

“Marseille qui jazz”: Popular Culture in the Second City

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Towards the beginning of Jean-Claude Izzo’s startling Marseille crime-novel *Total Khéops*, the detective hero Fabio Montale hunkers down for the night in his former girlfriend’s apartment in the old working class district of Le Panier. To relax him, he notes, “Je me servis un verre de Lagavulin, mis un disque de Thelonius Monk et me couchai avec *En Marge des marées* de Conrad.”¹ In one sense, this is no more than a device to establish the detective, however superficially hard-boiled, as a man of culture, in a tradition which goes back to the early crime novels of Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett and, more recently, to the Los Angeles fiction of James Ellroy. More importantly, however, it also serves to identify the locus of the action, the port-city of Marseille, as a focus of truly international cultural influences that cross-domains of high and popular culture and chronological boundaries.² In fact, it is arguable that, in the twentieth century, Marseille was the only great provincial city that could constitute a convincing cultural counterweight to the capital, with the exception of its arch-rival Lyon, during the period of the Occupation. Throughout the century, while Lyon may have wielded considerable economic, industrial and political power, not least through its mayor Edouard Herriot, Marseille was able to deploy a powerful regional and international cultural infrastructure and diverse portfolio of cultural expression that enabled it to constitute, in Marcel Roncayolo’s term, an “imaginaire.”³ As early as the 1920s, the veteran foreign correspondent Albert

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¹ Jean-Claude Izzo, *Total Khéops* (Paris, 2004), 63.

² For a more detailed exploration of both Izzo and this aspect of Marseille culture, see Nicholas Hewitt, “Departures and Homecomings: Diaspora in Jean-Claude Izzo’s Marseille,” *French Cultural Studies* 17: 3 (2006), 257-268.

³ Marcel Roncayolo, *L’Imaginaire de Marseille: port, ville, pole* (Marseille, 1990).

Londres was aware of this cultural specificity and significance of the second city and defined it in terms of its unusually rich ethno-cultural mix, taken up by Izzo in his novels of the 1990s, and, especially, its role as a major port, which gave it a privileged position as a Mediterranean capital and as the gateway to France's empire and beyond.⁴ One of the key features of the creation of this "imaginaire" was not merely the high-cultural activity and representation of the city, ranging from Dumas' *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* to one of the outstanding French cultural reviews of the interwar years, *Les Cahiers du Sud*, via Provençal culture and the "Félibrige," but also a vigorous and long-standing popular culture based in music-hall and cinema production and distribution. Indeed, an exploration of popular cultural activity in Marseille in the interwar years and, later, the Occupation and post-Liberation periods proves to be an important source of information regarding the cultural vibrancy of the city itself, but also sheds light on the continuity of French cultural activity from the period of peace to that of war and liberation. In this, the role of "jazz," or what the French loosely termed as "jazz," is a vital *fil conducteur*. In the same way that the Casino de Paris launched a highly successful review in 1920 and 1921 called *Paris qui jazz*,⁵ Marseille itself, often with the input of Parisian and international touring reviews, placed a broadly-defined jazz culture at the centre of its popular cultural activity, which continued with remarkable consistency and success to operate throughout both the Occupation and Liberation periods. In this way, Marseille is important both as a special case, indicating its relative independence from the rest of the "Métropole" and as providing an indispensable reflection of France as a whole in a period of major historical transition.

The Interwar Years

In terms of high-cultural activity, in one sense Jean-Michel Guiraud is right to conclude, "la ville paraissait peu différente des autres cités provinciales. Elle avait son opéra, ses théâtres, ses salles de spectacles, ses écoles primaires et supérieures, ses sociétés savantes et ses associations diverses."⁶ For Guiraud, the major distinguishing feature of the city's cultural infrastructure was the unusual division of the university into two faculties, with the arts being located in Aix-en-Provence and science in Marseille itself, a reflection of the aristocratic ascendancy in Aix and the bourgeois and mercantile character of Marseille.⁷ Nevertheless, it was Marseille's unique position as both a Provençal capital and Mediterranean metropolis which gave its cultural life a dynamism lacking in other provincial centers. As Guiraud points out, although Marseille originally kept its distance from the Félibrige when it was founded, partly out of loyalty to its own local dialect, it rapidly adopted the movement, particularly under the influence of Mistral, with the foundation of the first

⁴ Albert Londres, *Marseille, porte du sud* (Monaco, 1995).

⁵ Jeffrey H. Jackson, *Making Jazz French. Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Durham and London, 2003). For other detailed studies of the history of jazz in France, see Colin Nettelbeck, *Dancing with De Beauvoir. Jazz and the French* (Melbourne, 2004); and Jacqueline Dutton and Colin Nettelbeck, eds., "Jazz Adventures in French Culture," special issue of *Nottingham French Studies* 43:1 (2004).

⁶ Jean-Michel Guiraud, *La Vie intellectuelle et artistique à Marseille à l'époque de Vichy et sous l'Occupation, 1940-1944* (Marseille, 1998), 18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

Félibre association in the city in 1877.⁸ By the interwar years Marseille was a major centre of Félibrige and Provençal activities, often sponsored by Paul Ricard.⁹ Nevertheless, while the cultural life of the city undoubtedly exploited its regional hinterland and identity, it was also careful to avoid the pitfalls of a purely regional and parochial culture. In this context, its role as a port proved crucial. Guiraud refers to “nombre de personnalités qui se refusent à faire de Marseille uniquement un conservatoire des traditions provençales, et qui entendent par-delà une originalité régionale qu’ils ne renient pas, lui donner une dimension plus large en la tournant vers l’espace méditerranéen.”¹⁰ In this respect, the career of *Les Cahiers du Sud* is highly instructive. It was founded before the First World War, under the title *Fantasio*, by Marcel Pagnol, whose ambition was to establish it as a Parisian review on the widely-held assumption that no serious literary review could exist outside the capital. After the war, however, he failed to convince his editorial team, and, under the editorship of Jean Ballard, *Les Cahiers du Sud* established itself as not merely a major French review, based in Marseille, but also as a significant European one, thanks to its credentials as a Mediterranean hub, a significance not lost in the 1990s by Jean-Claude Izzo.¹¹

While it is undoubtedly true that, in the performance arts, for example, Marseille was hardly exceptional amongst other provincial centers, having only two major theatres, the Opéra and Le Gymnase,¹² it was a major national centre for popular entertainment. It possessed France’s oldest music hall, L’Alcazar, founded in 1852, which helped to launch the careers, not merely of Marseillais stars like Raimu and Fernandel,¹³ but also of Parisians such as Maurice Chevalier.¹⁴ L’Alcazar, which was reputed to have the toughest audience in France, was accompanied by other music halls such as Le Palais de Cristal, which closed in 1930 and one of whose last stars was Josephine Baker,¹⁵ Le Grand Casino, L’El Dorado, Le Châtelet and Les Variétés, in addition to Le Gymnase, which supplemented its diet of legitimate theatre with music hall and cinema. These music halls were surrounded by night clubs: Le Domino, Le ‘British,’ Le Régina, Chez Suzy, Le Thérèse-Bar, Le Tabaris, and by cabarets such as Ouistiti, Le Chansonnia, Le Chat Rieur and La Pie qui chante. In all cases, from the largest music hall to the smallest night club or cabaret, popular entertainment in Marseille relied on a mixture of indigenous and imported, Parisian, entertainment, although the Marseille public did not appreciate the overly aggressive Montmartre-style cabaret humor employed by Aristide Bruant and his imitators.¹⁶

⁸ Ibid., 38.

⁹ Ibid., 41.

¹⁰ Ibid., 5.

¹¹ Michèle Coulet, ed. *Jean Ballard Et Les “Cahiers Du Sud”* (Marseille: Ville de Marseille, 1993).

¹² Guiraud, *Vie intellectuelle*, 27. *Le Gymnase* was undoubtedly the more original of the two major theatres and, amongst other activities, played host to an important theatre troupe, *Le Rideau Gris*.

¹³ In the interwar years, there was a considerable vogue in Parisian music halls for Marseille acts.

¹⁴ Jean Bazal and Marcel Baudeaire, *Marseille entre les deux guerres, 1919-1939*. (Aubenas, 1978), 72-4.

¹⁵ Ibid., 70.

¹⁶ Ibid., 72-4.

At the same time, Marseille was a major centre of film production and film distribution. The Studios Marcel Pagnol were, until the post-Liberation period, one of the few significant film studios outside Paris and, in the 1930s, produced a stream of classic films, including Alexander Korda's version of Pagnol's own *Marius* and Renoir's *Toni*.¹⁷ The city also boasted seventy-five cinemas by the beginning of the Second World War, in addition to the music halls that often showed films as well as live performances.

A useful insight into the diversity of popular entertainment in Marseille at the end of the interwar years can be gained through the entertainment pages of the city's best-selling newspaper, *Le Petit Marseillais*, one of seven daily newspapers at the time.¹⁸ Its edition of 1 January 1939, for example, indicates a very strong presence of American films, including Disney's *Snow White*, Errol Flynn in *Robin Hood*, Katherine Hepburn and Cary Grant in *Bringing up Baby* and Frederick March in *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, but by no means swamping French productions, represented by Sacha Guitry's *Remontons les Champs-Élysées*, *Lumières de Paris*, starring Tino Rossi and Carette, Charles Boyer and Michèle Morgan in *Orage*, *Jim la Houlette*, starring Fernandel, and *Le Domino vert*, starring Danièle Darrieux. The Opéra was staging *Faust* with José Janson and *Werther* with Villabella, While Le Gymnase had the tenor André Girard starring in the operetta *Les Saltimbanques* and was about to host a performance from the Montmartre cabaret *Les 2 Anes* and the Odéon was staging the last performances of *En plein bonheur*, "la revue la plus gaie et la plus somptueuse que toutes les familles peuvent voir."¹⁹ By 12 January, the paper was advertising Rostand's *L'Aiglon* and *Cyrano de Bergerac* at Le Gymnase, while the Opéra was performing Mistral's *Mireio*, and the Pathé-Palace cinema was hosting Charles Trenet live on stage. A week later, *Le Petit Marseillais* announced a forthcoming "Gala de la Presse" at the Opéra starring Raimu and Fernandel. In other words, at the beginning of 1939, Marseille had the opportunity to see a large number of recent American films, together with a roughly comparable number of French ones, albeit disproportionately dependant on music-hall starts like Rossi and Fernandel. In terms of live entertainment, the Marseillais had access to grand opera, including Provençal opera, operetta, and music hall reviews which relied heavily on Parisian stars, even if their origins, like those of Raimu or Fernandel, lay in Marseille.

The Occupation

One historian noted of Marseille during the First World War:

Passant à Marseille, les étrangers ont eu souvent le sentiment d'une ville moins touché par la guerre, plus gaie qu'ailleurs. Les distractions n'ont pas été arrêtées par le malheur du temps: le 2 juillet 1917, nous notons des spectacles à l'Opéra de la Plage, au Châtelet-Théâtre, au Casino de la Plage, aux Variétés, au Palais de Cristal, aux cinémas Modern, Régent, Trianon, Eldorado....²⁰

¹⁷ Guiraud, *Vie intellectuelle*, 6.

¹⁸ Roland Caty, *Le Port de Marseille 1860-1945* (Aix-en-Provence, 1984), 56.

¹⁹ *Le Petit Marseillais*, 1 January 1939, 5.

²⁰ Edouard Baratier, ed. *Histoire de Marseille* (Toulouse, 1973), 413.

To a large extent, and certainly up until 1944, the same could have been said of the Occupation period, with one significant difference: the city’s international frame of reference, of which it was so proud and which conferred its legitimacy as an international metropolis, was seriously reduced due to curtailment of its shipping activity. Although even in 1940 Marseille was able to offer transit to safe havens in North and South America, by the following year, with the British naval presence in Gibraltar to the West and Suez to the East, the port’s shipping traffic was reduced to the Mediterranean and the immediate coastline around Marseille itself. The “Arrivées” and “Départs” columns in the maritime daily *Le Sémaphore* list arrivals from Valencia, Sète, Philippeville, Oran and the sugar refineries at Saint-Louis, and departures for Valencia, Oran, La Ciotat, Saint-Louis and Alicante, but none of the former long-distance traffic to South America and South-East Asia.²¹

In one sense, this enforced geographical limitation served to enhance Marseille’s Mediterranean credentials, exploited, for example, by reviews like *Les Cahiers du Sud*. In addition, as in the First World War, both popular and high cultural activity continued almost unaffected. In February 1942, L’Opéra reprised its production of *Faust* from 1939. The music hall continued much as it had before the War, with stars ranging from Fernandel and Agnès Capri to Trenet, Edith Piaf and Mistinguett, with the annual reopening of the open-air music-halls, the Colisée-Plage and even a new establishment, the “Cabaret Music-hall,” La Mascotte. At the same time, the weekly magazine *La Revue de l’Ecran*, together with the copious cinema sections of the Marseille daily press, testify to the continued health of the film industry, as do regular reports on film production in the south, including an article on the progress of a Fernandel vehicle *Médor* at the Studios Marcel Pagnol.²²

What is noticeable is the reluctance of cinemas in Marseille, at least, to abandon American cinema until absolutely forced to. American films continued to compete with French ones until the Autumn of 1942, in spite of Germany’s declaration of war against the United States following Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and warnings from the highly collaborationist daily *Midi-Libre* (later to become *Réalités*), and with the motto “Pour la Révolution dans la justice et la Collaboration dans l’honneur,” owned by the veteran political godfather of Marseille Simon Sabiani,²³ that “le film américain qui était un des premiers ennemis du théâtre dramatique va être interdit. Il s’en suivra, espérons-le, un retour au théâtre qu’il faut souhaiter ardemment pour le renom de l’art français.”²⁴ In fact, on the same page as this condemnation, the cinema listings advertised Humphrey Bogart and Bette Davis in *Femmes marquées*, Dick Foran and Gloria Dickson in *Troubles au Canada*, Bette Davis and Georges Brent in *Victoire sur la nuit*, Claude Rains and Ann Sheridan in *Je suis un criminel*, Carole Lombard and Fernand Gravey in *La Peur du scandale* and, literally finally, *Snow-White and the Seven Dwarfs*, “pour la dernière fois sur un écran français.” In other words, it took an awful lot to prize the Marseillais away from the American cinema.

The same is true of the vogue for jazz, although not all interpretations of the term were as purist or sophisticated as the reviews in *Les Cahiers du Sud* under the

²¹ *Le Sémaphore*, 1 March 1941, 1

²² “La Réalisation de ‘Médor’ se poursuit,” *Le Sémaphore*, 21 March 1941.

²³ For a detailed study of Sabiani, see Paul Jankowski, *Communism and Collaboration: Simon Sabiani and Politics in Marseille, 1919-1944* (New Haven, 1989)

²⁴ “La Prochaine saison du Théâtre du Gymnase,” *Midi-Libre*, 10 October 1942: 11.

rubric “La Musique Hot,” written by Georges Petit in the 1930s and superseded by Charles Delaunay’s column “Disques Hot” in 1939 and 1940, before his departure for the United States. In fact, the Marseille press was deeply confused on the issue. *Le Sémaphore*, for example, which was no means as politically neutral as its sub-head might have suggested—“Marine, Commerce, Industrie, Economie, Finance, Colonies”—was careful to remind its readers in March 1941 that it had published an article two years earlier, entitled “Les étrangers chez nous,” and exhorting:

Il faudra que soit matés énergiquement tous ceux qui ont fait de notre pays ce qu’il est en apparence. Il ne s’agit ni de vengeance ni de châtement; mais il faudra mettre hors d’état de nuire les homes qui ont porté des mains sacrilèges sur les biens matériels et moraux de notre Nation. Et comme il s’agit là d’une lessive familiale, il conviendra que, seuls soient présents, les membres de la famille et de très intimes amis.

Autrement dit, il faudra, au préalable, renvoyer chez eux ceux qui n’ont rien à faire parmi nous. C’en est assez de voir constamment à la tête de toutes les coquinerias au sommet de tous les scandales, des individus dont le nom étranger a été camouflé d’une apparence française.²⁵

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that it was enthusiastic about a performance the previous month by “La Troupe des Compagnons de France” at the Opéra, whose aim was to “[faire] revivre les vieilles chansons françaises, si riches d’esprit, de verve et de pittoresque poésie,” accompanied by “des danses empruntées au folklore provincial,”²⁶ nor that it welcomed a new cultural experiment by the Légion Française des Combattants: “la Rénovation du théâtre par la Révolution Nationale.” This took the form of the creation of a music-hall review “A la Française,” with a repertoire chosen, like that of the Compagnons, “exclusivement dans le folklore français”:

La revue est un genre essentiellement français. Restons-lui fidèles. Au contact des métèques, elle avait pris, en ces dernières années, le goût des stupéfiants exotiques. Ni rires, ni chansons: d’alanguissantes et voluptueuses présentations....²⁷

It is somewhat odd, therefore, to find in the music-hall listings for the 14 March an announcement for *A la Française!* at the Pathé-Palace, “avec le concours de la Musique Militaire du 43e Régiment d’Infanterie Alpine [which is understandable] et le nouveau jazz des Légionnaires [which is less so].”²⁸

This schizophrenia runs throughout the Marseille press of the Occupation period. *Midi-Libre*, in an article on music by Claude Gay in September 1942, claims strenuously, “même en musique—par la nationalité du compositeur et par le vaste poème de ce qu’il évoque—‘la terre ne ment pas,’”²⁹ yet that same edition advertises a performance at the Odéon by “Django Reinhardt et son orchestre, dans un festival de jazz swing.” In fact, the vogue for the swing band style of jazz continued

²⁵ Paul Barlatier, “Les Etrangers chez nous,” *Le Sémaphore*, 1 March 1941.

²⁶ “La Troupe des Compagnons de France a obtenu un grand succès à l’Opéra,” *Le Sémaphore*, 22 February 1941.

²⁷ “Tournée officielle de la Légion Française des Combattants,” *Le Sémaphore*, 5 March 1941.

²⁸ “Les Programmes,” *Le Sémaphore*, 14 March 1941.

²⁹ Claude Gay, “Musiques,” *Midi-Libre*, 17 September 1942, 11.

throughout most of the Occupation. The famous band-leader of the 1930s Ray Ventura, best-known for his song of 1934, “Tout va très bien, Madame la Marquise,” which appeared to lampoon French complacency in the context of looming disaster, played at the Variétés in May 1941,³⁰ and in the same number of *Le Sémaphore* which celebrated the Légion review “A la Française!” and their revival of traditional French music, also advertised its predecessor at the Pathé-Palace, “Jo Bouillon et son orchestre.” Jo Bouillon, “qui compte parmi les musiciens de son quintette swing, popularise par la radio, d’authentiques champions cyclistes, comme l’excellent saxo-clarinette Roland Craene,”³¹ was the star attraction of a “Grande journée cycliste de la zone non-occupée,” “organisée par le Swing-Club de France,” on a bill which included Reinhardt and “Raymond Mill’s [sic] et ses boys.” In December 1941, the cabaret the Embassy included in its program “l’inimitable orchestre Tomas et ses merry-boys,”³² a term which, as an early post-Liberation number of *V*, the “Magazine Illustré du MLN” reminded its readers, was subsequently banned by the authorities.³³

In fact, as the programs of both the Marseille music halls and the national radio indicate, the popular taste for American-style music was virtually unassailable, as the Parisian authorities found in their confrontation with the “Zazous,” and a curious coexistence pertained throughout most of the Occupation, with official pronouncements emanating from Vichy in favor of French cultural traditions being largely ignored by the public and the impresarios. The national radio was happy to broadcast French swing bands, such as Jo Bouillon, and “Musique tzigane,” and the music halls followed suit. In the same way that the Third Reich found it impossible to eradicate the taste for jazz and finally capitulated by organizing its own official jazz-band,³⁴ Vichy essentially gave up the battle.

The Liberation

The extent of its defeat on this terrain, and, indeed, its entire policy of cultural xenophobia, was symbolized by the return in force of cosmopolitan popular entertainment from the earliest days of the Liberation. *Le Provençal* celebrated the re-opening of the cinemas in early September 1944, “Le Fait marseillais du jour,” with an article entitled “Bonjour, Mickey!”³⁵ and two days earlier was carrying advertisements for *Le Retour de Zorro*, at the Rialto, and the “Grand film américain,” *La 8e Femme de Barbe-Bleue*, at the cinema of La Plaine.³⁶ Nor was the music hall slow off the mark, often with official patronage. The FFI sponsored a “Grand Gala de Music-Hall” at the Pathé-Palace on 22 September, followed in October by the somewhat opportunistically-titled “Merci De Gaulle!” with Lemercier at the Odéon,³⁷ and the review “Hello Marseille,” which opened in December.³⁸ At the same time, the great music-hall stars returned to Marseille: Fernandel at a gala organized by the

³⁰ “Les Spectacles de Marseille,” *Le Mot d’Ordre*, 31 May 1941, 4.

³¹ *Le Mot d’Ordre*, 2 June 1941, 4.

³² *Le Mot d’Ordre*, 9 December 1941, 4.

³³ *V. Magazine Illustré du MLN*, 4 November 1944, 5.

³⁴ Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers. Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (New York, 1992).

³⁵ *Le Provençal*, 7 September 1944.

³⁶ *Le Provençal*, 5 September 1944, 2.

³⁷ *Le Provençal*, 22 September 1944, 2; 20 October 1944, 2.

³⁸ *V*, 30 December 1944, 14.

SFIO and Piaf and Montand at the Variétés-Casino in a benefit for the Centres d'Entr'aide de la Maison du Prisonnier.³⁹

It was no coincidence that this rapid return of pre-war popular entertainment should include jazz. On the 20 October, *Le Provençal* announced a "Grande Nuit du Jazz" at the Pathé. This gala performance included a film starring Charles Boyer, *Par la Porte d'Or*, together with the tenor Otto Fassel, the Red Army Choir, a "défilé de mannequins" and, "pour la première fois à Marseille, une 'jam-session,'" with "Tomas et ses Merry Boys," finally able to use their title again, and "les meilleurs swingers (sic) français et alliés présents à Marseille."⁴⁰ The next month, incidentally, *V* magazine was able to dispel the confusion reigning in Marseille on the meaning of "jam session" by explaining it as a term introduced by Guy Rinaldo, "Président du Swing-Club de France" at the jazz club *Le Doyen de Paris*.⁴¹ In November 1944, *V* reviewed a "Grand Nuit du Jazz et de la Couture" at the Pathé-Palace, animated once more by "Tomas et ses Merry Boys" and with black American musicians, including G. Porumb on clarinet, V-M Butter on Bass and J Porubsky on accordion: "Pour la première fois à Marseille, on entendait du jazz, du vrai, du pur." On 6 January 1945, *V* ran a long feature on "Harlem, capitale noire: paradis du jeu et du jazz. Enfer de la danse"⁴² and also carried an approving article about a Marseille lawyer who had left his profession and gone to Paris to start a jazz-band: "Du Barreau de Marseille au Casino de Paris: Léo Valdi en plein jazz."⁴³ Marseille's love-affair with jazz, which had continued unabated from the interwar years through the Occupation and into the Liberation, was still going strong.

Conclusion

The study of jazz in Marseille from the late interwar years through the Occupation to the Liberation period is illuminating for several reasons. It testifies to the vibrancy of popular culture in France's second city, unique in France outside Paris and which operates within a complex oscillation between genuine independence from the capital and mutual support, together with a shared enthusiasm for American popular culture. The city is able to develop a genuinely autonomous popular cultural activity, which it is able to export to Paris and beyond, while at the same time remaining acutely aware of Parisian popular cultural phenomena to which it often played enthusiastic host. In addition, as in the capital, jazz itself is one of the rare activities which is able to cross the lines of cultural demarcation between high and popular culture, celebrated in its avant-garde purist forms by the contributors to *Les Cahiers du Sud* and in less clearly defined ways in the columns of the popular press, where the term is associated more loosely with music hall, dance bands and popular song, often conveyed through the cinema. As such, in both high-cultural and popular forms, it is associated with internationalism and in particular with an ambiguous relationship with American culture. Small wonder, therefore, that conservative opinion, especially under Vichy, should attempt to reassert the values of an indigenous French popular culture embodied in folk culture and to denigrate, and suppress, manifestations of a dangerous cosmopolitanism. The story of jazz in

³⁹ *Le Provençal*, 29 October 1944, 2.

⁴⁰ *Le Provençal*, 21 October 1944, 2.

⁴¹ *V*, 4 November 1944, 5.

⁴² *V*, 6 January 1945, 8-9.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9.

Marseille, however, in its widest sense, demonstrates the resilience of that cosmopolitanism, already apparent in the extreme reluctance of film-goers and film distributors to abandon American cinema, even after Germany's declaration of war on the United States, until expressly told to do so. While Vichy and the Occupying power do succeed in banning American films from 1942 until 1944, they are less successful in the domain of popular music and popular entertainment represented by jazz: the celebration of French folk music gives way to an accommodation with trends in commercial music already highly popular in the interwar years, to the extent that even the Légion Française des Combattants institutes its own jazz-band. And the music halls and cabarets of Marseille throughout the Occupation continue to rely essentially on the same musical diet which proved so popular in the 1930s. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the end of the Occupation in Marseille should be celebrated not merely through the liberation of the prison of Les Baumettes, with its chilling revelations of torture and execution, but through a renewal of acquaintance with Mickey Mouse and the triumphant importation, however spurious, of American jazz musicians.