

55. Gregory, *Dust Bowl legacies*, p. 74.
56. Reuss, Woody Guthrie and his folk tradition, p. 297.
57. Some of the better known songs are "The 1913 Massacre," "Song of the Deportees," "Belle Starr" and "The Dying Miner." See Reuss, Woody Guthrie and his folk tradition, p. 302.
58. Bob Dylan's "Song to Woody" (1962), is perhaps the most tangible indication of this interest.
59. Semple, R. B., Jr. (1966, April 17). US Award given to Woody Guthrie. *New York Times*, p. 47, quoted in Reuss, Woody Guthrie and his folk tradition, p. 298.

II

SOUNDING OUT THE CITY

Music and the Sensuous Production of Place

SARA COHEN

This chapter explores the role of music in the production of place. It does so through biographical information concerning 88-year-old Jack Levy drawn from a case study he participated in on popular music and Liverpool's Jewish "community."¹ The chapter points to connections between some of the musical styles and places that have been important to Jack, focusing in particular on the relationship between music and the neighborhoods and city in which Jack has lived.

The first part of the chapter discusses music and place in terms of everyday social relations and interactions, looking at some of the ways in which place could be said to be socially, culturally and materially "produced" through musical practice. The second part emphasizes the fact that this "production" is always a contested and ideological process. The third part considers the dynamic interrelationship between music and place, suggesting that music plays a very particular and sensual role in the production of place, in part through its peculiar embodiment of movement and collectivity.

I first met Jack in 1992. His wife had died two years earlier, after

which he had become bored, depressed, and ill. He found walking difficult; his trips outside his apartment were less frequent than he would wish. He occasionally visited a nearby home for the Jewish elderly, and when he could manage it he walked to the synagogue round the corner. Each week he attended social activities held either at the Jewish community center a couple of miles away or at the apartment complex where he lived, which had been built and was serviced for the Jewish elderly by the Liverpool Jewish Housing Trust. Through such activities Jack keeps in contact with people he has grown up with, but frequently tires of. A friend, Les, used to visit Jack everyday, and a volunteer sometimes stopped by to help him with the shopping, but last year Les moved abroad and the volunteer can no longer spare the time to visit. Jack regularly telephones his sister who lives in a home for the elderly in Southport. Jack has no children; his only daughter died in the early 1970s.

Since our initial meeting I have visited Jack at his home on a regular basis. His front room is dingy and cramped. The walls are a dark yellow and the patterned carpet has faded. There is a table, a television that is rarely turned on, an armchair, and a pale brown sofa. A dark patch at one end of the sofa marks the spot worn by the familiar pressure of Jack's head. Beside the sofa is a wooden chair upon which sits a small radio and a telephone. The sideboard is crammed with old photographs. To help pass the time, Jack listens to music on the radio, particularly dance band music. In 1992 he also began to write what he refers to as "stories." He would choose a particular subject familiar to him—a Liverpool Jewish family, street, event, or activity—and write a paragraph or several pages on what he remembered about it. He used some of his life savings to publish his reminiscences in two small booklets.²

Talking to Jack is often a frustrating experience. He frequently contradicts himself, he can appear surprisingly naive, and he could not be described as terribly articulate or perceptive. His memory, however, is phenomenal. He can envision a particular Liverpool street in the 1920s and list by number all the houses or businesses along its length, describing the Jewish people who lived or worked in them and tracing their family histories. In addition, Jack has a tremendous sense of humor and he adores music. Like others he finds it hard to describe music, often relying upon commonplace statements and clichés to explain the way it can make him feel, but he talks of music and dance with a passion and intensity that colors and animates his face and gestures. While recalling for me some of the people and events he has known, he has introduced me to a world of music through which places are produced and reproduced.

LIVING AND DEFINING PLACE

Relations of Kinship and Community

Jack was born in London's East End in 1906. His parents were part of a wave of Jewish immigrants who came to Britain from Eastern Europe in the late 19th century, many of them fleeing the ravages of the Crimean War. The port of Liverpool acted as a staging post for hundreds of thousands of Jews who passed through it on their way westward. Some, however, remained in Liverpool. When Jack moved there with his family at the age of eight, the city's Jewish population had increased to around 11,000, and has created what is generally referred to as a Jewish "quarter" around a street called Brownlow Hill, a name that retains symbolic significance for many Liverpool Jews. Jack's family finally settled in that street after occupying a series of dilapidated apartments in neighboring streets. His sisters ran a milliner's shop on the street.

Jack left school at 14, after which he held 37 different jobs including selling trinkets and other items door-to-door mostly in Jewish neighborhoods, collecting money for Jewish charities, selling advertisements for the local Jewish newspaper, and working on commission for other Jewish organizations. Over the years Jack was also hired by various Jewish tailors whenever work was available. Jack's employment experiences were typical of those of many Jewish immigrants. Throughout the 19th century Liverpool suffered chronic unemployment. Unlike other big industrial towns, such as Manchester, it had little manufacturing industry, and as a port it attracted large numbers of unskilled laborers. Fluctuations in trade made for an unstable labor market, a situation exacerbated by the flood of Irish, Jewish, and other immigrants to the city during the latter half of the 19th century. Most of the Jewish immigrants lived in poverty. About 40% were unskilled, and many of these took to some form of peddling (selling drapery, crockery, furniture, tobacco, stationary, pirated sheet music, etc.). But there also existed within the Brownlow Hill neighborhood a small-scale industrial economy of Jewish tailoring and cabinet-making workshops, many of which were situated in people's homes. (Jack's mother worked as a buttonhole; his father was a tailor, his father-in-law was a cabinet-maker.) There were also quite a few Jewish shops in Brownlow Hill: bakers, butchers, booksellers, and so on. In contrast to Manchester and Leeds, commerce predominated among Liverpool's new immigrant Jews, perhaps largely because of the city's lack of manufacturing industry.

The first generation of immigrants, including Jack's parents, aunts, and uncles, spoke Yiddish and they tended to work, socialize, and worship only with fellow Yiddish-speaking Jews. They established tightly knit social networks based on relations of kinship and fellowship with others from the

same country of origin. Together these groups constituted quite an isolated population. As a young boy Jack also associated only with fellow Jews. Later, he and his Jewish peers had Gentile friends but they never visited their houses or entertained the idea of marrying a Gentile. In 1939 Jack, like his sister, entered into an arranged marriage.

The impoverished situation of the new immigrants, and that of Liverpool's laboring classes generally, contrasted greatly with the wealth of the city's elite which included a small established Jewish population. By the beginning of the 19th century there already lived in Liverpool about 1,000 Jews, including a middle class of merchants, bankers, and shopkeepers (largely of German and Dutch origin) that was well integrated into the upper echelons of Liverpool society but, as a minority, was concerned to be seen as well behaved and to fit in with wider society. This highly Anglicized Jewish elite lived a few miles outside of the "Jewish quarter" in the large mansions situated around two of Liverpool's finest parks. They had little in common culturally or economically with the new immigrants. In 1906 a lawyer and renowned member of this elite, Bertram B. Benas, gave a presidential address to the Liverpool Jewish Literary Society in which he said:

A self-imposed ghetto is for the first time in process of formation in our city. Entire streets are being wholly occupied by Russo-Polish immigrants in the Brownlow Hill district. . . . The non-Jewish residents are removing to the more distant outskirts. . . .

To see them at prayer is quite a revelation to modern Liverpool Jewry. Their services are full of emphatic, vivid, even uncouth devotion. To listen to their ready and soulful responses, to see the weird swinging of their bodies during their orisons, to hear the loud and earnest sounds of their great Amen, their hearty unison in songs of praise, wanting perhaps in musical culture, yet giving food for inspiration.

Class and other distinctions among Liverpool Jews were reinforced in the popular press. A series of articles entitled "The Liverpool Jew" appeared in the *Liverpool Review* in 1899. The articles were full of anti-Semitic references to Jewish character and culture. Four classes ("specimens") of Liverpool Jew were portrayed, from the uppermost "English Jew," down to the "newly-imported Foreign Jew" based in the "little colony," as the Brownlow Hill neighborhood was referred to, a term that, like "ghetto" or "quarter," implies a position of powerlessness and incarceration. Second-generation immigrants comprised the second class of Liverpool Jew, which was typified as frequenting music and dance halls, "exhibiting his 'light fantastic toe' at cheap cinderellas and dances," while

the fourth class, the English Jew, was portrayed as much more "cultured"—artistic, literary, and "Musical—to an acute degree"—found at almost every concert devoted to the classical productions of the world's great composers. Such stereotypes illustrate the way in which music (in this case through writing and verbal discourse) is used to define and distinguish people and places according to class and ethnicity. As Stokes has emphasized,³ this underlines the importance of turning from "defining the essential and 'authentic' traces of identity 'in' music . . . to the question of how music is used by social actors in specific local situations to erect boundaries, to maintain distinctions between us and them."

Musical Performance, Exchange, and Interaction

The consumption and production of music also draws people together and symbolizes their sense of collectivity and place. For the immigrant Jews of Brownlow Hill, music (religious, folk, popular, and classical) played an important role in everyday life and the rituals, routines, and discourses that comprised it. Music was in fact the focus of many social gatherings, helping to establish and strengthen the immigrants' relations with each other or their relationship with God, and music also framed particular events such as wedding ceremonies and religious festivals, setting them apart from other daily activities, heightening their symbolic significance.⁴

Most of the immigrant Jews were indeed very religious, and religious music and practice undoubtedly helped maintain their individual and collective identity in a context of considerable uncertainty and unfamiliarity. The immigrants set up Chevra, societies through which those who had originated in a particular Eastern European town or district met together to worship and socialize, often in someone's house. Gradually they set up their own synagogues which contrasted greatly with the opulence and grandeur of those frequented by the Jewish elite. (They also set up their own welfare organizations, assisted by the Jewish elite for whom charitable activity played an important role, as it has done in many Euro-American Jewish circles, acting as a source of collective cohesion and prestige.)

Within Judaism, particularly its Eastern European traditions, vocal music is believed to provide the closest communication with God, with the Hasidic song or wordless chant possessing "more power than any other prayer; representing pure religious ecstasy";⁵ and embodying the notion that while the life of a text is limited, the melody lives on forever. The chanting is traditionally done by and for men (chazans). Hasidic song has left a strong imprint on Eastern European Jewish music as a whole. Today, synagogue attendance has declined among Liverpool Jews, but the symbolic meanings and ritual imagery of the synagogue are deeply internalized. Jack's stories often incorporate religious references, and synagogue music has

great emotional significance for him. "It shows you your place," he explains, "[It is] traditional. They don't alter it. That music goes on and on and on. Fathers play to sons, and sons play to sons. Always the same. It never alters . . . that music is there forever." He thus depicts the music as a timeless (and gendered) tradition representing security and stability.

When Jack was young his parents listened on the family gramophone to recordings of the great *chazans* imported by a nearby record retailer from a Jewish wholesaler in London. They also listened to recordings of Yiddish folk music. One of Jack's strongest memories of music as a young child is of his mother and aunts sitting together, singing Yiddish songs and weeping to the mournful sounds that reminded them of Poland, their homeland ("der heim"). Such songs typically depict aspects of daily life and work, or tell tales about separation and parting, or focus on the worlds of children and women. Jack said of the women, "They loved to weep, that was their pleasure." Many people maintain a link with their past through attachment to specific places, and music is often used to remember such places. The Yiddish music provoked and structured particular emotions in Jack's female relatives, emotions through which they expressed their feelings about their country of origin and the relations and practices they had left behind. The music brought them together and symbolized their collective identity. Listening to that music today, Jack is reminded of those women and the female domestic space or home that they represented.

Referring to the recordings that his relatives listened to, Jack said, "And somehow those records came around. And one person got hold of one, and it was passed all round . . . And bit by bit we used to have records." This description conforms with Jack's depiction of Liverpool Jews as living "in one circle," a spatial metaphor for neighborhood that incorporates Jewish records and songs as part of the circle, and part of the process of defining it. Likewise, there existed for a short period a Liverpool Yiddish book publisher, Chetto Press, and a regional Yiddish newspaper that Jack also described as being passed around the neighborhood from house to house.

But what Jack talks about most in relation to the past is film and dance music, which he describes as "the whole life and soul of [his] generation." As a young man he attended the cinema on a weekly basis and the films and music he saw and heard there inspired him. He has sung, for example, the songs of Al Jolson's for me, demonstrating through his voice and the movement of his arms the emotional intensity that they evoke. Jolson too was the son of Jewish immigrants struggling to find their place in a new country, and Gabler⁶ has written that he was "caught between the old life and the new . . . of both and of neither." Jolson's on-screen performances often articulated this experience, which is perhaps one reason why his music appealed so strongly to Jack.⁷

Since he left school in 1920, dancing and dance halls have been Jack's major obsession. "Dancing," he told me, "was my life." At one time he went out dancing six nights a week at Jewish functions, at the tailor's club, and at various dance halls in the city. During his early 20s he started running dances himself and acted as Master of ceremonies (MC) in local dance halls. Jack's reminiscences indicate the attraction that dance-hall culture had for him, the sense of excitement and occasion, as well as the anticipation and preparation, that a dance provoked, and the escape that it offered from the worries and routines of everyday life. He describes in vivid detail the women he danced with, their beauty and glamour, and the fashionable dress of them and the men.⁸ Sitting on his sofa, he sways his torso and arms, closing his eyes in an expression of blissful engrossment, attempting to convey to me the physical attraction of the dance and the heightened sensuality and pleasure it evoked, displaying a sense of pride in the talents he had as a dancer and the proficiency and skill with which he mastered the various dance steps.

For Jack's bar mitzvah his parents bought him a piano. Although none of his family could play it, there was always someone in the neighborhood who could. Jack remembers social gatherings in his house when people would stand around the piano and sing popular songs of the day (e.g., "Rambling Rose"). Others in the neighborhood played instruments on a semiprofessional basis. During the 1920s and 1930s there were quite a few Jewish dance bands based in the Brownlow Hill neighborhood. Jack was close friends with these musicians, and he refers to them with affection and pride as "local musicians," "local" here meaning not just musicians from the Brownlow Hill neighborhood, but that neighborhood's Jewish musicians (i.e., he is claiming them as the community's own). Similarly, Jack sometimes talks of "Liverpool," or "this town" when he is referring only to his Jewish community. "Local" is, of course, a discursive shifter or variable determined by factors such as ethnicity and class.

Jack yearned to perform in a dance band himself. Later, during the 1940s, he took the plunge and spent all his savings on a saxophone. He joined a band but eventually decided that he wasn't a very good musician. Like many of his peers, he also dreamed of being a professional dancer, but again decided that he wasn't good enough, saying, "The only place to be a professional was London, and all my family was in Liverpool. I wouldn't leave them for the world to go to London." However, the beginnings of the modern British entertainment industry coincided with Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe and that industry did attract may enterprising immigrants. Access was relatively easy compared with entry into other industries due to lower financial barriers and less discrimination. Entertainment was an area not yet dominated by Gentile talent and capital, partly because it was considered risky and disreputable. Consequently, Jews

entered the industry at every level. Close inspection of reports and publications on Liverpool's theaters and cinemas, for example, and of local Jewish archives, reveals passing references to Jewish performers, entertainment agents, and owners, managers, and promoters of clubs and cinemas. (This situation was mirrored in other British cities, particularly London, Manchester, and Birmingham and it was magnified in America). On the music retail side, there have been several Jewish-owned music instrument and record shops in Liverpool (hence the Jewishness of the entertainment infrastructure surrounding the Beates, including clubs, agents, managers, retailers, and solicitors).

Music and the Social, Cultural, and Economic Production of Place

This account of the social and cultural life of the immigrant Jews of Brownlow Hill has been brief, fragmented, and rather superficial. However, it has promoted a view of music and place not as fixed and bounded texts or things, but as social practice involving relations between people, musical sounds, images and artifacts, and the material environment. It has also highlighted the importance of place in defining Jewish ethnicity,⁹ and indicated some of the ways in which music is involved in the social, cultural, economic, and sensual production of place.

Jack is very proud of Liverpool and its history. Explaining why he feels so strongly about the city he said, "I live here. My home's here. My mother and father, my daughter, they're buried here. So where they're buried is my home." Places thus rely or symbolize social relationships, and kinship relations are obviously of particular emotional significance.¹⁰ Although Jack has few living relatives in Liverpool, he is bound to the city through relations with dead kin and relations of affinity with fellow Jews. Music is one means through which such relations of kinship and community are established, maintained, and transformed.

A particular Liverpool neighborhood like Brownlow Hill has been shown to be lived and shaped through music. Musical events, whether involving small family gatherings or grander community rituals, festivals, and celebrations, and musical practices such as the exchange of musical artifacts, illustrate music's role in the social production of that neighborhood. Via performance or through the peddling of sheet music, music was also a means of generating individual income and developing that neighborhood economically and materially. Music was also used to represent the neighborhood, whether through well-known local musicians who came to symbolize it and acted as its ambassadors; or through the use of particular musical genres and styles that evoked a collective past and tradition; or

through the musical stereotypes in the local press that used music to present alternative images of the neighborhood.

But music is not just represented and interpreted: it is also heard, felt, and experienced. For Jack it is sound as well as sight and smell that conjures up images, emotions, and memories of Brownlow Hill and its atmosphere. His attempts to demonstrate the physical pleasures of music and the way in which it resonates within the body, stimulating movement and emotion, emphasize the intensity of experience evoked by music and its effectiveness in producing a sense of identity and belonging.

The musical practices and interactions of the immigrant Jews helped to define and shape the particular geographical and material space within the city that they inhabited. At the same time, they invested that space with meaning and a sense of place, thus distinguishing it from other places within the city. Hence neighborhoods, cities, and other places are socially and materially produced as practical settings or contexts for social activity, but through such activity places are also produced as concepts or symbols. To describe places as being "produced" is to emphasize the processes that shape their material, social, and symbolic forms. Music is part of such processes. Music reflects aspects of the place in which it is created (hence "different cities make different noises"),¹¹ but music also helps to produce place. Hence Appadurai¹² has described locality as both figure and ground.

Comparative material on Liverpool's Irish and black populations emphasizes music's role in the production of place, the spatial politics of everyday life, and the expression of ethnic identity. One musician, for example, describes how in the 1930s a black neighbor would play his records loudly and open all the windows so that the sound would travel and publicly proclaim his status as the owner of a gramophone. Meanwhile, a color bar operated in many of the city's clubs and dance halls, which led to a situation in which black musicians performed in "white" spaces, but the leisure activities of black people were restricted to one particular area of the city. Elsewhere in the city marching concertina bands have acted as a focus and trigger for Irish sectarian conflict, representing an appropriation or invasion of public space and a marker of territory.¹³

In defining a sense of "this place," music also marks relations of kinship, alliance, and affinity with places elsewhere. Yiddish music, for example, was commonly used by the immigrant Jews to maintain relations with Eastern Europe, and from the 1920s onward various Hebrew songs were used to forge relations with another home or promised land and to express Jewish nationalism.¹⁴ Zionism and other political movements have used music to rely particular places in the pursuit of common goals so that those places come to embody the future and alternative ways of living. Many songs of Eretz Israel represent a synthesis of elements from Eastern

European and Middle Eastern folksong. They are usually about the land and those who work on it, and many have an assertive, patriotic ring, thus contrasting with the Yiddish songs that conjure up images of everyday life in homelands like Poland. Jack finds it hard to relate to the songs of Erez Israel, partly, perhaps, because unlike his contemporaries who have established connections with other places (especially London and Israel) through their middle class children and grandchildren, Jack has few such connections. The songs are in a language he can't understand, and he sees them as belonging to another generation. "I don't want to know," he says, "they're not in my era. Once we became a land of our own, a State, the whole thing changed. The youngsters took over . . . and it was different then." Thus Jack sometimes expresses a sense of alienation from his contemporaries and from the younger middle class Jewish establishment in Liverpool, yet says at the same time "I knew their parents," again expressing a sense of community and belonging through kinship ties.

Relations between Liverpool Jews and Jews in Israel, America, or elsewhere are reinforced via visiting musicians and through other musical exchanges. Jack's reminiscences frequently allude to Liverpool Jews who are now, in his words, "scattered all over the world." Like other Jews of his generation, he discusses the music of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, such as Al Jolson, Irving Berlin, and Sophie Tucker (all based in America), in a manner that suggests a sense of affinity with those sharing similar heritages and experiences. In addition, however, Jack frequently cites Irish songs and songs of black slaves in America, acknowledging through them a sense of unity with other immigrant or oppressed peoples. He said of the latter: "They all had their songs . . . they've got their roots here, their roots there . . . Nobody wants them. They're a misfit. They get out, but where can you go? They've got no home."

The images and information that Jack has acquired about such people have been largely obtained through popular song and film. He talks with affection about the "black mammy women" from the American South, describing the little spectacles they wore and their warm-heartedness. He also quotes at length from the song "Danny Boy," linking the lyrics to Irish experiences of oppression, and linking that form of oppression to Jewish experience and history, thus suggesting the marking of "families of resemblance" through music.¹⁵

This highlights the way in which music enables Jack to travel in an imaginary sense to different times and places. Illustrating how music inspires his fantasy, transporting him from one place and immersing him somewhere else, Jack described his Monday afternoons at a Liverpool ballroom during the 1920s. Monday, he explained, was traditionally washing day. The women used to take off their aprons after a hard morning's work, do their hair, put on their finery, and take the bus to the

city center, arriving at the ballroom for the 2:30 P.M. start. Jack once danced there to a tune entitled "In a Garden in Italy," and he enthused about how the music made him picture that garden, and how wonderful that experience was. Jack said of music: "It doesn't matter if it's dance music or what, it's there in my radio, and you're in another world. It takes you to a new world." He cited songs with American place-names in their title such as "Back Home in Tennessee," "Chicago," "Memphis Blues," "California Here I Come." He depicted the scene at the Swanny River: "All the women with their wide dresses. The men with their bowler hats. . . . So there you are, that's the Swanny. I don't even know where it is. I don't even know if there is a Swanny River. . . . I used to lie awake at night going through all the districts of the tunes. . . . Marvellous. . . . You'd go off to sleep thinking of them."

Jack began his dancing life in the dance halls based in the Brownlow Hill neighborhood, but as he gradually became more involved with dancing he frequented halls beyond that neighborhood, thus extending his music "pathways"¹⁶ and broadening his knowledge and experience of the city. As a profession, music also offered other Liverpool Jews a "way out" of the neighborhood or city they lived in and the possibility of creating a new place. Gabler,¹⁷ in his portrayal of the Eastern European Jewish immigrants who founded and built Hollywood, argued that the desire of these immigrants to assimilate and achieve status and power led them to a "ferocious, even pathological embrace of America." Through film these Jews created an idealized image of the America that they aspired to. "Prevented from entering the real corridors of power, they created a new country, an empire of their own, and colonized the American imagination to such an extent that the country came largely to be defined by the movies." The same was achieved through song by George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, and other Jewish composers. The experience of migration can thus exaggerate attachments to romanticized homelands, but also lead migrants to stridently assert an adoptive belonging.¹⁸

In the biography of Vesta Tilley, a well-known music hall performer and wife of Walter de Frece, a Liverpool Jew and theatrical entrepreneur involved with the music hall business, Maitland¹⁹ suggests certain parallels with the experience of the Hollywood Jews. Walter spearheaded the move to make the music hall more respectable and enhance its appeal to the middle classes. He himself had political and social aspirations that eventually led him and Vesta Tilley to drop their associations with the music hall. Eventually he was awarded a knighthood, and in 1924 he became a member of Parliament and a deputy lieutenant. This suggests that the music hall both helped and hindered Walter's efforts to achieve upward mobility and embody respectable Englishness, and it highlights the ideological significance of music in the production of place.

So far I have discussed music's influence on social relations and activities in particular places, on people's aesthetic experiences of place, and on the economic and material development of place. I have suggested ways in which music is used to represent or symbolize a place, distinguishing it from, or linking it to, other places, and associating it with particular images and meanings. Now I would like to explore the ideological nature of this process.

REPRESENTING AND TRANSFORMING PLACE

Music, Ideology, and Social Mobility

Jews like Jack gradually assimilated with wider Liverpool culture not just through interaction with Gentiles at dance halls and elsewhere, but through pressures brought to bear upon them by the Jewish establishment. While Jack's mother and aunts wept to Yiddish music at home, Jack and his peers were singing "Land of Hope and Glory" at school, undergoing a social and educational program instigated by the Jewish elite. The program was designed to anglicize the immigrants, by ridding them of their Yiddish language and culture; to control their leisure, by directing it away from disreputable activities (e.g., gambling and frequently dance halls); and to depolitice them, by exorcising the socialist, anarchist, and trade union activity that some of them promoted. The elite were motivated by a variety of reasons. They feared, for example, that the foreign ways of the newcomers would threaten their own acquired respectability and standing and promote hostility to the Jewish population as a whole. Alternatively, popular culture has commonly acted as a focus for moral panic and social control, particularly in connection with working-class or immigrant youth. The concern of the Jewish Liverpool elite with anglicization, and with fitting Jewish tradition into the wider culture, can be detected early on in the rapid changes they introduced in their synagogues. A choir was introduced in one Liverpool synagogue at the beginning of the 1840s, for example, and an organ in another during the 1870s. These and other changes have continually reflected and provoked divisions among British Jews regarding processes of assimilation and distinctiveness.

The social and educational program aimed at the new immigrants was instituted via a framework of Jewish societies and clubs, many of which were based upon models in the wider English society. They included a Jewish Working Men's Club that ran classes in English, and a branch of the Jewish Lads' Brigade—a national Jewish cadet force based on the Church Lads' Brigade, whose letter-headed paper states that its object "is to train its members in loyalty, humour, discipline and self respect that they shall become worthy and useful citizens and be a credit to their country and their community." The Brigade was backed by a number of social clubs,

including the Jewish Lad's Club, the Jewish Boy Scouts, and the Jewish Girls' Clubs. The process of anglicization was continued in the Hebrew school founded in 1840. Pupils were encouraged to change their names, mark British celebrations, and enter choral competitions and similar events.

These societies and clubs represented leisure and entertainment, but they were also highly politicized, combining both power and pleasure. Music was used to mold particular identities and allegiances, whether it be the military brass band music of the Jewish Lads' Brigade, the choral and orchestral societies of the Jewish Working Men's Club, or songs and anthems that acted as symbols of Englishness and expressions of national loyalty and unity. The program indicates pressures of assimilation, but also the simultaneous concern with maintaining distinctiveness as Jews. Jewish societies, clubs, and dances were regarded as safe contexts in which Jewish people could meet and form suitable friendships with people of their own kind. The program was extremely successful. Within a single generation, Yiddish had practically disappeared from the cultural scene.

Yet the production of national or other place-bound identities is always a contested process, and not all the Jewish immigrants were totally influenced by the social and educational program instigated by the Jewish elite. Many kept to their own more informal leisure activities based around their homes. Some, like Jack, attended organized walks, played football, and participated in other activities organized by Jewish societies, but also went to "outside" functions held at local dance halls frequented by Gentiles and forbidden to many Jewish young people. Meanwhile the Jewish elite patronized different clubs and venues and Jack never mixed with them. They also had their own social and cultural institutions—for example, literary societies—and gradually began to encourage the more up-and-coming of the new immigrants to join their activities until members of this nouveau riche started setting up their own similar organizations. Most such societies organized regular dances, concerts, and gramophone recitals in addition to dramatic, sporting, and fundraising activities, and debates and lectures. According to their minute books, many talks focused on politics and high culture.²⁰ Debates addressed issues such as the division between established and immigrant Jews, and the generation gap between immigrants and their "English children." These societies gradually died out in the face of growing competition from the newly flourishing entertainment industries.

Music, Stability, Security

Like many other immigrant Jewish populations, Liverpool's immigrant Jews experienced rapid social and economic advancement. Within two generations a significant transformation of the class position of the immigrants had occurred. This was due to a mixture of social, cultural, and economic

factors, including the fact that the city's high rate of unemployment discouraged further Jewish immigration. Most of the pedlars progressed as entrepreneurs. They came into contact with Gentiles because they moved around a lot, and they did better economically than the masses of skilled cabinet makers and tailors who worked long hours in small shops for a fixed wage. However, the latter's occupational structure also eventually shifted, toward clothing, drapery, and furniture businesses, and toward the professions which many were encouraged into as a means of improving themselves and their families.

Biographical information on some of the Jewish individuals and families involved with the Liverpool entertainment industries illustrates the way in which they were able to quickly establish themselves in those industries, but also indicates the cultural transformation that enhanced status and respectability might demand. Mal Levy, for example, had a recording contract in the 1960s and toured the country as a performer until he succumbed to parental pressure and returned to Liverpool to join the family tailoring business. "I think it was 'Don't put your son on the stage,'" says Mal, "You know, the old-fashioned Jewish outlook—it's not a good job, it's not a decent job.... They looked down on music in those days." Such attitudes help explain why Liverpool Jews have tended to work in the business- and management-ends of music rather than in the performance end, and why rock and pop music have received such little attention from the city's Jewish institutions.

Brian Epstein came from a respected Liverpool family that ran a lucrative furniture business. Epstein opened a record retail branch within this business before taking up management of the Beatles and setting up his own music management company. According to Coleman,²¹ Epstein's father, along with other relatives, wasn't too thrilled about Brian's association with the Beatles ("those yobboes"), and persuaded him to take on his brother Clive as joint director.²² Although Brian Epstein's success eventually earned him respect from Liverpool's Jewish community, his obituary in the *Jewish Chronicle* stated: "The sad thing is that Brian was never completely au courant with the music that he was so much involved in.... His strength of character came from the solidarity of his upbringing and the integrity of his background. It was this strength that he relied on when his artistic judgement failed."²³ During Epstein's funeral in Liverpool, the officiating rabbi ignored his achievements and fame and described him as "a symbol of the malaise of the 60s generation."²⁴ News of Epstein's death in the *Liverpool Jewish Gazette* was limited to a few short lines in the obituary notices at the back. It began, "Brian Epstein, manager of the Beatles...." and went straight on to mention his donations to Jewish charities.

While the first part of this chapter pointed to music as a fundamental part of everyday life, and to its role in the production of identity, belonging,

and place, the second part has emphasized the ideological dimension to this process. Particular musical styles and activities come to symbolize particular values, and they can be used as a tool to transform notions of place and identity in order to maintain or challenge a particular hierarchical social order. Music is thus bound up with the struggle for power, prestige, and place. It reflects but also influences the social relations, practices, and material environments through which it is made.

Place, Image, Status

As the immigrants made their way up the economic and social scale, they gradually moved out of the Brownlow Hill neighborhood. During the 1930s that neighborhood underwent massive slum clearance which hastened the Jewish exodus. By the late 1930s only a small minority of Liverpool's Jews remained in the Brownlow Hill area. The Jews moved along Smithdown Road to settle in the more affluent neighboring suburbs of Allerton, Woolton, and Childwall where the overwhelming majority of Liverpool Jews are now based. As one informant put it, "It is easier to be Jewish when you live with other Jews." During Jack's lifetime a great transformation in Liverpool's Jewish population has thus taken place. It has involved a shift from notions of Russian or Polish Jews to Anglo Jews; from notions of a Jewish "quarter" or "ghetto" to a Jewish "area" or "district"; and from a social split between the elite, more established Jews and the immigrant Jews, to a single unified middle-class Jewish community based in that area or district. Notions of being inside, outside, or "on the fringes" of the community have strengthened as socioeconomic homogeneity among the Jewish population intensified, increasing pressures for conformity.

Many young Liverpool Jews describe the community as "incestuous" and "traditional." The head of music at the Jewish school told me that Jewish religious "rules" make it impossible for many of the Jewish children to join in some musical events and activities, and that even if they aren't religious they have to be seen to be. "That's why it's such a close-knit community," she said, "because they make their fun together." When Liverpool's economic situation worsened after the 1960s, young Jews, along with those from other social groups, began to leave the city in search of economic and social opportunities elsewhere. This, along with emigration to Israel, a significant drop in the birthrate, and the high rate of intermarriage, led to a significant decline in the Jewish population. At present there are around 4,000 Jews in Liverpool. The Jewish authorities recently launched a "Come Back to Liverpool" campaign and video to encourage younger people to stay in, or return to, the city. The video emphasizes the uniqueness of the Jewish community and the area in which it is located. The smallness and sateness of the community is also emphasized, pointing

out that it is easier to be someone in such a context, rather than be a small fish in a big pool somewhere else. The video features leisure amenities that project an image linked to classical music, emphasizing, for example, longstanding Jewish associations with the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra. Hence place, "community," and "Jewishness" have become more commonly defined through so-called high culture.

EMBODYING PLACE

Travel and Migration

The story of Jewish migration is a familiar one that features strongly in Jewish collective memory. Judaism has been likened by one Liverpool Jew to a "mental map by which we find each other as Jews in every part of the globe."²⁵ Jack's mental maps of the world, of Britain, of Liverpool, are partly based upon collective knowledge and experience of the geographical global movements of Jewish people, particularly the movement of Jews from Eastern Europe to particular British and American cities, and the movement of Liverpool Jews from the city center to the suburbs.

In contexts of change and mobility the production of place is often intensified. Stokes,²⁶ writing about Turkish and Irish migrants, points out that place, for many migrant communities, is something constructed through music with an intensity not found elsewhere in their social lives.²⁷ Concerning today's global mobility, Stokes wrote that "the discourses in which place is constructed and celebrated in relation to music have never before had to permit such flexibility and ingenuity." Musical sounds and structures reflect but also provoke and shape such movement.²⁸ Hebrew songs, for example, helped inspire the Zionist movement, while Irish traditional music has developed through continual movement between Ireland (the "home country") and the more distant countries adopted by Irish emigrants. Irish music influenced and blended with different musical styles in America, for example, and some of the resulting hybrid styles and sounds were then reimported to Ireland and treated as authentic, traditional expressions of Irishness.

Many musical compositions address the experience of migration or travel more directly through lyrics or through the culturally specific semiotic coding of musical sounds and structures. American country and blues musicians, for example, frequently write about the experience of being on the road,²⁹ and Jack sings songs about leaving and returning written by Irish and other migrants. Such songs are prevalent in ports like Liverpool with their mobile and displaced populations, for whom concepts of "home" and "homeland" can evoke strong emotions—although relations with, and notions of, homeland depend on the particular circumstances of those

involved, for example whether they emigrated individually or, like the Jews, in family groups. Today in Liverpool, songs from *Fiddler on the Roof* are often played at social gatherings of elderly Jews like Jack, songs that remind them of their collective origins and experiences of homelessness and emigration.

Place is also produced through the shorter journeys, routes, and activities of everyday life. All Jack's stories are about the city and people and places within it. Sitting in his front room he has taken me on a tour of parts of the city, house by house, dance hall by dance hall, street by street,³⁰ pointing out relevant events, individuals, family and other relationships as we pass by, and transforming my own view of the city. Jack's phenomenal memory of, and emotional investment in, these buildings, locations, and social networks may be partly due to the daily door-to-door journeys he conducted around the city by foot as a traveling salesman.³¹ His leisure activities as a dancer, which took him on a nightly basis to various parts of the city, have added to his perspective on the city and its spatial geography. "I've been round this town for the last 70 years," says Jack, "and I know it backwards. I know everybody, and almost everybody knows me, except the growing generation. . . ."

In this sense places can be seen to be literally embodied. Through their bodies and bodily movements (whether through long-distance travel, walking, conversation, etc.) people experience their environment physically. Depending upon the circumstances surrounding them, some movements, such as long-distance journeys, can be quite stressful. Other more repetitive movements, such as the day-to-day journeys involved with work, or the sensual and expressive movements of dance, can be particularly memorable or intense. All can have a deep impact upon individual and collective memory and experiences of place, and upon emotions and identities associated with place.

Bodies, Sounds, Sentiments

Music can evoke or represent this physical production of place quite well. There is no space here to explore evidence for this in detail, but personal observations supported by the work of several critical musicologists indicate, without essentializing music, the particular way in which music produces place.

First, music is in a sense embodied. Musical performances also represent repetitive physical movements, whether through the fingering of instrumentalists, or the gestures of dancers. Music can move bodies in a way that distinguishes it from everyday speech and action and from the visual arts. Although music is part of everyday life, it can also be perceived as something special, something different from everyday experience.³²

Hence many people in Liverpool and elsewhere have prioritized music, making enormous financial sacrifices so that their children might learn how to read and play it, and even write it.

In addition, we listen to music and hear the presence and movements of the performing musicians. Hence Tagg describes music as an "extremely particular form of interhuman communication"³³ involving "a concerted simultaneity of nonverbal sound events or movements . . . [that makes music] particularly suited to expressing collective messages of affective and corporeal identity of individuals in relation to themselves, each other, and their social, as well as physical, surroundings."³⁴ Music also creates its own time, space, and motion, taking people out of "ordinary time."³⁵ Blacking³⁶ points out that, "we often experience greater intensity of living when our normal time values are upset . . . music may help to generate such experiences." Furthermore, as sound, music fills and structures space within us and around us, inside and outside. Hence, much like our concept of place, music can appear to envelop us, but it can also appear to express our innermost feelings/being. Travel writers or journalists often single music out as representing the essence, soul, or spirit of a place, perhaps because music appears to be "more natural" than visual imagery since its social constructedness/semiotics is less familiar.

The images and experiences engendered by music are, of course, dependent upon the particular circumstances in which the music is performed and heard, and upon the type of musical style and activity involved. But through its embodiment of movement and collectivity, and through the peculiar ambiguity of its symbolic forms,³⁷ music can appear to act upon and convey emotion in a unique way. It represents an alternative discourse to everyday speech and language, although both are of course ideologically informed and culturally constructed. Hence male, working-class, rock musicians in Liverpool use music to express ideas and sentiment in a manner that may be discouraged in most public settings, or that aren't so easily expressed through other means.³⁸ Their music is very personal, although it is at the same time created for public performance. This can make music a particularly precious resource in the production of place and local subjectivity. As popular culture, music can be a particularly powerful and accessible resource. For the general listener just one simple musical phrase can simultaneously represent a private world of memory and desire and a collective mood or a soundtrack to particular public events. (Hence the contrasting use of music in BBC Radio 4's "Desert Island Discs" and BBC1's "The Golden Years.")

For Jack, sitting alone and listening to music on the radio, or simply talking about music, can evoke some of his most intense feelings and experiences. His musical tastes and experiences are individual, reflecting his personal biography. At the same time, however, his reminiscences have been

shown to be shaped by the social relations, networks, and collectivities that he has been a part of. All this indicates music's effectiveness in stimulating a sense of identity, in preserving and transmitting cultural memory, and in establishing the sensuous production of place. Individuals can use music as a cultural "map of meaning," drawing upon it to locate "themselves in different imaginary geographies at one and the same time,"³⁹ and to articulate both individual and collective identities.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has been rather wide ranging, encompassing both real and imaginary places, and places of different scales, types, and times. However, I have explored the relationship between music and place through a specific biography bound up with specific social relations and situations, rather than through more abstract discussion. I have presented place as concept and as social and material reality, representing social and symbolic interrelations between people and their physical environment.

Music reflects social, economic, political, and material aspects of the particular place in which it is created. Changes in place thus influence changes in musical sounds and styles (hence the gradual anglicization of Eastern European synagogue music brought to Liverpool). My discussion has highlighted ways in which music not only reflects but also produces place. I have illustrated ways, for example, in which music acts as a focus or frame for social gatherings, special occasions, and celebrations; provokes physical movement or dance; and involves everyday social interactions such as the exchange of records and other musical artifacts, as well as business and industrial activity. Such musical practices have been shown to establish, maintain, and transform social relations, and to define and shape material and geographical settings for social action.

At the same time music has been shown to be bound up with the symbolic production of place. Music can, for example, be intentionally used to categorize or to represent place. Obviously, lyrics can refer directly to specific places, but musical sounds and structures too can represent place, either through the use of culturally familiar symbols (e.g., accordions to represent France), or in more particular ways, as illustrated by the musical stereotyping of Brownlow Hill (the "little colony") in the Liverpool press. Such collective musical symbols associate places with particular images, emotions, and meanings, and they provoke or shape social action. Hence anthems and Zionist songs inspire nationalist sentiments and movements, while other musical styles are linked in similar ways with issues of class and hierarchy.

Music is not only bound up with the production of place through

collective interpretation. Music is also interpreted in idiosyncratic ways by individual listeners. Songs, sounds, and musical phrases evoke personal memories and feelings associated with particular places—as indicated by Jack's account of Yiddish and dance hall songs. I have shown that places like Liverpool, Poland, and parts of America have emotional and symbolic significance for Jack because of the relations of kinship, affinity, and alliance that they embody. Such relations are maintained, strengthened, and transformed through musical practices and interactions. This includes listening to and producing music, the verbal discourse and physical movements surrounding such practices, and the ideology informing them.

Music thus plays a unique and often hidden or taken-for-granted role in the production of place. Through its peculiar nature it foregrounds the dynamic, sensual aspects of this process, emphasizing, for example, the creation and performance of place through human bodies in action and motion. Stokes⁴⁰ has gone so far as to suggest that "the musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine, evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity." The production of place through music is always a political and contested process. As I hope I have shown, music is implicated in the politics of place, the struggle for identity and belonging, and power and prestige.

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NOTES

1. I would like to thank the Leverhulme Trust for funding the research project that enabled the study to be carried out.
2. Levy, J. (1993). *Yiddisher scousers*. Liverpool: Author. Levy (1994). Memories are made of these: More stories by Jack Levy. *Yiddisher scousers*, No. 11. Liverpool: Author.
3. Stokes, M. (Ed.). (1994). Place, exchange and meaning: Black Sea musicians in the West of Ireland. *Ethnicity, identity: The musical construction of place*. Oxford: Berg, p. 6.
4. Finnegan, R. (1989). *The hidden musicians: Music-making in an English town*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
5. Werner, E. (1990). Jewish music: Liturgical Ashkenazic tradition. In S.

Sadie (Ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians* (Vol. 9). London: Macmillan, p. 629.

6. Gabler, N. (1989). *An empire of their own: How the Jews invented Hollywood*. London: W. H. Allen.

7. This common experience of being caught between different places, or of "bifocality," has of course been widely studied. Much has been written, for example, on the dual allegiance experienced by Anglo-American Jews, with a Jewish nationality existing alongside a British or American one (e.g., see Goldstein, S., & Goldscheider, C. [1985]. *Jewish Americans: Three generations in a Jewish community*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.).

8. Fashion played an important role in the lives of Jews like Jack, perhaps because of their domination of the local tailoring industry. An emphasis upon being fashionably dressed might also have given them a sense of status and prestige. Gabler (*An empire of their own*), writing on the immigrant Jews of Hollywood, frequently refers to their smart and fashionable attire, as do the satirical articles on "the Liverpool Jews" published in *Liverpool Review* (1899).

9. See Hall for a reconceptualization of ethnicity as a politics of location (Hall, S. [1995]. New cultures for old. In D. Massey & P. Jess [Eds.], *A place in the world*. Milton Keynes, U.K.: Open University Press).

10. See Werten's writing on Pareto (Werten, B. [1993]. *Society, action, and space: An alternative human geography*. London: Routledge, p. 180).

11. Street, J. (1993). (Dis)located? rhetoric, politics, meaning and the locality. In W. Straw et al. (Eds.), *Popular music: Style and identity*. Montreal: Centre for Research on Canadian Cultural Industries and Institutions.

12. Appadurai, A. (1993). *The production of locality*. Unpublished paper delivered at the decennial conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists, Oxford University.

13. McManus, K. (1994). *Celties, jigs, and ballads: Irish music in Liverpool*. Liverpool: Institute of Popular Music, p. 5.

14. Zionism was brought to Liverpool by immigrant Jews early in the century when anti-Semitism was rife throughout Europe. The movement was opposed by the Jewish elite who saw it as a threat to their acquired respectability, status, and Englishness.

15. Lipsitz, G. (1989). *Time passages: Collective memory and American popular culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 136.

16. Finnegan, *The hidden musicians*.

17. Gabler, *An empire of their own*.

18. Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 42.

19. Maitland, S. (1986). *Vesta Tilley*. London: Virago.

20. One, e.g., was on Mendelssohn as an example of a fine Jewish composer.

21. Coleman, R. (1989). *Brian Epstein: The man who made the Beatles*. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Viking, p. 83.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–103.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

25. Kokosotakis, N. (1982). *Ethnic identity and religion: Tradition and change in Liverpool Jewry*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, p. 199.
26. Stokes, Place, exchange, and meaning, p. 114.
27. See also Clifford, J. (1992). Travelling cultures. In L. Grossberg, C. Nelson, & P. A. Treichler (Eds.), *Cultural studies* (pp. 96–112). New York: Routledge.
28. Stokes, Place, exchange, and meaning, p. 114.
29. Metaphors of roads, trains, and the like have infused much of Euro-American popular culture, which may also be attributed to fantasies of escape and celebrations of distance or modernity.
30. He is particularly proud of the fact that he can list every dance hall that ever existed in the city.
31. Lynch and other human geographers have studied people's mental maps of their immediate locality in relation to their habitual movements through that locality (see Lynch, K. [1960]. *The image of the city*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.).
32. Finnegan, *The hidden musicians*, pp. 336–337.
33. Tagg, P. (1981). On the specificity of musical communication: Guidelines for non-musicologists. In *Stencilled papers from Gothenburg University Musicology Department*. 8115. Gothenburg: Gothenburg University Press, p. 1.
34. Tagg, P. (1994). *Introductory notes to music semiotics*. Unpublished paper, p. 18.
35. See Tagg on musical time (Tagg, P. [1979]. Kojak—50 seconds of television music: Toward an analysis of affect in popular music. In *Studies from Gothenburg University, Department of Musicology* [Vol. 2]. Gothenburg: Gothenburg University Press.).
36. Blacking, J. (1976). *How musical is man?* London: Faber, p. 51.
37. See Tagg. On the specificity of musical communication, on the nonreferentiality of music.
38. See Cohen, S. (1991). *Rock culture in Liverpool*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
39. As Hall, New cultures for old, has written of “diaspora.”
40. Stokes, M. (1994). Introduction. In M. Stokes (Ed.), *Ethnicity, identity: The musical construction of place*. Oxford: Berg, p. 3.

12

DESIRE, POWER, AND THE SONORIC LANDSCAPE

Early Modernism and the Politics of Musical Privacy

RICHARD LEPPERT

Whereas western music history is written on the complex grid of relations between the public and the private, Western musicology remains focused on public musical life, as filtered through the institutions of state, church, concert hall, opera theater, and the semipublic court. The history of private musical life remains largely unwritten.¹ I want to speculate and to theorize about the social and cultural “problem” of the public and private spheres in relation to each other. My purpose is to suggest some implications of the tension between the public and the private in music as a product of discursive practice intimately tied to sociocultural relations, constructions of the human subject, and human subjectivity. Hence, I shall suggest something about the alliances between human desire, on the one hand, and the manipulation of power, on the other, as these entities are played out on the field of activities I shall call “sonoric landscapes” over stakes that are in every sense already political.