of the numerous leading composers who derived from his home city of Vienna? After all, Paris and Vienna were seemingly very different places in the 19th century. However, in the realm of politics, the two cities shared frequent similarities according to scholar Laurence Senelick's 2017 biography on the composer titled *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern*

¹³⁴ Andrew Lamb, rev. by Robert J. Dennis, "Contes D'Hoffmann, Les ('The Tales of Hoffmann')," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2002, Accessed 21 January 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O008963>

¹³⁵ Subsequently, the theater was destroyed by fire at the second performance of the work the following day. Source: Unknown, "The Calamity at Vienna : Frightful Struggles for Life in the Ring Theatre," *New York Times*, Vol. XXXI, No.9441, 11 December 1881, p.1.

¹³⁶ The inclusion of this famed number shows Offenbach was not opposed to incorporating earlier compositions into his newer works. Belle Nuit... was first used in his earlier opera *Die Rheinnixen* (1864) as 'Komm' zu uns'. Source: James J. Fuld, *The Book of World Famous Music : Classical, Popular and Folk* (Chelmsford MA: Courier Corporation, 2000), p.127.

¹³⁷ Betsy Schwarm and Linda Cantoni, "The Tales of Hoffmann," Encyclopedia Britannica, 22 March 2016, Accessed 22 February 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Tales-of-Hoffmann>

Culture.¹³⁸ In the third chapter, *Tales from the Vienna Stage*, Senelick expounds on the common thread of farce employed in operettas the theatres of both Paris and Vienna of the 19th century. Paris theatres frequently offered comedic operetta in the form of opéra bouffe while Viennese theatres had their own variations such as ‘Singspiele’ and ‘Zauberpossen’. The practice of both forms originate in the 18th century and provided a natural home for Offenbach’s unique style of extravagant comedic satire.¹³⁹ Senelick also states Offenbach’s operettas flourished in Austria because their music was less categorical than that of their French counterparts and, in turn, meant Offenbach’s work wasn’t relegated to a minor genre while permeating the cultural life of this capital.¹⁴⁰

The similarities in Vienna’s cultural and political environments contributed to Offenbach’s influence on theatrical music in the city, with many of his new stage works premiering only a few weeks after their world premieres in Paris. The rising demand and huge popularity of Offenbach’s original style of opéra bouffes set off imitations. For example, Senelick points to the 1860 von Suppé work *Das Pensionnat*, which he notes may be considered the first true Viennese operetta, as being of “Offenbachian spirit”. The work even refers to the composer in the first Act.¹⁴¹ Opéra bouffes even began to appear in the repertoires of Viennese contemporaries such as von Suppé, Karl Milllöcker and Johann Strauss.¹⁴² This could be considered further evidence of Offenbach’s influence in the culture of the city. According to Senelick, Offenbach imitations were rampant between 1917 and 1929 with :

...innumerable pastiches, patchworks and pantomimes exploiting Offenbach’s scores, and in 1930 alone saw a jazzed up ‘*Vie Parisienne*, a denatured *Barbe-bleue* and a *Robinson Crusoe* with a totally rewritten libretto.¹⁴³

There was even an Offenbach potpourri by Karl Pausperl and Wilhelm Sterk titled *Der König ihres Herzens* which utilised excerpts from nearly 10 operas.¹⁴⁴

Offenbach imitations also extended to Victorian England, where a lack of international copyright translated into British composers and librettists “borrowing” from their French contemporaries. Nevertheless, versions of Offenbach’s works enjoyed more than 60 productions between 1865

¹³⁸ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

¹³⁹ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.86.

¹⁴⁰ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.86-7.

¹⁴¹ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.87.

¹⁴² Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.92.

¹⁴³ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.92.

¹⁴⁴ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.93 ; original source: Otto Erich Deutsch, “Offenbach, Kraus und die Anderen,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 18 (1963), p.410-11.

and 1874 throughout England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland-ranging from full scale operas to shorter presentations.¹⁴⁵

5.4.3.1 Offenbach in the 20th Century

Offenbach's music made a resurgence in the early 20th century which partly explains the reasoning behind the composer being selected as the subject of Burger's first Biographic potpourri. Few contributed to the popularisation of Offenbach's music more than the Austrian writer and poet Karl Krauss (1874-1936). He carried the torch of influence into the 20th century through his adaptations of eleven Offenbach libretti while creating several of his own versions of *Vert-Vert*, *Madame l'Archiduc* and *La Périchole*.¹⁴⁶ Kraus's letters, commentary and recorded performances of "Offenbach style" texts were frequently broadcast on Berlin Radio between 1930-1932 and gained the admiration of many among Europe's cultural purveyors including modernist composer Ernst Krenek.¹⁴⁷ Burger would also have been aware of Kraus's work given his occupation as a conductor/composer on the Berlin music scene and equally, through his work with the Funkstunde in the early 1930s. Offenbach's operettas were commonplace in Burger's native Vienna at the turn of the 20th century. Beside the staged productions, numerous catchy numbers from these operettas would have been called upon to supplement the pastiche music accompaniment in the silent film houses. Finally, the popularity of the Reinhardt production of *La belle Hélène* in Berlin and England likely made an Offenbach potpourri an easy decision.

While Burger only created two Biographic potpourris, both show connections to the influences of his birth city of Vienna and both are representative of cosmopolitan themes. Very little documentation regarding the creative process of *Life of Offenbach* in the form of correspondence or contractual guidelines has been discovered. To shed light on this creative process, a brief examination Offenbach's reception 1930s Britain has been undertaken. *Radio Times* published two critiques to accompany the broadcast listings for *Life of Offenbach*. The first, written by Francis Toye, offered a critique of Offenbach's music and appeared in the same issue as the description for Burger's 1935 premiere. The second, written by Ralph Hill, accompanied the revival of Burger's 1938 of *Life of Offenbach*. The latter provides a review of a new biography on the composer by German Sociologist Siegfried Kracauer (1889-1966) titled *Offenbach und das Paris seiner Zeit*. Each critique provides some insight into the perception of Offenbach as well as anti-Semitic sentiments in 1930s Britain.

¹⁴⁵ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.103.

¹⁴⁶ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.94.

¹⁴⁷ Laurence Senelick, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, p.94. ; Original source: Ernst Krenek, "Karl Kraus und Offenbach," *Der Auftakt* (Prague) 10 (1930): p. 212-13.

5.4.3.2 Offenbach Reception in 1930s London

English Writer and critic Francis Toye's article "*Will Offenbach Come Back?*" offers an unsavoury view of Offenbach's music and the possibility of its revival in Europe of the 1930s.¹⁴⁸ Toye points to the flight of Max Reinhardt and other Offenbach champions from Germany (due to the anti-Semitic policies of the Nazi Regime) as evidence of the declining fortunes of Offenbach's music. He then claims Offenbach's success during the French 2nd Empire was due to his "Jewishness" which provided him with "plasticity and adaptability". He goes on to claim his:

...extreme facility and brilliance, irony and love of satire are Jewish characteristics.

Beside the blatant anti-Semitic language, Toye goes on to claim the English composer Arthur Sullivan's music is:

...indubitably superior to those of Offenbach... in the matter of scholarship, refinement, solid workmanship and classical feeling.¹⁴⁹

Toye's view of Sullivan's superiority to Offenbach is also apparent in a 28 December 1931 *Manchester Guardian* review of the Reinhart's *Helen* premiere in which a critic wrote:

And what are we to think of Continental breadth of taste in these things that Offenbach is still played in the opera houses there (with a Hertz as Helen), while Sullivan is never heard at all? There was more music in Sullivan's little finger than Offenbach dreamed of in all his life, until at death's door he was inexplicably touched by poetry.¹⁵⁰

Toye's 1935 *Radio Times* article also points to Grove's Dictionary which he claimed predicted:

...more or less the complete extinction of Offenbach's buffooneries because they were characterised by a vulgar scepticism and a determination to be funny at all costs rather than by genuine style.

The article is completed with a racial caricature which emphasizes Offenbach's supposed "*Semitic features*". This was a typical slander tool of the late 19th Century German publications such as the *Leipzig Puck*.¹⁵¹ If Toye's article is representative of Offenbach's reception in Great Britain of the 1930s, it does not paint an optimistic picture. However, *Life of Offenbach's* revival, only three years later, was listed in *Radio Times* and accompanied by an article of vastly different sentiments.

¹⁴⁸ Francis Toye, "Will Offenbach Come Back?," *Radio Times*, 4 January 1935, Vol. 46, No. 588, p.7.

¹⁴⁹ Francis Toye, "Will Offenbach Come Back?," *Radio Times*, 4 January 1935, Vol. 46, No. 588, p.7.

¹⁵⁰ Neville Carus, "Troy Without Tears," *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 December 1931, No.26,616, p. 11.

¹⁵¹ Paul Scudo, "Revue musicale," *La Revue des Deux Mondes* (15 Dec 1860): 1029. ; Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Munich : Albert Langen, 1921), p. 166, 268.

BBC editor Ralph Hill's critique on the influential Offenbach biography *Offenbach und das Paris seiner Zeit (Offenbach and the Paris of his Time)* by German Sociologist, writer and cultural critic Siegfried Kracauer accompanied the *Radio Times* 1938 revival listing.^{152 153} Hill's review, titled "A Musical Humorist", generally presents a positive view of Offenbach and his works in contrast to the 1935 critique. Unlike Toye, Hill doesn't equate Offenbach's success in operetta with his Jewish identity – an association which has no factual basis in reality. Hill instead offers highlights of Kracauer's sociological approach to Offenbach's life and experiences in Paris of the 2nd Empire.

Like Toye, Hill also draws parallels between Offenbach, Arthur Sullivan and Johann Strauss with anecdotes on Offenbach's encouragement to Strauss to take up operetta composition. Hill also touches on the comparisons of Strauss's titled work '*Morgenblätter*' to the title of Offenbach's waltz '*Abendblätter*'. One pointed observation which Hill extracts from Kracauer's analysis offers a better explanation of Offenbach's success in operetta. Rather than a product of his Jewish identity, he points to his success as a product of:

...gay brilliant Paris, with its turmoil of gaiety and bohemianism that produced so many great characters during the nineteenth century and attracted the elite in contemporary art, music and literature from all over Europe.¹⁵⁴

In the same paragraph, he denotes Sullivan as having the:

... disadvantage of being a product of dull Victorian London and all it stood for.

This sociological analysis shows the composer's creations as products of their environment rather than based on a racial stereotype. Toye's article fails to consider the different cultural views of sexuality and comedic tastes between France and England of the period. Victorian Britain was ruled by conservative views on morality. According to Senelick, this could be a contributing factor as to why Offenbach's later works (such as *La Périchole* and *Les Contes D'Hoffmann*) remained in repertoire because they moved from a farcical style, full of sexuality and absurdities, and instead aligned with the Opéra Comique genre which dialled up sentimental relations.¹⁵⁵ This provided a 'home field advantage' to Gilbert and Sullivan and made them institutions in their own right whereas Offenbach, while popular, was more suitable to the French and Viennese cultures. Senelick's takes this comparative analysis further by examining the role of Sullivan's collaborative

¹⁵² Julius Burger, *Life of Offenbach*, listed at 9:25PM on National service - 27 February 1938. Source: Contributor, "Homage to Offenbach," *Radio Times*, 25 February 1938, Vol. 58, No. 752, p.10, 20.

¹⁵³ Ralph Hill, "A Musical Humorist," *Radio Times*, 25 February 1938, Vol. 58, No. 752, p.10.

¹⁵⁴ Ralph Hill, "A Musical Humorist," *Radio Times*, 25 February 1938, Vol. 58, No.752, p.10.

¹⁵⁵ Laurence Senelick, "Against the Victorian Grain," in *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.116.

librettist to that of Offenbach's Meilhac and Halévy in order to highlight the role of contrasting environments on the works:

Gilbert may seem superior to Offenbach's librettists in the tightness of his plots and the ingenuity of his rhymes, but his characters are invariably driven by financial, logical or cerebral motives. Passion, particularly female passion, exemplified by Helen and La Perichole, and libidinous curiosity, exemplified by Jupiter and the Baron de Gonderemarck, are alien to Gilbert. His lovers never lose their hearts; they exchange partners not out of promiscuity but as a result of the expediency dictated by events. Adultery is out of the question, since the few married couples in Gilbert are either grotesque, like Sir Despard and Mad Margaret in *Ruddigore*, or elderly, like the Duke and Duchess of Plaza Toro in *The Gondoliers*.¹⁵⁶

These differences don't diminish the theory while Offenbach and Gilbert & Sullivan (as well as Strauss) may be products of their environments and tailor their works to the different receptive circles and cultural environments they produce in, the works derive from the same form of entertainment.

These vastly different articles do, however, expose the issue of anti-Semitism in the realm of music of this period. One prominent source of this prejudice is derived from the views of Richard Wagner which, by the 1930s, were embedded in the western music culture and greater German culture. Wagner's admiration for the French cosmopolitan culture which began in his youth slowly evolved into a rejection of Paris and what he formerly deemed "*the well-spring*" of opera.¹⁵⁷

Offenbach, a fellow German, embraced cosmopolitanism and had great success in the French capital, while Wagner's reception in the city was mediocre. Offenbach's operas thrived on parody, comedic wit and satire in which he equally poked fun at prominent contemporaries from Rossini, Meyerbeer to Verdi and Wagner, among others. Wagner seemingly saw these playful jabs as an affront, and this possibly contributed to the reinforcement of his nativist and anti-Semitic views grounded in the 19th century Vormärz movement in Germany. These views were solidified in his obscure 1850 essay *Das Judentum in Der Musik* and his 1878 essay *Was ist Deutsch?*.¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ While these views were fringe in France, they gained traction in Germany throughout the late 19th

¹⁵⁶ Laurence Senelick, "Against the Victorian Grain," in *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.112.

¹⁵⁷ Laurence Senelick, "Tales from the Vienna Stage," in *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.63.

¹⁵⁸ *Das Judentum in der Musik* (Judaism in Music) was written by Wagner under a pseudonym "K. Freigedank" for a September 1850 issue of *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in Leipzig. In the essay, he attacks Meyerbeer's opera *Le prophète*, Mendelssohn and echoes anti-Semitic stereotypes prevalent in the mid 19th Century and earlier. It was reissued in extended format in 1869. See revised 1869 version: Richard Wagner, *Das Judentum in der Musik* (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1869). Digital copy link URL: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Das_Judentum_in_der_Musik/BGMHAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1

¹⁵⁹ Wagner began writing "*Was ist Deutsch?*" in 1865 and completed it in 1878. Source: Richard Wagner, "*Was ist Deutsch?*," *Bayreuther Blätter*, No.2, February 1878.

Century. Similar views later became embedded in Adolf Hitler's ideological manifesto *Mein Kampf* and were adopted as governing ideology of the National Socialist German Workers' (Nazi) party.

Much of this rhetoric is echoed in Toye's article (quoted above) and exposes the widespread views of anti-Semitism which permeated the culture of Germany and the United Kingdom of the 1930s.

5.4.4 Biographic Influence at the BBC

The biographic subgenre of Radio Potpourri appears to have had a long-lasting influence on programming of the BBC over the coming decades. The relatively young Variety department, under Eric Maschwitz, was starved for new content. Burger's concept of a 'musical biography' had a fast and lasting effect. Prior to the *Life of Offenbach* premiere on 7 January 1935, there is little evidence of a similar concept which utilises biographic anecdotes, narration and composer specific music coalesced into a solitary work for broadcast at the BBC. However, several months after its successful premiere, *The Life of Verdi: A Biography in Music* was broadcast on the BBC National Programme on 10 November 1935 conducted by Stanford Robinson.¹⁶⁰ The programme listing in *Radio Times* does not list a composer but does credit the original narration written by Wilfred Rooke Ley and performed for broadcast by Harcourt Williams. The musical cast included soprano, tenor and baritone soloists, the BBC Chorus as well as the BBC and Variety orchestras. While it cannot definitively be confirmed as a Radio Potpourri, it does appear to run parallel to the genre in programme length, the use of narration, and required performers.

Other examples of Biographic potpourri's influence on the BBC's programming format include the 29 March 1936 programme titled *Puccini: The Man and his Music*.¹⁶¹ This programme was arranged by English composer/conductor Mark H. Lubbock and presented by Gordon McConnel. Similar to the Offenbach potpourri format, the programme utilises excerpts from Puccini's operas including *Madam Butterfly* (1904), *Manon Lescaut* (1892), *Tosca* (1900) and *Turandot* (1924). These were sung by artists Eva Turner (soprano), Dino Borgioli (tenor), Nora Gruhn (soprano) and Arnold Matters (baritone) accompanied by the BBC Theatre and Variety orchestras and conducted

¹⁶⁰ This work premiered on 10 November 1935 at 9PM on the BBC National Programme. It was later revived on 25 January 1936 at 7:45 PM. No composer or arranger has been listed. Sources: Contributor, *The Life of Verdi: A Biography in Music*, *Radio Times*, 8 November 1935, Vol. 49, No. 632, p.10, 24. ; Contributor, "The Life of Verdi: A Biography in Music," *Radio Times*, 24 January 1936, Vol. 50, No. 643, p.10.

¹⁶¹ The first performance was on the BBC National Programme 29 March 1936 at 9PM and was arranged by Mark Lubbock. It was later revived for broadcast several times throughout the decade including on 7 & 9 November 1937 and 20 March 1940. Sources: Contributor, "Puccini: The Man and his Music," *Radio Times*, 27 March 1936, Vol. 50, No. 652, p.20. ; Contributor, "Puccini: The Man and his Music," *Radio Times*, 5 November 1937, Vol. 57, No. 736, p.38,46. ; Contributor, "Puccini: The Man and his Music," *Radio Times*, 15 March 1940, Vol. 66, No. 859, p.26.

by Stanford Robinson. At first glance, this Puccini work doesn't appear to be a direct product of the Radio Potpourri genre but rather greatly influenced by the Biographic potpourri format.¹⁶²

Burger followed *Life of Offenbach* with a second Biographic potpourri, *Johann Strauss: A Biography in Music*. This premiered on 15 November 1936 on the BBC Regional service with a repeat two days later on the National Service.¹⁶³ The work was created with dialogue and English lyrics by Henrik Ege and included a large soloist cast, narrator Patric Curwen, two pianoforte soloists (Henry Bronkhurst and Wilfrid Parry), BBC Revue Chorus, Theatre Orchestra and conducted by Mark Lubbock.¹⁶⁴ Its listing for the 13 March 1939 Regional broadcast in the *Radio Times* describes the work:

It traces the long and successful career of Johann Strauss from his first concert in 1844 to his death fifty-five years later.¹⁶⁵

The listing goes on to provide a piece synopsis of the potpourri which includes excerpts from waltzes and operettas:

“After a prelude formed from his most famous melodies the programme begins with his Op. 1, the waltz ‘Sinngedichte’; then fragments of ‘Frühlingstimmen’, ‘Roses from the South’, ‘Accelerations’ and ‘The Blue Danube’ flit by. We are reminded that it was because of Offenbach's success in Vienna that Strauss wrote in 1871 his first work for the stage *Indigo*, followed by *Roman Carnival*. Then follows a long section devoted entirely to *Die Fledermaus*. Afterwards comes music from *Prince Methusalem*, *Simplicius*, and several numbers from his second most famous opera *Der Zigeunerbaron*. The pot-pourri finishes with ‘The Blue Danube’ sung and played *grandioso*.”¹⁶⁶

It is possible Burger used the inclusion of his piece ‘Launisches Glück’ to represent a portion of the segment for *Prinz Methusalem* as the song was inspired by themes from the Strauss operetta. This wouldn't be outside the realm of possibility as he had previously incorporated the commercial success into his 1934 Grand Potpourri *Holiday in Europe*. The Johann Strauss potpourri was broadcast nine times from its premiere until the final performance on 4 November 1949 on the BBC Home Service, making it one of the more popular potpourris of Burger's oeuvre.¹⁶⁷ It

¹⁶² Contributor, “Puccini : The Man and his Music,” *Radio Times*, 27 March 1936, Vol. 50, No. 652, p.20.

¹⁶³ Contributor, “Johann Strauss : A Biographic in Music,” *Radio Times*, 13 November 1936, Vol. 52, No. 685, p.28.

¹⁶⁴ Contributor, “Johann Strauss : A Biographic in Music,” *Radio Times*, 13 November 1936, Vol. 52, No. 685, p.28.

¹⁶⁵ Contributor, “Johann Strauss - 1825-1889 : A Potpourri by Julius Buerger,” *Radio Times*, 10 March 1939, Vol. 62, No. 806, p.20, 30, 33.

¹⁶⁶ Contributor, “Johann Strauss - 1825-1889 : A Potpourri by Julius Buerger,” *Radio Times*, 10 March 1939, Vol. 62, No. 806, p.20, 30, 33.

¹⁶⁷For subsequent broadcasts, please see *Johann Strauss : A Biography in Music* (catalogue No. R.712.JB.RaPo) in Appendix B: *Julius Burger Composition Catalogue*.

represents the last known Biographic Radio Potpourri by Burger. However, further research points to the possible continuation of the biographic format with later programmes utilising similar subject themes. These were not solitary works, but rather biographic lectures with considerable musical performances and were presented as 5 or 6 part presentations on composers such as Mozart (broadcast April - May 1937), Franz Schubert (October 1937), Franz Joseph Haydn (May-June 1938), Franz Liszt (October-November 1938) and George Friedrich Handel (November-December 1949).¹⁶⁸ The premieres of these examples span from April 1937 (only a few short months following the Johann Strauss potpourri premiere) up to December 1949.

Two other programmes, spearheaded by Mark Lubbock on similar grounds, lend to the possibility of solitary biographic programmes in Radio Potpourri forms: *Mendelssohn in England: A Musical Biography* and *Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography*.^{169 170} These programmes share many similarities with the Radio Potpourri listing formats including the manner in which they are described in *Radio Times*, their large casts of soloists, and the use of narration throughout the piece. The many similarities in description, apparent musical format and the involvement of Rooke Ley, Lubbock and Robinson coalesce to lend credible evidence to this theory. However, an examination of their musical scores or performance recordings would be required to determine the degree of similarity between these examples and the Radio Potpourri genre. These biographic programme examples, similar to Burger's Biographic potpourri, represent only a small cross section of programmes from the mid to late 1930s which may have been influenced by Burger's radio genre.

5.5 Historic Potpourri

The third subgenre is the Historic potpourri. These works primarily focus their subject themes on notable events or periods throughout history. Three examples are given in the following section which show the various ways the subgenre can manifest. *Boer War Songs* (1937) is a Miniature

¹⁶⁸ For a complete list of these programme segments and broadcast dates, please see "Potential Examples of the Biographic Potpourri's Influence on BBC Variety Department Programming (1937-1949)" in the appendix.

¹⁶⁹ *Mendelssohn in England : A Musical Biography* was broadcast 28 August 1938 at 9:05PM on National Programme and described as "A musical biography, with special reference to the composer's visits to the British Isles, written and spoken by Wilfred Rooke Ley, Music selected by Mark H. Lubbock and Max Robertson." The listing goes on to describe the piece itself: "Mendelssohn came to England in 1829, on the first of many visits. Several works which will be heard in this programme are examples of his close connection with this country. They include the Scherzo in G minor from his Octet for strings, Op. 20, orchestrated by the composer and incorporated in his First Symphony which he conducted on his first appearance in England; the famous 'Spring Song', composed while on a visit to friends who resided at Denmark Hill; his 'Scottish' Symphony and 'Hebrides' Overture, which show how deeply the scenery of Britain had influenced him; and Elijah, commissioned for and performed at the Birmingham Musical Festival in 1846." Source: Contributor. "Mendelssohn in England," *Radio Times*, 26 August 1938, Vol. 60, No. 788, p.22.

¹⁷⁰ *Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography* was broadcast 14 July 1940 at 7PM on BBC National Programme and described as "A Musical biography written and compiled by Wilfred Rooke Ley. Music selected and presented by Mark Lubbock. Source: Contributor, "Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography," *Radio Times*, 12 July 1940, Vol. 68 No. 876, p.9.

Potpourri which incorporates selections of popular ballads which were in vogue around the period of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). The Grand Potpourri *Themes of London* (1937) takes a different approach by offering vignettes of life in London throughout the centuries while the *City of Music* (1935) offers glimpses of Vienna during various musical periods in history through the incorporation of music by from prominent composers such as W.A. Mozart (1756-1791), Ludwig Beethoven (1770-1827), Franz Schubert (1797-1828) and Franz Lehár (1870-1948).

5.5.1 *Boer War Songs* (1937)

The Miniature Potpourri *Boer War Songs* premiered 14 March 1937 as part of the *Victorian Melodies* radio series and represents a prime example of a Historic potpourri ‘postcard’. The work focuses its subject theme on the conflict from the British perspective and utilises popular patriotic tunes from the music halls and parlours of Victorian England. Like most Miniature Potpourri, *Boer War Songs* lacks narration and instead relies solely on the carefully crafted musical score to convey the subject themes. Below is an analysis of this work.

5.5.1.1 ‘Goodbye, Dolly Gray’

The potpourri opens with an orchestral introduction (marked *Tempo di Marcia*) for woodwinds, brass, timpani, side drum, cymbals and string section before shifting to a tenor soloist performing the popular music hall piece ‘Goodbye, Dolly Gray’ accompanied by theatre orchestra. The soloist is later joined at the refrain by the tenor/bass sections of the BBC chorus.¹⁷¹ The song’s lyrics are conveyed from the point of view of a soldier who bids farewell to his sweetheart “Dolly Gray”. With his enlistment in the army, the soldier intends to leave domestic life behind and join in support of the war effort. An example from the song’s lyrics attests to this patriotic call:

Something tells me I am needed at the front to fight the foe, see the soldier boys marching and I
can no longer stay...¹⁷²

Although this popular tune does stem from the approximate period of the Second Anglo-Boer War, it wasn’t originally composed with the British as its intended audience. ‘Goodbye, Dolly Gray’ was written in 1897 by American composer Paul Barnes (1868-1922) with lyrics by Will D. Cobb (1876-1930). It became a popular hit with American troops during the brief Spanish-American War conflict the following year. The impetus to fight in defence of one’s country is apparently universal and this song easily transplanted itself into popular culture of Victorian England in time

¹⁷¹ Julius Burger, *Boer War Songs*, 1937, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MMS4242- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.7-15.

¹⁷² Paul Barnes, “Goodbye, Dolly Gray,” Lyrics by Will D. Cobb (New York: Morse Music Publishing Company, 1897).

for the Boer War conflict from 1899-1902. The piece made a resurgence around the First World War and became part of the popular canon with its incorporation into the 1931 Noël Coward (1899-1973) play with songs, *Cavalcade* (1931).

The popularity of this song in both the Spanish-American War and the Boer War opens comparisons to more than a simple love of a good tune. There are notable similarities in both imperialist wars. In the case of the Spanish-American War, the conflict stemmed from a push by Cuban natives for independence from the Imperial powers of Spain. This resulted in a harsh clampdown by the Spanish on the island nation. The American government initiated a successful military intervention which resulted in Spain ceding Cuba, Puerto Rico as well as Guam and the Philippines to the US.¹⁷³ Equally, the Second Anglo-Boer War was sparked in part by local South African governments in their pursuit of independent self-rule and decolonisation efforts. In both cases, the imperial powers utilised brutality and a program of native resettlement which led to thousands of deaths from exposure, poor sanitary conditions and starvation.

5.5.1.2 'Sons of the Motherland'

As Burger's incorporation of 'Goodbye, Dolly Gray' concludes, the score gives way to a two-page interlude scored for trumpet, glockenspiel, harp and violins. This then moves into an excerpt from the first verse from the 1899 patriotic marching tune 'Sons of the Motherland'. This was sung in the premiere by a baritone vocalist (Appleton Moore) and accompanied by clarinets, horns and the string section.¹⁷⁴ The song, composed by Lionel Monckton (1861-1924) with lyrics by Henry Hamilton (1853-1918), was incorporated into the musical comedy *San Toy* (1899) which premiered at the Daly's Theatre in London the same year of publication.¹⁷⁵ It later made a comeback at the beginning of the First World War and was included in the first night of the Proms on 14 August 1915 in Queens Hall, London.¹⁷⁶ One only need to read a few lines of the chorus refrain to observe the nationalistic nature of Monckton's ballad:

Motherland! Motherland! See thy sons at thy right hand, Blood of Britain, strong defenders, let who will defy! One for thee! All for thee! Thine to fight or fall for thee! Children of the Motherland whose name shall never die!¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Spanish-American War". Encyclopaedia Britannica, 10 Sep. 2020, Accessed 9 March 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Spanish-American-War> ,

¹⁷⁴ Sources: Julius Burger, "Boer War Songs," p.18-23. ; Contributor, "'Boer War Songs' as part of *Victorian Melodies*," *Radio Times*, 12 March 1937, Vol.54, No.702, p.22.

¹⁷⁵ *San Toy* shares many similarities with the storyline in Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* but replaces British officials interacting with the Chinese dynastic powers and falling in love instead of Puccini's Americans as they interact with Japanese natives. Source: "Lionel Monckton in British Musical Theatre," *The Gilbert and Sullivan Archive*, 31 August 2004.

¹⁷⁶ "Prom 01 - First Night of the Proms 1915," n.d. BBC Music Events. Accessed 22 May 2022. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/events/ep8nc8>

¹⁷⁷ Julius Burger, *Boer War Songs*, 1937, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MMS4242- Buerger,

5.5.1.3 'On the Road to Mandalay'

The refrain is then repeated with SATB chorus and full orchestra who join the baritone soloist. Burger then scores a four-page original bridge for woodwinds, brass, percussion (triangle, timpani, side drum) and strings before segueing onto the next tune 'On the Road to Mandalay'. The 1907 setting by Oly Speaks (1874-1948) utilises the first three verses of the 1890 Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) poem. Neither the poem nor musical setting reference or fit within the timeframe for the Boer conflict.¹⁷⁸ Despite this fact, its military associations easily fit within the potpourri's subject themes and would have had a universal appeal with British veterans of the Boer War. The lyrics portray a discharged British soldier in London as he recollects about his service in the tropical Southeast Asian British colony of Burma (now the Republic of the Union of Myanmar). Similar to previous inclusions in this potpourri, one can draw similarities to the native Burmese desire for independence from colonial rule (and subsequent violent riots) to the rise in nationalist sentiments among the Boer populations of South Africa.¹⁷⁹ The drive for independence in South Africa eventually led to the Second Anglo-Boer War conflict at the turn of the 20th century.

Burger concludes this segment with the work's refrain for tenor and bass chorus with interjections by the soprano and alto voices, accompanied by strings, piccolo, clarinet, bassoon and horns.¹⁸⁰

5.5.1.4 'Soldiers of the Queen'

The potpourri then weaves the previous tune with the popular British marching song by Leslie Scott (1864-1928), 'Soldiers of the Queen', which was composed for the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal in 1894.¹⁸¹ The song was also performed at a public farewell function for the 1st Contingent of the Queen's Mounted Infantry in Brisbane as they departed aboard the *S.S. Cornwall* on 1 November 1899.¹⁸² The contingent left for South Africa to bolster British forces in the 2nd Boer War. This provides 'Soldiers of the Queen' with a more direct connect than others of

collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.18-23.

¹⁷⁸ Kipling's poem was first published in the Scots Observer 21 June 1890 and later in the collection *Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses* in 1892. Source: John McGivering and John Radcliffe, "Mandalay," *Kipling Society Website*, 18 January 2010, Accessed 1 March 2021, URL: http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rq_mandalay1.htm

¹⁷⁹ The beginning of the 20th century Burmese resistance movement began in late 1930 when Burmese peasants rose in rebellion under the leadership of Saya San. This spanned two years. Several years later, in 1936, university students went on strike which resulted in Burma's separation from India and the creation of its own constitution. Source: Steinberg, D. I. , Aung-Thwin, . Michael Arthur and Aung, . Maung Htin. "Myanmar," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, March 24, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Myanmar>

¹⁸⁰ Julius Burger, *Boer War Songs*, 1937, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MMS4242- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p. 26-30.

¹⁸¹ Andrew Lamb, "Stuart, Leslie [Barrett, Thomas Augustine]," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 28 February 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27004>

¹⁸² "The Transvaal," *The Queenslander* (Brisbane, Qld. : 1866 - 1939) 4 November 1899: 907 (Unknown), Web. 23 Jun 2022 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article22562004> .

this potpourri. Burger scores the piece for baritone soloist on the first verse, before bringing in the tenor / bass chorus to sing the refrain accompanied by full orchestra.¹⁸³

5.5.1.5 'Goodbye, my Blue Bell!'

Burger then crafts another brief original musical bridge in order to seamlessly segue into the final marching song 'Goodbye, my Blue Bell!' (1904) composed by Theodore Morse (1873-1904) with lyrics by Edward Madden (1878-1952).¹⁸⁴ Like the Paul Barnes song, 'Blue Bell' is an American work stemming from the period immediately following the Second Boer War. Lyrics from the first verse portray a soldier who longs for his sweetheart "...with eyes so blue". Burger's setting of the march includes the first verse of 'Goodbye, my Blue Bell!', sung by tenor soloist and primarily accompanied by woodwinds, French horns, snare drum and strings.¹⁸⁵ The second verse, which Burger omits, portrays the blue bell character waiting in vain for the soldier who has died in battle.¹⁸⁶ He then includes a two-page bridge for brass, snare drum and triangle before reintroducing the entire orchestra to accompany the SATB chorus for the main chorus line:

Goodbye, my Bluebell, Farewell to you!

One last fond look into your eyes so blue,

'mid campfires gleaming 'mid shot and shell,

I will be dreaming of my own Bluebell.¹⁸⁷

5.5.1.6 Observations

One observation readily apparent is the lack of song material from the Boer perspective of the conflict. Several potential reasons can be given for this. First, Burger was commissioned to create this programme for inclusion in the 12th instalment of Mark Lubbock's *Victorian Melodies* programme. Although there is relatively little documentation surrounding the creative process of this work, the programme's title suggests the subject matter is focused on songs and works exclusively related to Victorian England. Burger was regularly contracted to arrange similar smaller works and singular arrangements for inclusion in BBC programming beside his own Radio

¹⁸³ Julius Burger, *Boer War Songs*, 1937, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MMS4242- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p. 31-40.

¹⁸⁴ Julius Burger, *Boer War Songs*, 1937, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MMS4242- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p. 39-41.

¹⁸⁵ Julius Burger, *Boer War Songs*, 1937, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MMS4242- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.42-45.

¹⁸⁶ Edward Madden and Theodore F. Morse, "Blue Bell : March and Chorus," (New York: F.B. Haviland Publishing Co., 1904).

¹⁸⁷ Julius Burger, *Boer War Songs*, 1937, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MMS4242- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.48-52.

Potpourri works. The smaller commissions were generally composed to fit within established programming parameters, meaning *Boer War Songs* was likely commissioned with predetermined criteria to fulfil which could explain the absence of a Boer perspective.

A second explanation for the lack of Boer music inclusions lies in their construction and emotive qualities. English music hall tunes of the period were secular and relied largely on messaging themes of sentimentality and heroism which were then set to melodic music.¹⁸⁸ As with music hall songs from the First World War, these ballads were primarily written to comfort the audience on a Saturday night and were largely absent of themes on death and killing.¹⁸⁹ Boer vocal music, on the other hand, was primarily entrenched in cultural themes of religion and patriotism. In her study titled *Vocal music of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902): insights into processes of affect and meaning in music*, Anne-Marie Gray emphasises Boer vocal music, particularly in the religious context, was valued for its intrinsic value to assuage the anguish of reality over its aesthetic value. This resulted in vocal music which was “... slow, unmusical and mournful.”¹⁹⁰ The inclusion of such works would have been in stark contrast with the other melodic marching tunes in the 1937 Burger work.

Finally, for a work to be useful as a potential tool of propaganda, the emphasis is generally placed on highlighting the benefits of being engaged in a conflict, whether the themes are focused on travel to exotic places, the “glory and honour” of defending one’s country or winning the affections of a desired mate. These themes, among others, would then be set to jaunty melodies much in the way modern advertising utilises such tactics which has you remembering their products long after. This would appeal emotionally as well as rationally to an audience. Additionally, the verses could be repeated and therefore remembered more effectively than other kinds of messaging.¹⁹¹ In contrast, emphasising the death of tens of thousands in concentration camps or the scorched earth policy by British commanders toward local inhabitants for the ultimate goal of securing gold mines (all of which were perpetrated by the British military on the Boers) wouldn’t likely bolster support by the majority of citizens.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Jeffery Richards, “Sing a Song of Empire,” in *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 324-365.

¹⁸⁹ John Mullen, *Propaganda and Dissent in British Popular Song during the Great War*, Textes et Contextes, Université de Bourgogne, Centre Interlangues TIL, 2011, Discours autoritaires et résistances aux XXe et XXIe siècles, URL: <http://preo.u-bourgogne.fr/textesetcontextes/index.php?id=325>. Halls-00682095

¹⁹⁰ Anne-Marie Gray, “An assessment of the affect and meaning of the sounds of Boer vocal music,” in *Vocal music of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) : insights into processes of affect and meaning in music*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2005, p.2-3.

¹⁹¹ John Mullen, *Vocal music of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) : insights into processes of affect and meaning in music*, p.4.

¹⁹² Anne-Marie Gray, “A Cultural- Historical Perspective of the Boers during the Anglo-Boer War,” in *Vocal music of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) : insights into processes of affect and meaning in music*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2005., p.31-21.

Utilising these old marching and music hall tunes from the Boer War conflict in 1930s British propaganda would have provided a wealth of patriotic tunes which were largely disassociated from the more recent, mechanised trench warfare of the First World War, thus making it more effective should the precarious geopolitical situation in Europe erupt into open conflict.

5.5.2 *Themes of London (1937)*

A second example of the Historic subgenre is the Grand Potpourri *Themes of London (1937)*. The work is a celebration of the British imperial capital, spanning from the Middle Ages to the summer of 1937. These vignettes of London throughout the centuries are then placed within another frame which reveal these periods at different times of a day. This secondary frame begins at the break of dawn over the banks of the Thames and reappears in a succession of vignettes before concluding in the twilight hours from the smoke-filled clubs of 1930s London.

London at Coronation Time, as it was originally titled, was proposed by Julius Burger and BBC producer George McConnel in late 1936 as a musical celebration for the greatly anticipated May 1937 coronation of King George VI.¹⁹³ BBC staff writer Henrik Ege then paired with McConnel and began conceiving the narration in January 1937. According to a memo by McConnel, the work was envisaged as:

... a description of London written in rhymed couplets. The description would cover the appearance of London at various times of day, the various music and entertainments of London and historical associations connected with music." He continues "The score of potpourri itself would include, I imagine, not only atmospheric music to indicate the various times of day, but music drawn from all forms of entertainment together with a small percentage of appropriate Coronation music."¹⁹⁴

After reviewing the proposal, director Eric Maschwitz recommended the work be altered from a monarchic Jubilee and instead focus on the atmosphere of London life during the coronation summer at different times of the day. This would then be "*...enhanced and illustrated with symphonic music.*"¹⁹⁵ Once the details were settled, Burger began sourcing materials from various libraries in Vienna for the production. As with other works, he likely had scores sent from London with which to work from as well.

¹⁹³ Eric Maschwitz, Internal memo RE: "London at Coronation Time," 14 December 1936, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2. Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹⁹⁴ Eric Maschwitz, Internal memo RE: "London at Coronation Time," 14 December 1936, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2. Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹⁹⁵ Eric Maschwitz "Letter to Julius Burger", 8 January 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42. R27/40/2. Music-General. File Folder I of II. BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

The completed orchestral score of *London at Coronation Time* was mailed to the BBC London on 19 April 1937 in anticipation of King George VI's coronation only weeks later.¹⁹⁶ However, for reasons unknown, the work was delayed by nearly seven months until its premiere on the BBC National service on 8 December 1937 and billed as *Themes of London*. One reason for this delay could be due to the earlier denial of Burger's residency application by the Home Office which would have allowed him permanent residence in England. Consequently, any last-minute corrections or changes would have to be made utilising the postal service between London and Vienna. A second reason could be attributed to the corporation's pool of solo singers. According to conductor Stanford Robinson, the Variety department generally contracted singers who sang in the popular crooning style of the period. These singers were not accustomed to singing in the broader ranges or with the vocal requirements which Burger's compositions demanded. Thus, modifications to the scores also likely delayed the process.¹⁹⁷

Although Burger had now produced several well received programmes for the corporation over the past several years, his position as a contracted 'foreigner' was regularly asserted and he was kept at a figurative and literal distance. One such example comes from an internal memo from Stanford Robinson on 1 December 1937 in which he asks for a delay in issuing a written letter of permission for Burger to attend rehearsals until it was too late, thus keeping him away before the broadcast as Robinson considered him:

... more trouble than he is worth as far as balancing is concerned.

He goes onto assert Burger's 'otherness' stating:

In previous potpourris in which Viennese music was incorporated his help and co-operation was invaluable, but in this case where all the music is English [*sic*] we need no help from him.¹⁹⁸

This is in contrast to a statement by BBC Variety dept. Executive Mungo Dewar in an internal memo from September 1936 which states:

It might be argued that we could get English composers to do this kind of work, but we have found that they have not the flair for it, and even if we could find composers to do it, I feel that we could then be accused of more or less stealing his ideas.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Julius Burger, "Letter to Eric Maschwitz", 19 April 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42. R27/40/2. Music-General. File Folder I of II. BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹⁹⁷ Stanford Robinson, "Letter to Julius Burger", 23 November 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42. R27/40/2. Music-General. File Folder I of II. BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹⁹⁸ Stanford Robinson, "Julius Buerger-proposed new potpourri," 1 December 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹⁹⁹ M.M. Dewar, "Internal Memo on Dr. Julius Burger," 30 September 1936, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

A version of the statement was included in a letter with Burger's ill-fated 1936 Visa application to the Home Office. It states:

The Corporation has not found it possible to secure English composers with a flair for this particular kind of work...²⁰⁰

Robinson's delay tactic was effective, and Burger unsuccessfully attempted to listen to the premiere of his new work from his accommodation located near the Eiffel Tower in Paris.²⁰¹ He had relocated to the city in the autumn of 1937 and remained in France, with increasingly lengthened stays in England, over the next year and a half.

5.5.2.1 *Themes of London : An Overview*

This ode to Britain's capital was first broadcast on the BBC National Service on 8 December 1937 with a reprise on 10 December 1937 BBC Regional Service.²⁰² Despite the plentiful incorporations and wide variety of music in this potpourri encapsulating all things British, these two broadcasts appear to be the only known presentations of this work. The potpourri is broken into several periods and conveyed over the course of a day in London. The piece commences with an introductory prelude section before travelling back in time to the Middle Ages. It then progresses onto the Baroque period and then progresses onto the successive Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian periods until eventually concluding in contemporary 1930s England. *Themes of London* built on the previous premise utilised in the potpourri (*City of Music*) and presents itself as an ambitious musical tapestry. It encompasses excerpts from dozens of Anglocentric works as well as a few American. These selections span across the sacred and secular music spectrums and draw on thematic material from hymns, folk melodies, operetta, marches, bandstand tunes, Edwardian music hall comedies as well as popular ballads and parlour songs from New York's Tin Pan Alley and London's Denmark Street.

Burger's portrayal of 'modern' 1930s London, through the incorporation of Big band and Jazz charts from the period, is most impressive and puts his mastery of musical composition and arranging on full display. It is an ambitious work for any composer let alone a classically trained 'outsider'. Fortunately, and rather unusually, a recording of the original broadcast was made by the BBC Variety Department. This is preserved by the BBC Sound Archive project and has been digitized as part of archival collections at the British Library, London. The recording has been

²⁰⁰ Offices of BBC, "Letter to Home Secretary RE: Julius Burger's Application," 1 October 1936, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

²⁰¹ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 10 December 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

²⁰² Contributor, "Themes of London," *Radio Times*, 3 December 1937, Vol. 57, No. 740. p.12, 54, 80.

compared against the manuscript conductor's score for this analysis. This examination has proved invaluable as several sections of the master manuscripts are missing pages.^{203 204}

Burger's position as the pioneering purveyor of Radio Potpourri was well established at the BBC only a few years after first engaging with the corporation as an exile from Berlin's Funkstunde. *Themes of London* represents arguably the most expansive Radio Potpourri in Burger's repertoire to this point, spanning hundreds of years of "British" music and a wide array of musical genres which have been distilled into a solitary hour-long programme. Burger's mastery of composition and arranging allowed him to seamlessly meld pre-existing themes and original musical ideas, making the process of discerning the two a challenging task.

Equally, his imaginative use of instrumentation can present familiar tunes from a completely different perspective and, in doing so, can be used to provide altered emotive qualities to fit the intended storyline arch. This can be seen prominently in works such as *Holiday in Europe* and *Life of Offenbach* – both of which are heavily tied to narration as a driving force. Burger's original musical bridges hold equal importance and weave thematic material from selections on either side of the transition with his own musical twist. These bridges can be called on to add greater effect through particular instrumentation (*i.e. Themes of London's* organ solo arrangement of 'I'm in a Dancing Mood' in contemporary London, among many others). They can also be used to allude to a previous theme (such as his use of an arranged excerpt of Schumann's *Träumerei* in the first and final transitions of *Holiday in Europe*) or comprise of completely original material which fits with the overall subject theme. The latter is prominently featured from the onset of *Themes of London* and is detailed in the Introduction section below.

5.5.2.2 Introduction

The *Themes of London* broadcast recording begins with an introduction by the narrator in crisp King's English:

This is the National programme. *Themes of London* - a new Radio Potpourri by Julius Burger - well known to listeners for his *World Tour*, *City of Music* and the *Festival of Folk Music*. The BBC Chorus and the BBC Theatre Orchestra - leader Tate Guilder are conducted by Stanford Robinson, who has produced the programme with the assistance of Rex Haworth. The presentation written by Henry Ege with additional verses by Gordon McConnell. Julius Burger has already taken

²⁰³ Live Broadcast recording of *Themes of London*, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, Call No.: 1LL0011589 S1-11604 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras-London, England, URL: <http://cadensa.bl.uk/uhtbin/cgiirsi/?ps=H09vTs8FGY/WORKS-FILE/245890013/20/1LL0011589+S1-11604+S1/1/X7806074-1001/>

²⁰⁴ Live Broadcast recording of *Themes of London*, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, Call No.: 1LL0011589 S1-11604 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras-London, England.

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listeners on a musical magic carpet to every corner of the globe. In this potpourri, he has returned to London for his theme *London - Past and Present*.²⁰⁵

While the music is the primary focus, the narration provides invaluable information by setting the scene for each section. The prelude section opens at the break of dawn in modern 1937 London. The sun peaks over the horizon and shines on the Palace of Westminster situated by the banks of the Thames and through leafy St James Park onto Buckingham Palace. The string section (marked *piano*) opens the work with an original theme by Burger, distinguishable in its first few notes by a chordal progression in descending intervals, before quickly being woven with a secondary theme of the Westminster Quarters. The brass sections then join in the Westminster chime theme as the narrator's opening verses poetically proclaim:

At hush of dawn, the soul of London awakes to grasp another day with eager fist. A sparrow chirps, the brooding silence breaks as rattling echoes rim the river mist. Then, morning glory sets the Thames afire.... Big Ben booms forth to challenge lesser chimes. With sunrise gilding every olden spire, the bells ring out and rouse the town to times.

An excerpt from the traditional song 'The Jolly Waterman' is incorporated with supplemental narration overlaid:

Heard faintly, as a far off rolling drum advancing ripples break on graves end beach while brown sailed barges anchor, to become a regiment of spear, in lime house reach.²⁰⁶

The potpourri next switches focus to the Tower of London with a narrative depiction of the changing of the guard:

In medieval scarlet, men at arms parade within the Tower's weathered walls; They keep the peace remote from war's alarms; With curt commands their daily duty calls.²⁰⁷

The potpourri then transports the listener back to 17th century Covent Garden with a montage of street seller cries. The narrator exclaims:

²⁰⁵ Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Burger, part 1, Call no.: 1LL0011589 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras-London, England, URL: <http://cadensa.bl.uk/uhtbin/cgiirsi/?ps=H09vTs8fGY/WORKS-FILE/245890013/20/1LL0011589+S1-11604+S1/1/X7806074-1001/>

²⁰⁶ These first two narrations as well as the musical references have been ascertained from the live broadcast recording of 8 December 1938. This was necessary because the first six pages of manuscript are missing from this potpourri. Source: Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Burger, part 1, Call no.: 1LL0011589 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras-London, England, URL: <http://cadensa.bl.uk/uhtbin/cgiirsi/?ps=H09vTs8fGY/WORKS-FILE/245890013/20/1LL0011589+S1-11604+S1/1/X7806074-1001/>

²⁰⁷ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Burger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.11.

Three hundred years ago that tower was old, but Covent Garden then was strangely new. Where market sellers cried the wares they sold. Fresh flowers and cherries, wet with Kentish dew.²⁰⁸

The narration is followed by a short segment which gives the allusion of being in Covent Garden's market by a variety of musical street seller interjections ranging from fruit sellers (cherries, strawberries, raspberries, oranges) to milk and cheese purveyors and nut merchants. While this may be reminiscent of Lionel Bart's 'Who Will Buy!' from his 1960 hit musical *Oliver!*, Burger's short version predates it by 23 years.

The cries continue, accompanied by an orchestral foundation consisting of strings with interjections from the woodwinds and bassoon, horns and harp. The narration returns to highlight street seller merchants throughout the city:

Not only markets rang with London cries, The Strand and seething city heard them all. Hot chestnuts, sold beneath November skies, Would find their way to banquets in Whitehall.

Burger scores this exposition for strings with interjections from oboe, bassoon and triangle which has the musical effect of an upbeat Medieval troubadour collective.²⁰⁹

The music then shifts once more to the final fluttering 'bird song' segment of this section marked *Allegro*.²¹⁰ The narration equally returns to highlight the passage of time from pristine countryside to a bustling city street:

Old Hampstead houses lined a busy street that once was fringed with gorse and cowslip bells, Where drovers, bound for Smithfield, used to meet Sedan chairs on their way to Hampstead Wells.

The street sellers give way to a fanfare with the Westminster chime theme as its focus. A recording of Big Ben's peel signals the prelude's coda. Burger concludes the opening section with a return of his original opening theme, paired with West Minster theme, before unleashing a modern variation on 'God Save the King'. The introduction section then finishes with a firm return to the Westminster Chime theme. As the bell sound effects fade, the piece now enters the Baroque period with a musical bridge for string ensemble.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.12.

²⁰⁹ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.17 - 22.

²¹⁰ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.22.

²¹¹ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.11-38.

5.5.2.3 Mid-Baroque period

A sunbeam creeps across a palace floor, where courts in pomp and pageantry have met. Beneath a roof that rang in days of yore. With strains of many a stately minuet.²¹²

The potpourri next offers a glimpse into West Minster Abbey with a piece (unidentified) performed on organ as the narration pays homage to two composers interned there, Henry Purcell (1659-1695) and George Frideric Handel (1685-1759). The narrator proceeds:

Two hundred years ago, upon their knees, Musicians heard sweet organ music swell as Handel's fingers gently touched the keys in reverent remembrance of Purcell.²¹³

The potpourri then takes the listener out into the streets around the famed Vauxhall Gardens while a soprano soloist, accompanied by period instruments (including harpsichord), performs an excerpt of Purcell's 'I attempt from Love's Sickness to Fly' from his last major stage work *The Indian Queen* (1695).²¹⁴ Burger binds this with the next period utilising an organ and double bass musical bridge before the narrator returns, heralding in the Georgian period:

The years roll on. The city grows. A human tide that ever flows pours like a flood to London Town; Invaders come to settle down.²¹⁵

5.5.2.4 Georgian Era

In this section, Burger incorporates folk music from all parts of the British Isles in allusion to the diverse demographics which came to settle in London.²¹⁶ The section begins with an instrumental excerpt of 'The British Grenadiers', followed by the traditional sea shanty 'A Roving', sung by baritone soloist with tenor / bass chorus and accompanied strings.²¹⁷ The narration next acknowledges the Scottish:

Tough, hardy Scotsman, thousands strong - come south to swell the might throng.²¹⁸

²¹² Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.39.

²¹³ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.41.

²¹⁴ C.A. Price, *Henry Purcell and the London stage* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.125-8.

²¹⁵ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.50.

²¹⁶ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.39-50.

²¹⁷ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.50-63.

²¹⁸ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.63.

Burger represents the Scottish utilising the chorus verse of the Jacobean inspired tune 'The Campbells are Coming!', arranged for soprano / alto chorus and accompanied by orchestra. The narration next introduces the Irish:

The soft-voiced speech of Cork and Clare is heard, like music, everywhere.²¹⁹

The Irish are represented by a musical bridge using the tune 'The Minstrel Boy', performed by solo trumpet and accompanied by harp and strings. The section next segues into the Welsh section with a trumpet fanfare as the narrator continues:

"From mountain slope and mist vales-come music loving folk of Wales."²²⁰

A full-throated rendition of the folk air 'Cariwyd y dydd' in Welsh follows, scored for the entire chorus and orchestra. Burger incorporates a final bridge in this section, reminiscent of a brassy hunting call, before segueing into this section's final inclusion with the English tune 'Darby Kelly', performed by solo tenor, SATB chorus and accompanying orchestra.²²¹

5.5.2.5 Victorian era

Unfortunately, the entirety of this section is missing from the manuscript score which has complicated the reconstruction process. The brief overview of this section has been reconstituted using the archival recording.²²²

Burger opens this era with an allusion to a Victorian ballroom by utilising a lively arrangement of a polka (unidentified). The arrangement includes a xylophone solo as well as impressive trumpet solo to break up the various ensemble entries. The Victorian segment is relatively brief but fortunately, the narration helps to clarify its transition onto the next section:

So London grew, with slowly changing face and losing half her Georgian grace. Though prim and proper, showed he could be gay. When polkas passed, the barn dance came to stay.

As the polka fades, a solo flute accompanied by recording of a bird song enters in the background. The narration then returns to usher in the Edwardian era:

²¹⁹ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.67.

²²⁰ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.73.

²²¹ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Part I, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.50-89?

²²² Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, parts 5-6, Call no.: 1LL0011593 S1-1LL0011594 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras - London, England, URL: <http://cadensa.bl.uk/uhtbin/cgiisirsil/?ps=H09vTs8fGY/WORKS-FILE/245890013/20/1LL0011589+S1-11604+S1/1/X7806074-1001/>

Chapter 5

The naughty 90s flicker out at last - a pseudo golden age becomes - the past. In London parks, where splendid guards play, new melodies - that still seem new today.²²³

5.5.2.6 Edwardian Era

The Edwardian era is represented by a mix of theatre music, comic opera, operetta and music hall numbers. This section opens on a scene at the bandstand in Hyde Park. The first two excerpts are instrumental arrangements from Edward German's *Merrie England* (1902). An arrangement of the aria 'O Peaceful England' is ushered in by timpani and includes solos on muted trumpet as well as an accordion with ensemble.²²⁴ It is closely followed by a second excerpt from *Merrie England*, 'I Do Counsel that your Playtime End'.²²⁵ The bulk of this era is represented by a mini tour of period theatre showtunes throughout King Edward VII's reign. Each musical inclusion has been used to represent the London theatre in which it first premiered (see below).

The narrator returns to introduce the section:

Those cheerful songs that pleased Edwardian ears, from jolly shows that ran for years and years.²²⁶

This section includes: 'Come to the Ball' from *The Quaker Girl* (Adelphi theatre - 5 November 1910), 'When the sun is aglow in the West...' from *Miss Hook of Holland* (Prince of Wales Theatre - 31 January 1907), 'The Pipes of Pan are Calling' from *The Arcadians* (Shaftesbury Theatre - 29 April 1909), the chorus line of 'Dreamland' from *The Dairymaids* (Apollo Theatre 14 April 1906), 'Soldiers in the Park' from *Runaway Girl* (Gaiety Theatre - 21 May 1898).²²⁷ Burger has welded these works into a beautifully streamlined display worthy of any variety show.

The entirety of the Victorian section, as well as the first half of the Edwardian section, was discerned utilising the archival recording due to missing pages in the manuscript. The lost pages span from the arrangement of 'Darby Kelly' on page 88 until the Edwardian section's inclusion 'Come to the Ball' on page 115. The score is then preserved until the concluding phrase of 'Soldiers in the Park' on page 166. An additional 19 pages are missing afterward. The score

²²³ Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, parts 6, 2:14. Call no.: 1LL0011594 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras - London, England.

²²⁴ Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, part 6, 2:14 - 4:13, Call no.: 1LL0011594 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras - London, England.

²²⁵ Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, part 7, 0:05 - 1:22, Call no.: 1LL0011595 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras - London, England.

²²⁶ Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, part 7, 1:23 - 1:31, Call no.: 1LL0011595 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras - London, England.

²²⁷ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, part I of II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.115-185.

resumes on page 185 with the opening narration for the George V era in Part II of the *Themes of London* score.

5.5.2.7 George V Era

The entrance into the next section is unmistakable, delineated by the violins and violas in hushed tremolo, as the narrator returns:

Life gathers speed. The hansom cab, when seen at all, looks old and drab. Four-wheelers, cars and buses meet, In glorious Jams in Oxford Street.²²⁸

Burger then ushers in 'modern' life with an original segment which vividly paints a bustling city soundscape, complete with various pitches of car horns in the orchestration. This opening section is reminiscent of the scores from early MGM theatrical cartoons stemming from the 1930s by composer Scott Bradley (1891-1977). This section moves into a slew of music hall ballads and parlour songs which allude to the stylistic music from New York's Tin Pan Alley or London's Denmark St. This 'music hall' segment begins with a dreamy piano solo accompanied by string orchestra as the narrator returns to clearly indicate what is next to unfold:

The music halls were crowded out and rang with melodies that everybody sang.

This montage shows the increasing American influences on popular music mixed into popular music of 1910s & 1920s Britain.²²⁹ Burger begins the segment with Castling and Murphy's 1909 ballad 'Let's go down to the Strand' sung by baritone soloist and accompanied by chorus and orchestra. It is followed by the popular pub song 'Down at the Old Bull and Bush' (1903) by Von Tilzer and Sterling. It is scored for soprano and alto chorus with tenor / bass interjections and accompanied by orchestra. Seamlessly following is the chorus refrain of Irving Berlin's 'Everybody's Doin' it Now' (1911), sung by soprano soloist and accompanied by piano and violin. An unidentified instrumental arrangement is then followed by Rosof and Kahn's hit 'When you and I were Seventeen' for soprano and tenor duet with piano accompaniment. An orchestrated excerpt of Berlin's piece 'Alexander's Ragtime Band' (1911) immediately follows.

²²⁸ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, part I of II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p. 185.

²²⁹ The George V montage begins on page 209 in Book II, part I ('Let's go down to the Strand'). Part I ends with 'When you and I were Seventeen' and continues with an orchestrated excerpt of 'Alexander's Ragtime Band' on page 221 of Book II, part II. Sources: Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London-Book II, part I of II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.209-220. ; Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London.

Chapter 5

At this point, the excerpts become increasingly broad without much reference to London. This becomes apparent with an excerpt of Walter Donaldson's 'Back home in Tennessee' (1915) scored for male vocal ensemble, chorus, piano and string accompaniment.²³⁰ An excerpt of Ball, Olcott and Graff's 'When Irish Eyes are Smiling' (1912), scored for Xylophone solo and pizzicato strings, then follows.²³¹ The montage continues with a tenor soloist singing Leslie Stuart's 'Little Dolly Daydream' (1897) accompanied by ensemble, a soprano soloist singing Monaco and McCarthy's 'You made Me love You' (1913) accompanied by piano and strings as well as a brassy return to Berlin's 'Alexander's Ragtime Band' performed by tenor / bass chorus and brass band. This gives way to a muted trumpet solo accompanied by harp and orchestra before segueing into the song 'Fall in and Follow me' (1910) by Scott and Mills, performed by baritone soloist and orchestra.²³²

The era then enters a finale section for trombone solo and ensemble before returning to the theme 'Alexander's Ragtime Band'. This is concluded with the song 'Jolly Good luck to the Girl who loves a Soldier' (1906) by Leigh and Lyle, performed by soprano soloist, chorus and orchestra.²³³

5.5.2.8 George VI Era

Burger bridges this upbeat section to the next with a sentimental piano solo, painting a musical sunset as the narrator returns:

The Empire and Alhambra have passed on - And now the Crystal Palace, too, has gone -
Destiny.²³⁴

The narration then continues as the strings enter:

²³⁰ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.222-23.

²³¹ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.223-25.

²³² Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.226-238.

²³³ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.238-248.

²³⁴ While the original Empire Theatre in Leicester Square was demolished in 1927, while the Alhambra (closed 1 September 1936) was demolished in 1936. The Crystal Palace was destroyed by fire on 1 December 1936. Both the reference to The Alhambra and Crystal Palace provides a clear allusion to contemporary 1936 and thus provides a clear segue into the final contemporary period of George VI.

Sources: Matthew Lloyd, "The Empire Theatre, Leicester Square," from *ArthurLloyd.co.uk*, 2001, Accessed 29 March 2021, URL: <http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/EmpireLeicesterSquare.htm#> ; Matthew Lloyd, "The Demolition of the Alhambra Theatre in 1936," from *ArthurLloyd.co.uk*, 2001, Accessed 29 March 2021, URL: <http://www.arthurlloyd.co.uk/Alhambra.htm> ; Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Crystal Palace," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 29 May. 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Crystal-Palace-building-London> Accessed 29 March 2021. ; Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.249.

The setting sun becomes a molten ball, and London Bridge a glow with ruby light. The stars arise and purple shadows fall - Goodbye today. Good evening tonight!²³⁵

The transition marks an entrance into the nightlife of 1930s London. Burger makes this shift by utilising a short bridge followed by arranged excerpts from 'Evening in Town', the third movement of Eric Coates Suite *from Meadow to Mayfair* (1931).²³⁶ What better choice to make the delineation into the lively nightlife of 1930s metropolitan London than a piece with that title? A second reason for the movement's inclusion could possibly be an attempt by Burger to 'gain points' with Coates - a prominent BBC figure in the late 1930s. Burger dedicates a large portion of this section to 'Evening in Town' interjected with a short 'carousel' variation for piccolo and ensemble accompaniment.

5.5.2.9 Contemporary Era

The Coates reference tapers off to reveal the Jazz infused finale as the narrator exclaiming:

A strange new world that's never still- now hearts beat quicker, sense thrill. "Give us more rhythm!" Is the call, The Great God Jazz rules over all!²³⁷

This cue launches the score into a big band rendition of Rodgers and Hart's 'Up on your Toes' (1936), performed by a soprano, mezzo, alto & tenor quartet with orchestral accompaniment.²³⁸ The chart then bridges into Burger's playful arrangement of 'I'm in a Dancing Mood' for theatre organ, alluding to the cinemas of central London.²³⁹ A joyfully brassy ensemble then assumes the main theme.²⁴⁰ The narration returns and makes reference to the pubs and bars of Piccadilly and Mayfair, exclaiming:

The same old rhythms! Who care whence they come? Those trashy tunes - that reminiscent air!
They set the children dancing in a slum and lift that blasé look from Gay Mayfair. ²⁴¹

²³⁵ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.253.

²³⁶ Sources: Michael Payne, "The War Years, 1939–1945," in *The Life and Music of Eric Coates* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2012). ; Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.254-58.

²³⁷ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.264.

²³⁸ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.269-288.

²³⁹ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.289-97.

²⁴⁰ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.298-307.

²⁴¹ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.300.

Chapter 5

The entire orchestra then returns to perform a rendition of the popular tune 'I'm in a Dancing Mood', complete with crooning soloists and an impressive instrumental arrangement.²⁴²

Upon the tune's conclusion, *Themes of London* enters its epilogue as twilight falls over the city. The final portion of the potpourri manuscript score is missing from this point. Fortunately, the 1937 broadcast recording has provided the necessary information to complete the potpourri overview. The narrator returns as the orchestration, complete with the Westminster chime theme in the strings, provides a soundscape reminiscent of a starry evening:

The streets have emptied, work of day is done. That roaring traffic rumble-stilled at last. The lighted windows vanish one by one. A city sleeps to dream about her past.²⁴³

A reverent excerpt of 'God Save the King' returns as the narration brings us back to the Tower of London:

A shaft of moonlight like a silver spear- Pierces a sombre arch on Tower Hill. A centuries challenge rings out loud and clear "Advance King George's keys"- then all is still.²⁴⁴

Burger's original introductory theme returns in the strings, with the addition of muted trumpets, as the narrator concludes this epic journey through time and space:

So, London, wrapped in slumber lies at rest. May fancy fill her vast subconscious mind with friends - like songs that only time can test. To bring her peace - with troubles far behind.²⁴⁵

5.5.2.10 Observations: Narration

The score of *Themes of London* and original broadcast recording provide invaluable insight into the construction and function of the Radio Potpourri genre and equally, the importance of narration to the overall storyline.

Henrik Ege and George McConnel's rhymed couplets elevate the work from a sophisticated musical montage to a modern artform with a British twist. Their narration equally provides a guide through a complex web of historic music. *Themes of London* operates on two conceptual

²⁴² Burger's inclusion of this tune was particularly timely as it featured in the film 'This'll make you Whistle' only months earlier. Sources: Al Goodhart, Maurice Sigler, Ambrose, Al Hoffman, "I'm in a dancing mood" from *This'll make you whistle* (New York: Decca Records, 1936). ; Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London, p.307-322.

²⁴³ Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, at 2:37, part 15, Call no.: 1LL0011603 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras-London, England.

²⁴⁴ Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, at 3:25, part 15, Call no.: 1LL0011603 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras-London, England.

²⁴⁵ Live Broadcast recording of Themes of London, 8 December 1937, Themes of London/Buerger, part 16, Call no.: 1LL0011604 S1, BBC Sound Archive, British Library, St. Pancras-London, England.

frames. The first is a journey through London over the course of more than three hundred years. The second then unfolds this storyline in vignettes presented at different points in a typical summer's day. This duality could easily be lost on the average listener but thankfully, Ege and McConnel's narration breaks the periods of time into easily digestible portions as the story progresses. Incidentally, the 'Time of Day' Framework echoes the British Empire's rise and decline over the various historical periods – concluding in 'contemporary' 1937 London in evening's twilight as well as the British Empire's metaphorical twilight. Below is a table which illustrates this framework.

<i>Themes of London Narrative Frameworks</i>	
Time Period	Time of Day
Contemporary London	Break of Dawn
Medieval Covent Garden	Early Morning
Baroque London	Mid-Morning
Georgian Era	Mid-Day
Victorian Era	Early Afternoon
Edwardian Era	Late Afternoon / Early Evening
George V & VI Eras	Evening
Contemporary London	Late Evening into Twilight

Table 5.1 *Themes of London Narrative Frameworks*

While many prominent monarchical periods have been addressed, Burger's music quotations for each period are not presented chronologically and in many cases, they do not specifically originate from the period in which they are referencing. Rather, these excerpts allude to the period through subject matter or became popular during the period, thus making their inclusion relevant. Several such examples stem from the era of George the Vth, who reigned from 1910 until 1936. These references generally stem from the early years of his reign and don't necessarily follow a chronological order according to their dates of publication. Of these works, 'Let's All Go Down the Strand' (1909), 'Down at the Bull and Bush' (1903), 'Little Dolly Daydream' (1897/1904)

and 'Jolly Good Luck to the Girl who loves a Soldier' (1906) were all published from an earlier period rather than deriving from the reign of George the Vth.

Equally, the various periods do not comprise of the same number musical inclusions and do not necessarily have equal duration. For instance, there are ten Edwardian excerpts largely comprised of music hall and operetta themes whereas the period of George V comprises of fourteen excerpts of contemporary ballads and popular songs. This seems imbalanced if you then view the earlier periods such as the Baroque (three musical references), Georgian (seven references), Victorian (only one) depending on the perimeter of the era. No specific reasoning for this is apparent in the manuscript scores or associated documentation from the period.

One possible explanation for the larger inclusion in the Edwardian period could be explained by Burger's background in theatre and silent cinema accompaniment. Operetta and revue shows of the period would have been regularly subject to the pasticcio treatment along with popular ballads for silent cinema audiences. This would reinforce the associations drawn between the Radio Potpourri genre and the Pasticcio tradition. The era of George the Vth is the most prominently represented and includes fourteen excerpts. The numerous references have likely been placed to facilitate a positive middlebrow audience reception. A radio audience of 1930s Britain would more likely be able to identify contemporary works such as 'Alexander's Ragtime Band' or 'When Irish Eyes are Smiling' than a work by Purcell.

Equally, the addition of two Jazz influenced tunes (symbolising the contemporary period) show a clear break with the musical traditions of the earlier periods. Their inclusion foreshadows the BBC Variety Department governing board's losing battle against American musical influences of crooning and Jazz.²⁴⁶ Ege's poetic prose point to this evolution and their increasing popularity in the narrative introduction to 'Up on your Toes'.

A Strange new world that's never still. Now hearts beat quicker, senses thrill. "Give us more rhythm!" is the call - The Great God Jazz rules over all!²⁴⁷

Both 'Up on Your Toes' and 'I'm in a Dancing Mood' were relevant choices to represent the contemporary night life of London. Equally, both were released in 1936 and emphasise the growing influence of American Jazz in pop culture. Richard Rogers (1902-1979) and Lorenze Hart's (1895-1943) 'Up on your Toes' derived from the 1936 Broadway musical of the same name. The show premiered on 11 April 1936 at the Imperial Theatre in New York City, only ten months

²⁴⁶ Martin Dibbs, "the Show Begins : 1933-1939," from *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department: 1927-1967*, Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media (New York: Macmillan Press, 2019), p.64-80.

²⁴⁷ Julius Burger, *Themes of London*, 1937, in London- Book II, Part II, unpublished manuscript score, Call No. MSS5770- Buerger, collections of BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.264.

before the broadcast of *Themes of London*, and eventually transitioned to London's Palace Theatre in the West End. Likewise, 'I'm in a Dancing Mood' also derived from Jazz influenced theatre as part of the English stage show *This'll Make You Whistle* by Americans Maurice Sigler (1901-1961), Al Goodhart (1890-1972) and Al Hoffman (1902-1960). The show premiered in the Kings Theatre- Southsea in September of 1936 and ran for five months before ending at the Daly's Theatre on 27 February 1937.²⁴⁸ Both musical numbers were clearly in the public's consciousness only months prior and would have been perceived as a catchy way to end more than three hundred years of historic music reflection.

Though *Themes of London* is largely Anglocentric in concept, it is still comprised of an eclectic collection of musical traditions and a wide array of genres, not only from continental composers (Handel) and operetta / music hall influences from Paris and Vienna, but also numerous examples of ballads, show tunes and jazz infusions from American music traditions. The work does contain many examples of the cultural traditions and historic associations with Britain (*i.e.* Georgian era folk melodies) while beginning and concluding with the iconic refrain of the Westminster Chimes and Burger's arrangement of the English national anthem 'God Save the King'. This provides iconically British packaging for the imperial capital which, in reality, has been a 'melting pot' of cultures, customs and influences well beyond the three hundred years addressed in this work.

5.5.3 Other Historic Examples: *City of Music* (1935)

While *Boer War Songs* and *Themes of London* have been used to show the function of the Historic potpourri, the earliest known example of this category is the potpourri from 1935 *City of Music*. As evident from the title, *City of Music's* thematic focus centres on music and locations synonymous with Vienna. While the score for this work is lost, broadcast listings and the previously mentioned article by Stanford Robinson 'Preparing an Hour's Potpourri' from the *Radio Times* provide some insight into the work's construction.²⁴⁹ Described as "...a flying journey through the past", *City of Music* provides a review of a century and a half of music with descriptive narration. Robinson describes the work's opening scene on a rainy day in December 1791 at the internment of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), accompanied by his *Ave Verum Corpus*, Op.618.

The work then utilises excerpts from works by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) including the "bird-call passage" from the second movement of his "Pastoral" *Sixth Symphony*, Op.68 and an

²⁴⁸ J.P. Wearing, *The London Stage 1890-1899 A Calendar of Productions, Performers, and Personnel*, Second Ed. (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 21 November 2013), p.185, 545.

²⁴⁹ Stanford Robinson, "Preparing an Hour's Pot-pourri," *The Radio Times*, 19 July 1935, Vol. 48, No. 616, p.3.

excerpt from his *Ninth Symphony*, Op.125. The excerpt from the *Sixth Symphony* could allude to the Alpine foothills near Vienna's 18th District where Beethoven lived when composing the work in 1808. The narrative setting for the *Ninth Symphony* may have drifted back into the old city centre to the Theater am Kärntnertor, where the work premiered on 7 May 1824.²⁵⁰

According to its description in *Radio Times* magazine, the work then includes selections from the oeuvre of Franz Schubert (1797-1828). There is no information in the *Radio Times* article which indicates what these selections might have included. It is possible, given his affinity for vocal repertoire, Burger may have chosen from Schubert's vast lieder oeuvre along with excerpts from his popular orchestral works. Possibilities may have included excerpts from Schubert's *Piano Quintet in A major, D. 667*, also known as "The Trout", or the "Unfinished" *Symphony No.8 in B minor, D 759*.²⁵¹ Robinson's article indicates the potpourri then segues into Vienna's ballrooms with selections by Johann Strauss II before moving onto a segment comprised of Viennese folk music. This is described as:

...songs that tell of Vienna, her golden heart, her lovely laughing girls, the sweet wine of the new vintage, drunk in the little gardens of Grinzing.²⁵²

The work concludes with selections from a variety of operettas and "...more modern composers such as Lehár".²⁵³ Further descriptions of the work in Robinson's article provide insights into instrumentation. One example of Burger's artistic reinterpretation of original orchestrations includes a reprise of the passage of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* for a quintet of saxophones. Burger also utilised a Schrammel Quartet, similar to the Austrian and Hungarian sections in *Holiday in Europe*, as well as three motor-horns at different pitches. Considering the similarities in concept and construction, it is possible Burger used *City of Music* as a template for his 1937 work *Themes of London*. Each work focuses its subject theme on a single city throughout historic periods. *Themes of London* expands on this concept to include musical stylings spanning nearly 400 years while focusing on various locations throughout the city rather than relying on composer-driven vignettes.

²⁵⁰ Joseph Kerman, Alan Tyson, Scott G. Burnham, Douglas Johnson and William Drabkin, "Beethoven, Ludwig van," section 9 - 1822-4, Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 10 March 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40026>

²⁵¹ Maurice J.E. Brown, Eric Sams and Robert Winter, "Schubert, Franz," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 10 March 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25109>

²⁵² Stanford Robinson, "Preparing an Hour's Pot-pourri," *The Radio Times*, 19 July 1935, Vol. 48, No. 616, p.3.

²⁵³ Stanford Robinson, "Internal Memo : Potpourris by Julius Buerger," 7 February 1939, From Burger, Julius, '31- '42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC), Caversham – England.

While Robinson's description provides some insight into the work, we cannot be certain what the narration would have included or the derivative titles for the numerous thematic excerpts which have been included beyond the general overview provided in the *Radio Times*.

These three examples, *Boer War Songs* (1937), *Themes of London* (1937) and *City of Music* (1936), provide a general overview of the main features of Historic Radio Potpourri and their function. Each focus their subject themes on historic events or various periods and primarily comprise of music from the general timeframe in which the event or historic period occurred. Equally, the Grand Potpourri works rely on narration to supplement the storyline and delineate the journey between periods.

5.6 Conclusions

5.6.1 Subcategories of Radio Potpourri and their influence on the future of BBC Variety Department Programming

Radio Potpourri by its very nature is plastic and can accommodate a large variety of subject themes. However, they fall into 3 archetypal categories. The most common is the solitary or 'Grand' potpourri which incorporate an array of multi-genre music themes or excerpts into an hour-long, narrated radio programme. Likewise, the Miniature Potpourri takes on similar attributes but in microcosm. Its duration more closely resembles the simple potpourri form of approximately 6 to 10 minutes and, while it can make use of narration, it isn't a requirement. The third archetype- the Chapter Potpourri – resembles a radio series. It is organised around a central subject theme and comprises of multiple chapters or segments ranging from a single piece arrangement to Miniature Potpourris. The general overview of Burger's 1938 Chapter Potpourri- *Songs of the British Isles* – highlights this construction and while the individual chapters can vary on subject matter (*i.e.*, Morris Dances, Sea Shanties, Welsh and Scottish folk music) they still coalesce around a central subject theme.

These three archetypes can then be broken down further into four subcategories which have been delineated by similar subject themes. The most frequently occurring subcategory is the Geographic potpourri which utilises musical travel itineraries to take the listener on an imaginary journey. Music selections from various cultures or geographic locations offer vignettes akin to musical postcards. This is combined with the use of narration to delineate each stop along the journey. Burger utilised this subcategory regularly over the course of his career with the BBC. One of his first Geographic potpourris *Holiday in Europe* (1934) shows the genre-bending ability of this variant through its incorporation of numerous music selections from across the genre spectrum. It

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includes selections from opera and operetta, orchestral programme music, traditional folk melodies, cabaret and music hall tunes, marching tunes, student drinking songs, liturgical music as well as gypsy music and pop tunes of the early 20th century.

The Biographic potpourri, only accounting for two of Burger's radio output, utilises music selections from a particular composer's oeuvre which is then combined with narration to create a music dramatization of their life. Although a complete manuscript score no longer exists for this work, archival documentation and fragments of the 1934 Grand Potpourri *Life of Offenbach* score were utilised to construct what a Biographic potpourri would consist of. The reconstruction reveals a potpourri which comprised of an intricately arranged soundtrack of selections from the composer's more successful Opera buffa, Opéra Comique and burlesque stage works. These were not exact extracts of the original compositions but rather had been translated, reimagined, arranged and rewritten to accommodate for an English-speaking audience.

Further research revealed Burger likely chose Offenbach as the subject for his first Biographic potpourri for several reasons. Offenbach's prominent influence in Vienna's operetta culture as well as the resurgence of his works in 1930s Berlin may account for this choice. Equally, Offenbach's musical influence had wide appeal and has shown to have influenced the works of such figures as the British operetta partnership of Gilbert and Sullivan as well as Johann Strauss, Jr and Richard Strauss. Despite his apparent appeal, Offenbach appears to have had mixed reception in 1930s Britain. A comparative analysis of two critiques on Offenbach's music and legacy in the Radio Times magazine reveals while the composer has left an indelible mark on western classical music, antisemitism permeated cultural circles of the 19th and early 20th Century throughout Europe. One can draw parallels between Burger's own situation due to anti-Semitism and the Offenbach's treatment after the Franco-Prussian war.

Equally, I provided evidence which demonstrates the Biographic Radio Potpourri's lasting influence on the variety departments programming formats into the 1950s. After the successful premiere of *Life of Offenbach*, BBC Variety produced multiple biographic programmes which show striking similarities to Burger's concept. While these may not all be 'Radio Potpourri' in the traditional sense, they demonstrated the wider influence of the remediated genre on the departments programming.

The third subgenre, the Historic potpourri, was demonstrated in three examples: *Boer War Songs* (1937), *Themes of London* (1937) and *City of Music* (1935). These focus their central subject themes on an historic event or various historic periods which are represented by music from the general time frame in which the event or historic period occurred. The historic examples demonstrate the variety of forms which this genre can manifest. From a simple montage of

popular ballads which evoke a conflict or war (*Boer War Songs*) to the narrated vignettes through music periods (*City of Music*) to the complex, multi-framed presentation of London throughout time and space (*Themes of London*). The incorporation of narration and sound effects provide intricate musical tapestries with cohesion, add realism and aid in propelling the chosen storyline forward.

The Radio Potpourri's archetypes and multiple subcategories provided the BBC with a formidable programming format. It was not only popular among BBC listening audiences, but its plastic nature provided the potential for infinite subject topics and musical selections from which to create a successful radio programme. These attributes continued to influence the Variety departments programming formats into the early 1950s.

Chapter 6 *The Empire Sings!* : Imperialism, Nationalism and the Aesthetic Shift

The subject themes of Burger's potpourri abruptly changed from mid 1937 onward. These moved from otherwise cosmopolitan themes represented in earlier potpourri toward an aesthetic of British nationalism and imperialism. Prior to 1937, these potpourri had varied widely and drew largely on source material from Western classical music, opera, operetta, folk, secular and sacred music. However, in 1937 they gravitated toward those of an Anglocentric nature. These typically utilised nationalistic themes which Burger previously avoided, such as militarism and empire.

Burger continued to write Anglocentric programs along these lines throughout 1937 and 1938. Other examples continue to appear throughout the Second World War until its conclusion in 1945. This change in aesthetic prompts a number of questions.

First, if there was a genuine thematic shift toward Anglocentric themes in Burger's Radio Potpourri, when was it and what are the key indicators? Second, How do themes of British nationalism and imperialism present themselves in music in general and how is this manifested in Burger's potpourri from March 1937 onward? Third, what can the Grand Potpourri *The Empire Sings!* (a magnum musical survey of the British Empire as it existed in 1938) add to the discussions of cultural imperialism in music during the waning years of Great Britain's global empire? Fourth, is this work an ode to imperial dominance or a subtle propaganda plea for unity from an altruistic imperial capital to its dominions and territories at a point in the 20th century when Germany was beginning an aggressive campaign to re-establish its own empire? Fifth, what can *The Empire Sings!* reveal about the BBC's programming of pro-imperial sentiments in the early 20th Century? Sixth, what can this shift reveal about Burger's own difficulties during this period and what can it reveal about the wider geopolitical landscape in the late 1930s? Seventh, Was this an attempt by Burger to gain favour at the BBC and in turn obtain asylum in the relative safety of the UK? Or was this shift influenced by other factors (*i.e.* changes in BBC management, a rise in national sentiments among BBC governing boards)? Lastly, what influence, if any, did the remediated Radio Potpourri genre have on the burgeoning BBC Variety department?

This chapter investigates these questions and examines the political ramifications of such a seemingly benign form of entertainment in order to show how this volatile political situation in the 1930s effected music culture and the aesthetics of both émigré composers and British composers alike.

6.1 An Oeuvre of Broadcasts

6.1.1 An Evolution of Aesthetic

The first step in addressing these questions is to examine the thematic subjects of Burger's BBC Radio Potpourri from his first commission in 1933 - *Vienna* - to his final commission in 1945 - *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody*. This has been undertaken to identify any commonalities or patterns in the thematic subjects and at what point, if at all, these patterns alter. To illustrate the proposed evolution of potpourri themes, a timeline of known Radio Potpourri broadcasts between 1933 and 1950 has been created noting the piece's title, broadcast date and its status as a first performance or subsequent performance. In the diagram below, each title has been colour coded with a flag in one of three colours to represent their respective groupings as either having Austro/Germanic (dark blue), Cosmopolitan (green), or British nationalist and imperialist (dark red) themes. These were categorised by considering the main subject theme as well as the derivation of the music incorporated into each potpourri. These have broken into two images for ease of viewing. Additionally, each year is color-coded and relevant events pertaining to Burger's life are also provided.

Before defining these categories, it is necessary to define the intended employment of the term 'aesthetic' for purposes of this research. Modern aesthetics of music tend toward multiple areas of interest - Romantic, formalist, speculative, analytical, positivistic and empirical, psychological, political and sociological. This research is not intended as a reimagining of aesthetics or the elevation of one particular interpretation of aesthetic value or emotive quality of these works as my primary objective (although aspects are touched on in the analysis of particular examples). This project relies on a socio-historical evaluation and is used to illustrate the influence of migration on Burger's music by examining the perceived changes of the source material which the composer drew on for his subject themes against the backdrop of events in this period of exile. In other words, it attempts to show the influential link between these musical creations and the socio-historical period which Burger and many other Jewish artists and musicians found themselves in 1930s Europe.

This rupture in his identity caused a shift from an aesthetic anchored in a Austro / Germanic cultural identity toward an outlook which was more global and multicultural. This, in turn, influenced the purpose, creative process and choices of his new medium of focus- the Radio Potpourri. In the leadup to the Second World War (1937 onward) the aesthetic shifts again. In this instance, they gravitate away from the embrace of 'cosmopolitan' subject themes and towards an

Anglocentric outlook. But Why? The following aesthetic categories have been defined in order to expound on these shifts and their potential causes.

Figure 6.1 BBC Radio Potpourri by Julius Burger : Broadcasts (1932-38)

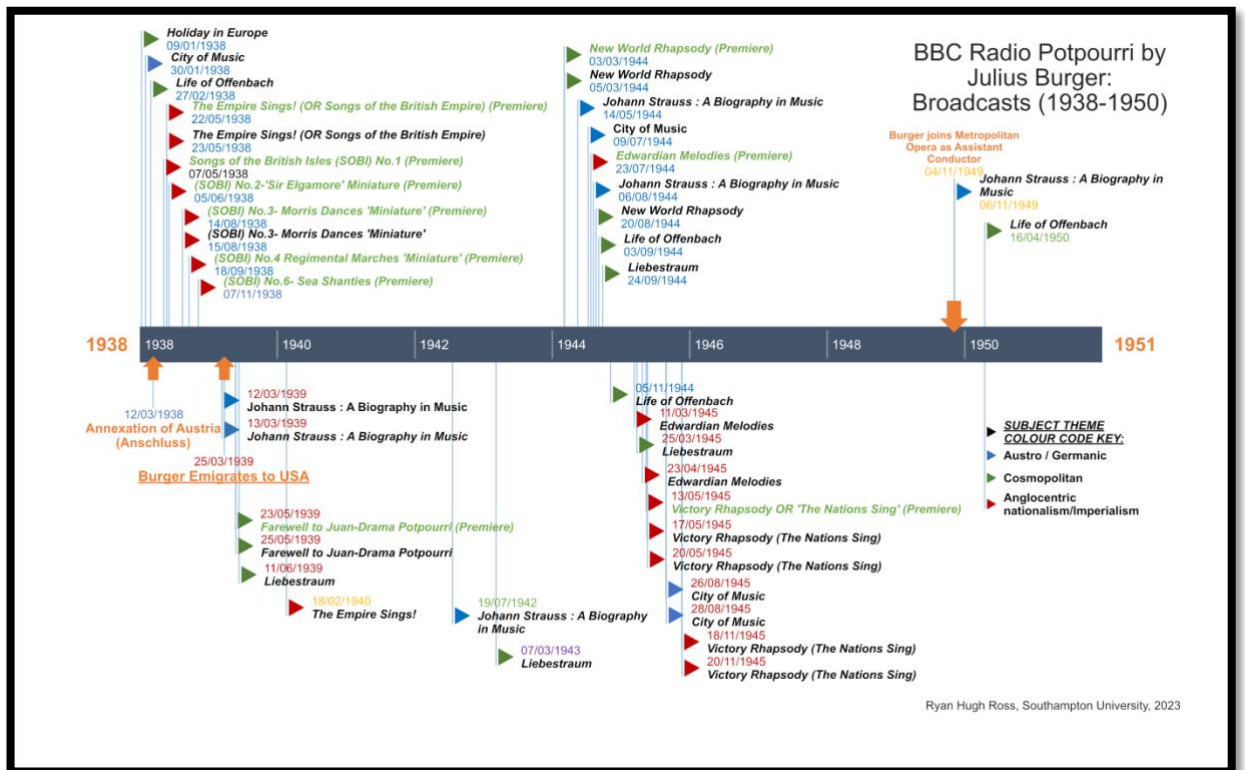
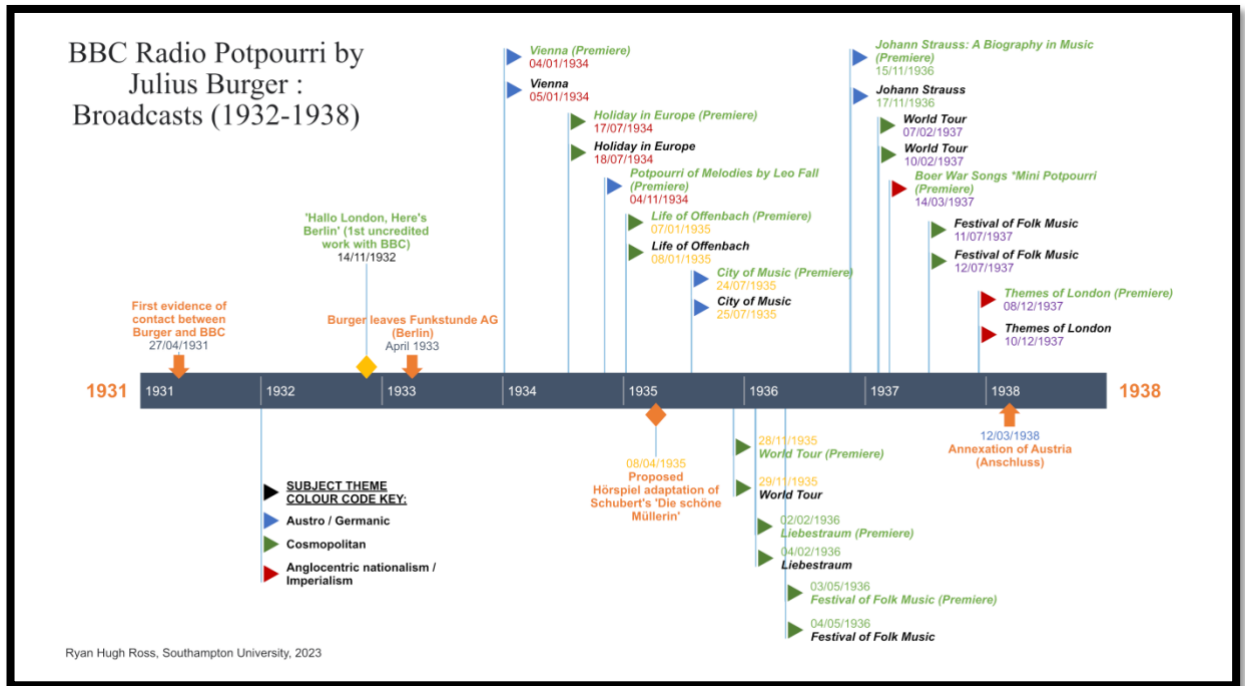


Figure 6.2 BBC Radio Potpourri by Julius Burger : Broadcasts (1938-50)

6.1.1.1 'Austro/Germanic' Category

The grouping titled 'Austro / Germanic' has been created to illustrate the primary source of music and composers which Burger drew from in the creation of his Radio Potpourri subject themes while employed at the Berlin Funkstunde and in the early period at the BBC. Burger was immersed in this cultural identity, fostered through his education and shared cultural traditions of both Germany and Austria. This music would have been firmly part of his identity and would have resonated with the Funkstunde audiences in Germany in the early 1930s. This aesthetic was then transplanted to the BBC after Burger's forced resignation in April 1933 and by mid 1934, showed signs of a shift which is less anchored in the shared cultural identity of Austria and Germany toward an aesthetic which is more inclusive and global in outlook. This is expanded upon in section 6.1 An Oeuvre of Broadcasts of this research.

While this category has been chosen in an attempt to illustrate the effects of this volatile period on Burger's compositional output, it is pertinent to address the use of the term 'Germanic' in relation to this project. The use of this term is not a statement to the often used modern connotations of 'German-ness' which was corrupted and utilised as part of the anti-Semitic and supremacist ideology of the Nazi regime (*i.e.* 'Blut und Boden'), but rather one avenue of framing the commonalities among the composers, music and subjects which Burger drew from in the creation of his early Radio Potpourri. The source material largely stems from composers who were considered German or Austrian as delineated by the post-World War One borders and shared a commonality of language and culture. This shared, cultural connection is evident through their linguistic, cultural and ethnic characteristics. Although Austria existed prior to the first world war as part of a multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic empire, between 1918 and 1945 the great majority of the population of what now constitutes 'Austria' considered themselves "Germans" due to these commonalities. Hence, both are categorised together while ascribing the delineated title of Austro and Germanic.

This is not a treatise on the idea of German-ness but rather an attempt to show the evolution of Burger's source material through time from a familiar, shared cultural identity in Austrian and German music present in his subject themes toward an aesthetic which utilises a global, multi-cultural pool of source material in their framework.

The following expands on this category in practice. Burger's first official potpourri commission broadcast by the BBC was the Grand Potpourri *Vienna* (1933), broadcast on 4 January 1934. This potpourri is an hour-long piece utilising works by the Austrian composers Johann Strauss Jr and

Joseph Lanner.⁴⁷⁵ The main subject theme focuses on the cultural life of Vienna while utilising music by two composers who are Germanic, *i.e.* deriving primarily from Germany or Austria. Others in this category which were broadcast by the BBC include *Potpourri of Melodies by Leo Fall* (1934), *City of Music* (1935) and *Johann Strauss : A Biography in Music* (1936). Like *Vienna* (1933), the primary focus of *City of Music* (1935) centres on the Austrian capital through a succession of vignettes using music by W.A. Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Johann Strauss, among others. All of these works were composed within the first three years of Burger's tenure at the BBC. Several further titles of Miniature Potpourris and Burger's Schubert-based Hörspiel ("*Die Schoene Muellerin*" [sic] - 1935) would also fall into this category. However, the focus of this aesthetic progression utilises only examples by Burger which were broadcast by the BBC. These have been categorised in the Austro/Germanic category in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 with a dark blue flag.

6.1.1.2 'Cosmopolitan' Category

The use of the term 'cosmopolitan' appears frequently in modern musicology as an appealing catchphrase for conceptual framing which is considered 'international', 'transcultural', 'transnational' multi-national' and 'global'.⁴⁷⁶ The movement toward its assimilation with 'transnational' or 'international' concepts have contributed to the removal of some negative connotations and historical baggage originally attached to the term over the past two centuries (similar to the re-interpretation of the term 'Middlebrow' in the mid to late 20th century). These negative connotations were used in the 19th century to paint those who embraced the concept as "rootless" as well as historical associations with "elite classes and imperialistic ideologies".⁴⁷⁷ Additionally, the term became doublespeak as an anti-Semitic trope which referenced Jews as "rootless" and "nomadic". These two associations which first emerged in 13th century European legend *De Joseph, qui ultimum Christi adventum adhuc vivus exspectat* or known as "The Wandering Jew". With the rise of nationalism in the 19th century, the term also associated those who identify as Jewish with nationalist perceptions of "the other" and "the foreign migrant".⁴⁷⁸

These connotations never fully dissipate and re-emerge with socio-political upticks in radical nationalism in which multi-culturalism and migration are seen as threats. In their publication *Cosmopolitanism and the Jews*, scholars Cathy S. Gelbin and Sander L. Gilman explore this fraught relationship and the multiple definitions behind cosmopolitanism through detailed analyses of

⁴⁷⁵ Contributor, "Vienna," *Radio Times*, 29 December 1933, Vol.41, No. 535, p.972.

⁴⁷⁶ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities," *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 99, No.2 (Summer 2019), p.150.

⁴⁷⁷ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities," p.145.

⁴⁷⁸ Cathy S. Gelbin and Sander L. Gilman, "How Did We Get Here from There?" in *Cosmopolitanisms and the Jews* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), p.1-30.

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historic cultural products (*i.e.* novels, plays, poetry and philosophical essays) in a similar fashion to Edward Said's examination of Cultural Imperialism of the British novel in his 1993 publication *Culture and Imperialism*. Gelbin and Gilman's research focuses on cosmopolitanism through questions of globalization, acculturation, migration, exile, national identity, among others. Despite the real historic issues with the use of this term – especially in the context of this research – recent reinterpretations of the term have been embraced which aim to reclaim and repurpose cosmopolitanism in order to:

“...undermine nation-orientated categories by focusing on transnational exchanges, border crossing encounters and expressions of the so called cosmopolitan in music culture.”⁴⁷⁹

According to Musicologists Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, this “New Cosmopolitanism” arose out of:

“...a sense of exhaustion with negative critique and with the repetitive assertions of radical contingency” and instead “...cautiously advocated a critical method that acknowledged, and made space for, the possibility of communication across differences in contingencies.”⁴⁸⁰

In musicology, this term was first used by music historians to describe phenomena “that are international by virtue of membership, circulation, or style.” The term is often oversubscribed to mean anything without a “national singularity”, ranging from “...social groups, institutions, distribution networks, genres, stylistic idioms, composers, audiences, critics, cities and journals.”⁴⁸¹ The overuse dilutes Collins and Gooley's philosophical interpretation as investing “...in a virtue in belonging to, or striving to belong to, a “larger” world as a way of keeping local and parochial attachments in check.” This interpretation is partially a bi-product of the damage caused by 20th century dislocations due to conflict as well as the effects of “extended Western capitalist structures into societies which, in turn, gave new meaning to the term cosmopolitanism.”⁴⁸²

This interpretation of New Cosmopolitanism is not defined as a desire for broader connectivity to world affiliation but “...rather as a desire to alter and denaturalize conventional attachments.”⁴⁸³ It is presented as a conscious change in one's philosophical outlook and, while it is complicated to

⁴⁷⁹ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, “Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities,” p.140.

⁴⁸⁰ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, “Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities,” p.143.

⁴⁸¹ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, “Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities,” p.141.

⁴⁸² Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, “Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities,” p.150.

⁴⁸³ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, “Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities,” p.154.

discern a composer's ethical stance and "sense of world belonging", Burger's music and outlook appear to reflect a shift in attitude and practice when examining archival documentation stemming from early in his engagement with the BBC. Collins and Gooley point to Brigid Cohen's examination of the life and output of German émigré composer Stefan Wolpe (*Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*) as an example of their interpretation of new cosmopolitanism. The influence of migration on the life and output of Wolpe's output (as framed by Cohen) serves as a useful comparison for this research as there are many parallels between the two composers' situations.⁴⁸⁴

Both Burger and Wolpe were forced to seek refuge outside Germany after the Nazi seizure of power in 1933. Wolpe first went to Vienna (1933-34) before settling in Palestine (1934-38) while Burger drifted between Vienna, Brussels, Paris, and London. Both eventually settled in New York City - Wolpe in 1938 and Burger a year later. While their music idioms may have been different (Wolpe began as a follower of Schoenberg's Twelve Tone system while Burger was primarily grounded in late Romanticism) both altered their compositional activities and styles as émigrés. According to Cohen, Wolpe reinvented his compositional activities and style in relation to his surroundings by using his exile as an opportunity:

"Wolpe's community affiliations, optimism and 'willing to connect' worked as stabilizing resources and symbols of identity in the midst of extreme upheaval."⁴⁸⁵

This framing of cosmopolitanism is offered as a positive alternative to the national identity. Burger's experience shares similarities with Wolpe's. Burger all but abandoned traditional composition and instead fully embraced the new compositional medium of Radio Potpourri. Although Wolpe and Burger composed in different mediums, the latter's accelerated shift from subject themes which were entwined with his national and cultural identity (i.e. Austro / Germanic) toward an adoption of a wider realm of musical influences, styles and outlook from mid 1934 onward are equally presented as a perceived creative and positive opportunity for the young composer. This serves as an example from which to support the use of the 'cosmopolitan' term as Collins and Gooley describe as:

"...a successful creative response to modern diasporic alienation *tout court*."⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁴ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities," p.155-57.

⁴⁸⁵ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities," p.155-57.

⁴⁸⁶ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities," p.155-57.

Scholar Martin Stokes' in depth paper *On Musical Cosmopolitanism* provides further justification for the use of the term, particularly in ethnomusicology when investigating music of migration. Within the field, Stokes attests cosmopolitanism can:

“help us understand the intellectual formations and dispositions of nationalist ideologues and reformers ... It reminds us to take into account the music of Diaspora and migration, which we (along with local intellectuals) might otherwise ignore or dismiss as debased or worthless.”⁴⁸⁷

In this context, Burger's *Radio Potpourri* (seen as cosmopolitan between 1934 – 1937) provide a valuable lense in which to view Burger's aesthetic shift which was plausibly influenced by his transient existence.

Despite clear indications of a shift in Burger's aesthetic, the process wasn't instantaneous and former aesthetic influences continued to appear in works such as the *Life of Offenbach* (1934) and *Liebstraum* (1936). These two examples present themselves as a mix of Austro/Germanic and Cosmopolitan themes / music and fall into a grey area. These either consist of arranged inclusions by a composer of German or Austrian origin (*i.e.* Offenbach) or have the majority of their musical inclusions stemming from German or Austrian composers. *Life of Offenbach's* main subject theme was focused to provide a musical biography of the composer. Considering the criteria outlined, one might easily categorise the work in the Austro/Germanic category as Offenbach was born in Cologne, Germany and remained a citizen of the country for a majority of his life. However, the composer is overwhelmingly associated with his 'cosmopolitan' works of the French burlesque and Opéra bouffe genres written during the French 2nd Empire. Equally, they embrace French cultural attitudes and satire. Therefore, *Life of Offenbach* has been categorised as a 'cosmopolitan' work (Green flag).

The name of Burger's potpourri of love songs, *Liebstraum* (1936) would lead one to immediately categorise the work as Austro/Germanic. This could also be supported by the fact thirteen of the twenty-one arranged inclusions in this potpourri derive from composers from Austria or Germany (*i.e.* Johannes Brahms, Felix Mendelssohn, Fritz Kreisler, Oscar Straus, Johann Strauss, Heinrich Reinhardt, Leo Fall and Franz Lehár). The remaining eight inclusions are sourced from composers whose origins span across Europe and the Caribbean (Franz Liszt –Hungary, Bedřich Smetana (Czechoslovakia), Mary Frances Allitsen and John Mais Capel (England), André Charles Prosper Messenger (France), Chopin (Poland), and Moisés Simons (Cuba)).⁴⁸⁸ However, the potpourri's

⁴⁸⁷ Martin Stokes, “On Musical Cosmopolitanism,” *The Macalester International Roundtable*, 2007, Vol.21, p.3-26. URL: <https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrtable/3>

⁴⁸⁸ For a complete title list, please see Appendix B: Julius Burger Composition Catalogue.

subject theme relies on a universal theme inherent in all cultures and therefore places the work in the 'cosmopolitan' category.

Other works are more easily categorised and possess an international subject theme while drawing on sources which vary in style and influence. The earliest example to utilise this eclectic international approach was *Holiday in Europe* (1934). It incorporates a wide variety of music from across the European continent ranging from traditional folk, opera, operetta and popular music to repertoires for bandstand, music and concert halls. Therefore, *Holiday in Europe* (1934), along with other internationally themed works (*World Tour* – 1935, *Festival of Folk Music* -1936, *New World Rhapsody* – 1942) fall into the 'cosmopolitan' category.

6.1.1.3 'Anglocentric' Category

A cursory glance at the timeline reveals Burger's potpourri between 1933 -1937 largely fall within these two thematic categories with the frequency of cosmopolitan works becoming more prevalent from 1934 onward. This pattern continued until the 14 March 1937 premiere of Burger's Miniature Potpourri *Boer War Songs* as part of the serial programme *Victorian Melodies*.⁴⁸⁹ *Boer War Songs* focuses its subject theme on popular parlour songs and marching tunes from the Anglo-Boer War or Second Boer War between October 1899 and May 1902. While the pieces utilised for this work aren't exclusively composed by British artists, their main subject theme's purpose is to evoke memories of the conflict from the British perspective. Following the work's premiere until early 1939, the subject themes of all new potpourri exclusively utilised themes related to Great Britain, British nationalism and imperialism. These are coded with dark red flags in the timeline and include the premieres of *Boer War Songs* (1937), *Themes of London* (1937), *The Empire Sings!* (1938) as well as five Miniature Potpourris as part of the Chapter Potpourri *Songs of the British Isles* (1938). Additionally, two of the five potpourri works which Burger composed for the BBC after 1939 were based on Anglocentric subject themes. *Edwardian Melodies* (1944) and the *Victory Rhapsody* (also known as *The Nations Sing!*) (1945) were composed for the BBC in the final months of the Second World War and each enjoyed several broadcast performances. These additional examples reinforce the hypothesis of an aesthetic shift.

This is a notable change in subject themes but why did the shift occur? In order to address the possible motivating factors, one of the few surviving examples of this apparent shift in aesthetic has been examined: Burger's survey of the British empire - *The Empire Sings!*. I have chosen this

⁴⁸⁹ Sources: BBC Int. Memo, "Julius Burger, RE: Victorian Melodies XII," 25 February 1937, From Burger, Julius. '31-'42. R27/40/2. BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre, Reading - England. ; Contributor, "'Boer War Songs' as part of Victorian Melodies," *Radio Times*, 12 March 1937, Vol. 54, No. 702, p.22

work as, unlike the other Anglocentric works which contain elements of British nationalism and imperialism and are focused on the UK or a particular territory, *the Empire Sings!* broadens the scope to include a look at how Britain's influence is represented on a global scale by incorporating music from the numerous cultures and demographics under its imperial 'umbrella'.

First, a brief overview of the British Empire's colonial genesis has been provided for context. Next, key terms defining the various forms of imperial territories have been provided to aid in interpretation of this nuanced representation of empire. The term cultural imperialism is then defined in order to examine some relevant forms of imperialism in British music. This is necessary for the next step in this analysis which includes an examination of the imperial domains and territories represented in *The Empire Sings!*, as well as their historic associations with Great Britain, to determine how the selections of music and narration have been used to portray the British empire. What can the pieces reveal about the motivations behind this work? Is this potpourri an example of cultural imperialism, a propaganda plea from an altruistic 'Motherland' to its imperial family for support in a potential conflict with Germany or is it simply another work commission? Equally, what part may Burger's own conflicts as an émigré and the geopolitical climate of this period have played in influencing this shift toward Anglocentric music? I conclude by examining the Radio Potpourri's influential legacy on programming of the BBC Variety department and Burger's own compositions from 1939 onward.

6.2 The British Empire: An Introduction

The British Empire commenced with the first overseas settlements in the 16th century. Throughout the 17th century, commercial ambitions and competition with France drove conquest through maritime expansion. This resulted in the establishment of colonies and trading posts throughout the world from India and the Strait Settlements (Penang, Singapore, Malacca and Labuan) utilising the East India Company in 1600. By 1670, Great Britain had also established colonies in North America (American colonies in New England, Maryland and Virginia) as well as the West Indies (Bermudas, Antigua, Barbados, etc.) and by 1661, had established a permanent settlement in Africa at James Island.⁴⁹⁰

The British Empire expanded in size and dominance through trade and acquisition until reaching a golden age in early to mid 19th century. It had now expanded to include important territories in Asia. Several examples include the acquisition of Singapore in 1819, Hong Kong in 1841, Burma in

⁴⁹⁰ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, "British Empire," Encyclopaedia Britannica, March 13, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/place/British-Empire>

1886 and India in 1858. This also extended to Africa through control of the Cape Colony in 1814, the Gold Coast in 1874, Egypt in 1882, Rhodesia in 1889 and British East Africa in 1894. Territories which had come under British control in the South Pacific included New Zealand in 1841 and Australia. The latter was first claimed in 1770 and by the 1850s, the British had mass settlements on the continent due to the discovery of gold.⁴⁹¹

Throughout the previous centuries, the empire evolved from a handful of colonies to a global system of dependencies under the British crown. Great Britain reached its imperial peak after the Axis power's defeat in the First World War. The Treaty of Versailles, ratified on 28 June 1919 forced Germany to relinquish its colonies in Samoa and East and West Africa to Great Britain. This expanded their global empire and made it the most expansive in history, covering approximately 25 percent of the world's land surface including areas of Africa, Asia, Australia, and North America. The empire also boasted close trade links in South America. The British Empire presided over diverse demographics numbering several hundred million people, roughly a quarter of the world's population.⁴⁹²

By 1938, the British Empire still maintained a global presence through a complex system of governance which delineated the empire into colonies, semi-devolved Dominions, Protectorates and Mandates (territories and countries now under British rule which were formerly possessions of the German and Ottoman Empires). These distinctions come into play in Burger's potpourri and receive different treatment throughout the work. To aid in the evaluation of *The Empire Sings!*, I have included the following definitions:

Colony- A territory which is subject to rule from a larger entity through direct rule- usually in the form of a governor and administration. Examples of British Colonies in 1938 include British Malaya, Burma Cyprus, Fiji, India, Jamaica, among others.

Dominions- Former colonised territories which have a degree of devolved self-governance but are still officially part of the British Empire with the monarchy as figurehead. Several of these territories were officially recognised as dominions through the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and were subsequently afforded increased sovereignty through the Statute of Westminster of 1931.⁴⁹³ Examples include Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State.

⁴⁹¹ See: Andrew Porter, *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Vol. III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁴⁹² Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, "British Empire," Encyclopaedia Britannica, March 13, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/place/British-Empire>

⁴⁹³ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, "Statute of Westminster," Encyclopaedia Britannica, December 28, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Statute-of-Westminster>

Protectorate- The relationship between two states, one of which exercises some decisive control over the other.⁴⁹⁴ This has been applied to territories and countries whose governments sought British protection but not necessarily rule. Some of these later became colonies. There are numerous examples of British protectorates throughout history which include large swathes of Africa such as Gambia, Northern Territories, Swaziland, Kenya, Uganda, North Rhodesia, North Somaliland, Transvaal and Tuvalu. Other select examples include Egypt, Cyprus and the Solomon Islands.⁴⁹⁵

Mandates- Mandates were former territorial possessions of Germany and the Ottoman Empire. These were relinquished by the Axis governments as part of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. The mandate system was instigated by the League of Nations in an attempt to stop the cycles of war and conflict over conquered lands. British Mandates included Palestine (between 1917-1948), Mesopotamia (Iraq), Trans Jordan (Jordan) in the Middle East. British mandates of Africa included Cameroon, Togoland (Ghana), Tanganyika (Tanzania), Southwest Africa (Namibia governed by South Africa) and in the South Pacific, mandates included New Guinea (governed by Australia), West Samoa (governed by New Zealand), Nauru (governed by Australia, Great Britain and New Zealand).⁴⁹⁶

Establishing these delineations is necessary to understand the subtle differences in which Burger's portrays the Colony from the Dominion, the Protectorate from the Mandate. For example, the potpourri's first segment takes the listener to the Dominion of Canada and incorporates traditional Eurocentric folk music, the Canadian National anthem and indigenous cultural music in its portrayal. This differs from the colonial and protectorate segments in which he primarily focuses on indigenous cultural music.

The concepts of cultural imperialism and imperialism feature heavily in this chapter and it is necessary they are defined and their significance in the examination of this work is addressed. Cultural imperialism is the imposition of various cultural aspects of a politically or economically dominant community onto another non dominant community.⁴⁹⁷ This goes beyond the imperial objectives of conquest and economic exploitation. Cultural imperialism seeks to acculturate the dominated populace through means of social engineering by saturating subdominant with the dominant community's cultural symbols, legends and myths. According to humanities scholar

⁴⁹⁴ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, "protectorate," Encyclopaedia Britannica, May 15, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/protectorate-international-relations>.

⁴⁹⁵ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, 'Dominance and Dominions' in "British Empire," Encyclopaedia Britannica, August 13, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/place/British-Empire>

⁴⁹⁶ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, "mandate," Encyclopaedia Britannica, August 13, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/mandate-League-of-Nations>

⁴⁹⁷ T. Weynand Tobin, "cultural imperialism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, May 26, 2020, Accessed 22 Nov. 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/cultural-imperialism>

Jeffery Herlihy-Mera in his 2018 work *After American Studies : Rethinking the Legacies of Transnational Exceptionalism*, Cultural imperialism tends to be gradual, contested and incomplete but has an ultimate goal of reinforcing the dominant narrative through said symbols, legends and myths until the dominated populace abandon other cultures and identify with the new symbols.⁴⁹⁸ This is particularly useful when examining the implications of cultural imperialism in the representation of various territorial areas in *The Empire Sings!*. Herlihy-Mera's frame of cultural imperialism equally comes into focus when examining the Nazi government's attempts at social engineering throughout the 1930s in Germany. However, Austrians experienced this process at a vastly accelerated rate after Nazi government's annexation of Austria in March 1938.

Research on the concept of cultural imperialism has been shaped and influenced by the work of scholars such as John Tomlinson, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Edward Said.^{499 500} The latter is a founding figure of post colonialism studies and is known for his critique of the Enlightenment in the 1978 work *Orientalism*. He later expanded on the premise in his 1993 work *Culture and Imperialism* and argues that culture is intimately connected with imperialism. This was explored by examining cultural products of empire. In this case, the novels of British novelists Jane Austin, Joseph Conrad, E.M. Foster and Rudyard Kipling. His examination revealed how the process of colonial imperialism is present in nearly every interaction between the West and the rest of the world and has left a far-reaching legacy on the colonised, despite the post Second World War push toward decolonisation.

In this work, Said defines imperialism as:

The practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory" and culture as "...all those practices, like the arts of description, communication and representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principal aims is pleasure.⁵⁰¹

He further describes culture as:

...a sort of theatre where various political and ideological causes engage one another.⁵⁰²

Said's exploration of the influential link between imperialism and culture through his examination of the British novel presents a template in which to explore other cultural mediums. In the case of

⁴⁹⁸ Jeffery Herlihy-Mera, *Rethinking the Legacies of Transnational Exceptionalism* (New York: Routledge, 2018), p.24.

⁴⁹⁹ John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (United Kingdom: Continuum, 1991).

⁵⁰⁰ Michel Foucault, 1979. "Omnes et Singulatim : Towards a Criticism of Political Reason," in *Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984. Volume 3 : Power*, ed. James D. Faubion, 298-325 (New York: New York Press, 2003).

⁵⁰¹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.xii, p.8.

⁵⁰² Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.xiv.

The Empire Sings!, the cultural product is a programme designed for the mass media device of radio and consists primarily of music. As in Said's work with the novel, the influence of imperialism is present in nearly every facet of music. It does not exist in a vacuum and is a major proponent of cultural influence. The link between imperialism (specifically British) and music was the subject of the 2001 book *Imperialism and Music* by Cultural History Professor Jeffery Richards. His research examines musical forms from high culture to popular culture while focusing on the ideological role of British imperialism as its underpinning.

Richards notes that music first emerged as an adjunct for communal purposes associated with religious ritual and warfare. Its success in unifying the participants later translated into use in social ceremonies and public occasions.⁵⁰³ Music is such an integral part of cultural interaction globally and naturally became a device in which to affirm and promote the narrative of symbols, legends and myths of dominant cultures over the less dominant. Within the British Empire, the affirmation of imperial narratives have been harnessed for official occasions in the form of national anthems, coronations, jubilees, royal weddings and funerals, exhibitions, military marches, the annual celebrations of Empire Day and Armistice Day. Empire Day was commonly celebrated with a mixture of church services, parades and concerts featuring folk songs, sea shanties, hymns, music hall songs, minstrel and drinking songs, and marching tunes.⁵⁰⁴ Each type of imperial music had its own function and intimately served the main goal of maintaining control of the desired narrative through the glorification and reaffirmation of the imperial identity.

Richards notes the belief and pride in empire was steadily ingrained in British society throughout the second half of 19th Century due to the development of the mass market and the commercialised leisure industries which responded to consumer's wishes through their purchases.⁵⁰⁵ The sentiment toward empire was not exclusive to the music of official functions but also became part of popular society. This included popular ballads, composed for the middle-class drawing rooms and the songs of working class music halls, which dominated pop culture in the second half of 19th century London. The music halls produced daily performances of popular songs, ballads and occasional sketches. Regular song themes revolved around love, marriage, work, city life, food and drink, clothes and holidays.⁵⁰⁶ These evoked values of patriotism, comradeship, gender roles and social order with imperial themes an intricate part of the programme.⁵⁰⁷ The middle-class Ballads were dominated by themes of love, loss, dreams, parting,

⁵⁰³ Jeffery Richards, *Imperialism and Music : Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p.6.

⁵⁰⁴ Jeffery Richards, *Imperialism and Music : Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p.166.

⁵⁰⁵ Jeffery Richards, *Imperialism and Music : Britain 1876-1953*, p.343.

⁵⁰⁶ Jeffery Richards, *Imperialism and Music : Britain 1876-1953*, p.324-341.

⁵⁰⁷ Jeffery Richards, *Imperialism and Music : Britain 1876-1953*, p.329.

yearning, separation and memory. These evoked values of motherhood, childhood, romantic love, family life and the countryside with Imperial evocations of the sea, the army, empire and patriotism frequently present.⁵⁰⁸ The BBC Variety department is an extension of these earlier forms of entertainment and capitalised on this beloved entertainment, in remediated forms, for the radio.

Composers of British art song were more reluctant to feature empire as a main theme, instead opting for spiritual, introspective and pastoral sentiments. Imagery commonly associated with Great Britain's imperial maritime identity can still be found within prominent selections of British art song such as Edward Elgar's *Sea Pictures*, Op.37 and Roger Quilter's *Four Songs of the Sea*, Op.1.⁵⁰⁹ The lack of imperial themes may be one reason why Burger did not incorporate many from this genre in his empire potpourri.

The Empire Sings! exhibits a mixture of British anthems, marches, parlour ballads and music hall songs as well as a wide array of seemingly unrelated cultural music from across the world. In order to evaluate whether his potpourri exhibits elements of cultural imperialism, is an example of altruistic imperial propaganda or something else entirely, a survey of the piece's construction has been undertaken. This addresses each imperial geographic area and focuses on its status as a colony, dominion, protectorate or mandate. A brief overview of its association with the British empire is then provided. Finally, Burger's choice and treatment of musical selections used to represent said area is then evaluated.

This not only provides a broad perspective into the various types of music used but also makes it possible to determine any differences into the treatment between the types of settlements.

6.3 ***THE EMPIRE SINGS!* (Songs of the British Empire) – 1938: Creation and Context**

Songs of the British Empire is first referenced in a BBC internal memo by Eric Maschwitz on 28 May 1937. In the memo, he inquires about two potpourri commissions which Burger has already begun working on. The first, 'Picture Gallery', is an extension of the biographic potpourri category and offers profiles of four composers and their music over the course of an hour's potpourri.⁵¹⁰ He continues to inquire about:

⁵⁰⁸ Jeffery Richards, *Imperialism and Music : Britain 1876-1953*, p.342-363.

⁵⁰⁹ Jeffery Richards, *Imperialism and Music : Britain 1876-1953*, p.358.

⁵¹⁰ This work has not been located but the letter details it included profiles on "...Chopin, Liszt, Schubert and Offenbach as the first four, with the idea of accepting a series if the first potpourri was satisfactory." Source: Eric Maschwitz, "Internal memo Re: Julius Bürger", 28 May 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

“A Tour of the Empire” [*The Empire Sings!*], rather along the lines of “*World Tour*”.⁵¹¹

Maschwitz also adds:

Nothing has been done about this except that I believe that the Empire Department have circularised the offices of the various Dominions asking them to supply gramophone records, sheet music, etc. of native music.⁵¹²

This sentence lends evidence to the argument Burger’s indigenous musical inclusions from the British territories weren’t artistic inventions but rather authentic representations of cultural music from across the empire.

A later memo (dated 17 January 1938) also attests to the possibility Burger’s indigenous excerpts in the potpourri derive from authentic sources.⁵¹³ The memo notes Burger has been given several Australian and Jamaican folk tunes, originally transcribed by Australian-English composer Arthur Benjamin, for possible inclusion in the potpourri.⁵¹⁴ Although the titles are not given, both Jamaica and Australia sections include a number of indigenous and colonial folk melodies and further supports the argument of authenticity.

6.3.1 Burger’s Empire of Music

The Empire Sings! did not receive formal approval from Eric Maschwitz until 9 December 1937 - over six months after the initial memo - and was slotted for a 1938 April / June Quarter broadcast.^{515 516}

During the first two months of 1938, Burger continued to arrange smaller works for the corporation. On 4 March 1938, Burger sent a letter which included an outline of the Empire potpourri to his Variety department contact, Stanford Robinson. Burger’s outline and notes provide an overview of the impressive work. The Imperial survey begins in Britain (London) and is delineated by along continental lines. Within each continental area, the piece vacillates between

⁵¹¹ This comment highlights the comparison between earlier geographic potpourri which are cosmopolitan in nature - now reconfigured on nationalist / imperial themes.

⁵¹² Eric Maschwitz, “Internal memo Re: Julius Bürger.” 28 May 1937, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁵¹³ BBC Internal Memo, “Empire Potpourri Programme,” 17 January 1938, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁵¹⁴ Peter J. Pirie, “Arthur (Leslie) Benjamin”, Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 24 June 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02697>

⁵¹⁵ Eric Maschwitz, “Letter to Julius Burger,” 9 December 1937, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁵¹⁶ The letter was sent to yet another hotel (Hotel Royal Versailles), this time in Paris. A survey of BBC archival documents pertaining to Burger show his last correspondence address in Austria was in mid-July 1937. All subsequent correspondence is addressed to locations in France and England until his emigration to the United States in March 1939. Burger was now fully estranged from his native Austria.

the various British territories. Each larger section is then separated by an interpolation of music from one of the British home countries (*i.e.* Scotland, Wales, Ireland and England).⁵¹⁷

After the Introduction in Britain, the piece moves to “America” including Canada (represented by French Canadian, Indian and Cowboy music), Newfoundland, Jamaica, South America (represented by Creole music). The piece then enters its first British Isles interpolation - Scotland. Onto the next continent - Africa. This isn’t clearly defined with countries in the outline but instead represented by music from “Negroes” and “Boers”. The second interpolation is represented by music of Wales. The journey then proceeds toward Asia. The first two territories listed, Gibraltar and Cyprus, are not part of the Asian continent but Burger lists them with the note “*as transition*” to the continent. The Asian section is comprised of music from Palestine (“Jewish and Arabian”), India, Malaya, Pacific Island (not specified) and Hong Kong. The work then progresses to the third interpolation, Ireland, before a making a final excursion to Australia and New Zealand. The piece then returns for the Finale in England.⁵¹⁸

Burger’s outline to Robinson goes on to note the potpourri is delineated by continents as big blocks which are divided by the countries of Great Britain. He also states:

It would be a terrible mistake to jump to and fro and could not even be made tolerable by the speech (*i.e.*, narration). Whereas the natural division by continents is simple and clean and can be understood by everybody.⁵¹⁹

The piece was first premiered on 22 May 1938 at 9:05 PM on the National Service as part of the BBC’s celebration of Empire Day 1938. A second performance was given the following day on the London Regional service at 6PM.⁵²⁰ It was later revived in 1940 for the BBC Home service on 18 February 1940 at 9:15PM as part of their wartime programming. Fortunately, a live broadcast recording was made of this presentation and a digitized copy was provided for research purposes from the Burger Collection held in the Exilarte Archive at MDW in Vienna, Austria.⁵²¹

As in other potpourri — particularly in the geographic category — narration plays a particularly important role by providing context to the various locations and transitions between. Archival

⁵¹⁷ Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson”, 4 March 1938, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁵¹⁸ Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson”, 4 March 1938, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁵¹⁹ Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson”, 4 March 1938, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁵²⁰ *The Empire Sings!* was first premiered on 22 May 1938 at 9:05PM on BBC National Service. It was performed by the BBC Theatre Orchestra and Revue Chorus and conducted by Stanford Robinson. A second performance followed on 23 May 1938 on BBC London Regional Service at 6PM. Source: Contributor, “The Empire Sings!,” *Radio Times*, 22 May 1938, Vol. 59, No. 764. p.18, 28.

⁵²¹ Julius Buerger, “*Songs of the British Empire*,” *Nachlass_1. Bestandsaufnahme (Burger liste)*, Exilarte Zentrum der MDW, Vienna, Austria.

documentation does not provide any particular author. However, its listing in *Radio Times* for the 22 May 1938 premiere identifies BBC Producers Gordon McConnel, Rex Haworth and conductor Charles Grove as collaborators.⁵²² It is likely the narration, in conjunction with Burger, derived from this collaboration. A *Radio Times* listing for the works 1940 revival identifies Dr. Thomas Wood as the author of the narration.⁵²³ It is possible he reworked the narration but there is lack of evidence to definitively ascertain the original author.

6.4 A Journey through the Empire

Burger opens his musical survey of empire with an original overture on organ, accompanied with a brass fanfare performing a variation incorporating thematic elements of ‘Rule, Britannia’ and ‘God Save the King’. This sets an imperialist tone from the onset. The orchestration continues to grow with the addition of strings, woodwinds and percussion before the entrance of the narration.⁵²⁴ The introductory announcement sets the starting point for this epic journey in the British imperial capital of London. It emphasises the enormity of the vastly different terrains, climates and cultural/ethnic demographics which inhabit them. Despite the vast cultural assemblage, this musical survey is packaged as ‘British’ and is metaphorically held together under the Union Jack flag. It was then projected to all corners of the globe through the modern advances of radio technology:

The music you have just heard is going out from the very heart of England. You can think of it sweeping over the roofs and the chimney pots, streaming away west and west towards the sunset — taking the Atlantic in a stride -- three thousand miles of tumbled grey sea.⁵²⁵

The narration then ushers the potpourri into the first section, Canada. This is underscored by the string section performing a variation of Alexander Muir’s (1830-1906) patriotic tune ‘Maple Leaf Forever’ (1867), with interjections of other themes.

6.4.1 Canada

Now it’s in Canada. Its flying past the towers of the Chateau Frontenac at Quebec; its crossing the prairies, that were white with snow at Christmas and soon will be yellow under corn; it has scaled the blue and silver ramparts of the Rockies, its gone down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic coast

⁵²² Contributor, “The Empire Sings!,” *Radio Times*, 20 May 1938, Vol. 59, No.764, p.20, 30, 32.

⁵²³ Contributor, “The Empire Sings!,” *Radio Times*, 16 February 1940, Vol.66, No.855, p.15.

⁵²⁴ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.9.

⁵²⁵ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.9.

where the pack-ice heaves and grinds; its calling at lonely cabins in the Barren lands, on the shores of the Great Bear Lake, up in the Klondike; its heard by Eskimos, and trappers, and prospectors, and Mounties on patrol; and its bringing to you, now, the national song of that great and big-hearted land of Canada : *The Maple Leaf Forever*.⁵²⁶

The narration provides a short overview of the Canadian territories and begins with a section of French-Canadian folk songs used to represent Quebec. These include an instrumental arrangement of 'Lève, ton pied' as well as a rendition of 'Je mai pas d'amant', arranged for soprano soloist and accompaniment.⁵²⁷ The potpourri then segues into the next segment of this Canadian section with a piece titled "Red Indians of British Columbia" arranged for bells, "Indian drum" and baritone/bass vocalists. It is not discernible from the score whether Burger composed this piece or whether it is an authentic native song transcription which was procured by the BBC empire services at the BBC. The sequence includes two themes and is primarily orchestrated for drum, bells and alternates between tenor and bass chorus sections on the lyrics:

Kou-ia ou-a i-ne, Ki-a oua i-ae-ia ia i-ne a a, -l-a a-a-a-a.

The narration for this section presents the native population as almost sub-human:

This is a Red Indian song from British Columbia: as wild and untamed as the jagged crags it lives among.⁵²⁸

The journey continues to move westward with a traditional arrangement of the cowboy song 'Little Old Sod Shanty', performed by tenor/bass chorus. The narration returns with a rich description of the expansive prairies of the Southern Canadian plains, superimposed over strummed guitar and male chorus:

In southern Alberta, from Calgary to the border of Montana, herds of buffalo used to range the prairie. Now they are gone. You see in their place dust-clouds and above them the tossing horns of steers, in their thousands. They are herded by cowboys, who sit their horses as though a high-peaked saddle had been their cradle. But when the days work is done they sing, as lonely men will.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.9.

⁵²⁷ A copy of 'Je mai pas d'amant' can be found in the following collection: Ernest MacMillan, *Vingt-Et-Une Chansons Canadiennes = Twenty-One Folk-Songs of French Canada* (Oakville, Ontario: Frederick Harris Music Co., 1928).

⁵²⁸ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.26.

⁵²⁹ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.32.

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At the conclusion of 'Little Old Sod Shanty', the narration clearly delineates Canada from the next section:

Jamaica: one of the lovely islands of the world, where you can hear music like this.⁵³⁰

The full orchestra then re-enters, supplemented with marimba, rumba sticks, rumba percussion, harp and guitar, to perform the piece 'Kalimba' (i.e. 'The Pepper Pot') as the journey jumps to the Caribbean.⁵³¹

6.4.2 The Caribbean

Although Burger only selected Jamaica to represent the British colonial presence in the Caribbean, the empire also operated colonies in Antigua, Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts, St. Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago. From Jamaica, the potpourri ushers the listener further south indicated by a segment dedicated to Creole folk songs of South America. These have been included to evoke the British colonial presence on the continent. The primary settlements were in the Caribbean and South America and included British Honduras (1862-1981) (comprising of Belize in the Yucatan Peninsula), British Guiana (1814 -1966) and the Falkland Islands (1833 to present).⁵³² The folk pieces are evocative of the diverse terrain and cultural demographics in which these colonies were located.

The first song introduced (marked '*To di Pasodoble*') is 'Si quires a'un hombre, mai que a tu vida' performed by tenor soloist and accompanied by trumpet, castanets, rumba, guitar, accordion, zither, vibraphone and strings.⁵³³ Burger notes this first song as a "Creole Folk song of South America." This is then bridged into a soprano duet performing 'La Perica' accompanied by ensemble and cymbalom. The soloists are later supplemented with soprano/alto chorus at the melody reprise before the piece concludes leaving only the viola and 2nd violin.⁵³⁴

'*La Perica*' bridges into the song 'Vente niña conmingo al mar...' or 'The Havannaise' setting by Pauline Viardot-Garcia (1821-1910). It is sung by a tenor soloist accompanied by orchestra and piano, guitar, accordion, brass, clarinet, rumba and percussion.⁵³⁵ Although this piece references

⁵³⁰ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.37, Figure 23.

⁵³¹ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.37.

⁵³² Nigel Ballard, "Chapter 6 — Belize : Historical Setting," in *Gayana and Belize : A Country Studies*, ed. Tim Merrill (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress Federal Research Division, 1933), p.155-181.

⁵³³ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.41-46.

⁵³⁴ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.47-52.

⁵³⁵ Pauline Viardot-Garcia, trans. Louis Pomey, "Havannaise (variée à 2 voix), No.7 — VVV 1019" in *6 Mélodies et une havannaise variée à 2 voix* (Paris, Heugel et Fils, 1880).

Cuba or “Havana” (briefly controlled by the British between 1762-63), it is in close proximity to Belize. Thus a general reference to the area which includes British association with Jamaica and the Cayman Islands. The Havannaise is sung through by tenor soloist followed by a short instrumental interlude. The soprano/alto chorus then take over the melody with tenor section providing harmony. The final folk melody ‘Ay Morena...’ is performed by two soprano soloists, solo tenor and full orchestra, concluding the Creole section. The potpourri continues with a return to the British Isles for the first Interpolation - Scotland.⁵³⁶

6.4.3 Interpolation One: Scotland

The narration returns, spoken over solo violin playing the traditional Scottish tune ‘Colonel Ian Campbell of Airds’ by John McLellan (1875-1949):

Back across the Atlantic, from warm and drowsy upland of Jamaica to the glens of Scotland. The Scots have wandered to the world’s end; but one skirl of the pipes will bring back to their eyes the mists and the heather, the lochs and the peaty burns, the shipyards on the Clyde and the tartans of the clans. ‘Bonnie Scotland’.⁵³⁷

Notes in the potpourri score’s margin suggest Burger intended for a bagpiper to perform the section’s opening tune and if not possible, he also scored a part for oboe soloist with the addition of a bassoon to simulate the drone.⁵³⁸ It is uncertain if there was a piper in the original broadcast. However, an archival recording from 1940 does include a piper. As the piece concludes, the string section enters with an arrangement of the folk tune ‘Speed the Plough’ before jumping into ‘The Piper O’Dundee’, performed by tenor soloist and accompanied by a piper-like drone by the oboe, bassoon and horns.^{539 540} At the arrangement’s conclusion, the string section segues into a rendition of ‘Cock O’ the North’.⁵⁴¹ The title alludes to Alexander Gordon, 4th Duke of Gordon whose nickname was used as the piece’s title.⁵⁴² The tune is first present in the woodwinds before it is handed back to the string section, supplemented with oboe, bassoon and horns.

⁵³⁶ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.66.

⁵³⁷ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.66.

⁵³⁸ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.67-72.

⁵³⁹ ‘*Speed the Plough*’ was collected by Cecil Sharp from fiddler John Locke in Herefordshire, England 1909 but originally called ‘*The Naval Pillar*’ (1799) by John Moorehead to commemorate Nelson’s Victory at the Battle of the Nile. Sources: Andrew Kuntz, “Speed the Plow,” *Fiddler Magazine*, Fall 2003, vol. 10, No. 3. ; Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.72-75.

⁵⁴⁰ Unknown, *Jacobite Minstrelsy*; with notes illustrative of the text, and containing historical details in relation to the House of Stuart from 1640-1784 (Glasgow: Richard Griffen and Co, 1829), p.117.

⁵⁴¹ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.79.

⁵⁴² The tune is also synonymous the Gordon Highlanders which he formed as the 92nd Regiment of Foot in 1794. The tune is traced to the 17th Century and has been known under several titles including ‘*Auntie*

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Despite its status as a home territory, Scotland has had its own historic conflicts against Anglo expansionism since its establishment as a kingdom in 843 A.D. During the Medieval period, it was treated like a feudal territory to England but maintained relative autonomy. The kingdom fought against English influence in two wars of independence in the late 13th and mid 14th centuries (First War of Independence- 1296-1328; Second War of Independence- 1332-1357) but by the 17th Century, the accession of James VI, King of Scots to the English and Irish thrones led to unification under a single monarch. Scotland's failed attempt to establish the colony of New Caledonia (1698-1700) under the Darien Scheme left the economy bankrupt. This was a major contributor to the 1707 Treaty of the Union which officially joined the kingdom with England, Wales and Ireland to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain.⁵⁴³

Despite this relatively peaceful union between kingdoms, two substantial rebellions ensued between the Scottish supporters of the exiled House of Stuart and English forces (1st Jacobite Uprising 1715; 2nd Jacobite Uprising 1745-46). After both rebellions were suppressed, the British government enacted legislation in an attempt to end future acts of defiance. One such act, the Disarming Act of 1746, focused on the Jacobite clans of the Scottish Highlands. It was an act of cultural suppression and banned the use of traditional garb such as the tartan, kilt and the use of bagpipes. Harsh punishment was set for breach of this law including six months in prison for first offence and transportation to a penal colony for seven years for a second. Equally, anti-Scottish movements in education focused on the removal of Gaelic as the primary language and instead promoted its replacement with English.⁵⁴⁴

Although the act was repealed in 1782, the combination of these policies and plantation practices in Ireland contributed to the prototypical approach which the British Empire used to structure future colonies on a global scale.⁵⁴⁵ Romanticisation in late 18th century British culture eventually led to acculturation of Scottish culture as Scotland began to benefit from playing an active role in the expansion of the burgeoning British Empire.⁵⁴⁶

Mary' (Ireland and Newfoundland), *'Joan's Placket is Torn'* (England), *'Jumping John'* (England, Scotland and Canada). Source: Andrew Kuntz, " 'Cock O' the North'," in *The Fiddler's Companion*, section CO-COLL, 1996-2010, accessed 31 March 2021, URL: www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/CO_COLL.htm

⁵⁴³ Editor, "Timeline - History of Scotland's Bids for Independence," *Reuters*, February 4, 2014, Accessed 14 March 2021, URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-scotland-independence-history-idUKBREA131C120140204>

⁵⁴⁴ Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1989), p.4.

⁵⁴⁵ Silke Stroh, "The Modern Nation State and its others : Civilising Missions at Home and Abroad, 1600-1800," in *Scotland in the Colonial Imagination: Anglophone writing from 1600 to 1900* (Illinois : Northwestern University Press, 2017), p.67.

⁵⁴⁶ See also: Richard Finlay, "National Identity, Union, and Empire, c.1850 – c.1970," in *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. John M. MacKenzie, T.M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.286-316.

6.4.4 Africa

The Empire Sings! next segues to the African continent with a string arrangement of ‘the Sunny Hills of Africa’, a musical setting of H. Hartwell’s 1887 poem, as the narration exclaims :

Now South : over the straits and far away to the sunny hills of Africa. You can see the shape of these hills as you listen to the rise and fall of this tune.⁵⁴⁷

The incorporation of this Anglocentric piece, also known as the South African National Song, reveals this section’s starting point in the southern tip of the continent.⁵⁴⁸

A major issue posed with discerning the origins of music in the African section stems from imperial influences exerted on the continent between the 17th and 20th Centuries. Borders were previously established by the indigenous inhabitants into various tribal territories with their own customs, music and languages. However, this balance was disrupted through centuries of imperial colonisation in which borders were drawn and redrawn through colonial expansion and conflict. A single cultural demographic could potentially find itself divided, living in separate countries under the control of different European nations. This makes the derivation of cultural pieces difficult to pinpoint geographically.

Upon the end of the first verse of the National song, the narration returns:

But the whole continent of Africa is not as suave and gentle as that. They used to call it the Dark Continent, here is that continent at its darkest.⁵⁴⁹

This commentary speaks directly to the image of empire which the BBC was promoting in the lead to the Second World War. This altruistic narrative promotes British territories as exotic, wild lands formerly inhabited by savages who have now benevolently been subjugated by the British in order to bring civilised order, commerce and scientific advancement to these inhabitants.

The second piece in this section opens as a call and response among the sections of the orchestra on a theme meant to evoke the Ashanti peoples, located in present day Ghana.⁵⁵⁰ Despite the BBC’s overarching imperial narrative, the gold rich Ashanti Empire was a wealthy and functioning society before British domination. The Ashanti fought four wars against the British in resistance to

⁵⁴⁷ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.83.

⁵⁴⁸ James Duff Brown, arr. by Alfred Moffat, ‘The Sunny Hills of Africa,’ in *Characteristic Songs and Dances of All Nations* (London: Bayley and Ferguson Publishing, 1901), p.230.

⁵⁴⁹ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.84.

⁵⁵⁰ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.85.

colonisation between 1823 and 1896.⁵⁵¹ It is unclear whether the Ashanti musical inclusion was part of the Empire office's recording/transcriptions collection efforts or if the thematic material was from Burger's own imagination. As the Ashanti excerpt fades, only timpani remains and begins a 'war drum' call and response segment titled "African Telegraph" as the narration returns:

Here are the war drums, that sent news across the gorges and through the stemming forest :
good news, bad news, passed on from tribe to tribe : here are the drums that sent out warning or
defiance in the Darkest Days of the Dark Continent. here is the earliest telegraph man has ever
known.⁵⁵²

The inclusion of this form of communication alludes to the tribes of Western Africa, who commonly used drums to communicate.⁵⁵³ The African section isn't overly precise in its use of folk music synonymous with specific British colonies. It instead samples general cultural music from tribes which span the continent. The drumming segment is followed by the Bantu folk song 'Mumba muse Katubi', performed by a soprano solist and accompanied by harp, banjo, guitar and zither.⁵⁵⁴ While the song is discernible from its title in the manuscript score, where Burger sourced the material from is not. The Bantu people comprise of several hundred indigenous ethnic groups which are spread over the central portion of the continent between the African Great Lakes and the Southern African horn.⁵⁵⁵ Burger's incorporation of the song is likely a reference to the Bantus located within the British territories in central to Southern Africa including parts of modern-day Botswana, Cameroon, Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The Bantu song is bridged by an arrangement for brass ensemble into the segment labelled "Ewe Negroes - Togo", scored for orchestral ensemble. Similar to previous segments the Africa section, it is not discernable whether this arrangement is derived from a transcription of authentic cultural music, arranged by Burger from material collected by the Empire office or whether the music inclusion is an original invention by Burger. The British colony of Togoland (1922-1957) is the next stop.

⁵⁵¹ See: Alan Lloyd, *The Drums of Kumasi : the story of the Ashanti Wars* (London: Longmans publishing, London, 1964), p.39-53, 83, 88-102, 172-175, 162-176. ; Harold E. Raugh, *The Victorians at War, 1815-1914 : An Encyclopaedia of British Military History* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO Publishing, 2004), p.15-16, 30, 36-37.

⁵⁵² Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.87.

⁵⁵³ George Herzog, *Drum Signaling in a West Africa Tribe*, WORD 1:3, 1945, p.217-238, Accessed via Taylor Francis Online, published 04 Dec 2015, accessed 21 April 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1945.11659257>

⁵⁵⁴ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.89-91.

⁵⁵⁵ John J. Butt, *The Greenwood Dictionary of World History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005), p.39.

Togoland is located near present day Ghana. The country was first claimed as a protectorate by Germany in 1884 and established as a “model colony” primarily focused on agricultural production and later, phosphate mining. However, the German colonial administration and judicial systems were punitively harsh and, despite some success with agricultural exports, minimal infrastructural developments, combined with excessive taxation and forced labour limited the colony’s prospects.⁵⁵⁶ The colonial territory was occupied by French and British forces in World War One after its concession by the German government as part of the Versailles Treaty in 1919. The territory was then divided between occupational forces under the League of Nations mandate system. The western portion was administered by the British and became part of independent Ghana in 1957.⁵⁵⁷ One prominent example Imperialism’s cultural influence is apparent in the changes to Ewe religious practices. Approximately 50% of Ewe are now Christians or combine Christianity with traditional practices of Vodun (Voodoo).⁵⁵⁸

As the Ewe arrangement concludes, the narration returns imposed over a baritone soloist performing an a capella rendition of the Zulu war song ‘Igama Indhlela’.⁵⁵⁹

And a war song of the Zulus - warrior to a man.⁵⁶⁰

Burger’s authentic inclusion utilises a transliterated version of the native Bantu language used by the Zulu tribe. The song ‘Igama Indhlela’ had dual uses as a warrior pledge of loyalty to the tribal king while also serving as battle song which would have been performed before an engagement. Burger utilised the first verse of this piece and scored it for baritone soloist with timpani interjections. According to author Natalie Curtis (later Burlin) in her 1920 collection *Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent*, this piece is difficult to convert into western musical notation as it should be:

“...declaimed with the greatest possible freedom, like an extemporisation, full of excitement and passion.”⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁶ Dennis Laumann, “A Historiography of German Togoland, or The Rise and Fall of a “Model Colony,” in *History in Africa*, 30, (2003), p. 195-211.

⁵⁵⁷ Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Togoland," Encyclopaedia Britannica, August 1, 2020, accessed 15 December 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Togoland>

⁵⁵⁸ John A Sharp, *Ethnic Groups of Africa and the Middle East : An Encyclopaedia* (Santa Barbara: ABE-CLIO Publishers, 2011), p.89-91.

⁵⁵⁹ An alternate spelling ‘*igama le ‘Mpi*’ translates into ‘*Song of War*’ in Zulu. Source : Natalie Curtis, *Songs and tales from the dark continent : The Authoritative 1920 classic, recorded from the singing and saying os C. Kanba Simango and Madikane Čele* (Boston: G. Schirmer Publishing, 1920), p.57-66.

⁵⁶⁰ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.93.

⁵⁶¹ Natalie Curtis, *Songs and tales from the dark continent : The Authoritative 1920 classic, recorded from the singing and saying os C. Kanba Simango and Madikane Čele* (Boston: G. Schirmer Publishing, 1920), p.65.

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Immediately following the conclusion of the verse, an ensemble of flute, banjo, and first violin form a short bridge under the narration:

“But even Zulu warriors used to lay aside their shields and assigns in order to dance and enjoy themselves. Listen to them doing so...”⁵⁶²

This segues into a Zulu dance song, scored for the BBC chorus, who sing while providing rhythmic handclaps and foot stomps. After several pages, two separate groups comprised of soprano / alto and tenor / bass chorus sections perform different verses of the song simultaneously. Burger’s imaginative arrangement and orchestration, from an occidental perspective, conveys the piece utilizing the instrumental sections including flute, banjo, marimba, viola and the curious addition of a percussive “empty biscuit tin.”⁵⁶³ The viola and flute sections later join to bring the Zulu section to a close.

The narration again returns, making a clear delineation between native cultural music and the imperial Anglocentric:

“That is the black man’s Africa – Here is the white man’s Africa. It is a traditional song that takes for its theme three out of four subjects that all traditional songs deal with; and they are, homesickness, food and the Only Girl in the World.”⁵⁶⁴

One year before composing *The Empire Sings!*, Burger had utilised a subject theme focused on South Africa in the mini potpourri titled *Boer War Songs*. However, this work only offered popular Anglocentric and American tunes of the period to evoke the Second Anglo Boer War. *The Empire Sings!* presented another opportunity to revisit South Africa’s rich cultural music from a different perspective. Burger did so by utilising indigenous music from the dominant tribes as well as folk songs from the Boer population. He commenced this Eurocentric South African section with the Boer folksong, ‘Sarie Marais’. Burger utilised the first verse and refrain of this song, scored for tenor soloist, harp and solo viola.⁵⁶⁵ The soloist is then joined by a tenor/bass chorus in 3 part a capella harmony.

This piece is just one of the multiple examples of cultural transfer throughout Burger’s large eclectic work. For example, while ‘Sarie Marais’ is synonymous with South African Boer culture, its

⁵⁶² Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.98.

⁵⁶³ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.100-108.

⁵⁶⁴ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.109.

⁵⁶⁵ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.109-119.

origins are unclear. Evidence suggests it could have its origins in the First or Second Boer Wars. Equally, it could be derived from the American Civil War tune of 'Carry me back to Tennessee' or the song 'Ellie Rhee' written by American composer Septimus Winners (1827-1902).⁵⁶⁶ Winner's piece was later rewritten into Afrikaans by poet Jacobus Petrus Toerin (1859-1930), where its contact could have served as a potential source material for 'Sarie Marais'. Regardless of the song's origins, it was commonly known among soldiers of both sides of the 2nd Boer War and was later adopted by the UK commandoes in 1953 as their official march.⁵⁶⁷ The lyrics are associated with Afrikaner nationalism and critical of British economic and cultural imperialism, making its embrace by British military forces slightly peculiar. As the arrangement comes to a close, the flutes, trumpets and violins bridge into the second British Isles interpolation, utilising the melody of the Welsh marching tune 'Men of Harlech'.

6.4.5 Interpolation Two: Wales

Here is Wales: the land of bards and singers and fiery hearts; the home of warriors who marched to the tune of 'Men of Harlech'.⁵⁶⁸

Burger introduces the melody of this piece with a brass fanfare and then weaves it into an impressive fugal arrangement, supplemented by woodwinds, strings, timpani and harp. The lyrics for the traditional folk song 'Men of Harlech' or 'Ryfelgyrch Gwŷr Harlech' refer to the 7-year siege of Harlech Castle (1461-1468). The location was a frequent site of conflict from the late 13th century to the English Civil War in the 17th Century. Most notably, the castle was seized in 1404 by Welsh forces, led by national hero Owain Glyndŵr. It was reclaimed by Henry Vth's forces in 1409.⁵⁶⁹ The piece itself was first printed in the second edition of Welsh harpist Edward Jones's (1752-1824) collection of traditional songs titled *Poetical Relic of the Welsh Bards* under the title 'Gorhoffedd Gwŷr Harlech'.⁵⁷⁰ It also appears in several subsequent collections throughout the

⁵⁶⁶ Charlie Els, "Sarie Marais," The Geneological Society of South Africa, Genza.org.za., September 2013, Accessed 27 January, 2022, URL: <https://genza.org.za/index.php/en/stories46612/617-sarie-marais>

⁵⁶⁷ Charlie Els, "Sarie Marais," The Geneological Society of South Africa, Genza.org.za., September 2013, Accessed 27 January, 2022, URL: <https://genza.org.za/index.php/en/stories46612/617-sarie-marais>

⁵⁶⁸ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.118.

⁵⁶⁹ Mark Cartwright, "Harlech Castle," World History Encyclopaedia, 28 November 2019, Accessed 22 January 2021, URL: https://www.worldhistory.org/Harlech_Castle/

⁵⁷⁰ Edward Jones, *Poetical Relic of the Welsh Bards* (London: 9 Prince St. Hanover Square, 1794), p. 124.

19th Century.⁵⁷¹ By the early 1930s, the tune was an important part of the national fabric of Welsh cultural identity and is rooted in the Celtic people's language predating the 6th Century.⁵⁷²

Similar to other cultures in *The Empire Sings!*, like the Boers and Zulus of South Africa, the Welsh people were also collectively subjugated by English Imperialism- albeit several centuries before the 19th Century imperial exploits. In this case, the Welsh were subjected to centuries of cultural imperialism in a concerted effort to eliminate the Celtic people's traditions and language.

One of the first documented cases is detailed in the *Laws in Wales Act* (1535 & 1542) enacted under the crown of Henry VIII. The first section of this codex abolished the Welsh legal system and Lordships, mandated English as the official language and prohibited native Welsh speakers from being appointed or holding any public office - effectively securing a ruling class of landed gentry for generations.⁵⁷³ Although the Welsh language was not officially banned from schools, it was roundly discouraged from being spoken under threat of punishment from the mid 19th century onward. This was first detailed in the three-volume public inquire from 1847, conducted by the British government titled *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales*. The inquiry, written by English monoglots, was scathing in its view of the Welsh people, their nonconformity to Anglocentric norms and their continued use of the Welsh language. The "Blue Books" were a catalyst for greater nonconformist involvement in politics and instigated a slow awakening of nationalist sentiments among the Welsh.

Wales has long been part of the foundational fabric of the United Kingdom after it was incorporated in the Acts of Union of 1707. Despite this long association, it still possesses a distinct cultural demographic with their own language, cultural parties and customs. Wales, Scotland and Ireland (which became the colonial archetype for future imperial expansion) were the first in a long line of lands subjected to cultural imperialism. As the British Empire began to dissolve at an increased speed after the Second World War, these countries were among the last to gain devolved powers of partial self-government.⁵⁷⁴ The enduring side effects of cultural imperialism in

⁵⁷¹ The song was later featured in two films. The first was the 1941 John Ford film *How Green was my Valley* set in a fictional village and coal fields of South Wales; the second was the 1964 film *Zulu* which depicts the 1879 Battle of Rorke's Drift of the Anglo-Zulu War. Both films are set in the Victorian era at the Height of British Imperialism. Sources: "How Green Was My Valley (1941) – IMDb," n.d., [Www.imdb.com](http://www.imdb.com), Accessed 30 January 2021, URL: <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0033729/soundtrack/>; Amy Sargeant and Claire Monk, *British Historical Cinema* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2015), p.125.

⁵⁷² Janet Davis, "Origins of Welsh," in *The Welsh Language : A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 15 January 2014), p.1-14.

⁵⁷³ "Law in Wales Act 1535," *An Acte for Laws & Justice to be ministred in Wales in like fourme as it is in this Realme* (27 Henry VIII c. 26), "Laws in Wales Act", 1535 (Dalcassian Publishing Company, 2019).

⁵⁷⁴ Wales and Scotland both held plebiscite referendums in September 1997 and Northern Ireland which led to the Parliament passing the Government of Wales, Government of Scotland and the Government of Northern Ireland Acts in 1998. These also led to the respective countries establishing their own legislative bodies -National Assembly of Wales, the Scottish Parliament and the Northern Ireland Assembly - although the British Parliament remains sovereign. Source: Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities,

Wales, particularly the suppression of the native language, continue to be a contentious issue in modern British politics.

6.4.6 Gibraltar

The potpourri transitions from the second British Isles interpolation on an excursion to Asia. The first segment visits the imperial territory of Gibraltar. The small territory is a valuable strategic possession, situated overlooking the narrow strait of Gibraltar on the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula. This doorway to the Mediterranean has been controlled by many imposing powers such as the Moors (711-1309; 1333-1462), Castilian and Spanish (1462-1704). Following the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), fought between many of the major powers of Europe, Gibraltar was seceded to the British under the *Treaty of Utrecht* (1713) and joined the growing collection of colonies under the British crown.⁵⁷⁵ The use of the territory as a trading port and the succession of diverse rulers over the centuries, particularly under British rule, have defined Gibraltar's identity through economic, political, religious and cultural factors. For example, while the Roman Catholic faith is dominant in the surrounding Spanish controlled territory, the Anglican Church exerts some influence within Gibraltar itself. Equally, English was imposed as the language of authority instead of the native Spanish language and this has contributed to the establishment of a largely bilingual population. The formal education system has also been a powerful sphere of influence and is modelled on the British system.⁵⁷⁶ This segment's narration paints a beautiful image of the territory:

Have you ever seen Gibraltar at dawn when the rock flushes pink in the sun, and the smoke goes up from the great ships anchored off the Mole, and the Atlas Mountains shimmer through the haze across the straits and come alive, range after range? Here's Gibraltar but washed in southern light and tinkling with southern mule – bells; and here's a Malaguena of southern Spain, which you can hear as you climb the terraces, at night under the Southern Stars.⁵⁷⁷

"Devolution of powers to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland," UK Government Website, 18 February 2013, URL: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/devolution-of-powers-to-scotland-wales-and-northern-ireland#:~:text=In%20September%201997%2C%20referendums%20were,a%20referendum%20in%20May%201998>

⁵⁷⁵ See: Benno Teschke, "Capitalism, British Grand Strategy, and the Peace Treaty of Utrecht: Towards a Historical Sociology of War- and Peace-making in the Construction of International Order," in *The Justification of War and International Order: From Past to Present*, ed. Lothar Brock and Hendrik Simon (Oxford: 2021; online edn, Oxford Academic, 22 Apr. 2021), Accessed 1 September 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198865308.003.0006>

⁵⁷⁶ Edward G. Archer, *Gibraltar, identity and imperialism: a study of an evolving Gibraltarian community* (Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, 2002), accessed 28 January 2022, URL: <https://stax.strath.ac.uk/concern/theses/fg977t883>

⁵⁷⁷ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.131.

The section's opening theme evokes the flamenco style piece the 'Malaguena', which shares many similarities with the 'Fandango'.⁵⁷⁸ It derives from nearby Málaga, Spain and is scored for woodwinds, castanets, tambourine, mandolin, guitar, mandola, harp and strings. Burger's rousing arrangement of the 'Malaguena' morphs into an arrangement of the Spanish folk song 'Quien fuera clavito de Oro'. It is sung in Spanish by a tenor soloist and accompanied by guitar, mandolin, mandola and strings. The second inclusion likely derives from the village of La Garganta in Spain's Extremadura region, although it is not known where Burger sourced this material.⁵⁷⁹ One of the earliest publications of this piece stems from the 1941 Kurt Schindler collection *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal: Música Y Poesía Popular de España Y Portugal*. Schindler's work, in Spanish and English, was published three years after Burger's setting in *The Empire Sings!*.⁵⁸⁰

One might think the islands of Malta, a crown colony at the time, would be next on this survey of empire but it is curiously left out.⁵⁸¹ While the island nation was a strategic military base for the British, particularly during the Second World War, it is possible Burger decided instead to concentrate the potpourri on the diverse cultures of the British colonies and commonwealth while attempting to avoid focus on the military forces of the empire. This aligns with the policy adopted by the BBC's governing body prior to the outbreak of the Second World War.⁵⁸² By framing the colonies and dominions as a brotherhood which mutually benefited from membership in the empire, the BBC's propaganda set to affirmed crown allegiance. This was most likely done in the hope British subjects would come to defend the empire in the event of a war with Axis powers. Instead of a visit to Malta, *The Empire Sings!* proceeds onto another Mediterranean island nation — Cyprus.

6.4.7 Cyprus

Cyprus: an island set in Mediterranean blue and warm in the Mediterranean sun. At dusk, when the leaves of the casuarina trees move in the sea-wind, you can hear this old Greek lullaby coming from a peasant's hut.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁸ Craig H. Russell, "Malagueña," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 18 January 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17519>

⁵⁷⁹ Gonzalez Nuñez, "El Candil en el Folklore Y Habla Popular de Extremadura," *Revisita de Folklore, Folklore Magazine*, 1986, Vol.6a, No.65, p.14-19. Accessed via *Biblioteca Virtual: Miguel de Cervantes Website* - 19 January 2021, URL: <https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/revista-de-folklore-288/>

⁵⁸⁰ Kurt Schindler, *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal : Música y poesía popular de España y Portugal* (New York: The Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1941).

⁵⁸¹ Malta was a colony of Great Britain from 1813 until its status as an independent commonwealth state in 1964. It later became a Republic in 1974. Source: Salvino Busuttill and Lino Briguglio, "Malta," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 26 July 1999, Accessed 27 January 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Malta>

⁵⁸² Thomas Hajkowski, "From the war to Westminster Abbey: the BBC and the empire, 1939-53," in *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p.52.

⁵⁸³ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.151.

The narration refers to the Greek lullaby “Αιντε κοιμήσου κόρη μου’ or ‘Go to Sleep my little Daughter’, arranged for soprano soloist and pianissimo strings. Upon its conclusion, the narration introduces a second dominant demographic of Cyprus with a section titled “Turkish Dance Music.” Burger scored this inclusion for tambourine, drum, harp, guitar, mandolin, zither and solo violin. The Cyprus segment then finishes with a third unidentified piece performed by tenor soloist and ensemble.

These three pieces are representative of the two major demographics present on the small island — comprising of those who claim Greek and Turkish lineage. Each has distinct cultural traditions and both have populated the island for centuries. The British gained control of the territory in 1878 in the Cyprus Convention agreement with the Ottoman Empire and was officially annexed by the British in 1914, becoming a colony eleven years later.⁵⁸⁴ The territory served as a strategic position in the Mediterranean in order to solidify control over the Suez Canal, trade routes to India as well as a location for a naval base. Between Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus, the British had effective control over much of the Mediterranean.⁵⁸⁵ Equally, Cyprus served as a strategic naval launch site against Russia as well as a modern launching pad for air force campaigns in the Middle East.⁵⁸⁶

The British claimed the colonisation was part of a civilising mission for humanistic reasons - to promote culture and improve social conditions in line with the premise of ‘enlightened’ imperialism. However, the British imposed high taxes and instituted educational policies similar to those imposed in Wales in the mid 19th century which mandated English in the curriculum (1935). Other oppressive laws included an eventual ban on Greek paraphernalia as well as the instruction of Greek history as separate from the regular history curriculum.⁵⁸⁷ This led to clashes with the British authorities and effectively split the local demographics along cultural lines between Greek, Cypriot and a demographic which were viewed as British subjects who happened to speak Greek. These policies made ‘divide and conquer’ an effective governing tool for the British.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁴ Sophia Argyriou, “The Imperialistic Foundations of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus,” *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 30 No.1 (Cyprus: University of Nicosia, Spring 2018) p.297-316, Accessed 18 January 2021, URL: <https://cyprusreview.org/index.php/cr/article/view/554>

⁵⁸⁵ Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017). ; Iliia Xypolia, *British Imperialism and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus, 1923-1939: Divide, Define and Rule* (Abingdon: Routledge Press, 2018).

⁵⁸⁶ Nick Clark, “How British imperialism Split Cypress,” *Socialist Worker*, No. 2725, 4 October 2020, accessed 27 April 2021, URL: <https://socialistworker.co.uk/features/how-british-imperialism-split-cyprus/>

⁵⁸⁷ Sophia Argyriou, “The Imperialistic Foundations of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus,” p.310.

⁵⁸⁸ Sophia Argyriou, “The Imperialist Foundations of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus,” p.312.

6.4.8 Palestine

Immediately following the tenor's Turkish serenade, the narration returns imposed over a short musical introduction of woodwind, brass and strings:

Palestine: There is the Jewish national song.⁵⁸⁹

Ottoman controlled Palestine was occupied by British forces in the final days of the First World War. It later passed into British mandate, along with the southern provinces in Syrian region, as a result of the April 1920 Peace Conference in held San Remo, Italy. By July 1922 the Council of the League of Nations approved the mandate instrument for Palestine and the territory would remain under British control until the mandate was terminated on 15 May 1948.⁵⁹⁰ As in Cyprus, two major ethnic demographics existed in the territory – the Arabian and Jewish peoples. British authorities sided largely with the Zionist camps over Arabs but tempered their position by emphasising in a June 1922 White Paper declaring Great Britain:

...did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine.⁵⁹¹

This was the beginning of a modern-day dispute which exists still - largely on the basis of land rights and immigration. The latter became a major issue after the Nazis seized control over the German government in 1933. The same year, Jewish immigration to Palestine saw a rise of up to thirty thousand people. The following year this estimate rose to forty-two thousand and in 1935, roughly sixty-one thousand Jews relocated to the country.

The musical inclusion, "Jewish National Song", referred to in the narration is a 1887-88 musical setting by Samuel Cohen (1870-1940) of poet Naftali Herz Imer's (1856-1909) 1878 poem 'Hatikvah'. The main musical theme of this piece shares many similarities to other works such as the second movement 'Vltava' ('Die Moldau') of Bedřich Smetana's symphonic tone poems in *Má vlast*, JB 1:112/2 (1874). Other research points to the origins of this theme as deriving from a Scandinavian folk song.⁵⁹² Still further evidence points to the possibility the melody is derived

⁵⁸⁹ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p. 164.

⁵⁹⁰ Faris, Nabih Amin , Albright, William Foxwell , Khalidi, Walid Ahmed , Khalidi, Rashid Ismail , Bickerton, Ian J. , Fraser, Peter Marshall , Jones, Arnold Hugh Martin , Kenyon, Kathleen Mary , Brice, William Charles and Bugh, Glenn Richard, 'Palestine: From 1900 – 1948,' Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019, Accessed 13 August 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Palestine>

⁵⁹¹ Editors, "Palestine: From 1900-1948 - World War One and After," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13 Aug. 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Palestine>

⁵⁹² The text of the Hatikvah was written originally as a poem 'Tikvatenu' by Naftali Herz Imer in 1878 and was published in his first book of poems titled *Barkai* or 'The Shining Morning Star' in Jerusalem (1886). The following year Palestinian emigrant Samuel (Shmuel) Cohen set the text to the popular Moldovian-Romanian folk tune 'Carul cu boi' (Wagon and Oxen). Sources: Edwin Seroussi, "Hatikva : Conceptions, Receptions and Reflections," Yuval-Studies of the Hewish Music Research Centre, Hewish Music Research Centre (JMRC),

from 16th or 17th Century Italy with variations spreading in folk tunes throughout central Europe. The melody also makes an appearance in Saint Saën's *Rhapsodie-Bretonne*.⁵⁹³

While the 'Hatikvah' had been popular and sung at the Zionist Congress since 1901, Burger's inclusion of this piece comes five years after its adoption by the congress. However, it was not adopted as the official national anthem until 2004 despite serving as the unofficial anthem of Jewish Palestine from conclusion of the First World War until 1947. Burger utilises the first and second verses for his a capella chorus arrangement.

The lyrics represent the undying hope of the Jewish people to return to their ancestral homeland from exile. The original diaspora was historically instigated in 70 C.E. by Roman Emperor Titus in the destruction of Jerusalem. While there is little documented evidence of Burger's active participation in Jewish religious practices or in his views of the Zionist movement, it is possible he identified with the diasporic sentiments expressed in Imer's lyrics as he worked on *The Empire Sings!* from a transient exile in France.

'Hatikvah' Lyrics
<i>Verse 1: "As long as in the heart within</i>
<i>The soul of a Jew still yearns,</i>
<i>And onward, towards the ends of the east,</i>
<i>An eye still gazes toward Zion;</i>
<i>Verse 2: Our hope is not yet lost,</i>
<i>The hope of two thousand years</i>
<i>To be a free nation in our land,</i>
<i>The land of Zion and Jerusalem."</i>

Table 6.1 'Hatikvah' Lyrics

By the time of the potpourri's completion, Austria had already been annexed by Nazi Germany. This created a second exile for Burger after first being forced to leave Berlin in 1933. Now he was also exiled from his native Austria. 'Hatikvah's' inclusion to *The Empire Sings!*, from innumerable possible choices, makes a poignant statement on Burger's part. It also wouldn't be the last time

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, IX, <http://www.jewish-music.huji.ac.il/yuval/22482>

⁵⁹³ Neil w. Levin, "linear notes for 'Hatikvah' (1947)", Vol.8 : Sing unto Zion, from album *In Celebration of Israel Milken Archive of American Jewish Music*, Kurt Weill, Barcelona Symphony/National Orchestra of Catalonia, cond. Karl Anton Rickenbacher, Naxos Records American Classics, 2006, Accessed 29 April 2021, URL: www.milkenarchive.org/music/volumes/view/sing-unto-zion/work/hatikva

an émigré would arrange the work. German composer Kurt Weill (1900-1950) also arranged the work for orchestra and premiered his version with the Boston Symphony on 25 November 1947 at New York City's Waldorf Astoria Hotel.⁵⁹⁴

At the conclusion of the 'Hatikvah', the Palestine section jumps into an arrangement listed in the score as simply "Arabian Dance" in representation of the other major demographic of the territory. The piece is arranged for tambourine, ancient cymbals, triangle, zither, guitar, mandolin with additional solos on the violin, cello, flutes and oboe.⁵⁹⁵ Little evidence is available to definitively identify whether this is derived from material provided to the BBC from the Empire office or if this is an original piece by Burger. Considering the pace at which this potpourri was created, the latter is more likely. This is further evidence of Burger's 'benevolent empire' approach as he largely provides equal representation of the major demographics of each colony or territory.

6.4.9 India

The imperial tour next enters firmly into the Asian continent, travelling over three thousand miles to the Madras Presidency of British India (modern day state of Tamil Nadu) located in Southern India. Madras was founded under the English (later British) East India Company in 1639. The narration provides some perspective of the next location:

From Palestine to Southern India, where the Tamils live. They are the brown skinned, placid people who cross over to Cylon to work in the tea plantations; and the tea leaves in your breakfast teapot this morning were probably picked by some Tamil woman, dressed in vivid red or orange, who carried all her wealth in the shape of bracelets on her arms. That is the custom of the Tamils; this is their music.⁵⁹⁶

The narration points to the "Indian Tamils" from Sri Lanka who were brought in the 19th and 20th centuries to work in the tea estates of southern India. They were regarded as foreigners by other ethnic groups and formed a separate caste system apart from the Cylon natives.⁵⁹⁷ It is likely the musical inspiration for this inclusion stems from the classical music of the region including

⁵⁹⁴ Neil w. Levin, "linear notes for 'Hatikvah' (1947)," Vol.8 : Sing unto Zion, from album *In Celebration of Israel Milken Archive of American Jewish Music*, Kurt Weill, Barcelona Symphony/National Orchestra of Catalonia, cond. Karl Anton Rickenbacher, Naxos Records American Classics, 2006, Accessed 29 April 2021, URL: www.milkenarchive.org/music/volumes/view/sing-unto-zion/work/hatikva

⁵⁹⁵ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p. 167-174.

⁵⁹⁶ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.175.

⁵⁹⁷ T. Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Tamil," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13 December 2017, Accessed 20 April 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Tamil>

Carnatic form (*Karnāṭaka saṃgīta*) which is common in Southern India states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Telangana, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka.⁵⁹⁸ In keeping with the timeframe of British rule of India, it is possible Burger utilised thematic material from one of the many thousands of works by more contemporary Indian saint composers of the 18th and 19th centuries. This period, better known as the “Trinity of Carnatic Music”, includes the composers Tyagaraja (1767-1847), Muthuswami Dikshitar (1755-1835) and Shyama Shastri (1762-1827). Selections of their works remain popular in the region today.⁵⁹⁹

Burger dedicates over seventeen pages to this segment in which he weaves a complex tapestry, arranged in three subsections while drawing on flutes, woodwinds, zither, banjo, guitar, mandolin, cymbalom, strings and a wide array of percussion instruments. This is Burger’s reimagining of a seemingly authentic Tamil melody for occidental orchestra. One can almost see the colourful traditional clothing and dancing of the Tamil people through Burger’s finely crafted arrangement. Burger introduces the section with a subsegment of flutes, piccolo, clarinets, brass, and strings. Bassoon then enters to provide a drone along with a percussion ensemble of tenor drum, tambourine and scheller (?). Burger then layers ancient cymbals, a tom tom, mandola, solo violin and the soprano/alto sections of the chorus who sing the melody line on “nahs”.

The chorus and ensemble then give way in the second subsegment (marked *Allegro Molto*) comprised of a percussion ensemble with an added drone from the oboes. This is then layered on top of using combinations of clarinet and banjo, zither and guitar, mandola and cymbalom. Later, Burger abruptly shifts the time signature to 8/4 (3/4 + 2/4 + 3/4) while including interjections from the various sections of the orchestra. A brief bridge then leads to a violin solo (marked *Prestissimo*) accompanied by tenor drum and a droning oboe. It appears this is Burger’s occidental imitation of the traditional Indian instrument, the Sarangi.⁶⁰⁰

In keeping with Burger’s March 1938 outline, the score should next proceed to the territory of Malaya- now part of the Federation of Malaya (Malaysia) in conjunction with Sarawak and North Borneo. However, the score indicates Burger has instead flipped this section with a visit to the vaguely titled ‘Pacific Islands’ section - comprised of King’s Island, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.

⁵⁹⁸ Anil Srinivasan, “Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora: The New Force Spreading Carnatic Music and Dance Worldwide,” Scroll.in., Accessed September 1, 2022, URL: <https://scroll.in/article/769894/sri-lankan-tamil-diaspora-the-new-force-spreading-carnatic-music-and-dance-worldwide>

⁵⁹⁹ Harold S. Powers and Jonathan Katz, “(i) The Karnatak tradition,” in section II. History of classical music of subcontinent of India, Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 31 January 2020, Accessed 23 April 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43272>

⁶⁰⁰ Neil Sorrell, “Sārangī,” *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2001, Accessed 11 May 2023, URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24581>

6.4.10 Pacific Islands

6.4.10.1 King's Island

The first musical inclusion, purportedly from King's Island, comprises of an arrangement for a bamboo pipe trio as the narration sets the scene for a seductive sounding sea voyage:

South once more, to the islands of the Pacific. If you have sailed that ocean in a small boat, it comes back, in memory, as Great Plains of sunlight laid bare and flashing to the sky. The sea is as warm as milk. The air is soft as a flower. You sail on, day after day, in peace; and then over the horizon rises a group of spears. They are palm trees, fringing a snow-white coral beach. The island behind them may be a speck no bigger than a garden, or it may be larger than France. Here is music from the Pacific : the first a tune from King's Island.⁶⁰¹

The King's Island referred to in the narration is likely the Three Kings Islands, comprising of a group of 13 (currently) uninhabited islands off the Northwest Cape Reinga in New Zealand. A second 'King Island', located in the Bass Strait off the Northwest Coast of Tasmania, could also be a possible location to which the narration refers.⁶⁰² However, this island has never been inhabited and thus, is an unlikely source for this musical reference. Three Kings Island, also called *Manawatāwhi* (meaning 'This is the end of land') was traditionally settled by the northern Muriuhenua Māori peoples. Tribal warfare and frequent food shortages has left the area without permanent habitation since the 1840s.⁶⁰³ The islands were purchased by the New Zealand government in 1908 and, since 1930, have served as an animal sanctuary.

Burger's use of the panpipes in two of three examples in this section are characteristic of the Pacific Islander cultural practices among the populations of New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. However, among Polynesian tribes, panpipes were utilised among Tongan, Samoan and Fijian natives but not among the Maori peoples.⁶⁰⁴ This potentially excludes Three Kings Island as the location referred to in this section's narration. Furthermore, the fact the island lacked permanent settlement from the 1840s onward further indicates this piece may have been sourced by Burger and his team from yet another "Kings Island". Alternatively, it could be another example of the

⁶⁰¹ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.192-3.

⁶⁰² The latter is considered to never have been inhabited due to the lack of cultural artefacts present on the island. Source: Robin Sim and Alan Thorne, 'Pleistocene Human remains from King Island, Southeastern Australia', *Australian Archaeology*, December 1990, No.31, p.44-51.

⁶⁰³ Bruce Hayward, "Prehistoric archaeological sites on the three kings Islands, Northern New Zealand," *Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, 24: p.147-161, 1987.

⁶⁰⁴ Te Rangi Hiroa, Peter H. Buck, "Panpipes in Polynesia," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol.50, No.4, p.173-184, 1941, Accessed via JSTOR URL: <http://www.Jstor.org/stable/20702882>

musical imaginings by Burger. Without further documentation, a determination cannot be conclusively made.

6.4.10.2 Papau / New Guinea

The manuscript score presents some confusing cuts at this point (p. 195-96). The next intended piece is titled 'Song of the Papua/New Guinea', sung by soprano/alto chorus and accompanied by an Indian drum and two sticks. This section has been paper clipped together and likely indicates a cut from a later broadcast.⁶⁰⁵ In its stead, the piece jumps to rehearsal No.141 (p. 197) where the panpipes and Indian drum/wood sticks continue in an arrangement from the Solomon Islands.

Without the cut, the short folksong inclusion for Papua/New Guinea does not provide much to ascertain its title or if it is even an authentic folk piece or a creation from Burger's own imagination. Lack of information also poses a difficulty when attempting to identify the language used. While the official languages of this area include Hiri Motu, English, Tok Pisin (or Melanesian Pidgin), the English based creole Tok Pisin and P.N.G. Sign language, there are more than 800 indigenous languages spoken throughout- making the identification process of this addition incredibly difficult.⁶⁰⁶ Further complicating the identification process is sheer number and diversity of the territory's cultural groups. Over one thousand different factions exist within the country; each with equally diverse cultural expression, art, dance, and music. Many of these groups have their own languages.⁶⁰⁷

The British began the colonisation process in 1793 under Lieutenant John Hayes near Manokwari in Southeastern Indonesian Papua followed by the Dutch claiming the western half in 1828, while the Germans claimed the Northeastern section. After World War One, the Australian government became administrators of the German territory and later combined it with the Southeastern territory in 1945. Hence the current nation's name as Papua New Guinea. The Australian government continued as administrators of the territory until 1975 when Papua New Guinea gained independence.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁵ Burger delineates the territories with a slash as modern Papua New Guinea were two separate territories at the time of 'The Empire Sings' creation. They were not combined until after WWII.

⁶⁰⁶ Richard T. Jackson and William Standish, "Languages of Papua New Guinea in entry - Papua New Guinea," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 3 Oct. 2019, Accessed 3 May 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Papua-New-Guinea>

⁶⁰⁷ T. Delkin, "Cultura and democracy in Papua New Guinea : Marit Tru or Giaman Marit?," In *Culture and Democracy in the South Pacific*, ed. By R. Crocombe, U. Neemia, A. Ravuvu, W. Von Busch, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva: p.35-38. ; Benjamin Reilly, "Ethnicity, democracy and development in Papua New Guinea," *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, Vol.19, No.1, 2004, p.46-54.

⁶⁰⁸ See: John Waiko, *A Short History of Papua New Guinea* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1993).

6.4.10.3 Solomon Islands

The third segment of the “Pacific Islands” section brings the listener southeast from Papua New Guinea to the Solomon Islands. The transition is indicated in the instrumentation with a tune performed on pan pipes, wood sticks and a “board of wood”.⁶⁰⁹ As with the other musical inclusions in this section, the specific piece utilised in this segment has not been identified. However, the final phrase of this arrangement includes a reprisal from the Papua New Guinea song previously quoted, sung by SATB chorus. While Burger utilises authentic instruments for the area (panpipes) instead of replicating their sound in the orchestra, he once again composed ‘outside the box’ by attempting to replicate cultural percussive instruments with the peculiar addition of “a board of wood.”⁶¹⁰

The Solomon Islands were divided between the British and the Germans in 1886 but Germany later transferred the northern islands of Sans Buka and Bougainville to the British in 1899. This trade was made in exchange for recognition of claims to West Samoa and parts of Africa. The British areas had been declared a protectorate in 1893 and fell under official colonial rule in 1896.⁶¹¹ Before this point, the islands were a source for trade and plantation labour for Fiji and Queensland between 1870 and 1910.⁶¹² Once established as a colony, the territory was exploited for plantations, labour as well as gold mining. This British protectorate only became an independent republic in 1978 and is governed by a constitutional monarchy with the British crown as head of state.

Two chains of islands comprise the Solomon Islands. They are inhabited by two demographics - an ethnically Melanesian people who comprise the majority and a Polynesian demographic who make up the minority. Burger’s use of the panpipe tune and rhythmic percussion is characteristic of the traditional cultures of this area. Although the title of this piece has not been identified, it is likely authentic to this area.⁶¹³ Similar with many other former colonial territories, such as Papua New Guinea, English is the official language with the creole Pidjin spoken widely.

⁶⁰⁹ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.197.

⁶¹⁰ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.197.

⁶¹¹ Sophie Foster and Hugh Michael Laracy, "Solomon Islands," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9 Dec. 2020, Accessed 5 May 2021 <https://www.britannica.com/place/Solomon-Islands>

⁶¹² Sophie Foster and Hugh Michael Laracy, "Solomon Islands," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9 Dec. 2020, Accessed 5 May 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Solomon-Islands>

⁶¹³ Te Rangi Hiroa, Peter H. Buck, "Pan-pipes in Polynesia," *The Journal of Polynesian Society*, The Polynesian Society Publishers, Vo.50, No.4, December 1941, pp.173, Accessed 3 May 2021, URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20702882>

European Imperialism has not only affected the language but religion of the area as well. Anglican Christianity replaced the former practices of head hunting after it was pursued for eradication from 1897 onward. Grounds for the argument of “benevolent imperialism” regarding the concerted effort to eradicate the headhunting practices of the natives seem reasonable. However, Environmental anthropologist and Melanesia scholar David Russell Lawrence notes this movement was also tied to the desire of the British government, under guidance of Commissioner Woodford (1852-1927), to create a safe area for the territory’s appropriation. After which, the native lands would be sold for economic development - *i.e.* plantations.⁶¹⁴

6.4.11 Malaya

The Empire Sings! next moves northeast to the Malay Peninsula, jutting off modern day Thailand. The British had been trading in the area since the mid 18th century but began involvement in the political sphere of the area in 1771. Over the following decades, this move led to various kingdoms falling under British control through a succession of agreements and treaties. This also led to the local kingdoms being delineated into three groupings: The Federated Malay States (Selangor, Perak, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang), the Unfederated Malay States (Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis and Terengganu) and the Straits settlements of Malacca and Penang. The area also held one of the most profitable colonies of the empire - Singapore - which came under British control in 1867.

The kingdoms comprising British Malay were subjected to frequent reorganisations over the course of the following decades until the British eventually began a period of decolonisation from 1945 to 1963. This process first began with the formation of the Malayan Union in April 1946. This was replaced in January 1948 with the Federation of Malaya. The federation had autonomy from August 1957 until 1963, when the territories were again reformatted to create Malaysia with Singapore, Sarawak and Northern Borneo.⁶¹⁵

Like other British controlled territories, British Malaya also comprised a diverse pool of cultural demographics. This was a by-product of the colonisation process in which borders of former kingdoms were redrawn and consolidated. The importation of foreign labourers in order to exploit the natural resources of the area also contributed to this diversity. Additionally, the territory’s position at the nexus of trading routes of the region further contributed to its diversity.

⁶¹⁴ David Russell Lawrence, *The Naturalist and his ‘Beautiful Islands: Charles Morris Woodford in the Western Pacific* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2014), p.184-196.

⁶¹⁵ Singapore was later expelled from the federation on 9 August 1965. Source: Robert Ho, Thomas R. Leinbach, Annajane Kennard, Richard Olof Winstedt, "Singapore : History," Encyclopaedia Britannica, September 17, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Singapore>

Chapter 6

The Malayan peninsula comprises of four main demographics: the aboriginal Orang Asli people, the Malays, Chinese and South Asians. Smaller groups include the Euros, Americans, Eurasian, Arabs and Thai. The cultural traditions present in the area stem from Southeast Asia, China, South Asia, the Middle East and the West and include languages such as Malay, Chinese (Cantonese and Hakka), Mandarin, English, Dravidian and Indo-European.⁶¹⁶ This provides a wide selection of diverse music in which to represent the area.

Burger introduces British Malaya with an arrangement of the popular dance genre - the Ronggeng. The dance is thought to have originated in neighbouring Java as part of local court traditions. The genre later found a place in the Malay and Baba communities. It was performed by lower classes and thus deemed 'common' among the locals.⁶¹⁷ The dance later became widely popular among colonial clubs and expatriates who lived and worked in the area. Eventually, the form began to transcend its attachment to the dance and became increasingly mixed with non-Malay rhythms becoming a music genre unto itself. Advancements in the entertainment industry and recording technology meant Ronggeng music was broadcast on radio programmes and sold commercially.⁶¹⁸ Burger seemingly attempts to hold true to the traditional Malayan soundscape by scoring the inclusion for flutes, viola and a wide array of percussion including tenor drum, gongs, ancient cymbals, celeste, vibraphone, glockenspiel, xylophones and cymbalom.

The narration returns :

If you're lucky, when you're in the Strait Settlements or the Federated Malay States, you will come across a ronggeng. This is a Malay public dance, held in the open air. Everybody goes, taking a friend, and squats from eight o'clock at night till three in the morning round a stage that is gay with tinsel and hung with lights. Two couples only dance at a time. The rest watch, and enjoy themselves as only Malays can.⁶¹⁹

The narration describes the "national dance" in rather innocent terms while, according to Jan van der Putten, the dance had some connotations of being considered part of a "Dirty Dancing party culture" where "taxi dancing" was a commonly associated practice. This connotation was exacerbated by the influx of European expatriate groups to the colonies who frequented social

⁶¹⁶ Craig A. Lockard, Zakaria Bin Ahmed, Ooi Jin Bee, Thomas R. Leinbach, "Malaysia: People of Malaysia," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Accessed 7 May 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Malaysia>

⁶¹⁷ Tan Sooi Being, "From Folk to National Popular Music : Recreating Ronggeng in Malaysia," *Journal of Musicological Research*, 24:3-4, p.287-307, Accessed 1 January 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01411890500234054>

⁶¹⁸ Jan van der Putten, "Chapter Three: Dirty Dancing and Malay Anxieties : The changing context of Malay Ronggeng in the first half of the Twentieth Century," from *Sonic Modernities in the Malay World : A History of Popular Music, Social Distinction and Novel Lifestyles (1930s – 2000s)*, Ed. By Bart Barendregt (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2014), p.113-134.

⁶¹⁹ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.199.

clubs. This view was also encouraged due to the advances of new media. Due to this outside influence, the Ronggeng was transformed from a ceremonial presentation at court festivals and a time-honoured courtship ritual into a popular entertainment form and a music genre in its own right. While the dance was eventually phased out through a reformist movement by the early 1960s, it is still performed today in a “sanitised” form.

Burger concludes the Ronggeng with a characteristic musical bridge. This seamlessly ushers in the next section using a new melody in the flutes and zither and accompanied by gongs, banjo and three Chinese drums.⁶²⁰ Next on this journey are the key trade colonies of Singapore and Hong Kong.

6.4.12 Singapore and Hong Kong

While Singapore and Hong Kong are roughly 2500 kilometres apart, they were close in their importance as valuable trade centres for the British crown in 1938. Equally, the areas share common traits of which ethnically Chinese as the largest demographic.⁶²¹ Both factors may have contributed to Burger’s choice to group the two areas as one section by utilising selections most commonly associated with Chinese music in instrumentation. It is noteworthy that Singapore could equally be represented by music of the Malays, Indians and other Eurasian cultures who resided in the colony in 1938.⁶²² The narration in this section emphasises this music may be unfamiliar to that Western music enthusiasts:

Whether you want to or not, you’re bound to hear Chinese music in Hong Kong and Singapore. Both cities teeming with life, of which music is a part. Singapore is not only an all-important naval base; it is the most fascinating place in the world, and it stands on the edge of a country that wins and keeps the hearts of all who know it.⁶²³

It is not clear which colony is represented first or if the section is an amalgamation intended to represent both territories at once using cultural music from the largest demographic (the Chinese) as the featured music. This is a slight diversion from Burger’s March 1938 outline as Singapore was not originally included. In any case, the two territories share many commonalities. Both had previous status as trading centres before the British assumed control in order to tap into Asian

⁶²⁰ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.214.

⁶²¹ In 1931, Hong Kong’s population consisted of 97 percent Chinese and Singapore’s population consisted of nearly 80 percent Chinese immigrants from southern China. Source: Paul H. Kratoska, “Singapore, Hong Kong and the End of Empire,” *International Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.3, No. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.1–19.

⁶²² Lee Tong Soon, “Singapore,” in *The Garland Handbook of Southeast Asian Music*, Ed. Terry Miller and Sean Williams (New York: Routledge Press, 2008), p.291-94.

⁶²³ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.214.

markets. Singapore was established in 1819 to circumvent Dutch authorities on the Indonesian archipelago while Hong Kong was established in 1842 as an entry point into China. Each centre was geographically positioned at important nexus points of trade and were established on safe harbours. These common traits also contributed to their status as focal points of cultural exchange which influenced everything from language and customs to literature, art and music.

One important takeaway from this section's narration is the brief mention of the "all important" British naval base. His Majesty's Naval Base, Singapore (*i.e.* the Sembawang Naval Base) was one of the British Government's Imperial fortress colonies. It was constructed as military hub from which the British could maintain a deterrent to heightened military threat posed by the Japanese Empire. This overt display of British imperialism was completed in 1938. Although it was commonly thought of as an impregnable fortress, it was occupied during the Second World War by Japanese forces from 15 September 1942 until the Japanese surrender in August 1945. The British maintained a presence in the base after the Second World War until a complete withdrawal of their forces in 1971. The narrative commentary highlights British dominance in the area as a force of stability in maintaining the *status quo*.

Burger scores the Singapore/Hong Kong section utilising a combination of flutes, gongs, zither, banjo and 3 Chinese drums as introduction before a tenor soloist enters, performing an unidentified and transliterated Chinese song in a nasal falsetto. Upon the conclusion of the verse, bamboo pipes and muted trumpet join the ensemble for a short interlude.⁶²⁴ The instrumental ensemble then continues with the addition of bamboo pipes, oboe and two solo violins to accompany soprano/alto chorus on the second verse. As the song nears its conclusion, xylophone and trumpets join the accompaniment. Burger then concludes this section with an orchestrally occidental variation of the song utilising flutes, oboes, bassoon, brass and string sections supplemented with tam tams, side drum, zither, banjo and piano.⁶²⁵

It is not clear whether Burger utilised recordings of Chinese music, transcriptions or created his own Chinese inspired music. However, it is evident Burger created a brief soundscape for Hong Kong and Singapore utilising an Asiatic (largely Chinese) sound palate which incorporates pentatonic scales largely synonymous with Chinese traditional melodies.

⁶²⁴ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.218.

⁶²⁵ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.225.

6.4.13 Interpolation Three: Ireland

Following the conclusion of the Asian leg of the journey, Burger next brings the potpourri's focus back to the British Isles for the third and final interpolation:

Now Ireland, where the days of legend still seem very close to the present and where the little people still exist for those with eyes to see them. Here is a voice that sings of Irish minstrelsy.⁶²⁶

This section begins with an arrangement of the Irish ballad 'The Harp that once through Tara's Halls', originally composed in 1875 by Irish barrister and poet Thomas Moore (1779-1852). Burger opens the section with a short introduction using the melody for violin solo and string ensemble, followed by the first verse of 'Tara's Halls' for soprano soloist and harp. After a short interlude solo for harp, Burger then concludes his arrangement with a reiteration of the final sentence:

"And hearts that once beat high for praise, now feel that pulse no more."⁶²⁷

The song's text references the mysterious hilltop site in County Meath called Tara- the mythic seat of the Irish high kings which is now deserted. Moore wrote this piece while Ireland was under English rule and its focus on Tara symbolises the rule of native Ireland. The inclusion of Ireland's traditional instrument, the harp, is symbolic of the Irish spirit, culture and people.⁶²⁸ Although it wasn't published until 1875, the song is one perspective of the aftermath of colonisation from the perspective of the colonised.

Ireland served as an early experiment for British colonisation governance practices well before its global conquests in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. It became the template from which the British would operate and govern its future imperial territories. This began with the early 'plantations' of Scottish and English Protestant settlers to the areas of present-day Munster, Laois, Offaly; the largest of which was the northern area of Ulster in 1641. This led to the creation of a land-owning ruling class of English-speaking Protestants over the native Gaelic speaking Catholic population. What began as a slow land grab and exploitation of resources eventually led to the *Declaration of 1720* which officially made Ireland a dependency of the British crown. A Viceroy system of governance was implemented which instigated a series of oppressive penal laws discriminatory against all religions and sects with the exception of the Anglican Church of England.

⁶²⁶ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.225.

⁶²⁷ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.231-2.

⁶²⁸ Thomas Moore, "The Harp That Once Through Tara's Halls," first published in 1875, Digital collections of the National Library of Scotland, 2004, Accessed 13 May 2021, URL: <https://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/view/?id=16436>

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From the beginning, the native populations waged rebellions against outside rule. Early examples include three civil wars in the 17th Century alone (1653; 1689-91; 1691). British retribution after a failed Rebellion in 1798 resulted in public executions and the transportation of political prisoners to Australia. Ironically, it is the next territory on *The Empire Sings!* travel itinerary. When Ireland eventually joined in union with Britain in 1801, the home parliament was effectively dissolved and merged the governing parliamentary body at the Palace of Westminster. Even though Ireland's union with Great Britain gave the appearance as an equal player in the home seat of empirical power, scholar Ian Lustick notes Ireland existed instead as:

“...one of a panoply of English empire possessions thus undermining the hegemonic notion of Ireland as permanent part of the British State.”⁶²⁹

This is evident in the repressive systems put into place over native populations such as the monopolisation of land ownership for Protestants. This, in turn, caused economic inequality which was exacerbated by two famines (1740-41 ; 1845-1851). The combined effect led to roughly 1.4 million deaths and a mass migration of approximately a million more people.

Further culturally imperialist actions were invoked in 1830s with the establishment of Irish National Schools, similar to the educational movements imposed on the Welsh populations in the mid 19th Century. While the programs encouraged literacy, they were only proctored in the English language. The combination of two famines, mass emigration and English only policy in schools caused a great decline in spoken Irish language in the territory and the language fell into the minority by 1900.⁶³⁰

Imperial oppression of the native Irish resulted in frequent rebellions and unrest over centuries. In an attempt to end the frequent unrest, the British Parliament passed the *Government of Ireland Self Governing Act* in 1914. However, this legislation was paused in order to encourage Irish involvement in the First World War. This enticement resulted in the death of nearly fifty thousand Irish soldiers in the conflict. After the war's conclusion, the British Empire managed to avoid the fate of the dissolved Russian, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires but in a weakened state.

⁶²⁹ Ian S. Lustick, “Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza,” *The Wilder House Series in Politics, History and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p.71-77, 148, 179, Accessed 14 May 2021, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctv2n7fph> ; James Anderson and Liam O'Dowd, “Imperial Disintegration and the center creation of the Irish Border: Imperialism and Nationalism 1885-1925,” Mapping Frontiers, Plotting Pathways Working Paper No. 3, Institute of Governance Centre for International Borders Research Queen's University Belfast, 2005, p.8-9. <https://www.qub.ac.uk/research-centres/CentreforInternationalBordersResearch/Publications/WorkingPapers/MappingFrontiersworkingpapers/Filetoupload.175396.en.pdf>

⁶³⁰ Reg Hindley, “Irish in the nineteenth century : from collapse to the dawn of revival,” In *The Death of the Irish Language* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2012), p.13-20.

The delay to Irish self-governance by the British government resulted in the 1916 Easter Uprising, the 1917-18 Uprising, the War of Independence 1919-1921, and the eventual separation of Northern and Southern Ireland in 1921. Frequent demonstrations and terrorist incidents continued between Ireland and the United Kingdom until the ratification of the Easter Accord in 1998.⁶³¹ While Ireland stood as the eventual archetype for the establishment of further British colonies across the world, it also-contributed to the eventual downfall of the system.

After the concluding bars of 'Tara's Halls', Burger incorporates the traditional Jig 'The Irish Washerwoman'.⁶³² While evidence points to several possibilities for its derivation, the earliest publication of the piece under this title is from the 1792 collection titled *A Third Collection of Strathspey Reels &c. for the Piano-forte, Violin and Violoncello* by Neil Gow. The piece was also included in the American publication *A Collection of Contra Dances* published in Stockbridge, Massachusetts the same year.⁶³³ Burger's setting begins with an introduction by the oboes and bassoons performing the first half of the main melody in staccato, three note segments. The second half of the melody is then completed by the strings. This intro section then progresses to the piece's main melody, performed by solo violin, before the strings, horns and bassoons join. The melody is then passed between the various instrumental sections in a fugue-like arrangement before concluding the Irish interpolation with the full orchestra.

The travel itinerary includes one final excursion from the British Isles in this imperial music survey to the dominions of Australia and New Zealand. Burger represents the two main cultural demographics of Australia, the native aboriginals and the Western European colonials through various examples from each group.

6.4.14 Australia and New Zealand

6.4.14.1 Aboriginal Australia

With a solo oboe playing lightly in the background, the narration returns:

⁶³¹ See: Robert Savage, *The BBC's 'Irish Troubles': Television, Conflict and Northern Ireland* (United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 2017).

⁶³² Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.232-244.

⁶³³ Sources: Niel Gow, *A Third Collection of Strathspey Reels &c. for the Piano-Forte, Violin and Violoncello*, 3rd edition (Edinburgh: Corri & Company, 1792), p.43. ; Traditional Tune Archive. "Irish Washerwoman (1)," *Traditional Tune Archive*, Traditional Tune Archive, 24 Feb. 2022, [https://tunearch.org/wiki/Annotation:Irish_Washerwoman_\(1\)](https://tunearch.org/wiki/Annotation:Irish_Washerwoman_(1))

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North Queensland, Australia - where alligators bask on the shores of the creeks and the sun strikes straight down; and the aborigines dance their ceremonial dances, called corroborees- which are a direct link with the Stone Age.⁶³⁴

Burger transports the listener through the Torres Strait to Northern Queensland. He opens this segment with a short prelude for clarinet, horns, tenor drums, sticks and strings before landing the journey in New South Wales. The first indigenous segment incorporates the aboriginal corroboree 'Bai-indi, Bai-indi...', first transcribed by Hermann Beckler in 1868 on the upper Darling River near Menindee, New South Wales.⁶³⁵ This area was populated by the Barkindji and Torres Strait Islander peoples.⁶³⁶ The piece derives from the latter and served, according to Beckler's notes served as a:

"...prayer, a request to their god, to avert a great evil, perhaps an illness."⁶³⁷

Burger scores the transliterated lyrics with minimal accompaniment on tenor drum. He then bridges with an orchestral interlude for woodwind, brass, timpani and strings before launching into an arrangement of a second aboriginal song titled 'Wangur dthunnee...' or 'The Porcupine Song'. This piece derives from the Maranoa area in Southwest Queensland.⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ The location of the song's origin likely points to it being derived from Mandandanji aboriginals native to the area.⁶⁴⁰ Burger arranged this song utilising minimal instrumentation. He initially utilises tom toms, wood sticks and the SATB chorus who also supplement the arrangement with rhythmic stomping and clapping. The arrangement is interjected by full orchestra before the chorus concludes, leaving the woodwinds, brass and percussion (including tom toms, sticks, timpani) and string section to conclude the segment.

⁶³⁴ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.245.

⁶³⁵ Hermann Beckler, "Corroberri : Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Musik bei den australischen Ureinwohnern," *Globus : Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder und Völkerkunde* 13 (Brunswick: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1867), p.82-84.

⁶³⁶ See also: Dr Graeme Skinner, Dr Jim Wafer, "18.3 - Corroberri II. Upper Darling River. Meninder," from *Australharmony - A checklist of colonial era musical transcriptions of Australian Indigenous songs*, Accessed 5 May 2021, URL: <https://sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/checklist-indigenous-music-1.php>

⁶³⁷ Hermann Beckler, "Corroberri : Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Musik bei den australischen Ureinwohnern," p.84.

⁶³⁸ Dr. H.O. Lethbridge, arr. By Arthur S. Loam, *Australian Aboriginal songs melodies, rhythm and words truly and authentically Aboriginal* (Melbourne: Allan, 1937), p.8-9, accessed 13 May 2021, URL: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-172234124>

⁶³⁹ Dr Graeme Skinner and Dr Jim Wafer, "A checklist of colonial era musical transcriptions of Australian Indigenous songs," *Australharmony* website, Accessed 5 May 2021, URL: <https://sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/checklist-indigenous-music-1.php>

⁶⁴⁰ Norman Barnett Tindale, "Mardandanji," in *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia : their Terrain, Environmental controls, Distribution, Limits and Propers Names* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), Accessed via Australian National University Open Research Library, Accessed 14 May 2021, URL: <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/114913>

The native aboriginal population of Australia was decimated by the time of *The Empire Sings!* creation in 1938. The catastrophic shift began with an influx of Chinese and Italians who were poised to strike it rich in a succession of gold rushes throughout the mid 19th Century. Many also emigrated to work as labourers on the newly established plantations. The British and Anglo-Celtic (Irish) populations also contributed to this massive demographic shift, arriving to the continent as settlers or via penal colony transports. Ironically, the huge influx of Chinese instigated the *Immigration Restriction Act of 1901*, one of the first legislative bills passed by the new nation. It was also known alternatively as the “*White Australia Policy*” and designed to exclude all people who were not British or of European descent. Equally, successive post-Second World War governments led campaigns to bring more British and Irish demographics to maintain their ethnic majority. One such scheme was titled the “*Bring out Britain*” campaign.⁶⁴¹

An ever-increasing demand for land expansion by settlers eventually destroyed the uneasy co-existence with the natives in the latter half of the 19th century. It is estimated the population of native aboriginals in Australia exceeded one million before the establishment of the British penal ‘Colony in New South Wales’ in 1788. The native population declined to around 180,000 by 1861 and again declined to 95,000 by 1901. This was a result of enforced evictions, displacements and documented cases of genocidal terror inflicted on aboriginal populations.⁶⁴² Newly minted theories of racial superiority, *i.e.* Eugenics, first coined by Sir Francis Galton in his 1883 book *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, were then used to justify the actions.⁶⁴³ These horrific acts, coupled with disease and social alienation, led to the rise of a fringe ghetto society rife with social and health problems.

The nearly eradicated aboriginal society only began a revival after the Second World War through implementation of legislative policies of positive discrimination specifically aimed at the native population. These policies resulted in improvements in health, welfare and education. Despite these positive changes, however, centuries of eradication had already led to the extinction of hundreds of aboriginal languages and caused irreparable damage to the cultural practises and oral traditions of these native peoples.

⁶⁴¹ Asafa Jalata, “The Impacts of English Colonial Terrorism and Genocide on Indigenous / Black Australians,” SAGE Open, July 2013, Accessed 13 May 2021, URL: [10.1177/2158244013499143](https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244013499143)

⁶⁴² Asafa Jalata, “The Impacts of English Colonial Terrorism and Genocide on Indigenous / Black Australians,”

⁶⁴³ Sir Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* (London: Macmillan Press, 1883).

6.4.14.2 Anglocentric Australia

The narration now returns with the music of “white” Australia, opening on a scene from the town of Winton, Queensland:

There are no old folksongs in Australia. But there’s one song all Queenslanders know. It was written forty years ago in the lounge of the North Gregory Hotel at Winton by Banjo Patterson. Winton is a town you can never forget, once you’ve seen it, because it sits in the middle of a plain that the goats have eaten bare; and waltzing Matilda is a song you’ll never forget once you’ve heard it.⁶⁴⁴

From the narration, one gets the image of a smoky lounge filled with farmers, ranchers and miners enjoying a drink and singing together. Burger’s arrangement of this “Bush Ballad” represented the Anglocentric ‘colonial’ Australia. It also served as the country’s unofficial national anthem ‘Waltzing Matilda’ at the time of this potpourri’s creation.⁶⁴⁵ The song was written in 1895 at Dogworth Station near Winton, in Central - West Queensland, at the Macpherson family home by Christina MacPherson (1864-1936) with lyrics by ‘Banjo’ Patterson (1864-1951). This is contrary to the section’s narration which lists the piece as having been written in the lounge of the North Gregory Hotel. Despite this fact, ‘Waltzing Matilda’ is widely accepted to have been first performed in the town of Winton.⁶⁴⁶ MacPherson utilised her recollections of a Scottish arrangement titled ‘Thou Bonnie Wood of Craigielea’ (1818) by James Barr (1779-1860) which in turn was possibly based on the traditional melody ‘Go to the Devil and Shake Yourself’. For this arrangement, Burger incorporates two verses of the MacPherson/ Patterson piece for baritone soloist and piano accompaniment.

‘Waltzing Matilda’ utilizes Australian slang to paint a picture of colonial wandering, the drive for land and the disputes which often arose. Even the title Waltzing (meaning “travelling on foot”) and Matilda (slang for the bundle packs travellers carried on their backs) provides an image of the traveller’s journey as he scavenges a stray sheep (“jumbuck”) to eat.

The “Bush Ballad” (and ‘Waltzing Matilda’) is an excellent allegory of colonial Australia. The form is a cultural transplant which uses Anglo-Celtic folk tunes and traditions to convey daily life in a foreign land. Many Bush ballads have their origins in the convict system and were created by

⁶⁴⁴ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p. 257.

⁶⁴⁵ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p. 257-262.

⁶⁴⁶ On 6 April 1895, the piece was sung by Sir Herbert Ramsay at the North Gregory Hotel- Winton. Source: Matthew Richardson, *Once a Jolly Swagman: The Ballad of Waltzing Matilda* (Netherlands: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006), p.80-81, 200.

inmates, many of which who were extradited from Ireland.⁶⁴⁷ Ironically, many of the Irish convicts and political prisoners, themselves subjected to cultural imperialism in their homeland, later became instigators of imperialism on the native populations of Australia through the period of Anglo expansion and settlement of the continent. With the inclusion of a bush ballad, Burger brings this geographic potpourri full circle- having first included indigenous songs and “cowboy” ballads from North American frontiers in the Canadian section.

6.4.14.3 New Zealand

At the conclusion of ‘Waltzing Matilda’, Burger scores an instrumental rendition of the New Zealand’s national anthem ‘God defend New Zealand’ with lyrics written by Irish born New Zealand poet, journalist and later politician Thomas Bracken (1841-1898).⁶⁴⁸ The narration ushers in the transition:

And now, over the Tasman Sea to New Zealand to hear first the national song.⁶⁴⁹

Although the work is now one of New Zealand’s two national anthems along with ‘God Save the Queen’, ‘God defend New Zealand’ wasn’t officially adopted until nearly forty years after this potpourri’s premiere.⁶⁵⁰ Like Banjo Patterson, Bracken was actively involved with Bush folklore as an author of Bush tales. However, unlike Patterson who played a part in the song’s creation, Bracken’s ‘God defend New Zealand’ was set by teacher / song writer John Joseph Woods (1849-1934). The musical version was first performed at the Queens Theatre in Dunedin, New Zealand on Christmas Day 1876.⁶⁵¹ A second version in the native Māori language, under the title ‘Aotearoa’ (1876), was created by English born poet Thomas Henry Smith (1824-1907) from the original score and published in New Zealand newspapers later that year.⁶⁵² Current performance practices of the anthem incorporate verses in both languages.

Burger’s arrangement forgoes the lyrics and instead opts for an instrumental rendition scored for woodwinds, horns and strings. He utilises the first two verses before transitioning directly into the

⁶⁴⁷ Matthew Richardson, “What does it mean?,” in *Once a Jolly Swagman: The Ballad of Waltzing Matilda* (Netherlands: Melbourne University Publishing, 2006), p.86-105.

⁶⁴⁸ W. S. Broughton, “Bracken, Thomas,” *the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2012, Accessed 16 May 2021, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b35/bracken-thomas>

⁶⁴⁹ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.264.

⁶⁵⁰ D.A. Highet, *Announcement of the adoption of nation anthems for New Zealand*, Supplement to the *New Zealand Gazette* of 17 November 1977 (Wellington: New Zealand Government Printers, 21 November 1977).

⁶⁵¹ “National Anthems : History of ‘God Defend New Zealand’,” Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 23 March 2015, Accessed 17 May 2021, URL: <https://mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/national-anthems/history-god-defend-new-zealand>

⁶⁵² Nancy Swarbrick, “National Anthems : New Zealand Anthems,” *Te Ara : The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, June 2012, Accessed 17 May 2021, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/national-anthems/page-2>

native Māori piece labelled in the score as “Māori Love Song”. Although the exact source for this piece has not been located, it shares many lyric similarities to the Northern Iwi tribal greeting song (“Waiata”) titled ‘Toro Mai Tō Ringa’. The primary themes of this piece derive from sentiments of love and remembrance. A second, more likely candidate as the source of Burger’s arranged incorporation is the song ‘Tahi Nei Taru Kino’ from eastern New Zealand. The song’s text was written by native journalist, lyricist and political leader Paraire “Friday” Herare Tomoana (1874/5-1946) with music by English composer Sam Freedman (1911-2008). Burger’s version closely mirrors the chorus verse of the Tomoana / Freedman version but presents a jumble of various lyrics in the native language.^{653 654} A version of the Tomoana / Freedman song, (arranged by Hemi Piripata) was recorded on 78 rpm with singers Ana Hato and Deane Waretini for the Parlophone Company and was released as early as 1929 through Australian and UK production companies.⁶⁵⁵ This means the album would have been on the market for nearly a decade by the time Burger utilised the piece and his setting, also for alto soloist, offers the possibility he may have been familiar with the Ana Hato recording.

6.4.15 Conclusion: England

Upon the conclusion of the “Māori Love Song”, the narration returns a final time, imposed over a grand musical introduction:

And so, home again to the heart of England. You’ve been listening to music as varied in shape and colour as the lands it comes from. Some of that music has its home under palm trees; some of it among snow and ice; some of it in the jungle; some of it, on the high seas. But wherever you may go there is one tune that is known and loved throughout the Empire. It links the present with the past; it is a promise to the future; it joins hands across the world, and its name is ‘Auld Lang Syne’.⁶⁵⁶

While this appears to be the final version used in the premiere broadcast, omitted narration from an apparent previous draft presents a slightly altered tone. It commences in much the same fashion as the final version utilised for the 1938 broadcast. However, this version takes a detour early in the script:

⁶⁵³ “NZ Folk Song : ‘Tahi Nei Taru Kino,’” [Folksong.org.nz website](https://folksong.org.nz/tahi_nei_taru_kino/), 7 April 2022, Accessed 18 April 2022, URL: https://folksong.org.nz/tahi_nei_taru_kino/

⁶⁵⁴ Schmucl Freedman was the son of Jewish immigrants and his arrangements of Māori music are considered the gold standard although he is often overlooked in his interpretative and preservation work. Source: Eddie O’Strange, “RIP Sam Freedman: Unsung Songwriter Signs Off,” *Scoop Independent News*, New Zealand, 18 June 2008, Accessed 9 August 2021, URL: <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/CU0806/S00170/rip-sam-freedman-unsung-songwriter-signs-off.htm>

⁶⁵⁵ Ana Hato, Deane Waretini, “‘Hoea Ra’ (‘Canoe Song’); ‘Tahi Nei Taru Kino,’” arranged by Hemi Piripata, Parlophone - Australia, No. A-2803, 1929, 78rpm.

⁶⁵⁶ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.268.

And so home again to the heart of London in England. You've been listening to music as varied in shape and colour as the lands it comes from. Some of that music has its home under palm trees; some of it among snow and ice; some of it in the jungle; some of it on the high seas; **[omitted section] It is not the panoply of war that makes an Empire; it is toleration, goodwill, friendships, and music. And just as there is one figure – the King who brings us together as a family, so there is one tune which is known and loved by all that family – at least its white members. It links the present with the past; it is a promise of the future; it joins hands across the world, and its name is Auld Lang Syne.** ⁶⁵⁷

This earlier version seems to have been tempered for the premiere by softening narrative emphasis on Empire. The 1938 premiere narration also eliminated direct references to the King and the empire's "white members". Although these are subtle changes, the elimination of these references preserves the 'benevolent imperial brotherhood' narrative by keeping the emphasis on the diverse cultures and ethnicities who are counted as British subjects.

A surviving broadcast recording of *The Empire Sings!* from 18 February 1940 shows yet another variation to this final narration. The announcer exclaims:

And so home again, to the heart of London in England. You've been listening to music as varied in shape and colour as the lands it comes from. Some of that music had its home under **coconut palms, some if it among snow and ice, some of it in the jungle, some of it round the campfire. But it is all music of an empire - your empire and mine. That music stretches out a hand across the sea to join friend to friend. It hints at the distances that lie between one branch of our great family and another... and it will go on now to show that one name and one man unites us all... and that is the King.** ⁶⁵⁸

The variations in this final narration present the potential to alter the narrative of the entire piece. All three narrative variations highlight the enormity of the British empire and commonwealth of the period by pointing out the varying climates of the empire's dominions and territories. However, the 1938 variations show some contrast in their treatment of the "benevolent" imperial narrative. The revised 1940 revival narration forgoes any mention of 'Auld Lang Syne' and instead packages the empire, not under a brotherhood of nations, but instead with the King as the benevolent unifying figurehead. By the revival of *The Empire Sings!* in 1940, Great Britain had officially been at war with Nazi Germany and the Axis powers for over five months. This may

⁶⁵⁷ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, p.267.

⁶⁵⁸ Julius Buerger, Live Broadcast recording of *The Empire Sings!*, 18 February 1940, digital recording version, clip No.2, 15:00-15:52, Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte Centre for Forbidden Music at University of Vienna - MDW, Vienna, Austria,
URL link: https://www.dropbox.com/sh/f41yovnm0fqiv5/AADqdDyJLUj3o2dLxYYN_YV9a?dl=0

explain why these alterations were made which place the King as unifier rather emphasizing the diversity of cultures and peoples of the empire.

Burger builds tension to the concluding section by utilising a musical bridge under the narration. After the narrator's concluding remarks, Burger segues into a rousing and regal orchestral arrangement utilising thematic material from Thomas Arne's (1710 - 1788) 'Rule, Britannia!', scored for woodwinds, brass, strings and timpani. While it is only briefly referenced without its iconic text, the piece is a prime example of British imperial music.⁶⁵⁹ It has been featured as part of the patriotic repertoire of final night of the BBC Proms since 1953 alongside works such as Elgar's 'Pomp and Circumstance', Parry's 'Jerusalem' and Henry Wood's *Fantasia on British Sea Songs*.⁶⁶⁰ Although the piece was originally composed by Arne to foster a sense of British identity among the various English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish demographics of the British Isles, it has frequently caused controversy throughout the latter 20th century and early 21st century for its connotations to Britain's imperial dominance and historic links to slavery.⁶⁶¹ Two attempts to ban the work from the BBC Proms, first in 1969 and the later in 2020, were overturned after public backlash.

Burger then concludes his massive survey of the vastly different territories and cultures of the British Empire with the traditional tune 'Auld Lang Syne'. One might expect the obvious choice for the central concluding piece to be 'God Save the King' but in keeping with a theme of "benevolent empire", it seems Burger decided to score this traditional Scottish song instead.

'Auld Lang Syne' is a friendship poem rooted in Scottish culture of the 18th century. The lyrics are written in the Scots language and the title roughly translates into "Since Long Ago" or "Olden Days". It paints a portrait of an interaction between two old friends who recollect on their past adventures over a drink. Although similar poems existed before his work, the lyrics are most readily associated with Scottish national poet Robert Burns (1759 -1796), who penned his version in 1788.⁶⁶² The musical setting was later published posthumously in James Johnson's (1753? - 1811) *Scots Musical Museum* in 1796.⁶⁶³ The musical theme of the early Burns version would not

⁶⁵⁹ Jeffery Richards, "Music for Official Occasions: Coronations and Jubilees," in *Imperialism and music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p.97-100.

⁶⁶⁰ Jason Whittaker, "The surprising history of "Rule, Britannia!" And Last Night of the Proms," *Prospect magazine*, 26 August 2020, Accessed 9 September 2021, URL: <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/arts-and-books/the-surprising-history-of-rule-britannia-and-last-night-of-the-proms>

⁶⁶¹ Alex Nelson, "Patriotic songs Rule Britannia and Land of Hope and Glory may be banned from the BBC Proms - here's why," *Yorkshire Post*, 24 August 2020, Accessed 21 November 2021, URL: <https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/read-this/patriotic-songs-rule-britannia-and-land-of-hope-and-glory-may-be-banned-from-the-bbc-proms-heres-why-2950953>

⁶⁶² Notably, a version by Sir Robert Anton was published in 1711 followed by Allan Ramsay in 1720.

⁶⁶³ Robert Lewis, "Auld Lang Syne," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 17 May 2017, Accessed 10 September 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Auld-Lang-Syne>

be as readily familiar to modern audiences as the poem was not joined to the widely known melody until the 1799 publication of *Scottish Song Book* by George Thomson (1757-1851).⁶⁶⁴

The inclusion of the song has been used to represent British Imperial unity. The song itself is also acculturated from Scotland which was directly ruled from the British Parliament in Westminster until the creation of the Scottish parliament in 1999. In any case, the lyrics pose a series of rhetorical questions between two friends on whether old friends should be forgotten leading to the conclusion that old alliances and friendships are meaningful and should be rekindled. The incorporation of this work is a thoughtfully invoked, yet subtle propaganda plea.⁶⁶⁵ It could be interpreted as an invocation by Britain to the dominions and territories of the current and former empire to reflect on the benefits “bestowed” by British rule and again join with the imperial capital by providing aid in their hour of need (*i.e.* the impending war against the Nazi and Axis forces).

Burger utilises the first verse and chorus of ‘Auld Lang Syne’ in English, sung by SATB chorus. At its conclusion, the orchestra falls away leaving a solo organ, which initiates a fanfare motif which circulates among a succession of brass, woodwinds, strings and percussion (timpani, tubular bells, side drum and cymbals). The finale also makes a brief reference to ‘God Save the King’, hidden among the brass, before concluding this hour-long tour of the British Empire as it existed in 1938.⁶⁶⁶

6.5 Key Observations of *The Empire Sings!*

This country-by-country analysis examined the treatment of narration and musical inclusions within the wider context. What conclusions can be drawn regarding the cultural implication of British imperialism as presented in Burger’s Grand Potpourri *The Empire Sings!*? Before I answer this, here are a few key observations of the work.

The first observation pertains to the music inclusions. Burger primarily utilised traditional cultural music of the colonies, dominions, protectorates and mandates to represent each territory or larger area. These either consist of music deriving from the native indigenous cultures or are examples of European imperial influences within each area. While native examples are wide and varied depending on the region, Eurocentric examples range from French and Spanish influences

⁶⁶⁴ Robert Lewis, “Auld Lang Syne,” Encyclopaedia Britannica, 17 May 2017, Accessed 10 September 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Auld-Lang-Syne>

⁶⁶⁵ Matthew Yglesias, “‘Auld Lang Syne’: What Does It Mean, and Why Do We Sing It on New Year’s Eve?,” *Vox*, December 31, 2015, Accessed 11 September 2021, URL: <https://www.vox.com/2015/12/31/10685188/auld-old-lang-syne-meaning-lyrics>

⁶⁶⁶ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, unpublished manuscript, MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London, figure No.204A, p. 280.

exhibited in creole music (Canada and the Caribbean), Anglocentric music (primarily in Dominions) or music from other former imperial powers. As noted in Burger's *Empire Sings!* Outline letter from 4 March 1938, music incorporations are delineated by specific colony, wider territory or by geographic area.⁶⁶⁷ The wider geographic areas, generally grouped by continent, are then separated by 'interpolations' of music from individual kingdoms of Great Britain. For instance, North America includes Newfoundland, Quebec, British Columbia, Alberta, South Calgary (Canada) and Jamaica. South America includes Spanish Creole songs of unspecified territories as well as a Pauline Viardot-Garcia's (1821-1910) setting of a 'Havanaise'. North and South America are then separated from the rest of the continents by an interpolative segment featuring Scotland.

The second observation shows subtle differences exist between the various classifications of territories within the potpourri through to their musical treatment. Dominions including Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa generally do not incorporate themes of militarism but instead are represented by native indigenous music and/or Eurocentric and Anglocentric folk music. For example, the Australian section comprises of two aboriginal corroborees - 'Bai-indi, Bai-indi...'; 'Wangur dthunnee' - followed by an Anglocentric folk song which doubles as the national anthem 'Waltzing Matilda'. Additionally, Burger only incorporated national anthems for the respective Dominion segments except for one. For the Palestine segment, a British mandate at the time, he incorporates the unofficial Jewish anthem the 'Hatikvah'.⁶⁶⁸ One possible interpretation lends to the hypothesis Burger was expressing an opinion for the need for a Jewish homeland, away from the escalating anti-Semitism in Europe. If true, this would certainly make sense considering the volatile situation Burger was experiencing while composing *The Empire Sings!* between February and early April 1938. This, however, cannot be verified with current documentation alone.

A third observation has been made regarding the musical and narrative framing of the British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandates within the potpourri. These are generally represented by music of their respective native indigenous cultures and are also largely void of references to militarism. One exception is the "Zulu war dance" in the Africa section. It begins with the Eurocentric South African anthem 'The Sunny Hills of Africa' and moves onto a succession of

⁶⁶⁷ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson, RE: Empire Sings! outline," 4 March 1938, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

⁶⁶⁸ This is labelled as 'unofficial' as Israel did not become a sovereign nation until ten years after Burger composed *The Empire Sings!*. Additionally, the *Hatikvah* was not adopted as the official anthem of Israel until 10 November 2004. Source: Shlomo Maital, "Hatikvah-The real story behind Israel's anthem," *The Jerusalem Report*, 9 July 2019, Shmuel Ne'eman Institute website, Accessed 14 August 2021, URL: https://www.neaman.org.il/Files/Hatikva-The%20Real%20Story%20behind%20Israels%20anthem_20180709094501.208.pdf

indigenous music selections (an Ashanti folk song, 'African Telegraph' drum interlude, Bantu and Ewe folk songs) before incorporating a Zulu war song, 'I gama Indhlela'. This is followed by a Zulu dance song and concludes with a Eurocentric "Boer" folk song 'Sarie Marais'. Narration throughout the Africa section places emphasis on an exotic and untamed "Dark Continent" while emphasizing aspects of militarism.⁶⁶⁹ An example of this emphasis includes the incorporation of the drum which "...sent out warning or defiance in the Darkest days of the Dark Continent" as well as the inclusion of the Zulu war song.⁶⁷⁰

Traces of imperialism's effect on culture can also be seen in other areas through the languages used. In some cases, particularly in South America and the Caribbean, the areas are also represented by incorporations of creole music which derived from previous periods of imperial colonisation by the French or Spanish.

A further observation pertains to the musical representations of the home kingdoms or 'interpolations' from the British Isles. The musical selections for Scotland and Wales generally consist of traditional music which is associated with militarism through subject theme or usage. To represent Wales, Burger chose the folk song 'Men of Harlech' ('Ryfelgyrch Gwŷr Harlech') which has traditionally been used as a regimental march by various regiments of the British Army (Welsh Guards, 9th Queen's Royal Lancers, South Wales Borders) and in the Commonwealth (Royal Canadian Hussars-Montreal).⁶⁷¹ The fact it follows shortly after a section on Zulu warriors seems to hint at the 1879 engagement between British and Zulu forces at the Defense of Rorke's Drift during the Anglo-Zulu War.⁶⁷² While there are some accounts of the piece being sung at the battle, their proximity in *The Empire Sings!* is largely a coincidence.⁶⁷³ The Scottish interpolation is equally represented by a succession of military related marches including the piper tune 'Colonel Ian Campbell of Airds' (used by the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders), 'Speed the Plough' (used

⁶⁶⁹ "But the whole continent of Africa is not as suave and gentle as that. They used to call it the Dark continent. Here is that continent at its darkest." Source: Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, Manuscript score, Call No. MSS6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.84.

⁶⁷⁰ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, Manuscript score, Call No. MSS6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.87-89; 93-98.

⁶⁷¹ "Histoire : Chanson Régimentaire," The Royal Canadian Hussars - Montreal website, 2014-22, Accessed 6 March 2022, URL: <https://rch.ca/histoire-du-rch/chanson-regimentaire/>; Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, Manuscript score, Call No. MSS6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.117-130.

⁶⁷² Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift," Encyclopaedia Britannica, January 15, 2022, Accessed 13 March 2022, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Battles-of-Isandlwana-and-Rorkes-Drift>

⁶⁷³ There have been some accounts of 'Men of Harlech' was sung by the British 24th regiment at Rorke's Drift on their way into Zululand. As historian Ian Knight states, "no-one, I'm sorry to say, sang 'Men of Harlech' as the regimental march of the 24th regiment was 'The Warwickshire Lads'. The 'Men of Harlech' reference is based on speculation and is therefore a historic inaccuracy perpetuated by artistic license used in the 1964 film *Zulu*." Source: Ian Knight, "Myths of the Anglo-Zulu War," *History of the Anglo-Zulu War* website, 15 January 2022, Accessed 12 March 2022, URL: <https://kwazulu.co.uk/myths-of-the-anglo-zulu-war.html>

by the Suffolk Regiment, 12th of Foot), 'The Piper O'Dundee' (traditional Scottish tune), and Cock o the North (used by the Gordon Highlanders) to represent the country.^{674 675 676}

Although Burger represents Ireland as part of the United Kingdom in the form of an interpolation, its musical treatment is classified as a Dominion. He includes two folk songs, 'The Harp that once through Tara's Halls' and 'the Irish Washerwoman', instead of utilising regimental marches as in the previous interpolations.⁶⁷⁷ This is likely due to its status under the 1931 Statute of Westminster which established it as a dominion as well as the more recent second Constitution of Ireland (*Bunreacht na hÉireann*) of December 1937.

The reasoning behind representing the home countries with imperialist music is not directly addressed but could be interpreted as emphasising Great Britain's military strength while placing these home kingdoms on a higher status within the imperial hierarchy than all others with the exception of the England.

6.5.1 Cultural Imperialism?

Utilising the survey of *The Empire Sings!* and these observations, I return to the question of cultural imperialism. Is *The Empire Sings!* an example of cultural imperialism defined as:

"...an imposition by one usually politically or economically dominant community or various aspects of its own culture onto another non dominant community?"⁶⁷⁸

The history of the British empire is wrought with examples of the consequential effects of imperialist pursuits on the lives and cultures of the conquered. Each dominion, colony, protectorate and mandate within this program contain historic examples in this respect. Equally, this effect is not exclusive to the current territories of the British commonwealth or former empire. Numerous examples exist throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in other colonised areas by other imperial powers such as the American, Russian, French, Japanese or Turkish Ottoman empires. One only need look at the French Creole inclusions in Canada, or the Spanish Creole inclusions in the Caribbean and South America or the Eurocentric song inclusions in South Africa

⁶⁷⁴ David Murray, *Music of the Scottish Regiments* (Edinburgh: The Pentland Press, 1994), p.209.

⁶⁷⁵ Andrew Kuntz, "'Cock O' the North'," in *The Fiddler's Companion*, section CO-COLL, 1996-2010, accessed 31 March 2021, URL: www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/CO_COLL.htm

⁶⁷⁶ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, Manuscript score, Call No. MSS6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.66-83.

⁶⁷⁷ Julius Buerger, *The Empire Sings!*, Manuscript score, Call No. MSS6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London, p.225-244.

⁶⁷⁸ T. Weynand Tobin, "Cultural imperialism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, May 26, 2020, Accessed 22 Nov. 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/cultural-imperialism>

for examples of imperialism's cultural effect on the local populations. As Edward Said states in his 1994 work *Culture and Imperialism* :

Hardly any North American, African, European, Latin American, Indian Caribbean, Australian individual - the list is very long- who is alive today has not been touched by the empires of the past.⁶⁷⁹

However, one will find few direct musical references in this potpourri glorifying the conquest of land or references to displacing or conquering indigenous peoples. There are incorporations of imperial music, classified in Jeffery Richard's work *Imperialism and Music*, which promote and reinforce the right to rule. Such examples in *The Empire Sings!* include military marches (Scotland, Wales) and the patriotic song 'Rule, Britannia!' in the closing section. If we return to the definition of cultural imperialism, "*the imposition by one usually politically or economically dominant community of various aspects of its own culture onto another non-dominant community*", *The Empire Sings!* can be categorised as such.⁶⁸⁰ It not only paints the Anglicised dominions as the end product of cultural imperialism, *The Empire Sings!* also repackages widely varying and geographically unrelated cultures into a monolithic British Imperial identity.

This approach isn't instigated through portrayals of violence or subjugation. It is, instead, implemented through a narrative of altruistic "benevolent" rule. This narrative, portraying a unified altruistic empire, was already well established in the programming of the BBC in the 1930s.⁶⁸¹ The dominant community (Britain) generally puts forth a narrative of empire which portrays their society in the best light while mitigating or omitting undesired portrayals. As Said notes, the dominant narrative shapes the identity of both the dominant and subdominant cultures.⁶⁸² His investigations into the projection of imperialism through cultural objects, such as the novel, showed the ability of narrative to shape the identity of a dominant society through their portrayal of the various strange regions of the world. Equally, the use of narrative also became the method with which colonised people used to assert their own identity and history.⁶⁸³ In other words, whoever controls the narrative can shape the perceptions and identity of their own culture as well as other subdominant cultures for their own benefit. However, the narrative of culture is not monolithic or autonomous and includes many varying interpretations and perspectives. Equally, empire is also unstable and requires constant reinforcement. Therefore, control of the narrative through appeals to tradition, national and religious identities, and

⁶⁷⁹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.4.

⁶⁸⁰ T. Weynand Tobin, "cultural imperialism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, May 26, 2020, Accessed 22 Nov. 2021, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/cultural-imperialism>

⁶⁸¹ Thomas Hajkowski, "From the war to Westminster Abbey: the BBC and the empire, 1939-53," in *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p.51.

⁶⁸² Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.xiii.

⁶⁸³ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.xiii.

patriotism by means of mass media systems (*i.e.* radio) becomes one of the most effective tools to perpetuate the imperial control through identity.⁶⁸⁴

The BBC was one of the main instruments in which to propagate the benevolent imperial family narrative in the 1920s and 1930s. In his 2010 work *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*, Thomas Hajkowski traces the BBC's prominent role in shaping British identity through the promotion of British culture and traditions in its programming. The BBC's championing of empire and the monarchy are also demonstrated to have played an important role in promoting the overall British Identity narrative.⁶⁸⁵ The corporation presided over a media monopoly from 1927 and became a consistent disseminator of the British culture and the pro-imperial narrative in the interwar years. It presented an image of the empire where the best of the British character and British institutions were at work. Equally, the BBC actively sought to justify and educate British listeners on the importance of empire through a broad range of program types including various lectures, features, plays outside broadcasts, variety and music.⁶⁸⁶

During the years immediately preceding the Second World War, the BBC re-emphasised its policy of projecting the benefits of empire through an altruistic narrative. This only increased as the political situation in Europe became increasingly tense in the late 1930s. In 1938, Basil Nicolls, head of program output, ordered the various program departments to maintain programming on empire as a dominant theme throughout the first three months of 1938. From April onward, this positive imperial narrative programming was given a central place as diplomacy began to break down in Europe.⁶⁸⁷

The dominant narratives within the BBC promoted a sense of imperial unity from the early 1930s. The corporation represented the Dominions as "British" in order to promote a narrative of fraternity and kinship through their adoption of British values and institutions. Other dominant narratives directed at the colonial territories focused on a mission which was less secular and less militaristic than was prevalent in the Victorian period. This approach instead promoted the concept of the altruistic British Empire's civilising mission which "...brought law, order, technology, and the rational use of resources to the colonies, producing benevolent modernisation."⁶⁸⁸ The Countries of the United Kingdom (England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland) and the British colonies were portrayed as the custodians and equal beneficiary of an economic relationship within the empire. This positive imperial narrative portrayed the British

⁶⁸⁴ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.396.

⁶⁸⁵ Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 3.

⁶⁸⁶ Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*, p.20-21.

⁶⁸⁷ Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*, p.43.

⁶⁸⁸ Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*, p.23.

Empire as something to be proud of, representing “power and the British genius for government and administration.”⁶⁸⁹

Burger does employ this narrative within *The Empire Sings!*. One example is apparent in the way he frames the music of the Dominions. Burger frames them with Anglocentric or Eurocentric music in the language of imperial governance - English. He also incorporates English language versions of the national anthems for each dominion into their respective segments. This frames them as evolved, self-autonomous states and portrays them as the result of the benevolent civilising mission who are now on equal footing as members of the commonwealth family. The numerous British colonies are portrayed at various stages in the process. The India section, for example, uses narration to portray the rational use of resources (*i.e.* the production of tea leaves) as an advancement toward this mission.

The general narrative associated with the native indigenous music of the colonial and mandate territories is written to show the incredibly diverse, “exotic” types of cultural music which are part of the fabric of the British empire. Despite the delineations between the treatment of dominions, colonies, protectorates and mandates, the concluding England section portrays each on equal footing as happy members of the larger British imperial family. The sentiment at the heart of the finale’s folk tune ‘Auld Lang Syne’ further supports the narrative of the happy imperial family, unified under the benevolent hand of a paternal figurehead- the King.

6.5.2 Aesthetic Shift

The Empire Sings! highlights a divergent narrative from the dominant cosmopolitan themes of Radio Potpourri produced in Burger’s first few years with the BBC. This shift toward Anglocentric subject themes first appears with the Miniature Potpourri *Boer War Songs* in mid 1937 and continued throughout 1938. They later remerged in the 1945 potpourri *Victory Rhapsody*, composed in celebration of the allied victory in Europe. Why did Julius Burger make this abrupt turn from composing successful radio programmes on a wide variety of subject themes in order to focus on Anglocentric themes of Great Britain and empire? Equally, what does this shift reveal about Burger’s own precarious situation as an émigré during this volatile period in 1930s Europe? Finally, what are the long-term influences of the Radio Potpourri on BBC programming and Burger’s own composing aesthetic?

By utilising archival documentation from the BBC Written Archive-Caversham and referencing it against established research on the BBC of the 1930s, primarily the works by Thomas Hajkowski

⁶⁸⁹ Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*, p.29.

(*The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*) and Jennifer Doctor (*The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936: Shaping a Nation's Tastes*), I present three possible explanations.

6.5.3 New Management

The first potential explanation for Burger's aesthetic shift could have resulted from a change in management within the BBC Variety department and the corporation's governing body. Although it is not always the case, changes in leadership are often accompanied by organisational staff restructuring and re-evaluations of current projects. In June 1937, Variety department director Eric Maschwitz resigned his position at the BBC to pursue a career as a scriptwriter for MGM Studios in Hollywood, California. Under his leadership (1933-1937) the young Variety department was established as an integral part of the corporation's programming. He is also credited with introducing many innovations which are now standard in the corporation's contemporary media practices, such as the 'series'.⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ Maschwitz and Variety department conductor/producer Stanford Robinson were Burger's primary points of contact in the first three years of his engagement with the company. As evident from archival correspondence in the BBC Written Archive-Caversham, the men had a good professional relationship which allowed Burger to bypass normal program proposal protocols and instead pitch prospective programmes directly to Maschwitz. The success of *Vienna* (1933) and *Holiday in Europe* (1934) were likely contributing factors to this arrangement. A letter from November 1934 shows this process in action as Maschwitz asked Burger to submit:

...outlines for three possible pot-pourris on the lines of "*Holiday in Europe*" and "*Offenbach*" and these seemed satisfactory, I could commission you to go ahead with them.⁶⁹²

Maschwitz's informality with colleagues of the Variety department, as indicated with his open-door policy, appears to have made him more approachable than other departmental heads within the BBC.⁶⁹³ Variety Producer John Watt (1901-1960) was chosen as Maschwitz's replacement as department director. Watt had his own successes with the BBC, such as the long running programme *Songs from the Shows* (1931-1958).⁶⁹⁴ Maschwitz's departure would have feasibly

⁶⁹⁰ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Media series (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), p.97-99.

⁶⁹¹ While his departure from the Variety department was permanent, he later returned to the BBC in 1958 as head of Television light entertainment (1958-61) and assistant advisor to the Television Controller until leaving for ITV in 1963. Source: Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.97-99.

⁶⁹² Eric Maschwitz, "Letter to Julius Burger," 12 November 1934, From Burger, Julius, '42-'51, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁶⁹³ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.49.

⁶⁹⁴ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.98.

presented some explanation for a change in Burger's potpourri subject themes. However, there is little to no documentation which confirms any major programming changes took place under Watt's leadership for the remainder of 1937 or in 1938.⁶⁹⁵

A second managerial change also occurred in this relative timeframe between 1937 and early 1939. John Reith, the BBC's director general, resigned on 30 June 1938. Reith had overseen the operation of the organisation from the beginning. He served as the first general manager of the British Broadcasting Company and, after its reformation into a corporation, was appointed as its first director general in 1927. He was succeeded by Frederick Wolff Ogilvie (1893-1949) who held the position until 1942. Reith was arguably one of the most powerful political players in the British Empire through his control of the monopolised BBC media empire. His governing principles and ideology, imbued with reverence for British imperial institutions as well as the monarchy, steered BBC programming from its inception.⁶⁹⁶

However, no documentation has been found which supports the argument Reith's departure would have directly affected programming within the Variety department. In addition, Reith's departure occurred well after the appearance of Burger's shift toward Anglocentric programming, which began with *Boer War Songs* in March of 1937. Therefore, this does not present a credible explanation for Burger's aesthetic shift.

6.5.4 Nationalism in British broadcasting

A second potential explanation for this aesthetic shift could derive from numerous influential organisations, both internally at the BBC and externally, who held influence on broadcast programming. These organisations, detailed in the following paragraphs, held the common goal of pressuring the BBC to broadcast a larger percentage of music which was British in origin and subject matter. One such influential body which promoted a pro-British nationalism narrative was the Music Advisory Committee. The panel included an eight-man committee with an additional committee chair (Sir Hugh Allen). The panel originally comprised of Dr. E.C. Bairstow, Sir Walford Davies, Sir Hugh Allen, Sir J. B. Mc Ewen, Sir Landon Ronald, Colonel J.C. Somerville, Dr. W. G. Whittaker as well as the President of the Incorporated Society of Musicians.⁶⁹⁷ The panel held nationalist leanings and worked to promote works by British composers as well as works which promoted British culture and values.

⁶⁹⁵ Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.59.

⁶⁹⁶ Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*, p. 25.

⁶⁹⁷ Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936 : Shaping a Nation's Tastes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.232.

As Jennifer Doctor notes in her 1999 work, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936 : Shaping a Nation's Tastes*, the Music Advisory Committee was eventually successful in the formation of a further panel, Music programme Advisory Panel, to help achieve these goals. The Music programme Advisory Panel was influential in the BBC's music programming from 1934 onward. Among the committee's many official duties was the requirement to read and evaluate scores submitted for broadcasting consideration.⁶⁹⁸ Through this process, the panel was in position to shape programming by correcting what they perceived as a lack of broadcasting opportunities and under representation of British composers within Great Britain. The panel was focused on a fundamental question - did the programmes adequately represent British musical interests, British composers and British performers?⁶⁹⁹

This particular question was channelled into four main areas of interest. The first focused on the balance between contemporary and standard repertoire while the second was designed to promote the interests of British musicians over others. A third area focused on the qualifications of the corporation's staff and the final was concerned with the influence of the committee itself.⁷⁰⁰ The issue of nationalism was continually debated throughout the 1930s and became more central to programming concerns as the political situation in Europe caused ever growing numbers of émigré composers and musicians to seek refuge and opportunities in Great Britain.⁷⁰¹ Although the Music Advisory Committee had oversight of programming at the BBC, there is little or no evidence of their direct intervention in Burger's proposed potpourri programmes within the Variety department between 1937-38.

Aside from these influential organisations within the BBC, the Variety department was also subjected to external pressure over concerns of their representation or lack thereof, of British identity in the 1930s. In 1936, a year prior to Burger's 1937 Anglocentric shift, *Radio Pictorial* magazine complained British songwriters were being undermined in the BBC through the corporation's under representation of British music. The magazine's staff claimed the BBC was broadcasting songs disguised as British due to the fact they were published Britain, although not composed by British nationals. In response, the BBC set a minimum quota of 20% British compositions to be broadcast. This could have feasibly been a contributor to Burger's shift in subject themes. However, the focus of *Radio Pictorial's* campaign was primarily interested in the broadcast of dance tunes. Although Burger did occasionally use contemporary dance tunes in his music, they were used infrequently and would not have been prominent enough to contribute to

⁶⁹⁸ Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936 : Shaping a Nation's Tastes*, p.288.

⁶⁹⁹ Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936 : Shaping a Nation's Tastes*, p.233.

⁷⁰⁰ Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936 : Shaping a Nation's Tastes*, p.233.

⁷⁰¹ Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936 : Shaping a Nation's Tastes*, p.240.

an overall shift in the Radio Potpourri's aesthetic. While the quota could have posed a concern, it likely would not have directly affected Burger's Radio Potpourri.⁷⁰²

Other examples of external pressure on the BBC in promotion of British nationalism in music includes an open complaint letter which expressed the opinion the corporation should limit music broadcasts of foreign composers. The 1940 letter was signed by numerous figures from the British music establishment such as Frederic Austin, Granville Bantock, Thomas Dunhill, Theodore Holland, John Ireland, Sidney Jones, Constant Lambert, Martin Shaw, Ethel Smyth and Ralph Vaughan Williams.⁷⁰³

According to Musicologist Florian Scheduling, by mid-July 1940, the BBC had compiled a confidential blacklist of seventy-three Austrian-born and two hundred and thirty-nine German-born composers. These banned artists could no longer have their works performed on the corporation's airwaves. This list was revised and extended during the war years to include 117 Austrians and 248 Germans.⁷⁰⁴ The xenophobic sentiment against the employment of these Austrian and German refugees was successfully promoted on behalf the Incorporated Society of Musicians (ISM) by George Dyson, the director of the Royal College of Music - London.⁷⁰⁵ British pro-nationalist campaigns posed major consequences for the ever-growing group of émigré composers and musicians throughout the Second World War period. However, since these examples occurred after Burger's Anglocentric shift, they cannot explain Burger's own change in aesthetic.

A further realm of influence stems from BBC director general John Reith (1889-1971). According to historian Thomas Hajkowski, Reith held a strong conviction in the power of the BBC as a medium in which to promote British imperial identity.⁷⁰⁶ One only need to look at the warm relationship between the BBC, the Empire Day Movement and the Empire Marketing Board as examples of this conviction in practice. In addition, many key positions at the BBC were held by like-minded conservative men with imperial sympathies.⁷⁰⁷ Two examples include Stephen Talents, who became BBC Public relations director in 1935 (formerly employed by the Empire Marketing Board) and Sir Richard Macconachie, who was appointed the BBC Director of Talks

⁷⁰² Martin Dibbs, *Radio Fun and the BBC Variety Department, 1922-67: Comedy and Popular Music on Air*, p.71.

⁷⁰³ Frederic Austin, Granville Bantock, Thams Dunhill, Theodore Holland, Martin Shaw, and Ethel Smyth. 1940, "The BBC and British Composers," *The Author*, 51:1 (1940), p.10.

⁷⁰⁴ Florian Scheduling, "Problematic Tendencies': Émigré Composers in London, 1933–1945," in *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music*. Levi, E. (ed.). (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), p. 247-271.

⁷⁰⁵ Florian Scheduling, "Airwaves in London," in *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019), p.87.

⁷⁰⁶ Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*, p. 25.

⁷⁰⁷ Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*, p.25.

department in 1937 (former Indian Civil Servant). While they held nationalist sentiments, none had direct interactions with the Variety Department's light music programming in this period.

Despite no direct examples, the rising British nationalism in music of the 1930s could be a feasible reason for an aesthetic shift in Burger's Radio Potpourri. It is unlikely Burger could have avoided the increased nationalist sentiments in Great Britain during the late 1930s. This could have also influenced his aesthetic shift. However, no direct evidence of the previous examples have been shown to be contributing factors to Burger's Radio Potpourri aesthetic shift.

6.5.5 Nationalism and migration

While the previous two reasons offer plausible foundations from which to explain the abrupt change in Burger's potpourri subject themes, little evidence exists which shows a direct correlation with Burger's work in the BBC Variety department between 1937 and 1938. A third potential explanation for this aesthetic shift considers the volatile geopolitical situation in Europe in the latter half of the 1930s as well as Burger's transient situation within the wider geopolitical context. This research proposes Burger saw a thematic shift as a way to gain favour within the BBC, particularly within the Variety department. The BBC was the main disseminator of British identity and a powerful imperial advocate within the power structures of Great Britain in the 1930s. A portfolio of music utilising a pro-British narrative could have served as tangible evidence of favourable opinions and allegiance to Great Britain and the British people. A hypothetical portfolio, coupled with letters of recommendation, could potentially have improved Burger's chances of gaining a permit to remain in the United Kingdom after the unsuccessful application in mid 1936.

By 1936, Burger's Radio Potpourris were a mainstay of BBC Variety programming. Burger's contracts with the company had produced seven hour-long Grand Potpourris, at least seven Miniature Potpourri and numerous arrangements for broadcast in various programmes. Despite this success, the entirety of Burger's compositions for the corporation had been done from a transient existence while he lived in short let apartments and hotels throughout Vienna, Paris, Brussels and London. Visits to London were generally brief and were for purposes of production planning and attending final rehearsals as well as broadcast premieres. The regular process of production which Burger enjoyed while working for the Berlin Funkstunde was much more sporadic and inconsistent in his interactions with the BBC. This was primarily due to the issues surrounding his immigration status which rendered him unable to stay in the country for extended periods of time. Stages of production which are generally taken for granted, including regular in person contact with production team, attending rehearsals and making any last-minute

rewrites were complicated by this distance. The primary mode of communication between parties was heavily reliant on the postal service. This meant BBC production teams could potentially wait a period of days or weeks for response to any pressing questions or changes to the score.

In the Autumn of 1936, Burger enlisted London solicitors Strong and Co. to help facilitate his residency application to the British Home Office. Among a litany of documentation, the tedious application process required officials from the BBC Variety department to complete an application to employ a foreigner already in the United Kingdom under the *Ministry of Labour order, 1920- Article 1(3) (b)*.⁷⁰⁸ Internal memos of the period point to the value of Burger's contributions to the BBC programming and an apparent willingness to aid in the application process. However, his status as a composer under "special contract" precluded him from claiming the BBC as a full-time employer; a pivotal requirement of the application. A memo by BBC Variety Executive Mungo Dewar (1898-1976) from 30 September 1936 lays out the situation posed by Burger's work with the company. It equally highlights Burger's contributions to the company:

D.V. [Director of Variety] has passed me the attached letter from Strong & Co., 61 Grace church Street, E.C.3., who are acting for Dr. Burger. Attached also is the Ministry of Labour form of application to employ a foreigner already in the United Kingdom.

I have discussed this with D.V., but cannot see how the B.B.C. can in any way, be regarded as an "employer". Dr. Burger is the inventor of a special type of programme called a "Potpourri". He has done several of these for us, such as the "Johann Strauss Potpourri", "Liebestraum", "World Tour", etc. They entail a great amount of work and research and, from our point of view, it is much more convenient for him to be in this country when doing the material because he is then available for consultation with M.D.V. and the Producer of the programme. In fact it would be very difficult business to put on such programmes merely with the scores if Dr. Burger were not resident in England.

Dewar also makes a statement which gives some credibility to the influence of nationalism within BBC policy during this period:

It might be argued that we could get English composer to do this kind of work, but we have found that they have not the flair for it, and even if we could find composer to do it, I feel that we could then be accused of more or less stealing his [Burger's] ideas.

He concludes the memo:

⁷⁰⁸ Sources: Strong and Co. Solicitors, "Letter to Eric Maschwitz - Director of BBC Variety department," 29 September 1936, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England. ; Ministry of Labour, "Aliens Order, 1920 - Article 1 (3) (b) : Application for Permission to Employ a Foreigner Already in the United Kingdom," Blank form, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

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There is no “employment”, as far as we are concerned; his work is entirely original and each production is the subject of a special contract.⁷⁰⁹

This letter is significant. It highlights the BBC’s recognition of Burger’s original contributions and the importance of his physical proximity in the production phases for broadcast. The memo shows a willingness to advocate, to an extent, for Burger’s application despite his employment status. These sentiments were formalised in a letter from Variety’s Business Manager to the Secretary for the Ministry of Labour the following day.⁷¹⁰ Despite the efforts of solicitors Strong and Co. and a letter of support from the BBC, archival correspondence from the BBC Written Archive reveal Burger’s application to remain in England was rejected in late October 1936.⁷¹¹ After further discussions among Variety department management, an additional letter was sent on 30 October 1936 to the Ministry of Labour emphasising Burger’s important skill set as a composer of Radio Potpourri, the inability to find an English composer who has a “flair” for the work in question and the difficulty Burger’s physical absence caused the projects.⁷¹² However, this was equally unsuccessful, as evident in a letter dated 10 November 1936 from the Under Secretary of State Farnsworth. He indicated the matter cannot be reconsidered and Burger’s application remains rejected.⁷¹³ Despite his inability to remain in the UK, Burger continued to compose and arrange for the BBC. By 28 November 1936, as indicated by his next correspondence, he had returned to Austria and was utilising friend Dr. Antonie Weller’s dental office in Vienna’s 2nd District for official correspondence.⁷¹⁴

Burger’s most recent Grand Potpourri, *Johann Strauss : A Biography in Music*, premiered on the BBC thirteen days prior. All his previous Grand Potpourri to this point were cosmopolitan in nature and varied on a wide spectrum of subject themes. After the November 1936 broadcast, Burger’s potpourri subject themes are markedly different. His next potpourri, the miniature work *Boer War Songs*, was broadcast 14 March 1937 as part of the series *Victorian Melodies*.⁷¹⁵ This

⁷⁰⁹ M.M. Dewar, “Dr. Julius Burger,” BBC Internal Memo, 30 September 1936, From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre – Caversham, England.

⁷¹⁰ Office of BBC Variety, “Letter to Ministry of Labour RE: Julius Burger,” 1 October 1936, From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre – Caversham, England.

⁷¹¹ Mark Lubbock, “Internal memo: Dr. Julius Buerger,” 28 October 1936, From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁷¹² Office of BBC Variety, “Letter to Ministry of Labour RE: Julius Burger,” 1 October 1936, From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre – Caversham, England.

⁷¹³ Office of Under Secretary of State Farnsworth, “Letter to BBC, Re: Julius Burger,” 10 November 1936, From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁷¹⁴ Julius Burger, “Letter to Mr. Lowe, BBC Variety Dept.,” 28 November 1936, From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁷¹⁵ Contributor, “Boer War Songs’ as part of *Victorian Melodies*,” *The Radio Times*, 12 March 1937, Vol. 54, No. 702, p.22.

Historic potpourri utilises imperial themed music hall and parlour songs popular during the period surrounding the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and is definitively Anglocentric in its framing as part of the *Victorian Melodies* programme.⁷¹⁶

6.5.6 No Fixed Abode

Throughout 1937, Burger drifted between numerous addresses in Vienna and Paris. Despite being required at rehearsals in preparation for premiere Grand Potpourri *Themes of London* on 8 December of 1937, Burger was not granted permission to enter the UK in time. He instead tried unsuccessfully to listen to the work via radio from his accommodation in Paris.⁷¹⁷ The Anglocentric “*Ode to London*” was first conceived as a celebration for the coronation of George VI in May of that year. It was retooled as a celebration of London throughout several centuries utilising a wide variety of music from the British Isles. However, two successive Anglocentric themed potpourri cannot be taken as a clear indicator of a shift in aesthetic.

After a return to the UK in early 1938, a third Anglocentric potpourri (*The Empire Sings!*) had been agreed upon in principle as the geopolitical situation in Europe continued to unravel. According to numerous written accounts as well as an interview with friend Dr. Trude Zörer, Julius and his wife Rose (Rosl) left the United Kingdom in early February 1938 for Vienna as rumours were circulating of a potential plebiscite vote on the question of Austria’s annexation into greater Germany.⁷¹⁸ The couple took this decision to return despite no official proclamation or designated date for the vote. A visit to see family, particularly Burger’s elderly widowed mother Chaje, likely also played into the decision. According to Dr. Zörer, the Burgers were at a Paris train station in order to make their connecting train toward Vienna when Julius saw a newspaper headline featuring a meeting between Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg (1897-1977) and Adolf Hitler held at his Berghof estate near Berchtesgaden, Germany.⁷¹⁹ The Burgers saw the meeting as a bad omen and

⁷¹⁶ Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “South African War,” Encyclopaedia Britannica, October 4, 2021, Accessed 23 January 2022, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/event/South-African-War>

⁷¹⁷ “Unfortunately I could not hear “*Themes of London*” on Wednesday. The reception was very bad and I heard almost nothing else than a French station which near to National. I am living very near the Eiffel Tower where a radio station is installed. I depend on the program of this station. If there is a talk than it is easier. But too different musics together is hell. I thank you very much for your telegram which at least made me sure that everything was all right.” Source: Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson, Re: Themes of London,” 10 December 1937, From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁷¹⁸ Dr. Trude Zörer, Interview by Ryan Hugh Ross on the life of Julius Burger (Bürger), Question 25-26, 30 October 2019.

⁷¹⁹ Sources: Dr. Trude Zörer, interview by Ryan Hugh Ross on the life of Julius Burger (Bürger), Questions 25-26, 30 October 2019. ; Malcolm MacDonald, “Julius Burger (1897-1995): Orchestral Music,” Liner Notes, Radio Symphonie Orchester, Berlin, cond. Simone Young, recorded 26-28, 30 September 1994, Toccata Classics, TOCC 0001, 2007, CD, p.3-4.

abandoned their prior itinerary. They went instead to stay in the French Riviera resort town of Juan les Pins while they assessed the situation.⁷²⁰

The meeting between Schuschnigg and Hitler was the culmination of an intimidation campaign by the Nazi regime. The ultimate goal of which was to assume full control of Austria and incorporate the country into Germany. During the meeting, Chancellor Schuschnigg acceded several of Hitler's demands. These were then formalised in the *Berchtesgaden Agreement* signed at the estate. The agreement set out three main principles. First, Austria's foreign and military policies would be coordinated with Germany under the appointment of pro-Nazi Edmund Glaise-Horestenau (1882-1946) as Minister of War. Secondly, Prominent Austrian Nazi Arthur Seyss-Inquart (1892-1946) was to be appointed Minister of the Interior to oversee the country's policing and security matters. Third, the ban on Austrian Nazi Party was to be lifted and amnesty would be granted to Austrian Nazis who had been jailed under the legislation.⁷²¹

Several weeks later, on 9 March 1938, Chancellor Schuschnigg changed his stance. He formally announced a plebiscite referendum for 13 March 1938 to decide the question of Austrian Independence. The fateful announcement instigated the Nazi Anschluss of Austria - beginning with a series of ultimatums from Hitler to Schuschnigg on 11 March. Demands included a cancellation of the plebiscite, Schuschnigg's resignation as chancellor and Sees-Inquart's appointment as chancellor. Schuschnigg again acceded to the demands and cancelled the scheduled plebiscite. Shortly after midnight on 12 March, Austrian President Wilhelm Miklas (1872-1956) fulfilled Hitler's remaining demands. German troops then entered the country in the early hours greeted by a warm reception from the local Austrian population.⁷²² The following day, 13 March 1938, newly appointed Chancellor Seyss-Inquart signed into law the *Reunification of Austria with Germany (Widervereinigung Österreichs mit dem Deutschen Reich)* which formally incorporated Austria into Nazi Germany.⁷²³ Shortly after, Hitler announced his own plebiscite vote

⁷²⁰ Several pieces of correspondence between Julius Burger and the BBC in this period does indicate he and his wife were in Juan les Pins, France between 3 March 1938 until at least 5 April 1938 as indicated in the manuscript score for *The Empire Sings!* Whether he was in Paris on the 13th of February when the Berghof meeting headline ran in the majority of French papers cannot currently be verified through documentation. Other correspondence in the BBC Written Archive, in the form of a letter to Stanford Robinson on 14 April 1938, indicates the Burgers left Juan les Pins and returned to Paris in the days which followed. Sources: Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson Re: The Empire Sings!," 4 March 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England. ; Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson Re: The Empire Sings! Performance dates," 14 April 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England. ; Julius Burger, *The Empire Sings!*, Manuscript score, Call No. Buerger. MSS6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale - London.

⁷²¹ William L. Shirer, "Anschluss: the rape of Austria," in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich : A History of Nazi Germany* (New York: Simon and Schuster Publishing, 1959), p.325-330.

⁷²² William L. Shirer, "Anschluss: the rape of Austria," in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich : A History of Nazi Germany* (New York: Simon and Schuster Publishing, 1959), p.322-356.

⁷²³ William L. Shirer, "Anschluss: the rape of Austria," p.350.

for Austria, to be held on 10 April. The results, excluding an estimated 300 to 400 thousand Jews, Roma and political opponents, returned a vote in favour of annexation with approximate approval rating of 99%.⁷²⁴

According to Historian Martin Gilbert (1936-2015), while the process of isolation and abuse of Jews in Germany was a gradual process occurring over several years, the effects in the Austrian capital of Vienna after annexation were immediate. Vienna's Jews, which comprised of a sixth of the city's population, were immediately deprived of all civil rights including the right to own property, the right to give or possess employment, the right to exercise any profession as well as a ban on entering public places, cafes and restaurants. Public humiliation, physical assaults and executions as well as looting and destruction of Jewish owned property were openly permitted.⁷²⁵

This geopolitical overview is significant to this conversation for several reasons. It effectively highlights that Burger's situation had drastically declined to the point where could no longer safely return to his native country. He now needed to seek more permanent refuge elsewhere after previously relocating to Belgium between February and June of 1935. Over the following two years (July 1935- August 1937), Burger resided in various accommodations throughout London and Vienna until September 1937. According to archival correspondence, he then relocated to Paris from the Autumn of 1937 with several excursions to London and the French Riviera in the first four months of 1938. It is evident through documentation Burger planned and composed the third Anglocentric work *The Empire Sings!* throughout these volatile weeks. According to the manuscript score, Burger completed *The Empire Sings!* On 5 April 1938- five days before the second plebiscite vote in Austria.⁷²⁶ Shortly after, he returned to Paris where he took up residence in the Hotel d'Normandie.⁷²⁷ One only need to glance at his correspondence addresses between 1932 and 1940, particularly the frequency between 1937 and 1939, to see Burger's tenuous existence.

⁷²⁴ William L. Shirer, "Anschluss: the rape of Austria," p.350-356.

⁷²⁵ Martin Gilbert, "Hunted like rats," in *The Holocaust : A History of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War* (London: William Collins Sons and Co., Ltd, 1986), p.57-65.

⁷²⁶ Julius Burger, *The Empire Sings!*, Manuscript score, Call No. Buerger - MSS6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale, London.

⁷²⁷ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson Re: The Empire Sings! Performance dates," 14 April 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

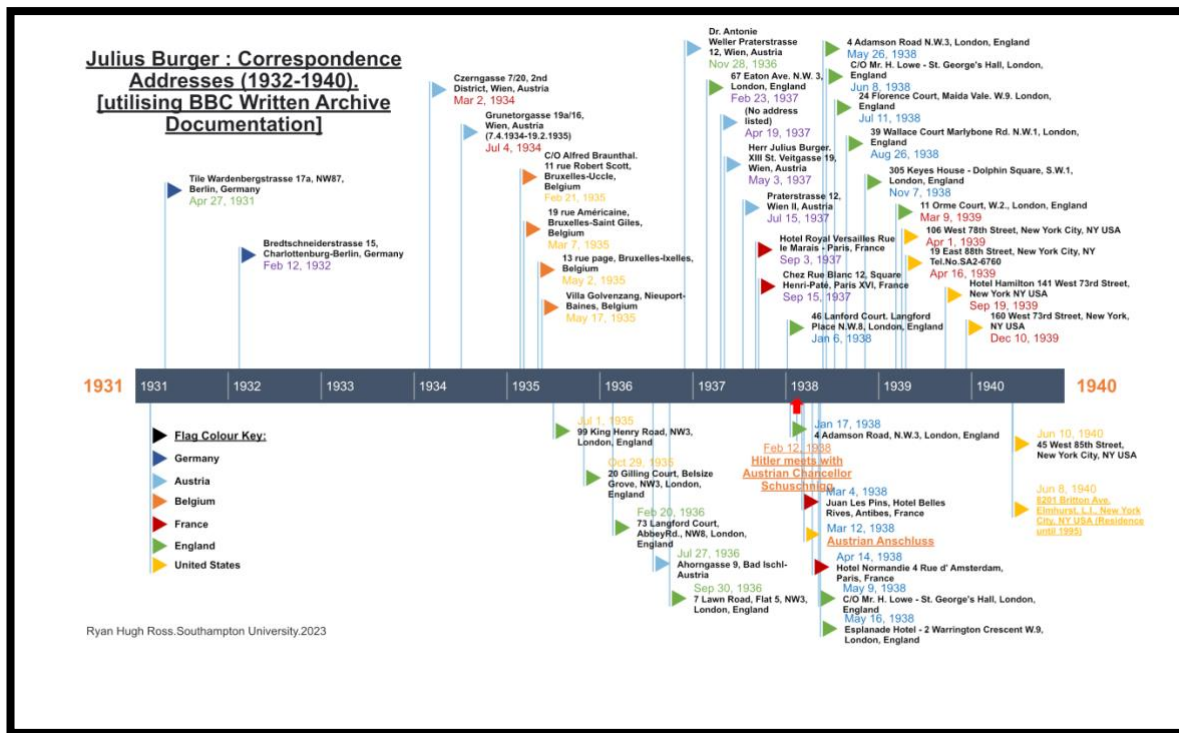


Figure 6.3 Julius Burger's Correspondence Addresses (1932-40)

Second, Burger's need for concrete guarantees to remain in the UK became a paramount concern as the BBC was now his only immediate source of income. Employment in Austria was no longer an option after anti-Semitic laws, implemented after the country's annexation in mid-March 1938, effectively stripped him of his rights. By early May, Burger had returned to London to work on a fourth Anglocentric programme, a new series or Chapter Potpourri titled *Songs of the British Isles*. This musical series consisted of segments or chapters comprised of folk music from the British Isles and, aside from other arranging duties, shows further intent to ingratiate with the producers of the BBC in order to remain in the UK. Between 7 May and 5 June 1938, Burger had four Anglocentric works broadcast by the BBC including the first segment of *Songs of the British Isles* (arr. of 'Simon the Cellarer' and 'Oh, No John!'; 7 May 1938), The premiere and encore performances of *The Empire Sings!* (22 May 1938 at 9:05PM on BBC Nation ; 23 May 1938 at 6PM on BBC Regional) and the second segment of *Songs of the British Isles* (arr. of 'Sir Elgamore'; 5 June 1938).⁷²⁸

By late June 1938, BBC programme contracts executive P.E. Curtwell renewed efforts of appeal on Burger's behalf to the Secretary of Ministry of Labour (aliens department) requesting the Home

⁷²⁸ Sources: Contributor, "Songs of the British Isles, No.1," *Radio Times*, 1 May 1938, Vol.59, No. 761, p.77, 80. ; Contributor, "The Empire Sings!," *Radio Times*, 22 May 1938, Vol. 59, No. 764, p.18, 28, 30. ; Contributor, "Songs of the British Isles, No.2," *Radio Times*, 3 June 1938, Vol. 59, No. 766, p.26, 28.

office reconsider the unfavourable decision of October 1936.⁷²⁹ A positive outcome would have allowed Burger to reside after his temporary visa expired on 30 July 1938. However, this appeal was also rejected by the UK Home Office in a 12 July 1938 letter.⁷³⁰ Six days later, Burger visited Curtwell at his office in London and was informed of the rejection. He was then required to leave the country by the end of the month and return to a situation of uncertainty in Paris.

As indicated by a flurry of letters between the 18th and 22nd of July, Burger instead chose to make an application to emigrate to the United States. The application process required a litany of documents, among them a proof of financial solvency as well as an affidavit from an American citizen to advocate on the applicant's behalf. BBC colleague Stanford Robinson was instrumental in prompting BBC management to aid Burger in the process. Variety Executive Curtwell's office issued several letters on Burger's behalf to the American Embassy London as well as the UK Home Office on 19 July 1938 detailing his work with the corporation, estimates of his income and expressing an intent to continue employing Burger once he arrived in the United States.⁷³¹ The required affidavit of support was provided by a former colleague whose Burger had worked with in Berlin, the American operatic tenor Charles Kullman (1903-1983).⁷³² The BBC Written Archives do not contain a document from the Home Office explicitly expressing permission for Burger to remain in the UK while his application is pending. However, his correspondence addresses on BBC archival documentation between July 1938 and March 1939 indicate Burger was present in Britain until the process was complete.⁷³³

Despite the numerous rejections from the UK Home Office, Burger continued arranging for the *Songs of the British Isles* programme and produced three further chapters including a Miniature Potpourri titled *Morris Dances* (Segment 3: 14 August 1938 at 9:05PM on BBC National Service), a miniature titled *Regimental Marches* (Segment 4: 18 September 1938 at 9:05PM on BBC National

⁷²⁹ P.E. Curtwell, "Letter to Ministry of Labour, Re: Julius Burger," 24 June 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁷³⁰ M. Powell, "Letter to BBC Re: Julius Burger," 12 July 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁷³¹ Sources: P.E. Curtwell, "Draft Letter to American Embassy, Re: Julius Burger," 19 July 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England. ; P.E. Curtwell, "Internal Memo Re: Julius Burger," 19 July 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England. ; P.E. Curtwell, "Letter to Julius Burger," 19 July 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England. ; Julius Burger, "Letter to P.E. Curtwell," 20 July 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England. ; P.E. Curtwell, "Letter to Julius Burger Re: application letters," 20 July 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England. ; P.E. Curtwell, "Letter to Julius Burger Re: Fee figures," 22 July 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre – Caversham, England.

⁷³² Julius Burger, "Julius Burger speaks to Trude Zörer on his friendship with Joseph Schmidt," interview by Dr. Trude Zörer, date of recording unknown, audio, 24:22, from the Private collection of Dr. Trude Zörer.

⁷³³ See *Julius Burger : Correspondence Addresses (1932-1940)* in the Appendix.

Service) and a miniature titled *Sea Shanties* (Segment 6: 7 November 1938 at 8:30PM on BBC National Service).⁷³⁴ This shift in potpourri subject themes, from a cosmopolitan aesthetic to one of Anglocentric nationalism and imperialism, coincides directly with Burger's attempts to gain refuge in the UK. The geopolitical volatility in Europe of the period, coupled with Burger's increasingly transient existence provides a feasible explanation for the shift in Radio Potpourri aesthetic. Additionally, evidence suggests this change in aesthetic was instigated to prove loyalty and gain favour within the BBC with the ultimate goal of obtaining refugee status in the UK. Burger lacked prominent support in the UK which his émigré colleagues benefited from, such as the noted Cambridge University music professor Edward Dent (1876-1957). Despite this fact, Burger found tenuous advocates within the BBC.

Although his attempts to permanently reside in the UK failed, he was successful in gaining a prolonged stay in the UK until his US application to emigrate was approved. The Burgers then left the United Kingdom from the port in Southampton aboard the RMS Aquitania on 25 March 1939 and arrived in New York City six days later. Poignantly, their nationality is listed as "Stateless."⁷³⁵

6.6 Radio Potpourri Influences

Between 1939 and 1945, Burger produced three further Grand Potpourri for the BBC despite residing over three thousand miles away in New York City. Two of which, *New World Rhapsody* (1942) and *Victory Rhapsody* (1945), were broadcast at least three times each while a third, *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody* (1945), remains unperformed. Of these three, the *Victory Rhapsody* continues on previous Anglocentric subject themes. As the name indicates, it was written in anticipation of Germany's defeat in May 1945. The work, also titled *The Nations Sing!*, premiered on 13 May 1945 at 9:30PM and was rebroadcast four more times throughout May and November on the BBC Home Service as well as the General Forces Service.⁷³⁶ The work is described in the 10 May 1945 issue of Radio Times as:

"A Victory Rhapsody of songs and dances from the British Commonwealth..."⁷³⁷

⁷³⁴ Sources: Contributor, "Songs of the British Isles, No.3," *Radio Times*, 12 August 1938, Vol.60, No. 776, p.18, 29. ; Contributor, "Songs of the British Isles, No. 4," *Radio Times*, 16 September 1938, Vol. 60, No. 781, p.24. ; Contributor, "Songs of the British Isles, No.6," *Radio Times*, 26 August 1938, Vol. 61, No.788, p.34.

⁷³⁵ Sources: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897. Microfilm Publication M237, 675 rolls. NAI: 6256867. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36. National Archives at Washington, D.C. ; Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897. Microfilm Publication M237, 675 rolls. NAI: 6256867. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36. National Archives at Washington, D.C.

⁷³⁶ See "Radio Potpourri : BBC compositions 1933-1945" catalogue in appendix.

⁷³⁷ Contributor, "Victory Rhapsody," *Radio Times*, 10 May 1945, Vol. 87, No. 1128, p.12.

This differs slightly from Burger's description of the work in a letter to Stanford Robinson in which he describes the work as follows:

The potpourri consists of two parts, a selection of folk music and the "parade". I could not represent all the nations in the first part for lack of time, but all the 33 nations are represented in the Parade. The narration will be important, I think.⁷³⁸

Its prominent inclusion on the BBC's Home Service, broadcasted four days after Germany's official surrender on 9 May 1945, is an example of the Radio Potpourri's significant historic contributions to BBC programming which has been overlooked.

6.6.1 Wider influences of Radio Potpourri on BBC Programming : The Émigré composers

Between 1933 and 1945, an estimated seventy composers and some four hundred musicians immigrated to Great Britain from Germany.⁷³⁹ Despite Julius Burger's contributions to the Corporation's broadcasting in the 1930s, his time with the organisation has been largely forgotten. Émigré figures such as Walter Goehr, Leo Wurmser, Ernst Hermann Meyer, Artur Willner and Franz Reizenstein, Berthold Goldschmidt and Mátyás Seiber have received some recognition for their work within The BBC of the period. Florian Scheduling's paper from 2014 *Problematic Tendencies* provides a glimpse at many of these émigré figures and their contributions through the Second World War period but curiously does not include Julius Burger.⁷⁴⁰ One reason for this oversight is likely due to the scarce and sporadic research dedicated to the originator of the Radio Potpourri to date.

In his paper, Scheduling emphasises the scarcity of émigré programming from the period and claims between 1933 and 1945, only six orchestrations or arrangements of other works were accepted for broadcast by émigré composers.⁷⁴¹ He goes on to list these works: two represent orchestrations arrangements of other works (Hans Gal's (1890-1987) orchestration of Schubert's *Divertissement* – broadcast 8 November 1939) and Mátyás Seiber's arrangement of *Four Greek Songs* for soprano and string orchestra - broadcast 1 February 1945)) and the remaining four are representative of light music (Ernst Toch's (1887-1964) *Bunte Suite* - broadcast 8 January 1934), Fritz Hart's Fantasy - *Cold Blows the Wind* – broadcast 25 September 1936), Karol Rathaus' (1895-

⁷³⁸ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 11 January 1945, From Burger, Julius, '42-'51, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre - Caversham, England.

⁷³⁹ See Erik Levi, "The German Jewish Contributions to Musical life in Britain," in *Second Chance : Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, ed. Werner Mosse, Julius Carlebach, Gerhard Hirschfeld, Aubrey Newman, Arnold Paucker, and Peter Pulzer (Tübingen : Mohr, 1991), p. 279.

⁷⁴⁰ Florian Scheduling, "Problematic Tendencies': Émigré Composers in London, 1933–1945," *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music*. Ed. Erik Levi (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), p. 247-271.

⁷⁴¹ Florian Scheduling, 'Problematic Tendencies': Émigré Composers in London, 1933–1945," *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music*. Ed. Erik Levi (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), p. 254.

1954) *Serenade* – broadcast 30 October 1936) and his suite *The Lion in Love* – broadcast 13 May 1938).⁷⁴²

This brief list, whether meant as an example to highlight the limited broadcasts of émigré works or as a comprehensive register, fails to acknowledge Burger and his potpourri from 1934-1945 as well as the dozens of arranged pieces by Burger which were also broadcast in various programmes. While it is true the bulk of pieces incorporated into these Radio Potpourris were not composed by Burger himself, the hour-long programmes stand as original compositions utilising other thematic material combined with incidental music to form a new work. At least thirteen Grand Potpourris as well as multiple Miniature Potpourri, arrangements and orchestrations were premiered during this period with the majority rebroadcast or revived later.

Scheding also states that within the realm of émigré works, which were broadcast by the BBC from 1933-1945, no émigré compositions could be heard on the Home Service at the height of the war. Whether he is pointing to ‘original’ compositions or compositions of any kind, arranged and orchestrated, this is not accurate. Upon a preliminary search, I have located at least six Radio Potpourris which were included on BBC Home Service programming from 1939 to 1945. These include *The Empire Sings!* (18 February 1940), *Johann Strauss : A Biography in Music* (19 July 1942, 14 May 1944, 6 August 1944) *Liebestraum* (7 March 1943, 24 September 1944, 25 March 1945), *New World Rhapsody* (3 & 5 March 1944, 20 August 1944), *City of Music* (9 July 1944), *Life of Offenbach* (3 September 1944, 5 November 1944).⁷⁴³ Several of these were broadcast more than once in the period. Additional examples were broadcast on the BBC Home Service in the days and weeks following the Nazi Regime’s capitulation on 7 May 1945. These include the *Victory Rhapsody* (13 May 1945, 20 May 1945, 18 November 1945) and *City of Music* (26 May 1945, 28 May 1945).^{744 745} This is illustrated in the Figure 6.4.

⁷⁴² Florian Scheding, ‘Problematic Tendencies’: Émigré Composers in London, 1933–1945,” p. 254.

⁷⁴³ For more information, please see the *Julius Burger Composition Catalogue* in the appendix.

⁷⁴⁴ Sources: Contributor, “Victory Rhapsody,” *Radio Times*, 10 May 1945, Vol. 87, No. 1128, p.21 ; Contributor, “Victory Rhapsody,” *Radio Times*, 18 May 1945, Vol. 87, No. 1129, p.10. ; Contributor, “City of Music,” *Radio Times*, 24 August 1945, Vol.68, No. 1143, p. 6. ; Contributor, “City of Music,” *Radio Times*, *Radio Times*, Vol.68, No. 1143, p.11.

⁷⁴⁵ In addition to *Victory Rhapsody*’s performances on the BBC Home Service, the potpourri was also broadcast on the General Forces programme on 17 May 1945 as well as the BBC Light programme on 20 November 1945. Sources: Contributor, “Victory Rhapsody,” *Radio Times*, 10 May 1945, Vol. 87, No. 1128, p.21 ; Contributor, “Victory Rhapsody,” *Radio Times*, 16 Nov. 1945, Vol.89, No. 1155, p.15.

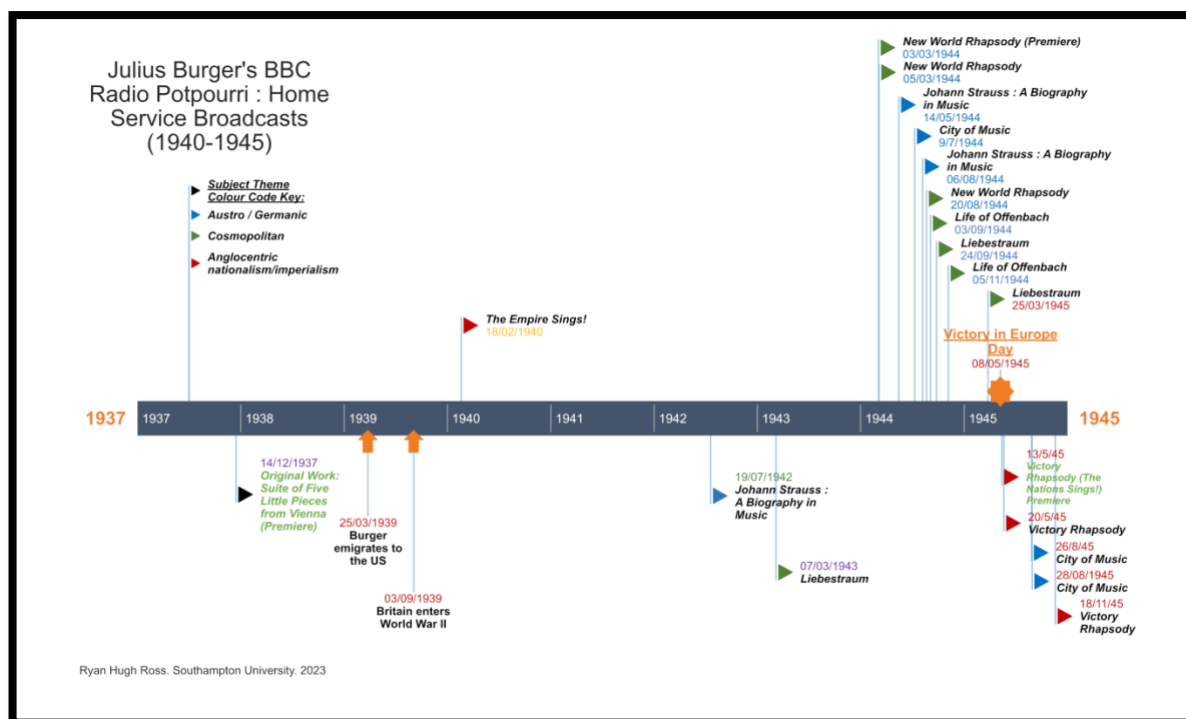


Figure 6.4 Radio Potpourri Home Service Broadcasts (1940-45)

A further work worth mention, titled *Suite of Five Little Pieces (from Vienna)*, was premiered by the BBC Theatre Orchestra and conducted by Stanford Robinson on 14 December 1937 at 10:20PM on the National service. The movements (*I. Schubert's Birthplace, II. Ballet in the Opera House, III. Changing of the Guard in the Burg-Ring, IV. IN Grinzing-Viennese Song and V. Merry-go-round in the Prater*) lend an air akin to a Miniature Geographic journey through Vienna (similar to *City of Music*). Broadcast of the work was accompanied by Quilter's *A Children's Overture* and a selection from Jaromír Weinberger's (1896-1967) *Schwanda the Bagpiper*, arranged by Emil Bauer (1874-1941).⁷⁴⁶ Whether this original orchestral work was scrutinised by the reading panel or how it may have come to be broadcast is not known. Its approval for broadcast could be thanks to the close friendship between Burger and BBC Theatre Orchestra conductor Stanford Robinson, who was the main point of contact for the composer.⁷⁴⁷ It joins the extremely brief list of compositions by émigré composers broadcast by the BBC from 1933 until 1946.

While the themes of these listed Radio Potpourri vary, curiously, several of the works which are solely or in part comprised of thematic material and folk music centred around the Austro-

⁷⁴⁶ The suite was broadcast on 14 December 1937 at 10:20PM on the BBC National Programme. Source: Contributor, "Suite of 5 Little Pieces by Julius Buerger," *The Radio Times*, 10 December 1937, Vol. 57, No. 741, p.44.

⁷⁴⁷ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 10 December 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre - Reading, England. ; Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 18 December 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre - Reading, England.

Germanic culture. *City of Music* contains music of many Austrian masters such as Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Johann Strauss. It also incorporates arrangements from Viennese operettas, folk melodies and utilises a Viennese Schrammel Quartet. The biographic work on Strauss (*Johann Strauss : A Biography in Music*) utilises thematic material and works by the waltz king.⁷⁴⁸ For the potpourri *Liebestraum*, Burger incorporates Romantic music by a largely Germanic/Austro-Hungarian cast of composers including Franz Liszt, Felix Mendelssohn, Johannes Brahms, Fritz Kreisler, Oscar Straus, Josef Strauss, Leo Fall, Franz Lehár and Heinrich Reinhardt. Other composers incorporated include French composer André Messager, Czech composer Bedřich Smetana, Cuban composer Moisés Simons, English Composers John Mais Capel and Frances Allitsen as well as Polish composer Frédéric Chopin.⁷⁴⁹ All three potpourri were broadcast during the Second World War on the BBC Radio Home Service.

A further Potpourri *Edwardian Melodies*, created for the “Sunday Serenade” programme, is listed as containing “special orchestrations” by not only Julius Burger (Buerger) but Leo Wurmser as well.⁷⁵⁰ All of Burger’s Radio Potpourri and arrangements were performed and broadcast between 1933-1945 with the immediate examples on the Home Service between 1939-1945.⁷⁵¹

6.6.1.1 Influence of potpourri on other composers

Evidence suggests the Radio Potpourri genre also influenced other composers within the BBC who tried their own hand at the genre. Examples from BBC archival documentation of 1942 include Stanford Robinson’s potpourris *Invitation to the Waltz* and *Sullivan and German*.⁷⁵² Further examples include Walter Goehr’s potpourris: *The Story of the Waltz*, *The Story of the Ballet* and *England Dances*.⁷⁵³ Goehr’s 1942 list includes a forthcoming potpourri titled *The Village Green*, which includes five sections of folk song and dances from England, Russia, South America, Yugoslavia and North America. Unlike Burger’s potpourris *Liebestraum*, *City of Music* and *Johann Strauss*, Goehr’s *The Village Green* avoids incorporating any works from Germanic or Axis countries.

⁷⁴⁸ Stanford Robinson, “Preparing an Hour’s Pot-pourri,” *Radio Times*, June 19, 1935, Vol. 48, No. 616, p.3.

⁷⁴⁹ For a complete list of works incorporated into *Liebestraum*, please see the Julius Burger Composition Catalogue in the appendix.

⁷⁵⁰ Contributor, Edwardian Melodies on “Sunday Rhapsody,” *Radio Times*, 21 July 1944, Vol. 84, No. 1086, p.6. ; Contributor, Edwardian Melodies on “Sunday Rhapsody,” *Radio Times*, 9 March 1945, Vol. 86, No. 1119, p.6.

⁷⁵¹ Please see *BBC Radio Broadcasts of Julius Burger’s Radio Potpourri (1932-1950)* and *BBC Radio Broadcasts of Julius Burger’s Radio Potpourri (1938-1950)* in the appendix.

⁷⁵² G. D. Adams, “Buerger Pot-pourris: RE: Pot-pourris of Stanford Robinson,” 21 May 1942, from Burger, Julius, ‘42-’51, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre - Reading, England.

⁷⁵³ G. D. Adams, “Buerger Pot-pourris: Re: Pot-pourris of Walter Goehr (George Walter),” 21 May 1942, from Burger, Julius, ‘42-’51, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre - Reading, England.

Radio Times lists the broadcast for *The Village Green* on 30 April 1944 for the Home Service, devised by George Walter (Walter Goehr's anglicised pseudonym) and Mark Lubbock. It included orchestral arrangements by Goehr, composer Roy George, Hungarian émigré Mátyás Seiber and Austrian émigré Leo Wurmser.⁷⁵⁴ These examples, along with the numerous Radio Potpourri influences in the Variety department's biographic programmes, provide evidence of the remediated genre's influence on BBC programming into the 1950s.

6.6.2 Influence on Burger's serious compositions

After Burger's immigration to the United States, his work creating Radio Potpourri for the BBC continued to influence his compositional aesthetic. Throughout the 1940s, Burger found employment as a composer and arranger with conductors Andre Kostelanetz (1901-1980) and Arthur Fiedler (1894-1979) at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).⁷⁵⁵ A short glance at the vast Kostelanetz catalogue reveals dozens of arrangements by Burger including one original work, titled *Roumanian Fantasy*. This was later recorded by the conductor and released in November 1944 on the Columbia Masterworks label.⁷⁵⁶ The work was inspired by composer George Enescu's (1881-1955) *Romanian Rhapsodies, No. 1 and No. 2* (1901–2). Although Burger is not credited on this recording, the preserved, original sketch as well as supplemental documentation among his collection in the Exilarte Center for Banned Music at MDW, Vienna confirms the authenticity of his authorship.⁷⁵⁷ This work is essentially in the style of a Miniature Potpourri; a style which Burger was well versed in by the mid 1940s.

Another example of the Radio Potpourri's continued influence in Burger's compositional oeuvre is the 1954 one act ballet Metropolitan Opera commission *Vittorio* (1954). The work represented the first commissioned ballet for the company since the 1930s and utilised a storyline devised and choreographed by Zachary Solov (1923-2004).⁷⁵⁸ The score was arranged and orchestrated

⁷⁵⁴ Further examples include orchestrating a potpourri titled 'Victorian Melodies' which was broadcast on New Year's Eve 1944 on the National service and was rebroadcast several times over the next two years. Sources: Contributor, "The Village Green", *Radio Times*, 28 April 1944, Vol. 83, No. 1074, p. 6. ; Contributor, "Victorian Melodies," *Radio Times*, 29 December 1944, Vol. 86, No. 1109, p.6. ; Contributor, "Victorian Melodies," *Radio Times*, 15 June 1945, Vol. 87, No. 1133, p.6. ; Contributor, "Victorian Melodies," *Radio Times*, 28 December 1945, Vol. 90, No. 1161, p.6. ; Contributor, "Victorian Melodies," Home Service, *Radio Times*, 25 January 1946, Vol. 90, No. 1165, p. 6.

⁷⁵⁵ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 6 August 1940, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre - Reading, England.

⁷⁵⁶ Andre Kostelanetz and his Orchestra, "Roumanian Fantasy," 1946, Columbia Masterworks 7427-M, XCO 33901, 78rpm.

⁷⁵⁷ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 22 February 1945, From Burger, Julius, '42 - '51, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre - Reading, England ; Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 5 October 1945, From Burger, Julius, '42 - '51, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre - Reading, England ; Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 23 November 1945, from Burger, Julius, '42 - '51, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre - Reading, England.

⁷⁵⁸ John Martin, "The Metropolitan Opera Presents a Ballet," *The New York Times*, 12 December 1954, Vol. CIV, No. 35,386, Section X, p.18.

utilising thematic fragments from Verdi operas including *Un Giorno di Regno* (1840), *Don Carlo* (1867), *I Lombardi* (1843), *Aroldo* (1857), *Alzira* (1845), *Giovanna d'Arco* (1845), *Battaglio di Legnano* (1849), *Luisa Miller* (1849). Material from his ballets within select operas was also utilised. This included *Il Trovatore* (1853), *Macbeth* (1847), *Ernani* (1844), *Vespri Siciliani* (1855) as well as *Don Carlo* (1867).⁷⁵⁹ The use of pre-existing classical music selections woven together around a central subject theme over the course of the forty-five-minute work show similarities to Burger's earlier Radio Potpourri works, although *Vittorio* lacks narration and is roughly fifteen minutes shorter than a typical Grand Potpourri.

6.7 Conclusions

This research has revealed that from March 1937 onward, Julius Burger's Radio Potpourri made an abrupt shift in subject themes from previously cosmopolitan pastiche works toward Anglocentric themes of British nationalism and imperialism. The first known example of this shift occurred on 14 March 1937 with the broadcast of the Miniature Potpourri *Boer War Songs*. This was followed by several other like-themed works including the Grand Potpourris *Themes of London* in December 1937 and *The Empire Sings!* on 22 May 1938 as well as five segments of the Anglocentric Chapter Potpourri *Songs of the British Isles* between 7 May and 7 November of 1938. An additional potpourri, *Victory Rhapsody* (1945), celebrated the allied victory in the Second World War's European theatre in a parade of anthems. It equally includes a section dedicated to the British Empire's dominions and territories.

Potpourris from this period (1937-1938; 1945) are largely focused on Anglocentric themes utilising a central subject theme which focuses on various cultural or ideological aspects of British national or imperial culture. These remediated works draw on a wide array of music which draws on symbolism, story and myth to affirm the imperial narrative. In the case of Burger's Anglocentric potpourri, he utilised genres which are traditionally sympathetic to pro-British imperialism such as music hall songs (*Boer War Songs*), marching tunes (*Regimental Marches* – 1938) or larger works which drew on a wide combination of folk songs, hymns, sea shanties, ballads, anthems (*Themes of London* (1937), *The Empire Sings!* (1938), *Victory Rhapsody* (1945)) to create a potpourri.

The Empire Sings! draws on many forms of imperial music to show British dominance over a global community comprised of diverse demographics throughout their imperial dominions, colonies mandates and protectorates. As in Edward Said's investigation into cultural imperialism's

⁷⁵⁹ John Martin, "The Metropolitan Opera Presents a Ballet," *The New York Times*, p.18.

influence in the British novel, *The Empire Sings!* illustrates the progression of cultural imperialism throughout the British Empire in the 1930s. This is observed through varying differences in musical treatment between the British dominions of Canada, South Africa, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand (represented as the end product of altruistic cultural engineering in a combination of Anglocentric and indigenous music) and the remaining colonies, mandates and territories (represented as “in progress” experiments of cultural engineers with degrees of exotic ‘otherness’ music which is largely comprised of indigenous music).

While this potpourri paints the British Empire in a positive light, its creation in early 1938 is influenced by a number of factors both internal and external to the BBC. The BBC had been planning for a hypothetical war in Europe as early as 1937 onward and as result, increased pro-national and imperial programming from mid-1938 onward. Burger’s shift toward pro-British programmes in this period reveals an attempt to solidify his position in the BBC as his own situation as an exile became increasingly untenable. While other factors (*i.e.* changes to BBC Management, increase in institutional promotion of native British music) could have also influenced Burger’s decision to create *The Empire Sings!* and other Anglocentric potpourri between 1937-1939, the timeframe in which they were created, his previous failed asylum attempts, the annexation of Austria in March 1938 as well as the lack of alternative advocates with the UK (such as Edward Dent) present the most likely influences in this thematic shift.

Within the burgeoning BBC Variety department, Burger’s Radio Potpourri became an influential addition to programming. His genre was utilised in programming within months of the department’s inception and continued to be broadcast into the 1950s. Even during the 2nd World War, when only a handful of works by émigré composers were broadcast on the BBC Home Service, Burger’s Radio Potpourri continued to play an active role in Variety programming. One notable example of the Radio Potpourri’s forgotten contribution to history is the potpourri *Victory Rhapsody* which was first broadcast in May 1945 as part of the BBC’s VE Day celebrations. It was subsequently broadcast on four more occasions throughout 1945. The genre went on to influence other composers within the department and equally influenced future innovations in BBC programming throughout the 1930s to the 1950s. This period (1933-1945) not only shows the influence of Burger’s ‘middlebrow’ works at the BBC but equally influenced his own serious compositions in the following decades with examples such as the Enescu inspired *Roumanian* [sic] *Rhapsody* (1944) as well as the one act pastiche ballet- *Vittorio* (1954).

Chapter 7 Conclusions

This project has investigated the remediated Radio Potpourri compositions by exiled Viennese composer Julius Burger (1897-1995) through an array of biographic, musicological and media-based perspectives. This research has traced the origins of the Radio Potpourri genre and investigated the implementation of this cultural transplant at the BBC. It also revealed the vital role of media remediation in European radio broadcasting in the early 20th Century while highlighting the Radio Potpourri's influence in BBC Variety department's programming during this period. The evolution of the subject themes of these rediscovered works were then evaluated through the lenses of migration, nationalism/imperialism and anti-Semitism to illustrate their potential effects on the composer's compositional aesthetic. This combined approach has contributed to a new understanding of early BBC radio programming and the pervasive effects of migration, nationalism/imperialism and anti-Semitism on compositional aesthetic in the fields of musicology and media history.

Julius Burger's peripatetic existence created by the anti-Semitic policies of Nazi Germany contributed to his estrangement from serious composition and adoption of other forms of composition which would provide financial and physical security. His steady employment at the BBC, encouraged by the popularity of his Radio Potpourri genre, served to temporarily achieve this security. These remediated works were referred to as a "new invention" by the BBC Variety department, only formed a year previously. While Burger wrote prolifically in the style and is credited with introducing it to British audiences, this research concludes the genre is a product of remediation for the medium of radio. Radio Potpourri draws on classical forms, such as pasticcio opera and its use in early silent film accompaniment practices of the early 20th century, to form a new genre. It was then refined alongside other remediated forms (*i.e.* Hörspiel, the Radio Opera, etc.) in Germany's Funkstunde system during the late 1920s and early 1930s. After the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, Burger successfully transferred this radio genre to the newly established BBC Variety department in January 1934 where it became an influential mainstay in programming throughout the life of the department.

Despite their influence and prominence in the corporation's light entertainment department, these programmes have largely been forgotten in historic examinations of the BBC. However, the rediscovery of numerous autograph manuscripts of these programmes in February 2019 provided the opportunity for their investigation and a re-examination of British radio programming in 1930s and 40s. This research drew on these manuscripts and other primary sources from the BBC Written Archive, Caversham (WAC), the Exilarte Center for Banned Music at MDW in Vienna as well as the private collection and testimony kindly provided by Dr. Trude Zörer. Archival issues of

the *Radio Times* magazine were also utilised. An analysis of these sources, supplemented by pertinent academic research from the fields of Musicology and Media History, revealed new information about these programmes and their use in BBC programming. Additionally, their examination provided context into Julius Burger's peripatetic existence and how individual and institutional attitudes toward nationalism, anti-Semitism and migration in 1930s Britain influenced his compositional aesthetic.

Initial surveys of the BBC Written Archive, Caversham (WAC) yielded over 400 hundred pages of contract requests, correspondence, internal memos and other documentation which contributed to contextualising these works. Further analysis revealed that Burger created at least 9 hour-long 'Grand' radio titles as well as approximately 13 shorter 'mini' potpourris, at least one serial or 'chapter' potpourri and over 50 singular arrangements during his tenure at the BBC. Of this total, 7 'Grand' Potpourri, 6 'mini' potpourri and 7 singular arrangements have been located through surveys of the BBC Sheet Music Library in Perivale-London.

An evaluation and comparative analysis of the construction and implementation of these surviving autograph manuscripts revealed evidence to substantiate assumptions of the genre's origins as having been remediated from an amalgamation of earlier compositional styles. The genre employed pre-existing selections or excerpts which were then arranged and combined around a central subject theme to create a musical collage for dissemination through the medium of radio. The works are often supplemented with narration, sound effects and specific instrumentation. The addition of these elements clearly set the Radio Potpourri apart from a direct continuation of the simple musical potpourri.

These investigations further revealed the Radio Potpourri to have consisted of three main archetypes - the hour-long 'Grand' Potpourri, the 'Miniature' Potpourri with a duration of approximately 6 to 10 minutes and the serial 'Chapter' potpourri. These are further subdivided into four categories utilising their subject themes. These included the Geographic, the Biographic, the Historic and General potpourri categories. The Geographic potpourri employs a travel itinerary to create a musical journey utilising music associated with different cultural demographics in a series of vignettes. Musical selections from a particular composer's oeuvre are utilised, along with intermittent narration, to create a musical dramatization of the individual's life in the Biographic category. The Historic potpourri is used to commemorate historic events or periods. The final category comprised of general potpourri works that do not readily share subject theme similarities with other works in Burger's radio compositions. While examples in these categories share specific attributes, the plasticity of the genre allows for the possibility selections could fall into more than one subgenre. This categorisation was undertaken to simplify analysis in successive research examples.

Chapter 7

Of these categories, evaluation of the Biographic category yielded further evidence to support the hypothesis the Radio Potpourri genre was influenced by earlier compositional genres, specifically opera pasticcio. Both examples, *The Life of Offenbach* (1934) and *Johann Strauss : A Biography in Music* (1936), are remediated forms of the pasticcio practice which were common in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Additional evidence, such as the revival of Offenbach's music in the 1930s and the remediated Offenbachian works of Karl Krauss (1874-1936) for the German Funkstunde, suggests further realms of influence in Burger's choice of subject themes.

An analysis of Offenbach's reception in Britain, in the form of two contrasting articles in the *Radio Times*, provides evidence that suggest anti-Semitism and nationalism were not limited to Germany in the 1930s. These contribute to the wider investigation of the effects of anti-Semitism and nationalism in the evolution of Burger's aesthetic. While Burger only composed two Biographic potpourris, the 'musical biography' concept is present in multiple comparable programmes and provides evidence of this subgenre's influential effect on BBC Variety programming. Examples of these similarly themed programmes were initiated in the weeks and months after the successful premiere of *Life of Offenbach* in January 1935. The musical biography's proliferation contributes further evidence to support the argument of Radio Potpourri's influence on the corporation's other programming formats.

Radio Potpourri examples between 1937 and 1939, including *Boer War Songs* (1937), *Themes of London* (1937), *Regimental Marches* (1938) and *The Empire Sings!* (1938) revealed an aesthetic shift in Burger's previously cosmopolitan subject themes to works which were solely comprised of Anglocentric themes. This abrupt shift, which commenced with the Miniature Potpourri *Boer War Songs* in early 1937, is delineated by the employment of nationalistic and imperialistic themes as subject themes. An analysis of the Anglocentric shift's central work, *The Empire Sings!* (1938), utilising Edward Said's investigation of cultural imperialism in his 1993 publication *Culture and Imperialism*, provided a model with which to evaluate this global survey of 1930s British Empire. The potpourri's differential musical representation of the British empire's colonies, dominions, protectorates and mandates highlight imperial attitudes within Britain and BBC programming during the period of this work's conception.

After evaluating the Radio Potpourris through the lenses of nationalism/imperialism, migration and anti-Semitism, it is evident Burger's aesthetic shift was potentially caused by a number of factors. Primarily, this was instigated to gain advocacy among BBC staff in order to obtain a visa or equivalent document to remain in Great Britain. Nazi Germany's annexation of Austria in March 1938 exacerbated the necessity for refuge. Equally, the anti-Semitic policies which excluded

Burger from employment in 1933 Berlin were now retroactively implemented in Burger's native Austria, effectively eliminating any possibility of a productive life there.

This thesis provides further evidence of the Radio Potpourri's influence in BBC Variety department programming as well as Burger's own serious compositions. The Radio Potpourri genre became an influential addition to programming within months of the department's inception and remained part of programming into the 1950s. Despite research suggesting only a handful of works by émigré composers were broadcast on the BBC Home service during the Second World War, possibly due to Xenophobia and prominent nationalism in the BBC, Burger's Radio Potpourri continued to play an active role in programming throughout. One prominent example is the 1945 work *Victory Rhapsody* which was included as part of BBC VE day celebrations.

This largely forgotten genre not only influenced other composers within the BBC Variety department, as evident by compositions in the genre by staff including Stanford Robinson, Walter Goehr and Mark Lubbock, but equally influenced future innovations in the corporation between 1934 and 1950. Evidence also shows characteristics of the potpourri genre in more traditional compositions in Burger's oeuvre. Two such examples include his *Roumanian Fantasy* (1942) and his one act pastiche ballet *Vittorio* (1954).

The rediscovery of these remediated radio programmes, written in the infancy of the BBC Variety department, show the effect of technological advancement on established notions of music. Equally they provide an opportunity to re-evaluate these pre-conceived notions in research. Instead of attempting to place new or rediscovered composers in the musical canon by seeking out "serious" masterworks or narrowly setting the focal point on 20th Century modernism, a more inclusive approach is necessary as technological advances continue to redefine how music is disseminated and received.

This research has offered a glimpse into a life and career which was permanently altered due the anti-Semitic and genocidal policies of the Nazi Regime. Despite the rupture, Julius Burger continued to make contributions in the field of music throughout a career spanning decades. Although this path may not have been what the originally envisaged for himself, his contribution and popularisation of the Radio Potpourri in Germany and Great Britain had an influential effect on shaping future programming. While these may not be considered "masterworks" in the traditional sense, their unique portrayals on a wide variety of subjects provide new models with which to evaluate Western music history and media studies. Their evaluation has provided different avenues in which to gain perspective into a lost generation whose story has only recently begun to be rediscovered. Perhaps Burger's own lyrics, taken from his final work *Goodbye, Vienna* (1988), best convey his own view of this lost world:

Goodbye, Vienna or Wienerlied (1988)

Once I lived in Vienna, in beautiful Vienna

Einmal lebte ich in Wien, im schönen Wien

But it is no longer my Vienna.

Aber jetzt ist es nicht mehr mein Wien.

Where are the times, the joyful times,

Wo sind die Zeiten, die frohen Zeiten,

When I was full of youthful courage?

Da jung ich war voll Lebensmut?

They have passed, so quickly gone,

Sie sind vergangen, so schnell vergangen,

It was a dream, I hardly noticed its passing.

es war ein Traum, ich merkt es kaum.

Where are the playful games of early life?

Wo sind die Spiele des frühen Lebens?

The goal for which he strove cannot be reached

Er strebt zum Ziele, kann es nicht fassen

The happiness in your hand, I know not what became of it.

Das Glück in seiner Hand, weiß nicht wie es entschwand.

Where are those times, those joyful times,

Wo sind die Zeiten, die schönen Zeiten,

They are gone, so quickly gone!

Sie sind vorbei, so schnell vorbei!

Music and lyrics by Julius Burger
24 February 1988. New York, N.Y.
Translation by Ryan Hugh Ross

Chapter 8 Epilogue - “Mr. Nobody”

8.1 New York period (1939–1995)

8.1.1 A New Start

Julius Burger arrived in New York City on 31 March 1939. Despite having apprenticed in the city and possessing a good command of English, he had few immediate employment prospects. He eventually found employment in early 1940 as a freelance arranger for classical middlebrow conductors Andre Kostelanetz and Arthur Fiedler at the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).⁷⁶⁰ However, it appears he viewed his newfound employment as less appealing than his previous work for the BBC. An April 1941 letter to BBC conductor Stanford Robinson details Burger’s sentiments:

...but my work here cannot be compared with the one I did in England. Please, I was an artist after all. This country levels you down to a pattern. But I think I must not complain.⁷⁶¹

Throughout the Second World War, Burger also continued working freelance as an arranger for the BBC. Much of his financial resources during this period were channelled into the momentous task of aiding his family’s efforts to garner the necessary visa documentation for safe passage to the US. Unfortunately, these efforts were only marginally successful. While several members of his family were successful in leaving mainland Europe, communications ceased with those who were still in Vienna in late 1942. Burger did not learn of their fate until after the conclusion of the war. In total, four of Burger’s brothers as well as his mother, Chaje were murdered in the Holocaust.⁷⁶² This tragic blow later prompted Burger to dedicate the second movement of his *Concerto for Cello and Orchestra*, titled ‘*Adagio*’, in memory of his mother. This was scrolled on a manuscript version of the work which reads:

⁷⁶⁰ Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson,” 6 August 1940, From Burger, Julius, ‘31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre, Reading – England.

⁷⁶¹ Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson,” 15 April 1941, From Burger, Julius, ‘31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre, Reading - England.

⁷⁶² The Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance lists brothers Solomon, Elias and Siegfried as having been deported to the concentration / death camp complex of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Poland. His elder brother Isak was deported on 20 October 1939 to Nisko. According to a 15 April 1941 letter to Stanford Robinson, Burger states his brother Elias was living in Nice, France and had obtained a visa to enter the US. Unfortunately, this did not occur and he was deported from Vienna to Auschwitz-Birkenau on 4 September 1942. Sources: Victims search, Stiftung Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (DÖW), Vienna, Austria. surname search ‘Bürger’, Accessed 14 November 2021, URL: <https://www.doew.at/impressum> ; Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson,” 15 April 1941, From Burger, Julius, ‘31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre, Reading - England.

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I dedicate this Adagio to the memory of my mother who at the age of 78 years was murdered on September 28 1942 in Auschwitz. Julius Burger. ⁷⁶³

After living in a stateless existence for more than seven years, Julius Burger and his wife, Rose (Rosl), became American citizens on 23 May 1944.⁷⁶⁴ In line with many émigrés of the period, they chose to anglicise the spelling of their surname and dropped the Germanic umlaut. Throughout the early 1940s, Burger found employment in many roles. While still employed at CBS, he created three further Radio Potpourris for the BBC including a “Pan-American” work titled *New World Rhapsody* (1942), an *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody* (1945) and a *Victory Rhapsody* (1945). The latter was broadcast on the BBC Home Service on 13 May 1945 as part of the corporation’s ‘Victory in Europe’ celebrations and rebroadcast a further four times in that year.⁷⁶⁵ Archival correspondence from this period also reveals Burger played with the Metropolitan Opera’s orchestra in the 1944–45 season in addition to conducting engagements.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶³ After many inquiries, it was made evident Burger’s mother, Chaje or ‘Clara’, was deported from Vienna to Theresienstadt Concentration Camp and was later shot in transit. A further document in the Burger collection states Chaje and brother Siegfried were deported to Theresienstadt on 9 October 1942 and, as of 16 January 1946, had not returned to Vienna. Equally, Burger’s dedication to the second *Adagio* movement of his *Concerto for Cello and Orchestra* provides further information about his mother. On the top margin, he lists his mother’s death aged 78 years on 28 September 1942.

While it is certain Mrs. Bürger was deported and perished in the late months of 1942, other sources provide conflicting information. The Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance (Stiftung Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes) lists her deportation date as 20 August 1942 and her death on 21 November 1942. The latter alternative date is supported by the Jewish Committee for Theresienstadt in Vienna’s 1971 Austrian publication *Totenbuch Theresienstadt: Deportierte aus Österreich* which also lists Mrs. Bürger’s death as 21 November 1942. An interview conducted in 2019 with family friend, Dr. Trude Zörer, confirms while initial information led Burger to believe his mother died from her gunshot wound, she did enter the camp at Theresienstadt where she remained for approximately three months before further deportation and execution at Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp. Sources: Julius Burger, ‘Adagio’ from *Concerto for Cello and Orchestra*, manuscript orchestral score, Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte Archive der MDW, Vienna, Austria. ; Victims search, Stiftung Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (DÖW), Vienna, Austria, surname search “Chaje Bürger”, Accessed 14 November 2021 URL: <https://www.doew.at/impressum> ; “Klara Bürger,” in *Totenbuch Theresienstadt I: Deportierte aus Österreich* (Vienna: Jüdisches Komitee für Theresienstadt Wien, 1971) p.17. ; Dr. Trude Zörer, interview by Ryan Hugh Ross on the life of Julius Burger (Bürger), Question No.31, 30 October 2019.

⁷⁶⁴ Julius Burger, U.S. Certificate of Naturalization, No.6230511, Petition No.407406, from Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte Archive der MDW, Vienna, Austria.

⁷⁶⁵ *Victory Rhapsody* (1945) also known as *The Nations Sing!* was broadcast five times throughout 1945 with three performances in May (13th, 17th, and 20th) and two in November (18th and 20th) of that year. Sources: Contributor, “Victory Rhapsody,” *Radio Times*, 11 May 1945, Vol. 87, No. 1128, p.10, 12, 21. ; Contributor, “The Nations Sing!,” *Radio Times*, 16 November 1945, Vol. 89, No. 1155, p.10, 15.

⁷⁶⁶ It is unknown the extent of Burger’s involvement in performing with the Metropolitan opera’s orchestra. However, he mentions playing in their productions of Richard Strauss’ *Der Rosenkavalier*, Verdi’s *Tosca* and Puccini’s *Il Tabarro* in a letter to Stanford Robinson dated 22 February 1945. Source: Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson,” 22 February 1945, From Burger, Julius, ‘42 - ‘51, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre, Reading - England.

Between November 1944 and late 1945, Burger took on further employment and made his conducting debut on Broadway in the operetta *Song of Norway* (1944).⁷⁶⁷ The operetta by Robert Wright and George Forrest follows a young composer, Edvard Grieg (1843-1907), as he strives to create an authentic national sound for Norway.⁷⁶⁸ Naturally, the score utilises adapted musical selections from Grieg's oeuvre.⁷⁶⁹ A further conducting engagement in this period led to a reunion with friend, tenor Charles Kullman (1903-1983).⁷⁷⁰ The album *Song of Scheherazade* was released in 1946 as a precursor to the Universal Pictures film and featured popular repertoire by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsokov (1844–1908).⁷⁷¹

8.1.2 Return to the Metropolitan Opera

22 years after completing his apprenticeship, Burger returned to the Metropolitan Opera as an assistant conductor.⁷⁷² The music staff during this period comprised largely of fellow émigrés including the company's General Manager Rudolf Bing (1902–1997), chorus master Kurt Adler (1907–1977), assistant chorus master Walter Taussig (1908–2003), assistant conductors Tibor Kozma (1909–1976), Renato Cellini (1912–1976), Pietro Cimara (1887–1967) and former Schreker student Martin Rich (1905–2000). As an assistant conductor, Burger accompanied singers for various company events, prompted during performances and also served as a coach to the contracted singers.⁷⁷³ As a vocal coach, Burger notably coached contralto Marian Anderson for

⁷⁶⁷ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 11 January 1945, From Burger, Julius, '42 - '51, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre - Reading, England.

⁷⁶⁸ *Song of Norway* premiered at Imperial Theatre, NYC on 21 August 1944. Source: The Broadway League, "Song of Norway," *Internet Broadway Database* (IBDB), 2001-02, Accessed 15 January 2022, URL: <https://www.ibdb.com/broadway-production/song-of-norway-1320#People>

⁷⁶⁹ two archival letters give a rough outline of Burger's involvement as conductor of *Song of Norway*. The first letter notes he commenced on the engagement in November of 1944 while the latter, from 5 October 1945, notes he left the show to focus on orchestrating. Sources: Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 11 January 1945, From Burger, Julius, '31 - '42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre-Reading, England ; Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 5 October 1945, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Burger, Julius, BBC Written Archive Centre, Reading – England.

⁷⁷⁰ Charles Kullman, *Song of Scheherazade: Music by Rimsky-Korsokov from the Universal Picture*, cond. Julius Burger, recorded 1946, Columbia Masterworks set X-272, 1946, Shellac 78rpm.

⁷⁷¹ John Ball, Jr., "Song of Scheherazade," liner notes for Charles Kullman, *Song of Scheherazade: Music by Rimsky-Korsokov from the Universal Picture*, cond. Julius Burger, recorded 1946, Columbia Masterworks set X-272, 1946, Shellac 78rpm.

⁷⁷² "New Metropolitan Aides: Burger, Taussig, De Angelis and Vivante Assistant Conductors," *The New York Times*, Vol. XCIX, No.33,523, 5 November 1949, p.10.

⁷⁷³ A photograph of Burger with general manager Rudolf Bing, soprano Eleanor Steber, composers Samuel Barber and Gian Carlo Menotti as well as stage director Nathaniel Merrill can be found in Rudolf Bing's memoirs *5000 Nights at the Opera*. Source: Rudolf Bing, *5000 Nights at the Opera*, photo insert no.24 (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1972), p.144-145.

her 1955 debut as Ulrica in Verdi's *Un ballo in Maschera*.⁷⁷⁴ As a further example, he coached Spanish soprano Victoria de Los Angeles on the role of Marguerite for Peter Brook's 1953 production of Gounod's *Faust*.⁷⁷⁵

Although his compositional career had largely stalled, there is evidence to suggest Burger continued attempts to have his works performed. For instance, his *Concerto for Cello and Orchestra* was premiered 2 October 1952 at New York City's Town Hall for reduced ensemble which included Latvian cellist Ingus Naruns accompanied by pianists Antolijis Berzkalns and Burger. Despite a warm reception by critics, the piece would not be performed again in any capacity until 1991.⁷⁷⁶

In 1954, the Metropolitan Opera commissioned Burger to partner with ballet master Zachary Solov and Burger to create a one-act ballet. This resulted in a forty-five-minute pastiche ballet in three scenes titled *Vittorio*, which was reminiscent of the Radio Potpourri works created for the BBC in the 1930s. The ballet premiered on 15 December 1954 in a double bill with a production of Richard Strauss' *Salome*.⁷⁷⁷ Notably, the double bill marked conductor Dimitri Mitropoulos's debut with the Metropolitan Opera as well as his first conducting engagement for a ballet.⁷⁷⁸ Ballerinas Zachary Solov and Mia Slavenska performed the lead roles with Jean Lee Schoch as the gypsy fortune teller La Magilana, Judith Younger as Fiamma (the prince's fiancé) and Adriano Vitale, Edward Caton and Yurek Lazowski in character roles.

The success of *Vittorio* led to additional commissions including a request for Burger to adapt and orchestrate Offenbach's opera bouffe *La Périchole* (1868) for a new English language production by Jean Morel (1903–1975) and former Schreker student Ignace Strasfogel (1909–1994).⁷⁷⁹ The 1956 production starred coloratura soprano Patrice Munsel and Cyril Ritchard role of Don Andres,

⁷⁷⁴ Anderson was the first African American to perform a major role at the Metropolitan Opera on 7 January 1955. Sources: Howard Taubman, "Marian Anderson Wins Ovation In First Opera Role at the 'Met'," *The New York Times*, 8 January 1955, p.1,11.

⁷⁷⁵ Howard Taubman, "The Remaking of an Opera: How the Met's 'Faust' was divested of familiar medieval trappings and made to look this season the way its romantic 19th century music sounds," *The New York Times*, 22 November 1953, p.120, 255, 269, 271, 272.

⁷⁷⁶ J.B., "Ingus Naruns heard in Recital on 'Cello,'" *The New York Times*, 3 October 1952, Vol. CII, No.34,586, p.17. ; Arthur Berger, "Ingus Naruns: Latvian Cellist at Town Hall for a Return Recital," *New York Herald Tribune*, 3 October 1952.

⁷⁷⁷ Program for *Vittorio* at the Metropolitan Opera, New York, Playbill, 22 December 1954, p.10-11.

⁷⁷⁸ John Martin, "Solov's 'Vittorio' is danced at MET," *The New York Times*, 16 December 1954, Vol. CIV, No.35,390, p.49.

⁷⁷⁹ Burger's arranged score was publication with Boosey and Hawkes in 1956. Source: Jacques Offenbach "*La Périchole*," Metropolitan Opera version in English, Lyrics by Maurice Valency, vocal score revised/ adapted by Julius Burger (New York: Boosey and Hawkes, Inc., 1956).

who also directed.⁷⁸⁰ The work's successful reception led to the 1957 RCA recording on their Victor Red Seal label as well as an NBC live telecast on 26 January 1958.

Burger's four musical *entr'actes* for the company's October 1957 English language production of *Eugene Onegin* did not garner the same acclaim. The Peter Brook production was primed for success with tenor Richard Tucker (Lensky), Lucine Amara (Tatanya), baritone George London (Eugene Onegin) in the main roles and Dimitri Mitropoulos as conductor.⁷⁸¹ Despite running for seventeen performances and some positive acknowledgement of Burger's contributions, the *entr'actes* were dropped from revival productions.⁷⁸²

8.1.3 Second Composition Period (1967-1995)

Burger was employed as an assistant conductor for twenty years and retired in 1969. An investigation of his autograph manuscript scores, preserved in Exilarte Centre for Banned Music (MDW), indicate a return to serious composition between 1967 and 1988. The prolific period includes a bounteous collection of compositions with particular dedication to the genres of lieder, instrumental chamber, choral, and piano works. Equally, evidence suggests Burger utilised the time afforded in his retirement to retool previous compositions while continuing to arrange works by other composers.

The process of dating these works is complicated by the lack of composition dates on numerous manuscripts. However, dated examples reveal at least two string quartets (No. 2 and No. 3, both 1968), several orchestrated lieder as well as multiple arrangements of existing works for voice, solo piano, and instrumental chamber ensembles. Burger's lieder from this period totals at least eighteen selections for voice and piano, including two lieder sets (*Lieder des Alters* (1970); *Vier Heitere Lieder* (1979)). Despite decades of exile, nearly all lieder from this period comprise of settings of Germanic poetry apart from two titles ('Nobody' (1988) and 'The Long Furron' (Undated)).

⁷⁸⁰ This production was also Munsel's final engagement with the Metropolitan Opera. Her final performance was on 28 January 1958. Source: "La Périhole," Performance 30, 28 January 1958, Metropera database, Metropolitan Opera Archives, CID: 176940, keyword search La Périhole, Accessed 14 April 2021, URL: <http://archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm>

⁷⁸¹ Unknown, "Eugene Onegin," 28 October 1957, Metropera database, Metropolitan Opera Archives, CID: 176000, keyword search Eugene Onegin, accessed 14 April 2021, URL: <http://archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm>

⁷⁸² John Chapman, "Metropolitan Opera bows with an uninspired 'Eugene Onegin'," *New York Daily News*, 29 October 1957, p.50.

In 1984, aged 87, Burger was awarded first prize at Indiana State University's Contemporary Music Festival Competition for his composition *Variations on a Theme by Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach* (1945). It was premiered at the University's Tilson Music Hall on 27 September 1984 by the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra and represented the first public performance of any of Burger's non-commissioned works in decades.⁷⁸³

Despite these late career successes, tragedy struck for the composer on 25 April 1989 when his wife Rose died. The couple had been married for 56 years and it was a devastating blow for the aged composer. Several months later, in June 1990, Burger contacted New York probate attorney Ronald S. Pohl, Esq. to settle his late wife's estate. An unlikely friendship ensued. Over numerous conversations, Burger relayed his life story to Pohl and revealed his desire to hear some of the vast expanse of unperformed compositions which were safely preserved in his Queens apartment. Pohl's interest in the elderly composer's plight prompted action which resulted in a concert of Burger's larger orchestral works on 3 June 1991 with the Orchestra of St. Luke's. The concert was held in Alice Tully Hall located in New York's Lincoln Centre.⁷⁸⁴ Further orchestral concerts followed. On 23 and 24 October 1993, the New Orchestra of Westchester, conducted by Paul Lustig Dunkel, performed Burger's *Eastern Symphony* at SUNY / Purchase College's Performing Arts Center in Purchase, NY.⁷⁸⁵ Additionally, the University of Negev in Beersheba, Israel as well as the Austin Symphony programmed selections.⁷⁸⁶

In September 1994, Burger flew to Berlin. Despite ailing health, he attended recording sessions and a concert performance featuring selections from his orchestral oeuvre in Berlin's Jesus Kristus Kirche. The concert was held on 29 September and included *Scherzo for String Orchestra* (1937), the orchestral lieder 'Legende' (1919) & 'Stille der Nacht' (1923) (*i.e. Two Songs for Baritone and Orchestra*) with vocalist Michael Kraus, *Concerto for Cello and Orchestra* (1932) featuring cellist

⁷⁸³ A copy of the original programme is included in the Julius Burger Collection, Exilarte Zentrum der MDW, Vienna, Austria. Source: Julius Burger, "Variations on a Theme by C.P.E. Bach," Playbill for Contemporary Music Festival - Indiana State University (1984), Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, Dir. by John Nelson, William Henry Curry, Tilson Music Hall, Indiana State University, 27 September 1984.

⁷⁸⁴ The concert included the New York premiere of his *Variations on a Theme by Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach* (1945), *Concerto for Cello and Orchestra* (1932) and the world premieres of his *Symphonic Scherzo for String Orchestra* (1937), *Zigeunerlied for Violin and Piano* (Undated) and the *Eastern Symphony* (1931, Berlin). Source: "The Orchestra of St. Luke's perform the works of Julius Burger," Lincoln Center Stage bill, June 1991, p.13-16B, 33.

⁷⁸⁵ "New Orchestra of Westchester's Eleventh Concert Season 1993-94," Stage bill for The Eleventh Season 1993-1994, Performing Arts Center SUNY/Purchase, Purchase, New York, p.O-3 - O-5.

⁷⁸⁶ The concert featured works by Burger on the 2nd and 3rd of December 1994 in Austin, Texas. Source: Jerry Young, "Burger finally hears his music with Austin Symphony," Austin American-Statesman, Entertainment section, 28 November 1994, p.B8.

Maya Beiser and *Variations on a Theme by Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach* (1945).⁷⁸⁷ Poignantly the orchestra contracted for this performance was Rundfunk Sinfonieorchester Berlin, successor of the Orchester der Berlin Funkstunde which Burger worked with until his forced resignation of April 1933. The recordings were later released as the album *Julius Burger : Orchestral Music* in 2007 on the Toccata Classics record label. More recently, a large portion of his lieder for voice and piano were recorded by Dutch–American baritone Ryan Hugh Ross for commercial release. A *Journey in Exile : The Lieder of Julius Burger* was released in November 2019 on the Spätlese Musik label.⁷⁸⁸

Eight months after the Berlin sessions concluded, Julius Burger died in New York City on 12 June 1995, aged 98 years.⁷⁸⁹ As he had no heirs, Burger’s estate was maintained by his friend and attorney, Ronald S. Pohl, Esq. In 2016, it was placed on permanent loan to the Exilarte Center at the MDW in Vienna for preservation and research purposes.

⁷⁸⁷ Julius Burger, “Konzert mit Werken von Julius Bürger,” Stage bill, Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Berlin, Maya Beiser, cello, Michael Kraus, baritone, cond. Simone Young, Jesus Christus Kirche, Berlin, 29 September 1994.

⁷⁸⁸ Julius Burger, Siân Màiri Cameron, Ryan Hugh Ross, Nicola Rose, Daniel Rieppel, *A Journey in Exile: the lieder of Julius Burger*, Spätlese Musik Records, SPM001, 2019.

⁷⁸⁹ “Julius Burger, A Conductor, Dies,” *The New York Times*, 15 June 1995, Accessed 02 January 2022, URL: <https://nyti.ms/3fXIHqC>

Appendix A Interview with Dr. Trude Zörer

Description: Dr. Trude Zörer had a long-lasting friendship with Julius Burger and his wife, Rose (Rosl). Their friendship spanned from the mid 1950s until his death in 1995. An interview with Dr. Zörer on the subject of Julius Burger was conducted on 30 October 2019 in the library of the Exilarte Archive at the University of Vienna (MDW). A transcript of the interview has been compiled and is included on the following pages of this appendix.

Interview Questions and answers on Julius Burger

30th October 2019

Interviewee – Dr. Trude Zorer

Interviewer- Ryan Hugh Ross

Translated and transcribed by Eva Budniak

*[*Dr. Trude Zörer's answers in blue + italic; Questions in German listed in green.]*

Note from Trude prior to questions:

I forgot to mention a friend of Julius', Ödön von Horváth, a German poet. He wrote Viennese stories. Julius and Ödon were friends - he is very famous. Ödon was slayed/hit (to death) by a tree (branch) during a thunderstorm in 1938 in Paris (on the Champs Elysee). Julius composed a song for Ödon for these stories from the (very tragic and dark) "Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald" (Stories of the Viennese Forest). Ödon's other famous piece was "Jugend ohne Gott" (Youth without God). Julius wrote one composition for Ödon upon his death. I don't know if it was ever performed.

1. How did you first meet Julius and Rose Burger?

Wie haben Sie Julius und Rose Burger kennengelernt?

I first met them during a summer vacation in Badgastein in 1959. We stayed in the same hotel and have met each other many more times (years) in this same hotel. It is beautiful there and they both loved it there. They saved the whole year to be able to spend three months at this European vacation "hotspot".

2. What was your relationship to the couple?

In welcher Beziehung standen Sie zu dem Paar?

First, it was a friendship but it turned into a kind „Wahlverwandschaft“ (either kinship/family by choice). Rose wanted to adopt me. They lived as part of our family. They came to the birth of my children - so a family. We eventually started calling them both uncle and auntie.

3. What was his personality and demeanour like?

Wie würden Sie seine Persönlichkeit und sein Auftreten beschreiben?

Julius was a short man but a very... he always took himself seriously and "set himself into scene", but he was always funny and in good spirit, chirpy/happy in person. One could see his strong personality even though he was, I think, a "head shorter" than me. But he was a strong person who prevailed through his rich, spiritual way of answering and with his wit... and also with this great knowledge, of course.

4. Your relationship spans a good deal of time. What can you tell us about Julius Burger's childhood and early family life?

Sie kannten sich eine lange Zeit. Was können Sie uns über Julius Burgers Kindheit, Erziehung und Familienleben erzählen?

There is a story of when Julius was three years old. The family lived in the second district. Julius was allowed run around to freely. One day Julius came across a „Werkelmann“ [old Austrian for „Leierkastenmann“ being an organ grinder]. Fascinated by the music, Julius followed him all the way to Kahlenbergerdorf [Döblingen – 19th district]. There he was „caught“.

About his childhood: Julius never described it as heavy of difficult. He doesn't know any heaviness in his life, never saying anything about a difficult time with the exception of when he talked about the holocaust times. But he did say that they slept on palliasse [strawsacks] as kids, and the parents put a lot of value on the upbringing and education of the children. But there was always just enough there to survive and he was allowed to study. After (when I asked about his youth), he said that during his youth he loved to play for silent films. These silent movies required a pianist, and this [playing for silent films] gave him tremendous joy.

This is pretty much as much as I know about his youth. After that there are already things about his teachers... Humperdinck, Schrecker... his departure from Vienna... no...: his studies in Vienna.

5. You mentioned previously his father was a tailor?

Sie haben erwähnt, dass sein Vater Schneider war. Haben sie vielleicht etwas mehr Informationen dazu?

His father had a tragic destiny because when he went to NY in 1923 he had the intention of bringing his family across (9 children and wife). He was a tailor and ordered suits. How it happened, Julius didnt know himself: someone caused a foul deed and cut off the arms

of all the suit jackets. Soon after, his father fell ill – a lung-illness. He died on Roosevelt Island in the hospital. Julius pointed it out to me when going to Queens on the ferry.

Tuberculosis ... but it could have been but some kind of other lung disease.

6. What was Julius's homelife like? He was one of nine children?

Wie war sein Zuhause? Er war eines von neun Kindern...?

Question Skipped.

7. Was Julius always interested in music?

War Julius schon immer an der Musik interessiert?

Question Skipped.

8. Did he ever mention anything about his early days at the University in Vienna? His teachers Franz Schreker or Engelbert Humperdinck?

Hat er jemals etwas über seine Studienjahre oder Anfänge an der Universität in Wien erzählt? Hat er vielleicht etwas von seinen Lehrern, Franz Schreker oder Engelbert Humperdinck erzählt?

It was a nice time but I know little. But he tended, rather, to talk about his fun times - about the silent movies, rather than serious things.

9. In 1919, Burger left Vienna to follow his teacher Franz Schreker to Berlin when he took up post at the Hochschule für Musik. Schreker took a talented array of students with him including Burger, Karol Rathaus, Jascha Horenstein, Alois Hába, and Ernst Krenek. Did Julius ever mention any of these colleagues or what the Berlin music scene was like at this time?

1919 verließ Burger Wien, um seinem Lehrer Franz Schreker nach Berlin zu folgen. Dort trat er eine Stelle an der Hochschule für Musik an. Schreker nahm talentierte Studenten mit, darunter: Burger, Karol Rathaus, Jascha Horenstein, Alois Hába und Ernst Krenek. Hat Julius jemals einen dieser Kollegen erwähnt? Hat er etwas über die Berliner Musikszene zu dieser Zeit erzählt?

I remember only Ernst Krenek. He did say that they moved over together. The chaps migrated. They left Vienna for the studies in Berlin.

10. Burger also studied conducting at the Hochschule as well as worked as an accompanist to celebrated Moravian tenor Leo Slezak. What do you know about Burger's time touring with the tenor?

Burger studierte auch Dirigieren an der Hochschule und korrepetierte außerdem dem gefeierten Mährischen (Tschechischen) Tenor Leo Slezak. Was wissen Sie über die Tourneezeit von Burger mit dem Sänger?

I also only really know of one funny story. The two of them travelled to Lugano and stayed at a wonderful hotel. Julius was repetiteur for Leo Slezak and they had a nice time together. One day Slezak said to Julius, "Young man, you never leave this room!, Why don't you go outside to catch some fresh air". Julius replied saying: "I had fresh air all my life, but never such a nice room as this!". That's the only thing I ever heard about this tour.

11. Around this period (early 1920s) you mentioned previously Burger's father went to New York City to set up a tailor business. Can you tell me about this?

Sie erwähnten, dass zu dieser Zeit (die frühen 1920er Jahre), Burger's Vater nach New York City ging, um dort eine Schneiderei zu eröffnen. Können Sie mir mehr davon erzählen?

Question Skipped.

12. Also around this time (1924) Julius gained an apprenticeship at the Metropolitan Opera in New York City under conductor Arthur Bodanzsky. He and his father must have been in contact in the city?

Auch zu jener Zeit (1924) ging Julius an die Metropolitan Opera unter dem Dirigenten Arthur Bodanzky. Hatten Julius und sein Vater Kontakt als sie gleichzeitig in New York waren?

I don't know exactly whether they had met or not. I cannot answer this. We haven't talked about it. Only the story about his dad and the shop incident and that he was very affected by this but he never really mentioned that he was in New York at the same time as his dad. I don't really know this. I can't say.

13. Did Clara Burger ever visit the states? What happened with Joseph and do you know where his final resting place is?

Hat Clara Burger je die USA besucht? Was ist mit Joseph passiert und wissen Sie wo er begraben liegt?

Clara was never in New York. She sent touching letters to Julius in Yiddish, which he often loved to read out to me. He made fun of the language. On one hand he loved the letters but on the other he made fun of them. She was never in NY and I believe that the grave of Joseph Burger is on Roosevelt Island, if there is a graveyard there. He just pointed at the island saying "this is where my father died". I'm not so sure. Presumably.

14. Julius returned to Europe in 1927 and was busy indeed accompanying Ernestine Schumann-Heink on a tour and shortly after, returned to Berlin to assist Otto Klemperer at the Kroll Oper. He also conducted for Berlin Radio from 1929 onwards. Did he ever mention his experiences with these occupations?

1927 kehrte Julius nach Europa zurück und tourte mit Schumann-Heink. Kurz nachdem er wieder in Berlin war assistierte er Otto Klemperer an der Kroll Oper. Ab dem Jahr 1929 dirigierte er für das Berlin Radio. Hat er je über seine Erfahrungen dieser Arbeiten gesprochen?

He enjoyed the work for the Berlin radio, and just mentioned that it was a generally good time until what came after.

15. Burger was still composing during this time and wrote a good deal of orchestral pieces as well as orchestral lieder and two commercial successes in the form of songs for famed tenor Joseph Schmidt. These included 'Zigeunerlied' and 'Launisches Glück'. The latter was featured in a 1933 film titled *Ein Lied Geht um die Welt* featuring Schmidt. What did Burger say about Schmidt as a performer or about these two pieces?

Zu dieser Zeit komponierte er noch immer. Er schrieb viele Stücke für Orchester, Lieder für Orchester und zwei kommerziell erfolgreiche Lieder für den Tenor Joseph Schmidt. Diese waren 'Zigeunerlied' und 'Launisches Glück'. Das letztere wurde in den Film *Ein Lied geht um die Welt* aus dem Jahre 1933 gespielt bei welchem auch Joseph Schmidt mitmachte. Was hat Burger über Schmidt als Bühnenpersönlichkeit (Performer) erzählt und was sagte er zu diesen zwei Erfolgsstücken?

*Yes, it was very meaningful for him. Him and Julius became friends. They did a lot together at the Opera Kroll in Berlin. I gave you a CD when Julius himself talks about this time, which is very authentic. They met for a Strauss Operetta, which didn't include a tenor song in it, and apparently Joseph Schmidt cried complaining about this in his dressing room. The intendant went to Julius saying, "Julius, Joseph is crying". So Julius wrote 'Launisches Glück' for Joseph and it became a very big success for both of them. It is a beautiful song that was integrated into the Operetta when performed then. 'Zigeunerlied'... I know it well. Joseph Schmidt also sang this one. They both enjoyed the commercial and social success they had with these as much as they enjoyed their friendship. But Joseph Schmidt died soon after... I think 1941 in Switzerland. Julius said: "I am a small man" but then came Joseph Schmidt who said: "and I am a **very** small man". This is also on the CD.*

16. In 1933, the Nazi part gained power and Hitler became chancellor. Shortly after, they passed several anti-Semitic laws and Julius resigned from Berlin Radio, returning to Vienna. Did he ever say anything about this difficult period on his life?

1933 gelangten die Nazis an die Macht und Hitler wurde Kanzler. Kurz danach wurden die ersten anti-semitischen Gesetze erlassen und Julius kündigte seine Anstellung beim Berlin Radio. Er kehrte zurück nach Wien. Hat er jemals etwas über diese schwierige Zeit seines Lebens erzählt?

No, he didn't complain. He soon went to England. He didn't talk about the time in Vienna after the Kroll Opera in Berlin. He married in 1933 and they both went to England (with Rose). I don't know about the time in between in Vienna.

17. Later in November 1933, Julius married Rosl (Rose) Blaustein in Vienna. What was Rose like? Did she ever speak about her family?

Im November des selben Jahres heiratete Julius in Wien Rosl Blaustein. Wie war Rose? Hat sie jemals über ihre Familie gesprochen?

Rose was a very sensitive person. A very fine lady, highly empathic and - later in New York - suffered about having had to leave home. She always wanted to return to Vienna: it was a big longing/yearning/nostalgia. Family: she had nobody. She had two sisters who lived at the edge of the 17th district (Herrenheimer Hauptstrasse), so the 'edge' of the main city, and they were married to Arians. They were allowed to stay in Vienna because they were married to them. But when the bombs hit Vienna, their neighbours didn't let the sisters go join them in the "Luftschutzgräber" [bombing shelters] because they were Jewish. One

sister was splattered by a bomb and the other died of the shock [perhaps a heart attack/surprise/angst. Both sisters were therefore dead. Rose seemed to look for a "home" in us and sent us many letters, sent things, bought things the entire years, for my children. She wasn't unhappy but she had this kind of longing for home/Vienna.

18. You mentioned previously that Julius had been married before Rose. Can you tell me a little about this?

Sie erwähnten bereits, dass Julius vor Rose schon verheiratet war. Können Sie mir etwas darüber erzählen?

Yes. Twice. "Oh this wasn't important" is what he said, "and one of them went mad". It seemed to not have played any kind of role for him, these two marriages. Rosl was the woman for life. He was 36 when he married her. As old as you.

19. Shortly after the Burgers were married, Julius gained a commission to arrange and compose for the burgeoning BBC Radio Orchestra programmes. The one of the first was called 'A Holiday in Europe' in 1934. Did Burger ever mention his time with the BBC?

Kurz nach ihrer Heirat erhielt Julius einen Auftrag um für das BBC Radio und deren neuen Orchesterprogramme Stücke zu arrangieren und zu komponieren. Einer der ersten hieß 1934 „A Holiday in Europe“. Hat Burger jemals von seiner Zeit mit der BBC erzählt?

Yes. I believe he had Vinyls about this but they must have gone lost. Skipped to the next question.

20. Through my research, I discovered he was credited with dozens of arrangements from 1934 through to 1945. He was also credited with inventing a new radio genre which he called the 'Radio Potpourri'. These were various pieces arranged around a common theme and lasted around an hour. Have you ever heard about these before?

Durch meine Nachforschungen konnte ich herausfinden, dass man ihm zwischen den Jahren 1934 und 1945 Duzende solcher Arrangements zuschreibt. Außerdem wurde er mit der Erfindung eines neuen Radio-Genres beauftragt welches er das 'Radio Potpourri' nannte. Dies waren verschiedene Stücke, die um ein gemeinsames Thema angeordnet waren und ungefähr eine Stunde dauerten. Haben Sie schon einmal von 'Radio Potpourri' gehört?

Yes. There must be traces of the Potpourris because there were Vinyls.

21. Most of Burger's commissions were given through conductor Stanford Robinson (who was his main point of contact). Did Burger ever mention Mr. Robinson? They had a close friendship for a period of time.

Die meisten von Burgers Auftragsarbeiten bekam er durch den Dirigenten Stanford Robinson (sein Hauptansprechspartner in diesen Belangen). Hat Burger ihn je erwähnt, da sie für eine längere Zeit eine enge Freundschaft verband?

I don't remember.

22. Although these commissions kept Julius in work, he seemed to be frequently on the move as the 1930s progressed-eventually living in various hotels in Paris with short visits to Vienna. Why do you think he was always on the move?

Auch wenn diese Arbeiten Julius beschäftigten, war er häufig unterwegs. 1930 lebte er, laut Aufzeichnungen, in verschiedenen Hotels in Paris mit kurzen Besuchen in Wien. Warum denken Sie, war er ständig unterwegs?

I believe both. He was then not married yet, in 1930 (if we are talking about this time). He was a young man, taking all sorts of work whenever offered and of course liked to travel and still enjoyed this colourful life. Then come the fixed stays/locations even if not for long: Vienna, London, South of France, New York.

Side question: Do you think later in the 1930s when the political climate or the sentiment of people in Germany started to change, do you think he was more comfortable in Paris and London?

Yes. It was surely a lot easier there than it was in Austria and Germany before he then went to NY. The climate could only have been more comfortable. It was terrible in Germany and Austria. But then they were not there anymore, he was in London.

23. Did Julius ever mention his two unsuccessful attempts to get a long-term visa for the UK?
Hat Julius je über seine zwei nicht genehmigten Versuche ein Langzeitvisum für das Vereinigte Königreich zu bekommen gesprochen?

I read this, but Julius didn't talk about this. Not at all complaining. From this you may assume he had problems, however, he never complained. He just said that it was through Bruno Walter, that he then received the Visa. But not from who he didn't receive it.

It is very typical that he didn't complain that he didn't receive the Visa for his first two attempts.

24. There is some evidence to suggest there was a level of anti-Semitic discrimination at play in the BBC which inhibited Julius from getting a Visa (one example being he forwarded a form to the BBC to be filled for his application to the home office but this wasn't completed by admin. At the BBC and is still with archive documents-a blank form). Did he ever mention anything that would suggest that this might have been the case?

Es gibt Hinweise darauf, dass in der BBC eine gewisse antisemitische Diskriminierung vorherrschte, die Julius daran hinderte, ein Visum zu erhalten. Ein Beispiel ist, dass er ein Formular an die BBC weitergeleitet hat, die es für seinen Antrag auf ein Langzeitvisum ausfüllen sollten. Dies wurde allerdings von der Administration nicht ausgefüllt, da bei der BBC und deren Archivdokumenten, nur ein leeres Formular vorliegt. Hat er jemals etwas erwähnt, dass suggeriert, dass dies der Fall gewesen sein könnte?

Question Skipped.

25. Is there truth to the story that in 1938, Julius and Rose were travelling by train to Vienna to vote against the Anschluss incorporation when he spotted a newspaper headline 'Austrian Chancellor Meets Hitler' and abandoned the train and luggage?

Ist die Geschichte wahr, dass Julius und Rose 1938 mit dem Zug nach Wien fahren, um gegen die Eingliederung in den Anschluss zu stimmen, als er die Schlagzeile „Österreichischer Kanzler trifft Hitler“ entdeckte und daraufhin den Zug unverzüglich ohne sein Gepäck verließ?

Yes. This is exactly how he talked about it. It was during a longer pitstop in Paris, while waiting for the train. Julius bought a newspaper „Schuschnigg am Berghof“, I believe, was the title. He said, had they not left the train, „we would have been lost. We would have stayed on the train to Vienna“, if not for the newspaper and so instead they went to the French Riviera, to Cannes. This saved both of their lives.

Ryan: Did they return to London after that?

Trude: I believe not. They went straight to New York after that.

26. Julius continued to arrange for the BBC and decided to attempt to get a visa to the US in 1939-A difficult feat! But he was successful. He and Rose left on the SS Aquitania on March 28th, 1939. What did Julius mention about this decision or the journey?

Julius arrangierte weiterhin für die BBC und beschloss, 1939 ein Visum für die USA zu beantragen - eine schwierige Aufgabe! Aber er war erfolgreich. Er und Rose reisten am 28. März 1939 mit der SS Aquitania ab. Was sagte Julius zu dieser Entscheidung oder der Reise?

No. I think they both knew that they were saving their own lives and were longing for America, as they enjoyed going there, not knowing that it would be forever. Via Ellis Island, Julius pointed out, that this was were they arrived but without any tragedy. They would have been lost had they gone to Vienna.

Ryan: I've read in some correspondence with the conductor Stanford Robinson that towards the end of the war he was really hoping to go back to London and eventually going back to Vienna.

Trude: Well over time it became better and better in New York at the Met, with his job as repetiteur, it was a good job so he had progressively less reason to go back.

27. According to correspondence between Julius and Stanford Robinson, the Burgers were involved in a car accident when they arrived in NYC and Rose was injured. Did they ever mention this incident?

Laut einer Korrespondenz zwischen Julius und Stanford Robinson waren die Burgers bei ihrer Ankunft in NYC in einem Autounfall verwickelt und Rose wurde verletzt. Haben sie diesen Vorfall jemals Ihnen gegenüber erwähnt?

I read this, but I never was told anything about this. No, they didn't say anything about it, so it must not have made a lasting impression.

28. Julius and Rose never had any children. Was this by choice?

Julius und Rose hatten nie Kinder. War dies ihre bewusste Entscheidung?

Before NY, I don't know about everything exactly as some things they only told me when I was a child, but one thing I know for sure: 1931 Rose lost a child, an embryo. It would have been a girl. It was the year that I was born. Rosl always looked at me and reminisced. They always wanted to have children but after this they couldn't conceive. Before, the times were too uncertain and they didn't have the circumstances or a fixed stay.

Rosl gave me a Perl necklace for my 20th birthday and, that one time, she told Trude that she would have given it to her daughter.

Did you not know about this?

Ryan: No, from the conversations I had with Mr. Pohl, I know something as such/a variation. I knew Julius loved children...

Trude: Rosl even more so. But he did too. They loved us three (Trude, Eva & Edith) and our children: my son and the daughter of my sister Eva. They were in love with them. Rosl bought dresses and also the first set of clothes for my son and he got a Jacket from Rosl as a three-year-old.

29. During the first few months in NYC, Julius didn't have much work and the couple struggled for money until Julius gained some work arranging pieces for Andre Kostelanetz (conductor). He also continued to do 'Radio Potpourri' for the BBC which would be used for propaganda purposes during the Second World War. In both cases, there were instances where he wasn't credited for the work he did. Did he ever mention about his frustrations making arrangements and just getting by while his original works continued to be neglected?

In den ersten Monaten in NYC hatte Julius nicht viel Arbeit und das Paar hatte Geldschwierigkeiten, bis Julius für Andre Kostelanetz (Dirigent) Stücke arrangierte. Er fuhr auch fort "Radio Potpourri" für die BBC aufzunehmen, welches während des Zweiten Weltkriegs für Propagandazwecke verwendet wurde. Bei beiden wurde er nicht immer als der Urheber dieser Arbeiten ausgewiesen. Hat er jemals erwähnt, dass es ihn frustrierte, diese Arrangements zu machen um Geld zu verdienen, während seine eigenen Kompositionen weiterhin vernachlässigt wurden?

Yes. It was a difficult time to start with. The first five dollars that Julius earned, Rosl said that she used these to buy bread and a fat book, the fattest book she could find to last as long as possible, "Grapes of Wrath [I believe]". So it was difficult but as I mentioned, Julius

didn't really complain, even though he must have suffered a lot. Even with that, she always talked and reminisced about the wonderful things happening and coming up later.

Even for others, for example, Dmitri Mitropoulos also couldn't pay Julius and instead gave Rosl this ring [points to her hand]. We see the difficult times but this was the case for all during the war.

30. Burger was one of nine children but we know that the majority of his family perished in the Holocaust. Did any of his siblings survive? Or emigrate?

Burger war eines von neun Kindern, aber wir wissen, dass die Mehrheit seiner Familie im Holocaust ums Leben kam. Haben Geschwister von ihm überlebt oder sind welche ausgewandert?

Bernhard, the youngest, (you have my layout/sketch), he went to America. Four brothers became victims of the holocaust and died. His sister Stephanie, who was his twin sister, so born before Bernhard – was saved by Julius (brought over in time). She had a daughter, Gerti, who came with Stephanie. Two of those four brothers died tragically. One was murdered by Russians and the rest is on the piece of paper I gave to you. If you read it, you have it.

31. What was his relationship like with his remaining family?

Wie war seine Beziehung zu seiner verbliebenen Familie?

Ryan variation: Did he have a good relationship with his surviving siblings? I think you mentioned once that you met his sister.

His niece Edith. He didn't like her. You know the story of the affidavit but I don't want to talk about that now. It is too tragic. She betrayed Julius. However, Julius couldn't have had much contact with Edith because his main worry was his mother, who he sent money to before she was deported. But the money was taken – it never arrived with his mother. There were replies from his mother saying that the money didn't arrive. She was deported 1942, and along with her, Siegfried, who was deported from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz. His mother died in Theresienstadt.

Ryan: She was shot on the way to Theresienstadt...

Appendix A

She was on the long train journey to Theresienstadt and the last bit, she should have walked by foot but she broke down on the way and was shot. It was Julius' big dream that she died there and then, but when he received the book of Theresienstadt, he then read that she was in the camp for three months and was gassed. He dedicated the Adagio to her, the pinnacle of the concert at the Lincoln Centre.

32. There are conflicting accounts around the story of the death of Clara Burger (Julius's mother). What happened to her and how was she discovered?

Es gibt widersprüchliche Berichte über den Tod von Clara Burger (Julius' Mutter). Was ist mit ihr passiert und wie wurde sie gefunden?

(Above)

33. Her murder had a lasting effect on Burger and it stayed with him the rest of his life. Did he ever speak about her? What was she like?

Der Mord an ihr hatte tiefe Auswirkung auf Burger und dieser Einschnitt hat ihn für den Rest seines Lebens beeinflusst. Hat er jemals über sie gesprochen? Wie war sie?

Question Skipped.

34. In the late 1940s Burger again found himself employed at the Metropolitan Opera as an assistant conductor and répétiteur. Did he ever mention anything about his time there?

In den späten 1940er Jahren war Burger erneut als Assistent (Dirigent) und Korrepetitor an der Metropolitan Opera tätig. Hat er jemals etwas über seine Zeit dort erwähnt?

His friendship with Rudolf Bing, was a wonderful, glorious time. Julius worked with the biggest; there was no one that he didn't work with at the MET. He showed it to me, taking me on a tour of the MET. As they bumped into a singer, the singer said, "it's good you take care of Julius. He was the best conductor we ever had". He was then already long in retirement when he showed me the MET but they all kept him in memory and many took private lessons from Julius when he was retired. They came to Julius' house or Julius went to the MET.

35. It has been mentioned that Burger coached the famous American opera singer Marian Anderson for her MET debut. Did he ever speak about her?

Quellen erwähnen, dass Burger mit der berühmten amerikanischen Opernsängerin Marian Anderson an ihrem MET-Debüt arbeitete. Hat er jemals über sie gesprochen?

No, I don't remember. Maybe he did.

36. He worked with many great operatic stars of the day including Victoria de Los Angeles and Jerome Hines – the latter appears to have been a good friend as derived from several photos of the two together. Were there other singers who he worked with?

Er arbeitete mit vielen großen Opernstars dieser Tage zusammen, darunter Victoria de Los Angeles und Jerome Hines - letzterer scheint ein guter Freund gewesen zu sein, wie aus mehreren Fotos der beiden zusammen hervorgeht. Gab es noch andere Sänger, mit denen er zusammengearbeitet hat?

I remember the names but no stories along with them.

37. The MET was aware of Burger's many talents and asked him to partner with ballet dancer and choreographer Zachary Solov on a new ballet using material from Verdi operas. Burger called this work 'Vittorio'. Did he ever mention this or describe what the reception was like?

Die MET war sich Burgers vieler Talente bewusst und bat ihn, mit dem Balletttänzer und Choreografen Zachary Solov an einem neuen Ballett mit musikalischem Material aus Verdi-Opern zusammenzuarbeiten. Burger nannte dieses Werk "Vittorio". Hat er das jemals erwähnt oder beschrieben, wie die Rezensionen dieses Stückes waren?

I remember this but have no more information.

38. It was around this time when you and your family first met the Burgers. Could you tell us about this chance meeting?

Es war zu dieser Zeit als Sie und Ihre Familie die Burgers das erste Mal trafen. Können Sie uns mehr über dieses zufällige Zusammentreffen erzählen?

Yes, as mentioned, we always met during vacation. Julius always wore his long coats which we "hung" around him when we went trekking. It was very much like in a family.

They couldn't trek/ walk that much. We went on shorter treks with them. The longer ones, we did without them. But lighter two-hour walks, they loved. The area was wonderfully scenic. Badgastein has something 'cityesque' [civil vibe] where Julius and my father tended to sit in the cafés reading newspaper after the walks. It just suited his tastes with not only its nature but also a little bit of culture; it was fine. We were there for many years at the same time and during the same time. It took its natural flow.

39. Julius retired from the MET in 1969 and had begun to compose again two years earlier.

Did he ever play any of his pieces for you when visiting? Did you have any favourites?

Julius zog sich 1969 aus der MET zurück nachdem er zwei Jahre zuvor erneut zu komponieren begonnen hatte. Hat er bei einem seiner Besuche jemals eines oder mehrere seiner Stücke vorgespielt? Wenn ja, hatten Sie Lieblingsstücke?

Oh yes, I recognised many of the songs. You sing them on the CD and I remembered many. Outside of his own, he loved Schubert songs and cried bitterly when he played the 'Winterreise'. It imposed to him.

I really liked and remembered two songs that are also on the CD: 'Schlummerlied' and "Goodbye Vienna" which is a mix of classic and traditional Viennese style songs and are happy and funny, wistful. You sing it beautifully. We particularly always enjoyed when he played Viennese songs because it created this happy mood. He always played the "Scherzo" and the "Wanderersinfonie" when Julius played it. We had to be very quiet, which wasn't always so pleasant as a child, but during the Viennese songs we could cheer and be happy. Those were the well-liked songs of Vienna. Generally, I liked all the songs that Julius performed in New York. I also listened to the rehearsals he had with Maya Beiser on the violoncello - that was wonderful.

40. Did Julius ever speak about his composing process? Or what sparked his imagination with any given piece?

Hat Julius je über seinen Kompositionsprozess gesprochen? Was war seine Inspiration und was hat seine Phantasie geweckt diese Stücke zu komponieren?

He only expressed how it came to this concert 1991 where I was present. "Can you imagine, one day one is 94 years old and then you hear your music being performed for the first time on stage. This is the highlight of my life. I composed an opera when I was 20. Everything was left in the "hidden" and this is the day where my music is performed." This is quite unimaginable and also to be so fit with 94 years of age. He really was very fit at

the concert. The main time of his creations was during his youth and the later 50s. Did you ever find the opera, which I just mentioned that he composed when he was 20?

41. Rose's health began to decline in the late 1980s and you mentioned Julius called you one day when she was very ill?

Rose's Gesundheit begann sich Ende der 1980er Jahre zu verschlechtern. Sie erwähnten, dass Julius sie eines Tages anrief als es ihr sehr schlecht ging?

She was dying. It was the day of her death when Julius called. He called and said: "Rosl is dying". And then we got the call the following morning learning that she really died. She wasn't seriously ill. She had heart problems but we never depicted it as something deadly serious. The day we found out, she was in hospital due to an issue to do with her intestines, and later I found out that a brain stroke actually led to her death. But before this there was nothing major. She was born in 1911 and was generally a fit and healthy person up until her death. We met the year prior to her death in Bad Reichenhall because she wasn't able, for some reason or other, allowed to go higher than 1000m above sea level. Bad Reichenhall is a health resort/spa which lies a lot lower than that. My mother and I therefore went to visit her there. We didn't expect her death. For us but especially Julius, it was an incredible shock and he called asking me to come: "You always promised her and me, you would come: please come. I can't do this without you". A few days later -Rosl was already cremated- I went to New York.

42. After her passing Julius met Ronald Pohl-attorney at law to settle Rose's estate. Did he mention Ronald and when did you first meet Ronald?

Nach ihrem Tod traf Julius den Rechtsanwalt Roland Pohl um ihren Nachlass zu regeln. Hat er Ihnen gegenüber Roland erwähnt und wann haben Sie Roland das erste Mal getroffen?

I have this young lawyer who takes care of everything. I can't remember whether Ronald Pohl was invited or whether Ronald asked me to join him – I went to all three places with Ronald. I met him at his office and later also privately. They had Julius and me at his home. He was then married to another lady. We had a very nice evening in their apartment in the Upper East Side when they cooked for us.

43. Mr. Pohl was instrumental in arranging concerts for Julius in which to hear his music performed-notably the concert in Lincoln Centre in 1992. Were you able to attend any of these and could you describe the performances? What was Julius' reaction?

Herr Pohl war maßgeblich daran beteiligt, Konzerte für Julius zu arrangieren in dem seine Musik gespielt wurde damit er sie hören konnte. Insbesondere zu erwähnen ist das Konzert im Lincoln Center 1992. Konnten Sie an einem dieser Konzerte teilnehmen? Und wenn ja, könnten Sie die Aufführungen und die Reaktionen von Julius beschreiben?

It was wonderful and pleasant and I was very touched by this. It was a surprise for Julius. He was very critical but it was a pleasant time.

44. Ronald mentioned he arranged for a violinist to play an excerpt of a piece Julius composed for you both while out for dinner one day. Can you describe this event?

Roland erwähnte, dass er einem Geiger einen Auszug aus einem Stück spielen ließ, welches Julius für sie beide komponierte als er eines Tages zum Abendessen bei Ihnen war. Können Sie dieses Ereignis beschreiben?

Question Skipped

45. What was Julius like after his strokes?

Wie war Julius nach seinen Schlaganfällen?

He presented himself as fit. He got a wheelchair after his second stroke and he didn't suffer from it. I can't remember after which now.. but I think it was after his second stroke, he lost his ability to actively speak English. "That doesn't matter, he said, I will just speak German, and whoever doesn't get me: bad luck". That's how he spoke German to his nurse, Rose, a very capable and skilful nurse. She only spoke German but she seemed to soon get what he wanted when he spoke German and understood what he wanted to eat or do.

When he had his wheelchair, he said, "oh this is practical, you just let yourself get brought everywhere, you don't need to trudge or go anywhere yourself". We were at the Stephansdom with his wheelchair. He could always adjust. He wasn't limited - perhaps a trait of being brought up among 8 siblings.

We always had the wheelchair in the car, no problem. He was really happy and flexible with this wheelchair, and he came to Vienna with nurse 1993.

46. The success of the concerts led to recording several of Julius' orchestral pieces. You were present at the recordings. What was his demeanour? What were the recordings like?

Der Erfolg der Konzerte resultierte in Studioaufnahmen mehrerer seiner Orchesterstücke. Sie waren bei den Aufnahmen anwesend. Wie war Julius' Auftreten? Wie gestalteten sich die Aufnahmen?

Julius and I were present at the recording sessions in 1994. We had to hold him back a little, they almost argued. Julius was very lively and excited. He wanted to conduct himself so had a lot to say but in the evening in the hotel it was noticeable that he was exhausted and that it took quite an emotional toll on him. But it was a nice experience then in 1994. In 1995, on the 1st of October, he passed. My sister Edith was also present. He was so youthful and agile during these recordings. It was lovely to see. He was critical; it wasn't easy with him [laughs].

47. It was only a short time later Julius passed away (aged 98). What was your final encounter like with him?

Nur kurze Zeit später verstarb Julius im Alter von 98 Jahren. Wie war Ihre letzte Begegnung mit ihm?

I went to see him for my last week with him in NY and he told me and asked me then: "can you imagine.. I keep dreaming of this fog, and eventually out of this fog my mother appears. Don't you think this is a sign that I will die soon?" But this was about half a year before he died. That was the only time he spoke of his own death. He was punctured by the two strokes but he had the nurse Rose at his side and it was always pleasant. We went out during the day, not during the evening. It was too dangerous. This is why I know so much because we always stayed in. Rose always left in the evening. Rose had a little daughter and Julius always asked Rose to ask her husband to bring their daughter along when coming to pick Rose up after work. She was a very cute girl at the around seven years of age. Carrie-Joe was her name. This was in November and it was the last time I saw him in New York.

Appendix A

He wanted me to scatter his ashes on the "Beethoven Gang" in Grinzing, on the way, alongside a stream, to a Beethoven monument in the park (not at the graveyard).

48. Is there anything you would like to say which we haven't already covered about your 'uncle' Julius Burger?

Gibt es etwas, das Sie gerne noch über Ihren "Onkel" Julius Burger sagen oder erzählen möchten, was bis jetzt unerwähnt blieb?

Yes, the story about Ödon von Horvath, the friend of Julius'. Otherwise we have covered it all pretty well.

He probably would have made some fun of both you and I right now. It was a very impressive time with our family. Him and Rose had such a great influence. They have expanded our perspectives. I first met them when I was 16 and at first they brought me books that I read and we later talked about. This had truly influenced me and I don't want to dismiss this time. I am so thankful and I am also now thankful to have actively dived back into this. It has now been 24 years. Very nice, Ryan, that you are doing this research. You are helping him live forever. Wonderful - this CD. Thank you.

Appendix B *Julius Burger Composition Catalogue*

Description: This composition catalogue provides relevant information on Julius Burger's compositional oeuvre spanning from 1915 to 1988. Entries contain information such as work title, composition date, work description, broadcast information, instrumentation and a BBC catalogue number(if applicable). This list has been compiled utilising the following sources: *Werkverzeichnis Julius Bürger* (Work catalogue for Julius Burger) - Exilarte Zentrum der MDW. Vienna, Austria; *Julius Burger Works list* - provided by the Julius Burger Estate; Autograph manuscripts from the Julius Burger Estate - Exilarte Zentrum der MDW. Vienna, Austria; Julius Burger's notebook aka the '*Burger Notebook*' or '*Zörer Notebook*'- from the private collection of Dr. Trude Zörer; Archival documentation from the BBC Written Archive, Caversham-England (BBC Music-General: R27/40/2, Burger, Julius '35-'42 & Burger, Julius '42-'51); Radio Potpourri scores from the BBC Sheet Music Library Collection, Perivale – London, UK.; BBC Genome Project online database for *Radio Times* 1923-2009 (URL: <https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk>).

To access, please visit the link provided.

Ryan Hugh Ross. 2023. Julius Burger Composition Catalogue.

Pure ID: 129422161

Link: <https://doi.org/10.5258/SOTON/D2688>

Appendix C *Julius Burger Documents Catalogue*
compiled from files of the BBC Written
Archive, Caversham (WAC)

Description: This is a chronological catalogue and was created utilising relevant archival documentation (including contract requests, correspondence, internal memos, etc) preserved in two folders (R27/40/2: Music-General, Burger, Julius, File Folder I of II (1931 - 42);R27/40/2: Music-General, Julius Burger, File Folder II of II (1942 - 51)) at the BBC Written Archive, Caversham (WAC) in England. Each document has been collated using a catalogue number, document description, corresponding photo number, media type and date of composition.

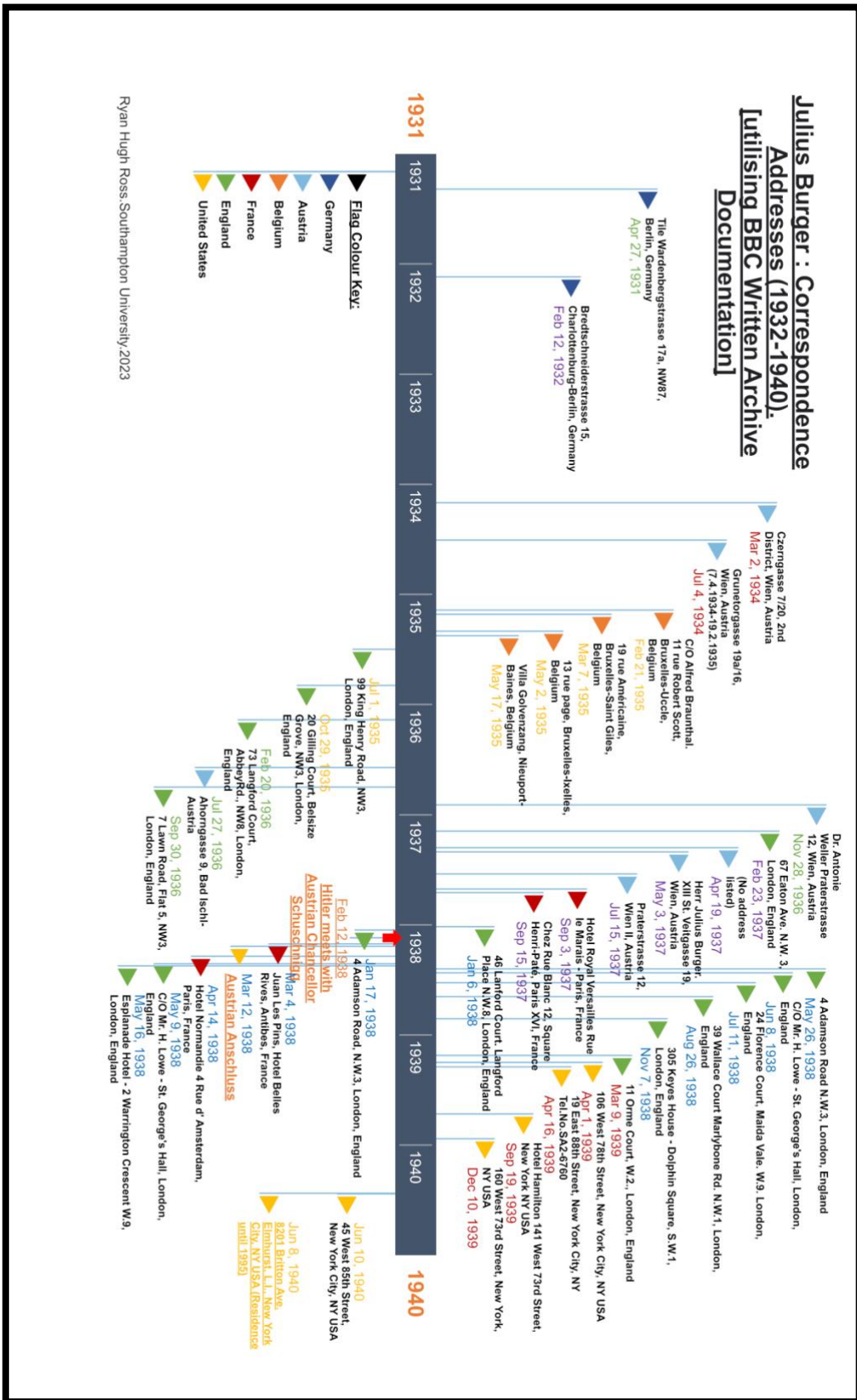
To access this catalogue, please visit the link provided.

Ryan Hugh Ross. 2023. Julius Burger Documents Catalogue compiled from files of the BBC Written Archive, Caversham (WAC).

Pure ID: 129422353

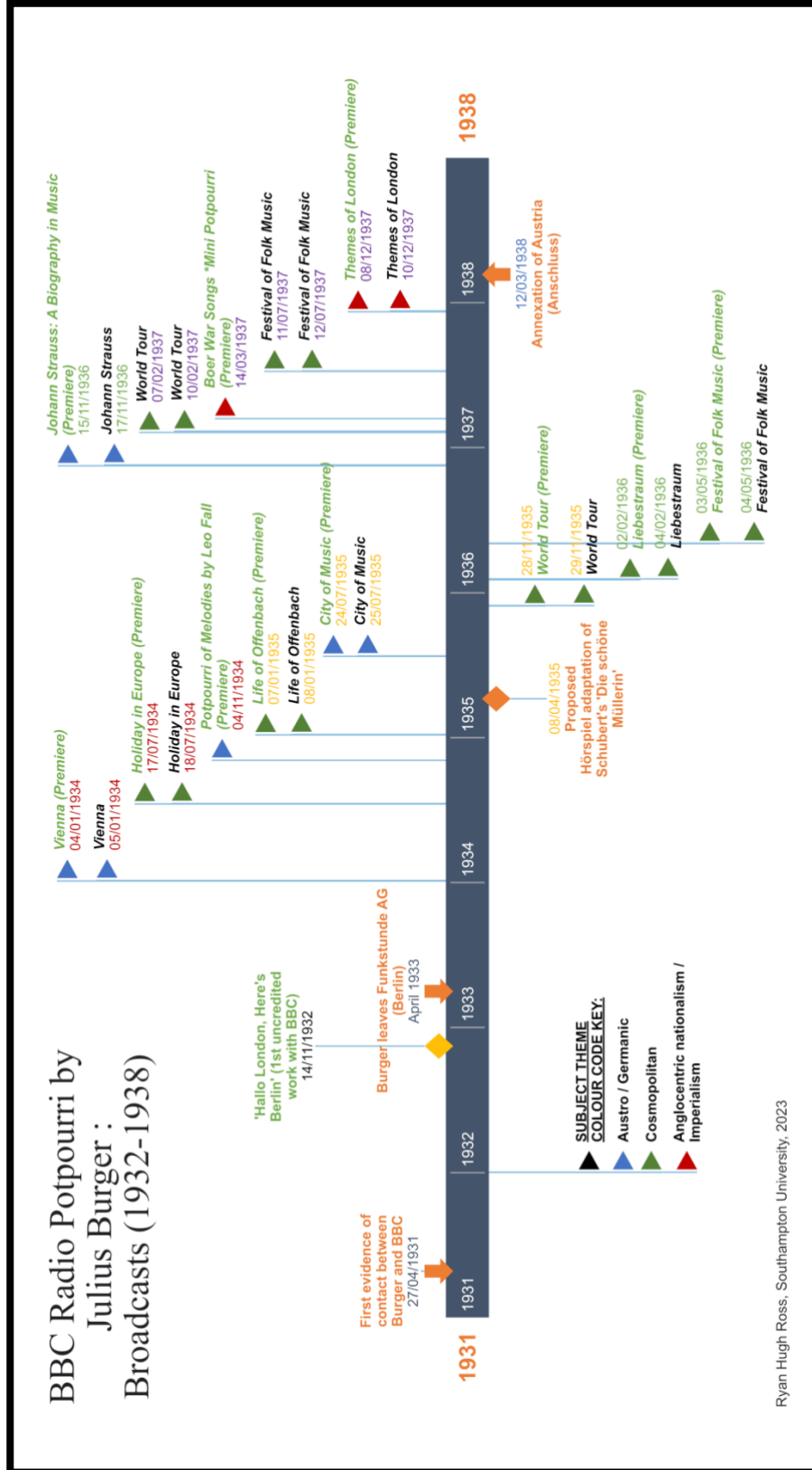
Link: <https://doi.org/10.5258/SOTON/D2687>

Appendix D Julius Burger Correspondence Addresses, 1932-1940

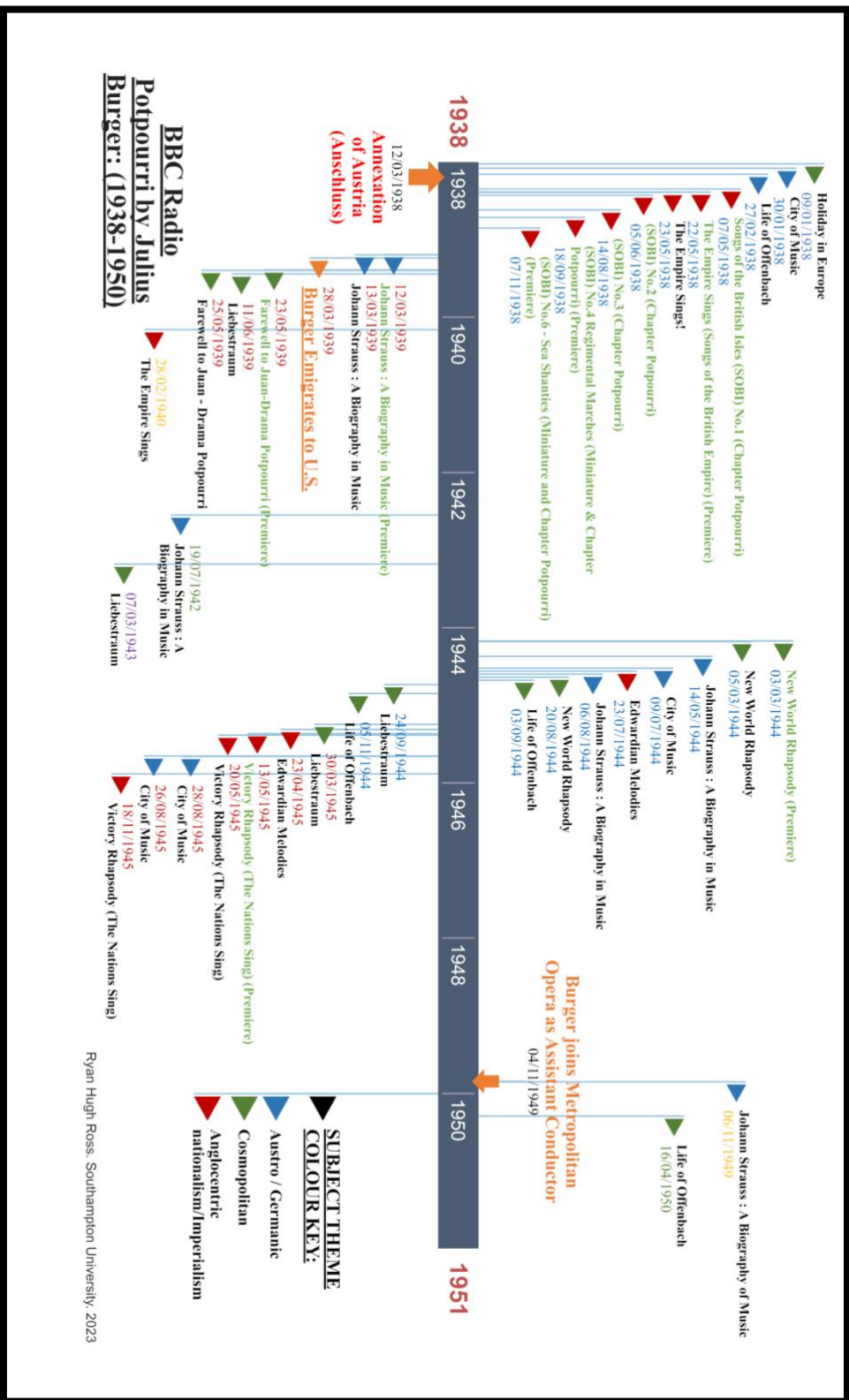


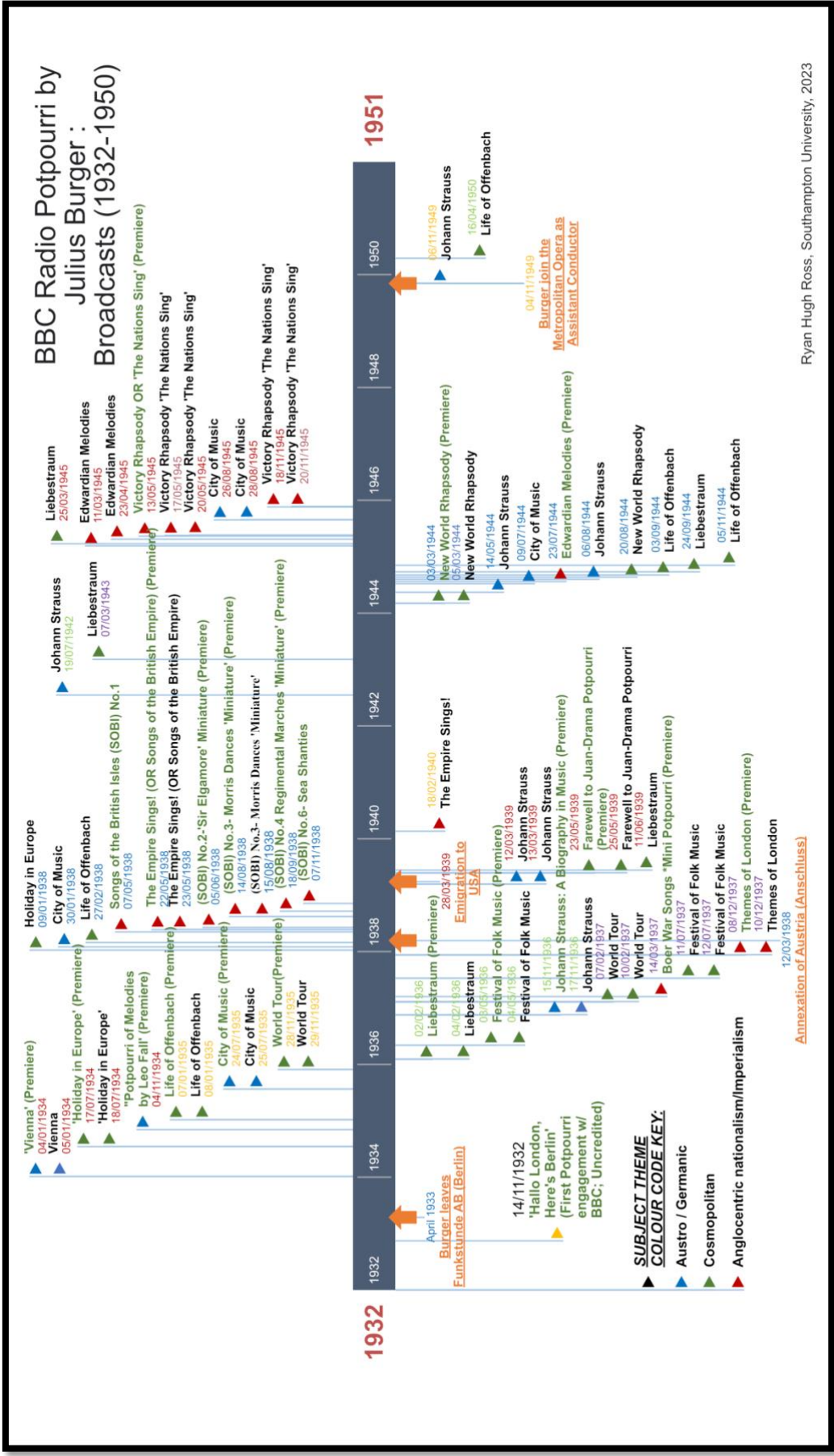
Ryan Hugh Ross Southampton University, 2023

Appendix E Timeline Illustrations of Julius Burger's Radio Potpourri



Ryan Hugh Ross, Southampton University, 2023

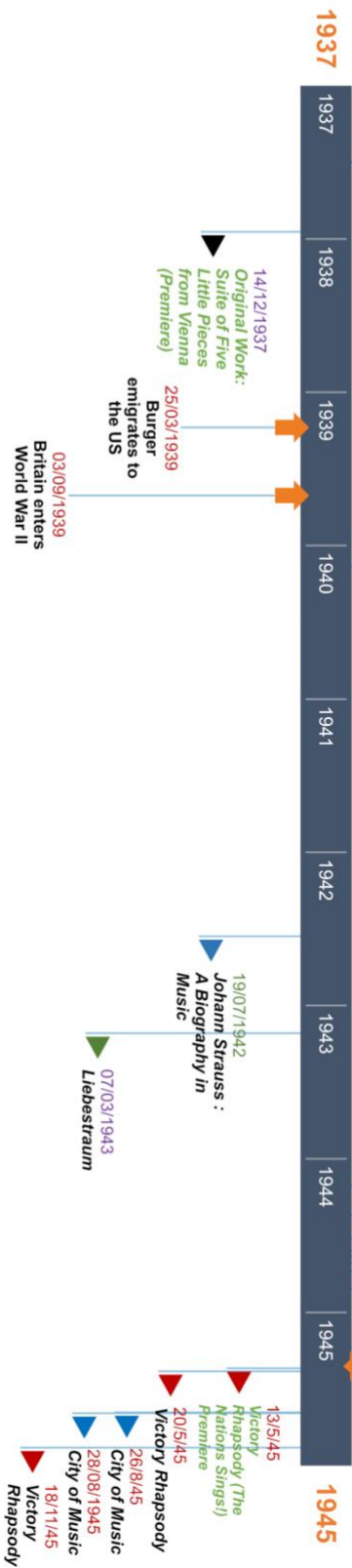




Ryan Hugh Ross, Southampton University, 2023

Julius Burger's BBC Radio Potpourri : Home Service Broadcasts (1940-1945)

- ▶ **Subject Theme**
- ▶ **Colour Code Key:**
- ▶ **Austro / Germanic**
- ▶ **Cosmopolitan**
- ▶ **Anglocentric**
- ▶ **nationalism/imperialism**



Ryan Hugh Ross. Southampton University. 2023

Appendix F Music of Julius Burger at the BBC Sheet Music Library – Perivale, London

Description: This document was prepared by staff from the BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale – London after the second survey for manuscripts by Julius Burger in their collections. It was provided to this project in March 2020 and provides catalogue numbers, work titles, composition dates, score format, instrumentation (when applicable).

To access, please visit the link provided.

Ryan Hugh Ross. 2023. Music of Julius Burger at the BBC Sheet Music Library – Perivale, London.

Pure ID: 129422491

Link: <https://doi.org/10.5258/SOTON/D2686>

Appendix G Potential Examples of the Biographic Potpourri's Influence On BBC Variety Department Programming (1937-1949)

Mozart : A Musical Biography

Arranged and presented by Eric Blom and Leslie Howard.

Segments:

No.1- "Early Travelling Period". Aired 5 April 1937 at 7:30PM. Source: Contributor, "Early Travelling Period" from *Mozart : A Musical Biography, Radio Times*, 2 April 1937, Vol. 55 , No. 705, p.11, 28, 30.

No.2- "Influence of Mannheim", Aired 13 April 1937 at 8:10PM. Source: Contributor, "Influence of Mannheim" from *Mozart : A Musical Biography, Radio Times*, , 9 April 1937, Vol. 55, No. 706, p.38, 40.

No.3- "Salzburg Period", Aired 20 April 1937 at 8:10PM. Source: Contributor, "Salzburg Period" from *Mozart : A Musical Biography, Radio Times* 16 April 1937, Vol. , No. 707, p.40.

No.4- "Vienna, Earlier Years", Aired 28 April 1937 at 7:40PM. Source: Contributor, "Vienna, Earlier Years" from *Mozart : A Musical Biography, Radio Times*, 23 April 1937, Vol. 55, No. 708, p.50.

No.5- "Height of Maturity", Aired 3 May 1937 at 8:20PM. Source: Contributor, "Height of Maturity" from *Mozart : A Musical Biography, Radio Times*, 30 April 1937, Vol. 55, No.709, p.32.

No.6- "The Last Years", Aired 23 May 1937 at 9:05PM. Source: Contributor, "The Last Years" from *Mozart : A Musical Biography, Radio Times*, 21 May 1937, Vol. 55, No. 712, p.22.

Franz Schubert : a Musical Biography

Segments:

No.1- "The Young School Master", Aired 4 October 1937 at 9PM. Source: Contributor, "The Young School Master" from *Franz Schubert : a Musical Biography, Radio Times*, 1 October 1937, Vol. 57, No. 731, p.27.

Appendix G

No.2- "1815, The Annus Mirabilis", Aired 11 October 1937, Source: Contributor, "1815, The Annus Mirabilis" from *Franz Schubert : a Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 8 October 1937, Vol. 57, No.732, p.37.

No.3- "Schubert among his Friends", Aired 17 October 1937 at 6PM. Source: Contributor, "Schubert among his Friends", *Franz Schubert : a Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 15 October 1937, Vol. 57, No.733, p.26.

No.4- "The Dawn of Recognition: 1821-1826", Aired 25 October 1937 at 7:30PM. Source: Contributor, "The Dawn of Recognition: 1821-1826" from *Franz Schubert : a Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 22 October 1937, Vol. 57, No.734, p.36.

No.5- "Die schöne Müllerin", Aired 2 November 1937 at 8PM. Source: Contributor, "Die schöne Müllerin", from *Franz Schubert : a Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 29 October 1937, Vol. 57, No.735, p.48.

No.6- "The Last Year, 1828", Aired 11 November 1937 at 9:05PM. Source: Contributor, "The Last Year, 1828", *Franz Schubert : a Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 5 November 1937, Vol. 57, No.736, p.70.

Franz Josef Haydn: A Musical Biography

Arranged by Dr. Karl Geiringer and presented by W.K.Stanton

Segments:

No.1- "Youth (1732-1760)", Aired 12 May 1938 at 7:30PM. Source: Contributor, "Youth (1732-1760)", from *Franz Josef Haydn: A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 13 May 1938, Vol. 59, No.763, p.29.

No.2- "First Decade at Esterhaz (1761-1770)", Aired 22 May 1938 at 6:55PM. Source: Contributor, "First Decade at Esterhaz (1761-1770)" from *Franz Josef Haydn: A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 20 May 1938, Vol. 59, No. 764, p.23.

No.3- "Storm and Stress (1771-1780)", Aired 2 June 1938 at 7:30PM. Source: Contributor, "Storm and Stress (1771-1780)", *Franz Josef Haydn: A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 27 May 1938, Vol. 59, No.765, p.58.

No.4- "Maturity (1781-1790)", Aired 9 June 1938 at 7:30PM. Source: Contributor, "Maturity (1781-1790)", from *Franz Josef Haydn: A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 3 June 1938, Vol. 59, No.766, p.62.

No.5- "Visit to London (1791-1795)" Aired 12 June 1938 at 6PM. Source: Contributor, "Visit to London (1791-1795)" from *Franz Josef Haydn: A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 10 June 1938, Vol. 59, No.767, p.22, 24.

No.6- "The Last Creative Period (1796-1803)" Aired 23 June 1938 at 7:45PM. Source: Contributor, "The Last Creative Period (1796-1803)" from *Franz Josef Haydn: A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 17 June 1938, Vol. 59, No.768, p.60.

Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography

Arranged and presented by Victor Hely-Hutchinson

Segments:

No.1- "The Young Virtuoso", Aired 13 October 1938 at 7:30PM. Source: Contributor, "The Young Virtuoso" from *Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 7 October 1938, Vol. 61, No.784, p.63.

No.2- "Transcriptions", Aired 17 October 1938 at 8:10PM. Source: Contributor, "Transcriptions" from *Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 14 October 1938 Vol. 61, No.785, p.30.

No.3- "The Rhapsodist", Aired 26 October 1938 at 7:30PM. Source: Contributor, "The Rhapsodist" from *Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 21 October 1938, Vol. 61, No.786, p.56.

No.4- "Larger Orchestral Works", Aired 30 October 1938 at 7:35PM. Source: Contributor, "Larger Orchestral Works" from *Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 28 October 1938, Vol. 61, No.787, p.86.

No.5- "Old Age", Aired 9 November 1938 at 7:30PM. Source: Contributor, "Old Age" from *Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 4 November 1938, Vol. 61, No.788, p.54.

No.6- "A Musical Biography", Aired 19 November 1938 at 7:35P. Source: Contributor, "A Musical Biography", from *Franz Liszt : A Musical Biography*, *Radio Times*, 11 November 1938, Vol. 61, No.789, p.86, 88.

The Story of George Frideric Handel : A Radio Biography in Five Parts

by Christopher Hassall, Music transcribed and arranged by Julius Harrison

Segments:

No.1- "Journey to London", 20 November 1949 at 9:30PM. Source: Contributor, "Journey to London *The Story of George Frideric Handel : A Radio Biography in Five Parts, Radio Times*, 18 November 1949, Vol. 105, No.1362, p.18.

No.2- "The Man from Hanover", Aired 27 November 1949 at 9:30PM. Source: Contributor, "The Man from Hanover", *The Story of George Frideric Handel : A Radio Biography in Five Parts, Radio Times*, 25 November 1949, Vol. 105, No.1363, p.18.

No.3- "War in the Haymarket", Aired 4 December 1949 at 9:30PM. Source: Contributor, "War in the Haymarket", *The Story of George Frideric Handel : A Radio Biography in Five Parts, Radio Times*, 2 December 1949, Vol. 105, No. 1364, p.18.

No.4- "Messiah", Aired 11 December 1949 at 9:30PM. Source: Contributor, "Messiah", *The Story of George Frideric Handel : A Radio Biography in Five Parts, Radio Times*, 9 December 1949, Vol. 105, No.1365, p.18.

No.5- "Turning Tide", Aired 18 December 1949 at 9:30PM. Source: Contributor, "Turning Tide", *The Story of George Frideric Handel : A Radio Biography in Five Parts, Radio Times*, 16 December 1949, Vol. 105, No.1366, p.18.

Appendix H Songs of the British Isles (1938) Chapter

Overview No.1-4; No.6

Songs of the British Isles No.1 – Included arrangements of the traditional folk piece ‘*Simon the Cellarer*’ and the traditional piece ‘*Oh No, John!*’ ; Broadcast information: BBC Regional Programme London, 7 May 1938 at 9PM.

Sources: Contributor, “*Songs of the British Isles, No.1,*” *Radio Times*, 29 April 1938, Vol. 59, No. 761, p.7, 77, 80. ; Unknown, “BBC Contract for Songs of the British Isles,” 9 May 1938, From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive-Caversham, England

Songs of the British Isles No.2 – Included arrangements of the traditional folk piece *Sir Elgamore*; Broadcast information: BBC Regional Programme London, 5 June 1938 9:05PM.

Sources: Contributor, “*Sir Elgamore,*” *Radio Times*, 3 June 1938, Vol. 59, No. 766, p.24, 26. ; Unknown, BBC Contract for Songs of the British Isles- *Sir Elgamore*, 22 June 1938, From Burger, Julius. 31-42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England.

Songs of the British Isles No.3 – Included traditional Welsh & Scottish pieces and Morris Dance music in two sets

Set 1: included arrangements of traditional folk pieces ‘*David of the White Rock*’, ‘*Y Deryn Pur*’, ‘*Tra Bo Da*’ (Welsh); ‘*Bonny Earl of Murray*’ (Scottish).

Broadcast information: BBC National Programme Daventry, 14 August 1938 9.05PM with a repeat on the Regional Service, 15 August 1938 at 6.00PM. Source: Contributor, “*Songs of the British Isles, No.3,*” *Radio Times*, 12 August 1938, Vol. 60, No. 776, p. 18, 29.

Sources: Unknown, “BBC Contract for *Songs of the British Isles No.3, Set 1: Welsh Songs,*” 4 July 1938, From Burger, Julius. ’31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive -Caversham, England. ; Unknown, “BBC Contract for Songs of the British Isles No.3, Set 1: Scottish Songs,” 26 August 1938, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England.

Set 2: Mini potpourri titled *Morris Dances*.

Broadcast information: BBC National Programme Daventry, 14 August 1938 9.05PM with a repeat on BBC Regional Service 15 August 1938 at 6.00PM.

Appendix H

Sources: Unknown, "BBC Contract for *Songs of the British Isles* No.3, Set 2: Morris Dances," 11 July 1938, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive Caversham, England. ; Contributor, "Morris Dances," in *Songs of the British Isles*, *Radio Times*, 12 August 1938, Vol. 60, No. 776, p.18, 29.

Songs of the British Isles No.4- Included the Mini-Potpourri *Regimental Marches (Military Marches)*. Broadcast information: BBC National Programme Daventry, 18 September 1938 9.05PM.

Titles included traditional marches '*The Lincolnshire Poacher*', '*Speed the Plough*', '*Wi' a Hundred Pipers*', '*The British Grenadiers*', '*Men of Harlech*', '*John Peel*', '*Life on the Ocean Wave*'.

Sources: Contributor, "*Songs of the British Isles* No.4," *Radio Times*, 16 September 1938, Vol. 60, No. 761, p.22. ; G.J.B. Allport, "Julius Burger's Miniature Pot-pourri of Military Marches for *Songs of the British Isles*-18 September 1938," From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England.

Songs of the British Isles No.5- No Contributions by Julius Burger.

Broadcast information: BBC National Programme Daventry, 9 October 1938 9.05PM.

Source: Contributor, "*Songs of the British Isles* No.5," *Radio Times*, 7 October 1938, Vol. 61, No. 784, p.26.

Songs of the British Isles No.6- Included the Mini Potpourri titled *Sea Shanties*.

Titles included traditional songs '*Billy Boy*', '*Bound for the Rio Grande*', '*Johnny Come Down To Hilo*', '*Shenandoah*', '*Stormalong John*', '*What Shall We Do With Drunken Sailor?*', '*A-Roving I*', '*The Drummer and the Cook*', '*Fire Down Below*', '*Rule, Britannia*' from *The Songs of England*.

Broadcast information: BBC Regional Programme, 7 November 1938 at 8:30PM.

Sources: Contributor, "*Songs of the British Isles* No.6," *Radio Times*, 4 November 1938, Vol. 61, No. 788, p.5, 34. ; M.V. Green, "BBC Copy Order for *Sea Shanties* Potpourri," 26 October 1938, From Burger, Julius, '31-'42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General, Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England.

Appendix I Radio Potpourri Manuscript Overview and Descriptions

I.1.1 2019 BBC Sheet Music Library Survey (viewed)

Potpourri

A Potpourri of Melodies by Edmund Eysler (Undated). Conductor score; Catalogue No. MSS2135-Bürger: This work survives as an autograph score totalling sixty-three pages which makes it a smaller potpourri work. Unfortunately, there is no indication of a composition date in the manuscript and little to no mention of the work in other archival sources.¹ Considering the similarity to the following title in duration, it is likely this potpourri drew on selections from Eysler's primary compositional medium, operetta, for source material.

A Potpourri of Melodies by Leo Fall (1934). Conductor score. Catalogue No. MSS6497-Buerger: This potpourri was composed between 7 and 24 February 1934 in Vienna, according to the autograph manuscript title page.² It comprises of arranged selections from Fall's popular operettas including 'Josef, Ach Josef, was bist du so keusch' and 'Ich bin dein Unsertan, dein treuer...' from *Madame Pompadour* (1922), 'Wo die Donau' and 'Komikertersett' from *Die Kaiserin* (1916), 'O Schlafcoupe!', 'Kind, du kannst tanzen' and 'Man steigt marz?' from *Die geschiedene Frau* (1908).³ It was broadcast on 4 November 1934 on the BBC North Regional Service - London at 6:30PM and was performed by The BBC Theatre Orchestra and conducted by Stanford Robinson.⁴

Holiday in Europe (1934). Conductor Score; Piano Reduction. Catalogue No. MSS1878: *Holiday in Europe* was completed on 2 April 1934 and was written in conjunction with Austrian writer Artur Kulka (dates unknown) in Vienna. The work is described in the 7 January 1935 edition of *Radio Times* as follows:

¹ Julius Buerger, *A Potpourri of Melodies by Edmund Elyser*, (undated), MSS2135, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale-London, England.

² Julius Buerger, *A Potpourri of Melodies by Leo Fall*, 1934, MSS2135, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale-London, England.

³ Julius Burger, "Letter to Stanford Robinson," 12 March 1934, from Julius Burger, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham - England.

⁴ Contributor, "Leo Fall Potpourri," *Radio Times*, 2 November 1934, Vol. 45, No. 579, p. 376.

Appendix I

The broadcast opens with a young honeymoon couple talking in Hyde Park. They are to go abroad and their minds are full of it. They doze, and dream. In a succession of episodes music will conjure up the countries they are in. Barcelona and a bull fight, with the Toreador's song from Carmen ; an Italian scene ; the Prater in Vienna ; Budapest and gypsies; Berlin, and soldiers marching through the Unter den Linden ; old German student songs ; Russia with its exciting music, and a woman singing the old Russian folk song, ' Sarafan '. There will be music throughout. dialogue, and effects. The pot-pourri is, as it were, a moving picture in sound. conveying in well-known marches, waltzes, and so forth a background to the principal countries in Europe.⁵

It was first broadcast on 17 July 1934 on BBC Regional Service at 9:15PM with a repeat the following day at 8PM on the BBC National Service. Vocal soloists included American soprano Ina Souez (1903-1992) and German tenor John Hendrik (1904-2004) with actors Charles H Mason, Ivan Samson (1894-1963) and actress Cathleen Cordell (1915-1997) performing the dialogue. The BBC Review Chorus and the augmented BBC Theatre Orchestra rounded out the music ensemble which was conducted by Stanford Robinson.⁶ The manuscripts for *Holiday in Europe* comprise of a piano reduction score and the autograph conductor score. The latter includes narration and several pages of notes which indicate possible alterations to the work. According to its allotted time in Radio Times magazine, the potpourri is approximately one hour in duration and was broadcast a total of three times between its premiere on 17 July 1934 and 9 January 1938.⁷ A detailed analysis is provided of this work in the Geographic potpourri section of the 'Defining Radio Potpourri' chapter.

Life of Offenbach (1934). Orchestral parts. Catalogue No. MSS2891: *The Life of Offenbach* was described in the 12 June 1942 Stanford Robinson memo as being :

... traced from his [Offenbach's] early beginnings as a cellist through all his great successes and concludes with "*Tales of Hoffmann*".⁸

It premiered on 7 January 1935 at 9PM on BBC National Service with a reprise the following day at 8PM on the BBC National Service.⁹ The performance comprised of four soloists including Suzanne Bertin (soprano), Gladys Palmer (contralto), Webster Booth (tenor) and Stern Scott (bass) and a small cast of players. It was performed by the BBC 'Wireless' Chorus, BBC Theatre Orchestra and conducted by Stanford Robinson.¹⁰

⁵ Contributor, "Holiday in Europe," *Radio Times*, 7 January 1938, Vol. 58, No.745, p.18.

⁶ Contributor, "Holiday in Europe," *Radio Times*, 13 July 1934, Vol.44, No. 563, p.105, 112.

⁷ Contributor, "Holiday in Europe," *Radio Times*, 7 January 1938, Vol. 58, No.745, p.18.

⁸ Stanford Robinson, "The Potpourris of Julius Burger," 7 February 1939, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham - England.

⁹ Contributor, "Life of Offenbach," *Radio Times*, 4 January 1935, Vol. 46, Issue 588, pp.7, 28, 31, 34.

¹⁰ Stanford Robinson, "The Potpourris of Julius Burger," 7 February 1939, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham - England.

Two bundles of orchestral parts survive. However, these are either incomplete or missing parts which complicates research purposes. Instead, this research utilises a combination of archival documentation and *Radio Times* magazine descriptions for a reconstruction analysis. This is contained in the Biographic potpourri section of the 'Defining Radio Potpourri' chapter.

Festival of Folk Music (1936). Conductor Score in 3 parts; Vocal/Piano reduction score; Chorus/Piano reduction score; Balance reduction score. MSS2903 A-F - Buerger: *Festival of Folk Music* was described as:

Music knows no national frontiers, yet folk music almost invariably is as characteristic as a flag. Fascinating music it is, too, full of melody and rhythm, and expressive of the soil and the joys and pains of love. This evening' Dr. Buerger has collected the folk music of eleven countries : England, Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Norway, Spain, Austria, Russia, and Hungary, and he has welded this medley of tunes into an hour's potpourri. An interesting feature of this broadcast is that the songs will be sung in the language of their origin.¹¹

A second description by Stanford Robinson provides more insight into the work:

One of Rex Howarth's most brilliant pieces of theatrical broadcasting which gave a vivid impression of a sort of folk song and folk-dance jamboree at the Albert Hall, which was audaciously described by Eric Maschwitz. It was so effective that we had many telephone enquiries asking where the festival was being held from people who wanted to take their children. It was such an effective "spoof" that C.(P) insisted on an announcement being made at the beginning and the end of the repeat broadcast making it quite clear that it was a "spoof".¹²

It premiered 3 May 1936 at 6:45PM on BBC Regional Service with a reprise the following day at 8:30PM on the BBC National Service. The work was narrated by Rex Howarth and performed by BBC Chorus, the BBC Theatre Orchestra and conducted by Stanford Robinson. Its popularity led to a revival on 11 July 1937 at 9:05PM on the BBC National programme with a reprise the following day at 6PM on the BBC Regional programme with an approximate performance duration of one hour.¹³ *Festival of Folk Music* manuscripts consist of an autograph Conductor score in three parts, a Vocal/Piano reduction score, a Chorus/Piano reduction score and a Balance reduction score for piano.

Potpourri Melodies by Edmund Audran (1936). Conductor score. MSS3496: The *Edmund Audran Potpourri* was written in 1936 from Alt Aussee, Austria according to the dedication in autograph

¹¹ Contributor, "Festival of Folk Music," *Radio Times*, 1 May 1936, Vol. 51, No. 657, p.20, 26.

¹² Stanford Robinson, "Potpourri of Julius Burger," 6 June 1942, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II. BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹³ Contributor, "Festival of Folk Music," *Radio Times*, 9 July 1937, Vol. 56, No. 719, p.20, 30.

manuscript. After an extensive search, no broadcast information was found but the piece appears similar to other potpourri which are short in duration such as *A Potpourri of Melodies by Leo Fall* and *A Potpourri of Melodies by Edmund Eysler*.¹⁴ The work totals seventy-two pages.

The Life of Johann Strauss (1936). Orchestral parts. MSS3771: *The Life of Johann Strauss*, also known by the titles *A Homage to Johann Strauss* or *Johann Strauss: A Biography in Music*, was described by Stanford Robinson as follows:

This is a programme similar to that devoted to Offenbach and a picture of the salient points in the life of the great waltz composer in terms of his music. It was, I think, one of the most successful of all the pot-pourris.¹⁵

This statement is quite accurate as this potpourri was broadcast a total of eight times between November 1936 and 6 November 1949.¹⁶ It was later described as:

It traces the long successful career of Johann Strauss from his first concert in 1844 to his death fifty-five years later.¹⁷

It was premiered 15 November 1936 at 5:30PM on BBC Regional Service.¹⁸ The work was performed by a large ensemble of soloists including Irene Elsinger (soprano), George Baker (baritone), John McKenna (tenor), Joan Brierley (tenor), Brenda Gordon (soprano), Harold Reese (baritone), Gladys Palmer (contralto) with Henry Bronkhurst and Wilfrid Parry on piano-fortes. The BBC Chorus, BBC Theatre Orchestra were conducted by Mark Lubbock. The programme's narration was written by Henrik Ege (1893-1962) and it was produced by Gordon McConnel. Like *Life of Offenbach*, this work survives in orchestral parts only and has a duration of approximately one hour.

Boer War Songs Potpourri (1937). Conductor score. MSS4242: *Boer War Songs* was written by Julius Burger in early 1937 while in Vienna and was commissioned as part of the 12th segment of Mark Lubbock's serial programme *Victorian Melodies*.¹⁹ According to a contract request from February 1937, the potpourri includes arrangements of the following pieces : 'Goodbye Dolly

¹⁴ Julius Burger, *Potpourri of Melodies by Edmund Audran*, 1936, Call Number MMS3496, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale-London.

¹⁵ Stanford Robinson, "Potpourri of Julius Burger," 6 June 1942, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

¹⁶ For a complete list of broadcasts, please see the *Julius Burger Composition Catalogue* in the appendix.

¹⁷ Contributor, "Johann Strauss: 1825-1899," *Radio Times*, 10 March 1939, Vol. 62, No. 806, p.20.

¹⁸ Contributor, "The Life of Johann Strauss," *Radio Times*, 13 November 1936, Vol. 52, No. 685, p.26, 42.

¹⁹ Contributor, "Boer War Songs," in *Victorian Melodies*, *Radio Times*, 12 March 1937, Vol. 54, No. 702, p.22.

Grey', 'Songs of the Motherland', 'Mandalay', 'Soldiers of the Queen', 'Farewell My Bluebell', 'The Absent Minded Beggar' (not found in score).²⁰ *Boer War Songs* was performed on 14 March 1937 at 7:10PM on the BBC Regional Service. It was performed by the BBC Revue Chorus with Webster Booth (1902-1984) as baritone soloist and was accompanied by the BBC Theatre Orchestra under conductor Mark Lubbock. Like the Eysler and Audran potpourris, *Boer War Songs* is relatively brief, totalling 52 pages. The work is analysed in greater detail in the Historic potpourri section of the 'Defining Radio Potpourri' chapter.

Themes of London or London: Past and Present (1937). Conductor score in 3 parts. MSS5770: *Themes of London* was described as:

Popular music of London through the ages specially compiled for jubilee year and ending with the particularly good tune of the year "I'm in the Dancing Mood."²¹

In an article titled *Themes of London*, for the December 1937 *Radio Times* premiere, Robinson states:

He [Burger] has made a special study of the art of musical mosaic and made of it a neatly perfect type of light radio entertainment. This time, instead of taking you all over Europe or round the world, Buerger [*sic*] is going to give you a musical sound-picture of London – London past and present, though naturally with the main emphasis on London's past.²²

It premiered 8 December 1937 at 7:15PM on BBC National Service with a reprise on 10 December at 9PM on the BBC Regional Service. The potpourri's narration was written by Henrik Ege and featured soloists Lorely Dyer (soprano), Gwen Catley (soprano), Derek Oldham (tenor), John Rorke (baritone), Bertha Wilmott, Sam Costa and The Radio Three as well as Reginald Foort at the BBC Theatre Organ. The BBC Revue Chorus and BBC Theatre Orchestra accompanied, conducted by Stanford Robinson.²³ The autograph manuscript for *Themes of London* is preserved as a conductor score in three parts.²⁴ An analysis of *Themes of London* has been conducted as part of the Historic Potpourri section in the 'Defining Radio Potpourri' chapter.

²⁰ BBC Accounts, "Contract request to Julius Bürger," 25 February 1937, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

²¹ Stanford Robinson, "Potpourri of Julius Burger," 6 June 1942, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham - England.

²² Stanford Robinson, "Themes of London," *Radio Times*, 3 December 1937, Vol. 57, No. 740, p.12.

²³ Contributor, "Themes of London," *Radio Times*, 3 December 1938, Vol. 57, No. 740, p.12, 54, 80.

²⁴ Julius Buerger, *Themes of London (1937) Full Score*, Call No. MSS 5570, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London.

The Empire Sings! or Songs of the British Empire (1938). Conductor score. MSS6401: *The Empire Sings!* was completed on 5 April 1938 in Juan les Pins, France according to the autograph manuscript.²⁵ Stanford Robinson described the work as follows:

It is a pot-pourri [*sic*] of characteristic melodies of most of the countries in the British Empire including some very brilliant orchestration of native music.²⁶

This potpourri is a large survey of the United Kingdom and the British Imperial colonies, dominions, and territories as it existed in 1938. This includes music from Canada, Jamaica and the Caribbean, Scotland, South Africa and African territories, Wales, Gibraltar, Cyprus, Palestine, India, Pacific Islands, British Malaya, Singapore and Hong Kong, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and concludes in England. It was premiered on 22 May 1938 at 9:50PM on BBC National Service with a reprise the following day at 6PM on the BBC Regional Service.²⁷ The potpourri was created in collaboration with Gordon McConnel, Rex Haworth, Charles Groves and was produced by Stanford Robinson. It was performed by the BBC Revue Chorus, the BBC Theatre Orchestra and conducted by Stanford Robinson.²⁸

A revival was performed for the BBC Home Service and broadcast on 18 February 1940 at 9:15PM. The potpourri's listing in the *Radio Times* provides additional performer names including Ida Shepley, Monica Warner, Heddle Nash, Franklyn Kelsey as well as Dr. Thomas Wood (narration) and H. Robinson Cleaver as organ soloist. The BBC Theatre Chorus and an Augmented BBC Theatre Orchestra were conducted by Stanford Robinson.²⁹ The autograph conductor's score of *The Empire Sings!* contains 283 pages and has a duration of approximately one hour. This makes the work one of Burger's larger potpourris. A detailed analysis of this potpourri has been provided in Chapter Six - '*The Empire Sings!* : Imperialism, Nationalism and the Aesthetic Shift' of this dissertation.

Military Marches Potpourri (1938). Conductor score. MSS6782 : *The Military Marches Potpourri* or "*Regimental Marches*" comprises of the marching tunes for the Grenadier Guards, Suffolk Regiment, Lincolnshire Regiment, Border Regiment, Royal Marines, South Wales Borderers, Royal Marines.³⁰ According to its BBC contract request, these tunes include 'The Lincolnshire Poacher' ,

²⁵ Julius Burger, *The Empire Sings!*, 1938, Full Score, Call No. MSS 6401, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale-London, p.283.

²⁶ Stanford Robinson, "Potpourri of Julius Bürger," 6 June 1942, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

²⁷ Contributor, "The Empire Sings," *Radio Times*, 22 May 1938, Vol.59, No. 764, p.18, 28, 30.

²⁸ Stanford Robinson, "Potpourri of Julius Bürger," 6 June 1942, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

²⁹ Contributor, "The Empire Sings!" *Radio Times*, 16 February 1940, Vol. 66, No. 855, p.15.

³⁰ Julius Buerger, *Military Marches (Regimental Marches) Potpourri*, 1938, Call No. MSS 6782, BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale- London.

'Speed the Plough', 'Wi' a Hundred Pipers', 'The British Grenadiers', 'Men of Harlech', 'John Peel', 'Life on the Ocean Wave'.³¹ It was premiered on 18 September 1938 at 9:05PM on BBC National Service and was performed by BBC Theatre Orchestra and Chorus, Conducted by Stanford Robinson.³² *Military Marches* was contracted for the BBC as part of the potpourri serial *Songs of the British Isles* which Burger arranged for throughout 1938.

Smaller Arrangements/Original Works

Traditional Swabian Song 'Come Dorothy, Come' (undated). Conductor Score. MSS3594 : The traditional volkslied was arranged by Burger for orchestral ensemble of woodwinds, horns, string and an SATB Chorus with an approximate duration of 2.5 minutes. Although this work has been identified as having been arranged by Burger as indicated on the work's cover, no additional information has been found in this respect.

Traditional English Folk 'On No, John!' (1938). Conductor Score; Instrumental parts. MSS6333 : 'Oh No, John!' was arranged along with 'Simon the Cellarer' to be included in a segment of the serial programme *Songs of the British Isles* for 7 May 1938 according to a BBC contract request dated 9 May 1938.³³ It is a single arrangement for voice and instrumental ensemble (flute, oboe, clarinet, horn, harp, and strings).

Suite of Five Pieces from Vienna (No Date) : *Suite of Five Little Pieces from Vienna* creates a musical portrait of Vienna in five vignettes including: I. 'Schubert's Geburtshaus' II. 'Ballet am Opernring' III. 'Changing of the Guard at the Burg-Ring' IV. 'In Grinzing' and V. 'Karusell im Prater'. It premiered as part of a concert on 14 December 1937 at 10:20PM on the BBC National Service. The work was performed by the BBC Theatre Orchestra, conducted by Stanford Robinson.³⁴ This is an original work which is currently located as part of the Burger Estate installed at the Exilarte Archive der MDW -Vienna, Austria.

According to BBC memos, the piano score for *Five Little Pieces...* was returned in mid 1947 at the behest of Walter Goehr, along with several other original Burger pieces on loan for broadcast

³¹ Miss Duncan, "Julius Burger Miniature Potpourri of Military Marches for 'Songs of the British Isles' Programme for 18 September 1938," 24 August 1938, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham – England.

³² Contributor, "Military Marches," *Radio Times*, 16 September 1938, Vol.60, No. 781, p.22.

³³ BBC Accounts, "Contract Request, RE: *Songs of the British Isles*," 9 May 1938, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham – England.

³⁴ Contributor, "Suite of Five Little Pieces of Vienna," *Radio Times*, 10 December 1937, Vol. 57, No. 741, p.44.

consideration with BBC.³⁵ These include *Three Studies by Chopin for String Orchestra, Suites No.1 and Suite No.2 of Classical Songs for String Orchestra*.³⁶ Two further works, *A Musical Jest with Johann Strauss* and *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody* were returned in early 1949 to Burger along with the orchestral parts for *Five Little Pieces from Vienna*.³⁷

Two other arranged works, 'Caravan' and 'Farewell, Gypsy', were listed on the older BBC Sheet Music Library catalogue. However, these two have not been located. According to archival documentation, these songs are traditional works which were arranged by Burger for a concert on 15 January 1938. The pieces were performed by the BBC Theatre orchestra which was conducted by Stanford Robinson.³⁸

I.1.2 March 2020 BBC Sheet Music Library Survey

Potpourri

The following titles were located in a second search for Burger manuscripts at the BBC Sheet Music Library, Perivale in March of 2020. They have not been viewed due to the Covid Pandemic restrictions but pose an excellent source from which to continue research into the Radio Potpourri.

A Potpourri of Schubert Waltzes (1936). Conductor Score; Piano Reduction score; instrumental parts. MSS3149: This potpourri was arranged in early 1936. It has a duration of approximately ten minutes. Despite being one of the shorter works, this potpourri is one of the most complete manuscript scores located and includes a conductor score, a piano reduction score and the individual instrumental parts. No broadcast information has been presently found. ³⁹

Archibald Joyce Waltz Potpourri (1939?). Conductor score; Instrumental parts; Chorus parts. MSS2340: This shorter potpourri is evidently part of a serial programme of potpourris called "The Story of the Waltz". It was described as follows:

³⁵ Julius Burger, "Letter to W.R. Reid," 14 May 1947, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham - England ; C.B. McNair, "letter to Ivor Thomas, Re: Your Memo of 28th May 1947," 25 March 1948, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archive. Caversham – England.

³⁶ Herbert Murrill, "BBC Memo to Mr. Lockspeiser," 4 December 1948, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham - England.

³⁷ Herbert Murrill, "BBC Memo to R.J. Baker," 30 May 1949, from Burger, Julius, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham – England.

³⁸ "Contract Request, RE: 'Caravan'; 'Farewell, Gipsy'," 6 January 1938, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham – England.

³⁹ Hamilton Marr, "BBC Memo to Variety Ex. Dept.," 27 March 1936, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham – England.

This is a waltz programme, designed as a successor to the potpourri called “The Story of the Waltz.” The programme is made up of a series of four potpourris all in waltz time and each of a quite distinct type. The selection comprises old Viennese folk song waltzes, Archibald Joyce’s waltzes, Edwardian musical-comedy waltzes. These are linked together to form one complete pot-pourri.⁴⁰

The work was performed with soloist Lorely Dyer (soprano), the BBC Chorus, accompanied by the BBC Theatre Orchestra and conducted by Stanford Robinson.⁴¹

New World Rhapsody (1942). Conductor score in 3 parts. TO1370: This potpourri was described in a March 1944 *Radio Times* listing as:

Radio pot-pourri of music of the Pan-American nations arranged by Julius Burger.⁴²

The description does not provide much information in respect to the musical selections or narration. *New World Rhapsody* was premiered on 3 March 1944 at 8PM on the BBC Home Service with a reprise two days later at 9:30PM on the Home Service. The work included soloists Carmen del Rio, Isabelita Alonso and Anion Young. BBC Theatre Chorus and BBC Theatre Orchestra were conducted by Stanford Robinson. Narration was written by Colin Wills.⁴³ Although Burger composed this potpourri in 1942, it was not broadcast until early 1944.⁴⁴ It shares similarities with other potpourris such as *Holiday in Europe* (1934), *World Tour* (1935) and *The Empire Sings!* (1938), among others.

Smaller Arrangements

Other smaller arrangements by Burger were located as part of the second survey. This includes titles ‘Excelsior’, ‘Bedowin [*sic*] Love Song’, ‘Reve Divin’ (‘O Vision Deceiving’), ‘Asleep in the Deep’ and ‘The Little Damozel’. A cross reference of BBC Written Archive documents has revealed some information about these pieces. No information pertaining to the piece ‘Bedowin Long Song’ or Burger’s arrangement of Ivor Novello’s 1912 song ‘The Little Damozel’ has been uncovered. However, contract requests preserved in the archive yielded some information on the other

⁴⁰ Stanford Robinson, “BBC Memo RE: Archibald Joyce potpourri,” 23 November 1935, from Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham – England.

⁴¹ Contributor, “The Story of the Waltz,” *Radio Times*, 14 April 1939, Vol.63, No. 811, p.22.

⁴² Contributor, “New World Rhapsody,” *Radio Times*, 22 February 1944, Vol.82, No. 1065, p.16.

⁴³ Contributor, “Sunday Rhapsody: New World Rhapsody,” *Radio Times*, 18 August 1944, Vol.84, No. 1090, p.6.

⁴⁴ Stanford Robinson, “Letter to Julius Burger,” 2 August 1944, from Julius Burger, ’42-’51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham – England.

pieces. 'Excelsior' was arranged by Burger for broadcast as part of the *Old Time Ballad Concerts* programme conducted by Stanford Robinson, according to a September 1935 contract request.⁴⁵ Similar to 'Excelsior', Burger arranged both Émile Waldteufel's (1837-1915) work *Rêve divin*, op. 264 and Henry W. Petrie's (1957-1925) 1897 song 'Asleep in the Deep' for broadcasts by BBC Theatre Orchestra in December 1937.^{46 47}

Lost Manuscripts

Despite the large number of titles revealed in these two surveys of the BBC Sheet Music Library, Burger's earliest known BBC potpourri, *Vienna* (1933) remains lost. Other titles presumed lost include Grand Potpourris *City of Music* (1935), *World Tour* (1935), *Liebstraum* (1936), *Edwardian Melodies* (1944), *Victory Rhapsody or The Nations Sing!* (1945), *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody* (1945) and the 1935 composition *Inquest for Columbine* (1935).

Vienna (1933): According to the 29 December 1933 Issue of the *Radio Times*, the potpourri is an hour-long musical arrangement:

...which Julius Bürger and other conductors have popularised from German and Austrian broadcasting studios.⁴⁸

A *Radio Times* description for the potpourri's premiere details the work as comprising of source material by Johann Strauss and Joseph Lanner. The piece's description, coupled with the use of a Schrammel Quartet, also point to the Radio Potpourri as a new cultural import in the British Broadcasting Corporation. The work premiered on 4 January 1934 under Burger's baton on the BBC London Regional Service at 9:15PM with a reprise the following day at 8PM on the BBC National Service. It was arranged for tenor soloist (John Hendrik), Soprano soloist (Maria Maria), BBC Wireless Chorus, BBC Theatre Orchestra and featured an additional ensemble comprised of a Schrammel Quartet.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ BBC Accounts, "Contract request, RE: Old Time Ballad Concerts," 27 September 1935, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

⁴⁶ BBC Accounts, "BBC contract arranging *Reve Divin*'," 13 December 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

⁴⁷ BBC Accounts, "BBC contract arranging *Asleep in the Deep*," 2 December 1937, from Burger, Julius, '31-'42, Music-General, File Folder I of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

⁴⁸ Contributor, "Vienna," *Radio Times*, 29 December 1933, Vol. 41, No. 535, p.972.

⁴⁹ A Schrammel Quartet is an ensemble consisting of two violins, a double-necked contra guitar and G clarinet or "picksüß Hölzl"; A button accordion or "schrammelharmonika" is often incorporated to the ensemble as well." Source: Ernst Weber, "Schrammelmusik," Oestreichisches Musiklexikon Online, Vienna, 2001, Accessed 4 August 2020, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_S/Schrammelmusik.xml

Several other works from Burger's hour-long 'Grand Potpourri' were not recovered.⁵⁰ These titles include *City of Music* (1935), *World Tour* (1935), *Liebstraum* (1936), *Farewell to Juan* (1939), *Edwardian Melodies* (1944), *Victory Rhapsody (The Nations Sing!)* (1945) and *American Musical Comedies Rhapsody* (1945). An additional orchestrated arrangement titled *Inquest of Columbine* (1935) also remains lost.

***City of Music* (1935):** *City of Music* was described as: "A new Pot-pourri of Viennese Music by Julius Buerger of Vienna." An extensive article by Stanford Robinson titled "Preparing an Hour's Pot-Pourri" for a July 1935 issue of *Radio Times* provides greater insight into this lost work. He wrote:

The 'City of Music' is- need I say? – Vienna. We propose to take you on a 'flying journey through the past', to pass in review a century and a half of Viennese music. Buerger begins by evoking a vision of that wild and rainy day in December 1791, when Mozart laid in a pauper's grave...⁵¹

Robinson goes on to detail other composers' excerpts included in the potpourri including Beethoven, Schubert and Johann Strauss. It then includes Viennese folk music and is completed with excerpts from "...modern Viennese operetta."⁵²

City of Music premiered on 24 July 1935 at 8:30PM on BBC National Service with a reprise the following day on BBC Regional Service. Vocal soloists included Joan Coxon (soprano), Jan van der Gucht (tenor) and Thorpe Bates (baritone) with the BBC Chorus and BBC Theatre Orchestra. The work, like nearly all of Burger's potpourris, was conducted by Stanford Robinson.⁵³ This work was broadcast six times between its premiere on 24 July 1935 and 28 August 1945.

***World Tour* (1935):** *World Tour* was described in its 1935 *Radio Times* premiere listing as follows:

In his latest pot-pourri, Dr. Buerger goes further abroad than he did in *Holiday in Europe*; he takes his listeners for a cruise round the world. The route is Spain, Italy, Arabia, India, Cambodia, Siam, Java, China, Mexico, the United States and back to England. Listeners will hear characteristic music of all these countries, including genuine Oriental tunes and rhythms which have probably never before been played by an Occidental orchestra. If listeners find some of them a little too weird, let them remember that the ship will move on and they will soon reach Mexico with its gay rumbas, and the United States of America with its Negro spirituals and Sousa marches!⁵⁴

⁵⁰ This term is clarified and extrapolated upon in the 'Defining Radio Potpourri' chapter of this research project.

⁵¹ Contributor, "Preparing An Hour's Pot-pourri," *Radio Times*, 19 July 1935, Vol. 48, No. 616, p.3.

⁵² Contributor, "Preparing An Hour's Pot-pourri,"

⁵³ Contributor, "City of Music," *Radio Times*, 19 July 1935, Vol. 48, Issue 616, pp.40, 50, 52.

⁵⁴ Contributor, "World Tour," *Radio Times*, 22 November 1935, Vol.49, No. 634, Cover, p.64.

Appendix I

Robinson provides further insight in an internal BBC memo from 1 June 1942 in which he describes *World Tour* as following:

A similar idea to “*Holiday in Europe*” but extended to include all the colourful countries of the world, a great deal of it being South American and North American music. Like “The Empire Sings!”, a number of Arabian, Hindu, Japanese and Chinese traditional melodies were included which would complicate matters at present.⁵⁵

World Tour premiered on 28 November 1935 at 8:30PM on BBC National Service with a reprise the following day at 7PM on the BBC National Service. *World Tour* was performed by the BBC Chorus, the BBC Theatre Orchestra and conducted by Stanford Robinson.⁵⁶ This potpourri was revived for two broadcasts in 1937 including a BBC Regional Service broadcast at 9:50PM on 7 February with a reprise on 10 February at 7:15PM for the BBC National Service.⁵⁷

Liebstraum (1936): *Liebstraum* premiered on 2 February 1936 at 6:45PM on BBC Scottish Service with a reprise two days later for the BBC National Service at 8:30PM. The potpourri was performed by soloists Joan Berit (coloratura), Mary Jarred (contralto), Jan van Der Gucht (tenor), Arnold Matters (baritone), the BBC Chorus, BBC Theatre Orchestra Chorus and was produced and conducted by Stanford Robinson. Its *Radio Times* programme premiere listing describes the work as:

Another musical mixture with an attractive label and still more attractive contents ! This evening's Julius Buerger potpourri begins and ends appropriately with Liszt's ' Liebstraum '. And the main body of the programme consists of romantic music by varied composers of the calibre of Brahms, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Lehar, Fall, and Oscar Straus.⁵⁸

Robinson provides possibly the most concise description in a BBC internal memo from June 1942 in which he describes the work as:

a potpourri of love songs of all kinds, serious and frivolous...⁵⁹

A further survey of the 31 January 1936 issue of *Radio Times* magazine revealed an extensive arrangement list of well-known titles by prominent composers. This comprehensive source list is included in the *Liebstraum* entry of the *Julius Burger Composition Catalogue* in the appendix.

⁵⁵ Stanford Robinson, “Pot-pourris of Julius Buerger,” 1 June 1942, from Julius Burger, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham – England.

⁵⁶ Contributor, “World Tour,” *Radio Times*, 22 November 1935, Vol. 49, No. 634, Cover, p. 76, 79.

⁵⁷ Contributor, “World Tour,” *Radio Times*, 5 February 1937, Vol. 54, No. 697, p.21, 42.

⁵⁸ Contributor, “World Tour,”

⁵⁹ Stanford Robinson, “Pot-pourris of Julius Buerger,” 1 June 1942, from from Julius Burger, '42-'51, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham – England.

Edwardian Melodies: was premiered 23 July 1944 at 9:35 on BBC Home Service and was performed by BBC Theatre Orchestra and Chorus, conducted by Stanford Robinson.⁶⁰ Little information is available about this particular work.

Victory Rhapsody or The Nations Sing! (1945) was written in January 1945 in anticipation for the Allied victory in Europe. According to a January 1945 letter by Julius Burger to Stanford Robinson, *Victory Rhapsody* consists of a large two-part work which included traditional folk music from the commonwealth in the first section and a “parade” of national music and anthems of all 33 allied nations in a separate portion.⁶¹ Burger describes the work as follows:

...here it is (Victory Rhapsody) and I hope you will like it. You will notice that the United Nations song comes before the initial announcement. The potpourri consists of two parts, a selection of folk music and the “parade.” I could not represent all the nations in the first part for lack of time, but all the 33 nations are represented in the Parade.⁶²

It was premiered on 13 May 1945 at 9:30PM on the BBC Home Service, only four days after the unconditional surrender of the Nazi regime in Europe. The work was reprised on 17 May 1945 at 2PM on the General Forces Service as well as three more performances between May and November 1945. *Victory Rhapsody* comprised of a large cast of soloists including Nina Lenova, Christianna [sic] Donald, Ida Shepley, Ronald Hill, and Stanley Pope who were joined by BBC Chorus, Theatre Orchestra and conducted by Stanford Robinson.⁶³ This historic work was produced by Harold and Gwen Williams with narration provided by Dr. Thomas Wood.

American Musical Comedies Rhapsody (1945): Burger’s final potpourri for the BBC was completed in mid-1945 but due to copyright complications, it was never broadcast.⁶⁴ Although work is lost, the titles which form the piece have been preserved in an internal BBC memo from that year.⁶⁵ The ‘American Rhapsody’ comprised of numerous selections from operettas, musicals and musical comedies by American composer Jerome Kern (1885 - 1945) (*Showboat* (1927) ; *Roberta* (1933)), Hungarian - American Sigmund Romberg (1887 - 1951) (*Student Prince* (1924) ; *New Moon* (1927) ; *Desert Song* (1926)), George Gershwin (1898 - 1937) (*Strike Up the Band* (1927) ; *Girl Crazy* (1930)) and an extensive array of excerpts from works by Victor Herbert (1859

⁶⁰ Contributor, “Edwardian Melodies,” *The Radio Times*, 21 July 1944, Vol. 84, No. 1086, p.6.

⁶¹ Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson,” 11 January 1945. From Burger, Julius, ’31-’42, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General: Folder I of II, BBC Written Archive - Caversham, England.

⁶² Julius Burger, “Letter to Stanford Robinson,” 11 January 1945, From Burger, Julius, ’42-’51. R27/40/2. Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

⁶³ Contributor, “Victory Rhapsody,” *The Radio Times*, 10 May 1945, Vol. 87, No. 1128, p.12.

⁶⁴ Rita Wayne (for W.R. Reid), “Letter to Stanford Robinson RE: *American Musical Comedies Potpourri*,” 26 March 1946, from Burger, Julius, ’42-’51, R27/40/2, Music-General, File Folder II of II, BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham – England.

⁶⁵ W.R. Reid, “BBC Memo RE: *American Musical Comedy Rhapsody*,” 26 March 1946, Burger, Julius, ’42-’51, R27/40/2, BBC Music-General Folder II of II, BBC Written Archive, Caversham-England.

Appendix I

- 1924) (*Naughty Marietta* (1910) ; *The Red Mill* (1906) ; *The Only Girl* (1914) ; *The Rose of Algeria* (1909) ; *Orange Blossoms* (1922) ; *Miss Dolly* (1905) and *The Fortune Teller* (1898)). While these composers were well established in the United States, their apparent lack of popularity in the UK eventually led to the piece being dropped from broadcast consideration.

Inquest for Columbine (1935): *Inquest for Columbine* was described in its April 1935 *Radio Times* premiere listing as:

A Love Story in Music. Founded on Compton Mackenzie's novel 'Carnival'. Words by James Dyrenforth. Music by Kenneth Leslie-Smith. Orchestration by Julius Burger.⁶⁶

It premiered on 17 April 1935 at 8:45PM on BBC Regional Service and was performed by the BBC Theatre Orchestra, conducted by Stanford Robinson.⁶⁷ This work is an orchestrated adaptation of Kenneth Leslie-Smith's musical and is not considered a potpourri, despite its inclusion in lists of Burger compositions.

⁶⁶ Contributor, "Inquest for Columbine," *Radio Times*, 12 April 1935, Vol.47, No. 602, p.7, 58.

⁶⁷ Contributor, "Inquest for Columbine,"

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