FRENCH MUSICAL BROADCASTING IN 1938:

AN ONGOING COMPARISON OF RADIO-PARIS AND RADIO-CITÉ

by Christophe BENNET

***WE** are continuing our monitoring of the musical broadcasting of the prewar years through the comparison between Radio-Paris and Radio-Cité, two models of the French double "public / private" network. In 1937, one could observe that behind the general drop of the global figure of musical programs, those stations confirmed, by opposite artistic stances, their respective policies which corresponded to their conception of the media. In 1938, while government influence on the public stations is strengthening, without any benefit as regards the improvement of the programs, the commercial stations, fortified by some years of experience, adjust their time schedules in accordance with the success encountered by their new formulas. Responding to the expectations of their audience, they increase the entertainment programs without neglecting the music lovers*[1].

SOME MUSICAL FEATURES OF RADIO-PARIS

If we compare the time schedule of the musical programs with the one of the previous years, we can see that Radio-Paris keeps existing models rather than making innovations. We can especially notice the continuation of the "*causeries musicales*" which are oriented in a didactic way. Throughout the second half of the decade, a series of 91 lectures on "lyrical drama in France from its origins to the present day" completes the list of the "musical talks" that Radio-Paris is used to broadcasting. In retrospect, these programs have been published in three volumes "available from '*Poste national*' [without any] obligation of refunding the postage" [2][sic]. These volumes are entitled: "*Des origines à la Révolution*" (31 talks throughout the 1935-1936 season); "*De la Révolution à l'année 1900*" (32 talks released in 1936-1937); "*De l'année 1900 à nos jours*" (28 talks in 1937-1938)[3].

These precious books reveal the content and the shape of the interventions, such as those of the last part, whose chapters appear in our corpus of programs. Broadcasted on Wednesday June 1st 1938, the talk by Maurice Emmanuel on the lyrical works of "Albert Roussel, Jean Cras and Antoine Mariotte" is more in a written style than a casual chat:

[1] *Beside the articles concerning the musical broadcasting of the years 1935, 1936 and 1937 (in Site du groupe PLM,* Publications des membres de l'équipe), one could, on the topic, read: Christophe Bennet, *"Musique et radio dans la France des années trente. La création d'un genre radiophonique", PhD thesis in History of music and musicology held in June 2007 at Paris-Sorbonne, under the direction of Michèle Alten.*

[2] *Histoire du Théâtre Lyrique en France,* Ministère des PTT, Direction de la Radiodiffusion, 1938 : Tome 1, 248 p. ; tome 2, 325 p. ; tome 3, 285 p.

[3] *Cf.* page 3 of each of the volumes, where the following advertisement also appears: "The performances of musical works were, at the time of their broadcast, illustrating the talks gathered in the present book. Deprived from listening to these musical works, the reader will be able to take an interest in the reading of the commentaries that used to match them; this is why the text was maintained."

> *"We must repeat it, by the number, variety and quality of their works, by the pride of their independence and the dignity of their career, our three "sea-going" musicians take a place of honor in contemporary art, lyrical drama.*[4]*"*

Either bearing on the musical field, or not, these broadcasted talks (very numerous on Radio-Paris) feed by the way the debates and arguments that the specialized newspapers are echoing.

Several evenings in the week, we still can see the mention of long lyrical concerts[5], chamber or symphonic music[6], with the almost weekly performance of the "*Orchestre national*" on Radio-Paris. On the evening of Thursday June 9th, for example, the weekly radio journals announce:

> "Symphonic concert by 'Orchestre national', conducted by D.-E. Infghelbrecht: '*Sinfonia de la 146e cantate pour orgue et orchestre '* (J.-S. Bach), M. Marcel Dupré*; 'Symphonie La cloche n°101' (Haydn); 'Grande fantaisie pour orgue et orchestre'* (Liszt), M. Marcel Dupré*; 'Les Maîtres chanteurs, ouverture et fragments symphoniques' (Wagner)".*

Instituted the previous year by conductor René-Baton[7], the "midnight concert" on Fridays is continuing and proposes an interesting range of orchestral pieces: the "*Concerto en mi bémol pour clarinette et orchestre*" by Weber (on Friday June 3rd); "*Fanfare pour précéder la Péri*" by Paul Dukas (on June 10th); "*A la musique*" by Chabrier (on June 17th); "*Album d'images*" by J. de La Presle[8], conducted by the author. The innovation can be found in the fact that the concert is also broadcasted on other stations of the government network.

Besides, at least one evening a week, a great program of musical entertainment is proposed to the listeners of Radio-Paris. We could notice, for instance, the entertaining program that was broadcasted on Wednesday June 22nd 1938:

> *"Les ondes de Paris*, with MM. L. Arnoult, Maxime Léry, E. Rousseau*;* Mrs. Loulou Hegoburu, Jane Montagne, Marie Simon, Ketty Emlun. [During the program: Information and press review]. *"*

The reinforcement of the programs dedicated to the general public is the continuation of an initiative of the previous year. Let's recall that since the previous year, Radio-Paris has

---

[4] *« Histoire du théâtre lyrique en France, de la Révolution à l'année 1900 », op. cit. p*. 241. This talk was broadcasted on Wednesday June 1st 1938 on Radio-Paris [Source *: Mon Programme*].

[5] Such as the one of Thursday June 2nd: "*Le Roi d'Ys"*, abstracts from the opera in three acts by Édouard Lalo, by the "*Choeurs Joseph Noyon et l'orchestre, direction M. Eugène Bigot";* or on Thursday June 16th : a broadcasting from the theater of the "*Opéra-Comique"*: "*Le Barbier de Séville" by Rossini.*

[6] We can especially notice: on Tuesday June 14th : "Chamber music: "piano by Mrs H. Pignary and the Benedetti *Quatuor*"; and on Wednesday June 29th: "*La Société des instruments anciens and Mr. Yvon La Mac'hadour.".*

[7] René Baton (1879-1940) (pseudonym: Rhené-Baton) used to conduct orchestras on "Radiola", at the beginning of the thirties. He had also composed some works, including the symphonic piece "*En Bretagne*" that was often broadcasted on this station.

[8] The composer Jacques de La Presle was also the artistic manager of Radio-Paris from 1930, then the one of the "*Radiodiffusion nationale*" until 1943, and the "*Inspecteur principal*" of musical instruction from 1945 to 1952. The author of some symphonic pieces, he is mostly known for his numerous melodies, which were always written in a sophisticated and delicate style. Ten times mentioned in our "1930-1939" corpus, his famous "*Chanson intime*" is often scheduled in the concerts of light and variety music on Radio-Paris, such as the one of Sunday June 26th 1938. His whole catalogue will be found at *http://www.musimem.com/La_Presle.htm (consulted in February 2014).*

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

spared no expense. The station even recruits a specialist of entertainment, Louis Merlin, for a monthly program that was launched on Friday June 18th 1937[9]:

> *"De la Presle asked me for the implementation of an entertaining evening show once a month. I had chosen the title '*La Radio en fête*' (the Radio party), which would enable me to put everything I wanted. For the first time I had an orchestra of 24 to 28 musicians, a dozen of choristers, actors and singers, and a fairly large studio.* [10] *"*

Like at weekends, we can notice that every Saturday evening (at 10.05 pm) and sometimes on Saturdays (at 8.30 pm) some symphonic concerts (with conductors such as Manuel Rosenthal, Jean Clergue or Henri Tomasi) propose musical works where "*modern music*" and "French music" are well represented. We must however notice the disappearance, on Sundays in the afternoon, of the traditional concerts released by the Paris societies. In their place, we can find some slots of "light and various music" such as the one that was performed by the "*Orchestre Laurent*" on June 26th from 5 to 7 pm:

> "*Morena Andaluz* (Lucchesi); *Immer Wien* (Léoni); *Afternoon's Dance* (Petit); *Fleur d'Avril* (Tollet); *Czardas* (X.); *Chanson* (Friml); *Trianeras* (Larruga); *Tristesse* (Chopin); *She's Some Baby* (Macknight); *Rapsodie roumaine* (Leoni); *Chanson intime* (J. de la Presle); *Valse* (Giland); *Blanche-Neige et les sept nains* (Churchill); *Mai* (R. Hahn); *Trois valses* (Joh. Strauss) ; *Rêver toujours* (Eler-Clarey) ; *Please* (Charing) ; *Jota del Amor* (Lucchesi) ; *Etrange valse* (Yvain); *Magyar Ver* (De Maurizi); *Boîte à musique* (Manfred)".

To sum it up, as regards the radio weeklies, we can say that the musical package offered by the great public station, Radio-Paris, that year of 1938, includes light programs even more than in 1937. It however keeps its long slots of symphonic music (performed by prestigious bands or little studio orchestras), of lyrical or chamber music and recitals.

PRAGMATIC MANAGERS AND A COMMERCIAL PURPOSE

As far as our model of private stations is concerned, the young team of Radio-Cité communicates its enthusiasm to its listeners through a relaxed tone that represents a break from the too pompous tradition of the announcers of the other stations, and through the feeling that the managers have fun making the radio programs. Contrasting with Government stations, private ones like Radio-Cité are not bothered by doctrines and they consider that the educative mission is a prerogative of the Government. Even if they don't fail to schedule dramas or musical programs that could be called cultural, they mainly aim at providing a product capable of retaining both the advertisers and the audience. For those practical actors, the seduction policy matches a new philosophy. The argument that consists in sliding from "culture" (in the boring sense of the term) toward entertainment is quickly found. In the debates raised by a survey of *Radio-Magazine* on the topic "Radio and Culture", the executive manager of Radio-Cité denounces the protagonists of the public programs which particularly embody their failure:

> "*We must definitely ban [the dictatorship of the lecturers] from the studios. If the Government radio facilitates their accumulation of multiple posts, it is a favour that I couldn't contest as a taxpaying listener. But in my quality of manager of a private station, I intend to prevent any intervention of their impressive propaganda in the little field I'm dealing with.*

[9] *Mon Programme* n°282 of June 12th 1937, p. 3.
[10] Louis Merlin, *J'en ai vu des choses…1900-1939,* Paris, Éditions Julliard, 1962, p. 411.

IReMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

The radio is dangerously threatened by the false intellectuals, by the martinets of would-be knowledge, in one word the imposters, who misrepresent everything they touch.

The radio must remain alive; it must protect its eternal youth, arrange its possibilities of impetus. It must be real or not be. Except in rare circumstances, the microphone is forbidden to old men, to bearded, senile people, to the people that are responsible for the drama of our life. They hold everything, they have invaded us. At least, let's save the radio![11]"

A new generation are severely judging indeed the incapable elders that hold many positions and they intend to favor the radio in order to assure its existence and its difference.

So, the private stations prefer lighter programs and intersperse those programs with announcers who are becoming stars themselves. "While Government radio remains largely anonymous, commercial radio finds its identity through Saint-Granier, Claude Dauphin, Pierre Dac, Maurice Bourdet, René Lefevre, Henri Kubnik, Jean-Jacques Vital or André Gillois. [12]" These new conceptions are strongly inspired by what the north-American radio has been producing for more than ten years[13]. By the way, in June 1938, the managers of Radio-Cité travel to the United-States in order to learn the "recipes" that were already experienced by the American radios[14]. Anyway, in order to "get along" with their audience and even conquer new advertisers, the managers of the private stations must understand what the listeners are expecting from them as much as possible.

As we already saw, Marcel Bleustein's station had created the association of the "chums of Radio-Cité[15]" the previous year. Through this parallel society, the private station again follows the principle of the radio-clubs that had been implemented by the stations of the public network[16]. This results in building a space of sociability, a "station spirit" around its name. Moreover, like the journals of the station "Paris-PTT" [17] and "*Le Poste Parisien*" [18],

[11] *Ici…Radio-Cité n°49* of December 9th 1938, p. 2, Article by Jean Antoine entitled: "*Radio et Culture"* . Let's point out here that after the war, Jean Antoine will be changing his tune by backing the national radio, like Guignebert,. He'll be facing the microphone again, in 1953, with the program: "*Bonsoir l'Europe*" [*Les Cahiers de l'Histoire de la Radiodiffusion,* n° 77, juillet-septembre 2003, p. 73-75].

[12] Christian Delporte, "*Au miroir des médias*", in, Jean-Pierre Rioux and Jean-François Sirinelli (direction), *La culture de masse en France de la Belle époque à nos jours*, Paris, Fayard, 2002, p. 319.

[13] George H Douglas, *The Early Days of Radio Broadcasting*, Mc Marland & Company, Inc, Publishers, 1987. Jefferson, North Carolina, and London.

[14] Cf. *Ici…Radio-Cité* n°23 and 24 of June 10th and 17th,1938: Lise Elina, Marcel Bleustein, Saint-Granier, Alice Tissot, N.-J. Canetti, Jean Granier, Jean-Jacques Vital and Jean Antoine are among the travelers. In the July 1st number the latter explains: " *We have seen everything of the American Radio, from the conception of advertising to the involvement of the artists, the rehearsals in the studios until the program in public, the announcers' conception as to the realization in its lesser details. We were shown portative transmitters, emitter cars, we have checked the most famous games and understood the reasons for their success among the 26 milliosn of American listeners […] When you read these first impressions on American Radio, we'll be flying back with plenty of supplies in our luggage*".

[15] Christophe Bennet, "French musical broadcasting in1937: the split between the public and the private stations is confirmed" on the PLM site, Publication des members de l'équipe: http://www.plm.paris-sorbonne.fr/Christophe-Bennet-616.

[16] However, we remain far here from the figures that the Association of Radio-Nord-PTT announced: after some 10 years of broadcasting, this association counted 59,000 members in January 1935 and 34,000 in September 1936 [Cécile Méadel, *Histoire de la radio des années trente*, p. 211].

[17] *L'Écho de la radio.*

[18] *Le Bulletin de la radio.*

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

Radio-Cité launches its own newspaper, at the beginning of the year 1938[19]. Its editor-in-chief, Jean Guignebert, holds the "tribunes" that echo the numerous forums and discussions which he also leads in the Sunday morning programs[20]. In 1939, the shape of the journal will be evolving. Instead of announcing only the programs of Radio-Cité, the weekly paper will be proposing a selection of the best programs of the rival stations. This new editorial choice has a double advantage. On the one hand, by considering the other stations, it abandons the self-centeredness that it could be blamed for and it becomes a "non-specialized" newspaper. On the other hand, it can be substituted to any other broadcasting newspaper and therefore may draw the listeners which are used to putting together different programs from several stations[21].

Beside the broadcasted tribunes and the voluminous mail of the readers[22], whose content is summarized in the section called "*Boîte aux lettres*", the managers keep surveying, trying to understand the preferences of their audience. Marcel Bleustein spends his days monitoring the new projects, to "inform [himself] on the tastes and the reactions of the listeners.[23]" In the aim of deciding between the antagonisms of his partners, he seeks to "reconcile the divergent tastes of the listeners". In order to satisfy everybody, his team "design, break up, and ten times, twenty times design again the programs that were established in advance[24]." The managers of the station are stimulating the dialogue with their listeners, under the open and even demagogic argument of a better satisfaction of the latter's expectations:

> *"At the moment we are receiving 40,000 letters from one Sunday to the next. […] This permanent contact between the listeners and us is indispensable and we appreciate its fecundity. It is the means for us to know your tastes and your preferences. This way we notice your reactions. So (please forgive this rather trivial formula) we can take the temperature of our audience.[25] "*

The Radio-Cité team, who are already enlightened by the individual and written arguments that spark the tribunes of listeners, use very objective means to put the reception of the programs in a quantitative perspective. On December 16th, 1938, for its 50th number, the journal of the station is exceptionally more developed and includes a big special page entitled: "Give us your opinion (anonymity required) [26]". By listing the main programs, an editorial note invites the readers to indicate, through a multiple-choice questionnaire, the frequency of their listening[27]. Among the "21 ways" in which the participants in the survey are supposed to notice their possible attractivity, six concern the category of musical programs: "the music-

[19] Made of 8 pages, it includes chronicles, a rather comprehensive description of the programs, numerous pictures of the gear of the actors of the station, a section dedicated to the listeners-readers, and a page that is systematically devoted to the association.
[20] The "*tribune des auditeurs*" is broadcasted on Sundays at 10.15 am. The station proposes other debates on the microphone: the "*tribune des jeunes*", on Thursdays at 10.30 am, and the "*tribune de la femme*" on Saturday at 4.30 pm.
[21] *Cf.*, for example, the big page of number 73 on May 26th, 1939: "*Chez les autres: Quelques emissions sélectionnées*". This opening onto the programs of the competitors may have justified the rise of the price of the weekly: 0.75 francs in 1938 and 1 F in 1939.
[22] In the "*Boîte aux lettres*" section of the second number of the journal "Ici…Radio-Cité" of January 15th, 1938, an appeal is launched to the listeners available: "Help us open our mail: 26,339 letters and postcards this week."
[23] Marcel Bleustein Blanchet, *Les Ondes de la liberté*, Paris, Lattès, 1970, p. 83.
[24] *Ibid., p. 82.*
[25] *Ici…Radio-Cité n°14* of April 9th 1938, p. 1: " *Notre tribune*", by Jean Guignebert.
[26] *Ibid. n°50* of December 16th 1938, p. 13.
[27] "I always listen to it; I sometimes listen to it; I never listen to it".

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

hall; 'light music'; songs; dance music; 'classical music'; jazz". Other questions complete the form to be sent: "Do you listen to other stations than Radio-Cité (yes or no)"; "According to you, what is the best program on Radio-Cité?"; "Are you Mr., Mrs. or Miss?"; "How old are you?"; "What is your occupation?"; "In which area are you living? [28]"; "What is your nationality?"; "Do you have any other suggestion to propose?" Marcel Bleustein had discovered the importance of opinion polls during his trip to the United States, and more precisely when he met M. Gallup, the inventor of opinion polls, of ratings. Until then they were unknown in France[29]. While the use of ratings has been widespread in the US for a decade[30], the manager of Publicis reinvests the American savoir-faire for himself. This emerging form of what opinion polls will be like in France after the war enables the managers of Radio-Cité to assess the reception of their station and then to arrange their time schedules to the wishes of their consumers.

If so powerful industrial trusts and other private investors are injecting money in the radio stations, it is because they, in return, expect a financial interest. Inspired by valid methods and techniques, the rush to audience figures could only be explained by a mutation factor: the spectacular increase of the "consumers" of the waves.

AT STAKE IN BROADCASTING: THE PREFERENCES OF OPPOSITE VALUES

In the paper that marks the beginning of the "*La Boîte aux lettres*" section of June 3rd 1938, there is an editorial note that deplores the reception of some letters whose hostility sometimes turns to insults or free offences:

> "*One can enjoy Massenet without being a good or a bad Frencmanh. And we must rebel against this custom that consists in making anything a national issue.*
>
> *Jazz has its defenders and its detractors; classical music has its admirers but it also bores others; the accordion pleases some and displeases others. Why not discuss the reasons of the ones and the others? But discussion neither means dispute nor insult. Why affect to despise one's opponent, who is just a contradictor anyway? Why bring the controversy on an aesthetic or ideological field or a personal one? […] Do not insult the man who may have the idea that will be yours tomorrow.* [31] "

Contrary to the Government network, a station like Radio-Cité is not capable of spreading different programs on several antennas. This is why this station chooses the option of "general broadcasting" and refuses no style. The slots in the programs are simply sized according to the categories of listeners that are supposed to be listening to them. For example, the "quarter of an hour for female listeners" is scheduled at quiet moments. As for as the "musical time", broadcasted at about 6.30 pm, although not necessarily in prime time, it could be listened to by any amateur of classical music. By multiplying and atomizing the genres in very homogenous short slots, the direction of the station is confronted to an exercise of style

[28] This question shows that the station was heard beyond the Paris area. With a power of only 2 KW, the emitter in Gennevilliers is supposed to bring the waves of Radio-Cité 300 km around Paris, and 1,000 km at night. The witness of a listener proves that it could be well heard from Dublin: "La boîte aux lettres", *Ici…Radio-Cité n°9* of March 5th 1938, p. 6.

[29] Inathèque de France: "Le 30 mai 1927: la création de Publicis par Marcel Bleustein-Blanchet", *Les jours du siècle*, France Inter, program of June 24th 1999. After the war, the publicist will convince his friend Pierre Mendès-France of the relevance of these polls.

[30] Hugh Malcolm Beville Jnr, *Audience ratings: radio, television, and cable*, Hillslade, Lawrence Erbaum associates publisher, 1988.

[31] *Ici…Radio Cité n°22* of June 3rd 1938, p. 7: " *La Boîte aux lettres* ".

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

which consists in satisfying most people. In the "*Boîte aux lettres*" of May 20th 1938, the redaction of the journal individually replies to three of the readers-listeners. The first two were respectively pleading for more "*grande musique*" (classical music) and military music, whereas the third had blamed the station for an excess of jazz, this "music for red-skins, performed by red-skins":

> *"High music… or more easy music: we put a little of anything in our programs as much as possible. […]*
>
> *Hurry up, Madam, waking up may sometimes be sounded by military music. But were you already awake at that hour? […]*
>
> *Sir, you are severe for the amateurs of jazz, and I bet that your children do not reject the fox-trot, the 'blue' [sic], the slow and the other modern dances.*[32]*"*

Since the delight of some is the torture of others, the tactics of the private station managers consists in sprinkling a little of each style, in order to hope to eventually content everyone. Beyond the expression of the sociocultural and the generational antagonisms, the words of some intolerant old grumps show that the balance of the time schedules leads to a kind of *modus vivendi*. In the range of programs globally convenient for a majority, the listener accepts some sequences of genres "scheduled for the others" all the more easily as they are short.

Throughout the second half of the decade, the interference of several factors of the evolution is pushing the programs of the French radio. The decrease of the listeners on the national network is not irrelevant for the successive governments. Despite an insidious reinforcement of its presence in the organization of the programs (especially by the complementary working of its territorial resources and its artistic offer), the public sector can't prevent its audience from escaping towards the private stations. By responding to the aspirations of the listeners, which they intend to measure, the private stations imagine new ways of making radio. Year after year, they can even raise it to the level of a "moral personality[33]". Based on the likes of the multitude, their programs are in accordance with their supposed preferences. Face to the heavy announcements, the administrative routine, and the continuing pressure of the political powers, the private stations play on entertainment, fantasy, and imagination. Their listeners are more numerous every year and prefer them in comparison with the Government stations because they are more interesting, younger and happier.

These mutations will have an important impact on the contents of the musical programs. They still absorb 60% of the broadcasting time. By examining in detail the programs of June 1938 on Radio-Paris and Radio-Cité, we are going to see how these two stations solve their respective dilemmas: promoting music by quality performances without scaring away their audience, for Radio-Paris; satisfying as many listeners as possible without falling into artistic demagogy, for Radio-Cité.

Before detailing station by station the specificities of the two time schedules, let's compare the features and the repartition of the composers and performers that were mentioned in our two models, through a comparison with the previous years.

---

[32] *Ibid.* n°20 of May 20th 1938, p. 7.

[33] *Ici...Radio-Cité n°52* of December 30th 1938, p. 1-2: "*Année nouvelle Radio-Cité*". Article by Jacques Antoine, Executive manager of Radio-Cité : "Radio-Cité in 1935, 36, 37 *was for you only a relaxation. Today it is for you a moral personality. […] By the number of the consumers, we are an indispensable public service, friendly in the easy hours, sincere at the serious moments.*"

A COMPARISON OF THE PROGRAMS: SOME GENERAL COMMENTS

When we compare the programs of our two stations of reference, the most significant element of the year 1938 is the decrease of the number of the musical slots on Radio-Paris, against an increase on Radio-Cité. In June, we count 481 slots on the first (against 490 in June 1937) and 493 on the latter (332 in 1937). The volume of the hours of broadcasting follows the same pattern: Radio-Paris is retreating from 250 to 244 hours of music, while Radio-Cité progresses from 120 to 188 hours of musical programs and concerts[34].

Henceforth, the volume of the programs is comparable between the two stations. It is only from Sunday October 2nd 1938 on, however, that the private station begins to broadcast without any interruption on working days. The weekly *Ici…Radio-Cité* indicates:

> "*For the 3rd anniversary of its creation, Radio-Cité presented the main lines of the program of the 1938-1939 season to the broadcasting press at a friendly meeting last Saturday,. Here is the summary:*
>
> *First you must know that from this Sunday on, the programs will be without any interruption from 6.30 am until midnight. Then, for the first time, a French station will be continuously broadcasting all day long[35]. This extension of the frame of activity of Radio-Cité of course implies the creation of new programs involving numerous stars.*
>
> *Besides, Radio-Cité wishes not only to become a permanent station, but also to give to the musical section a dominating place: 60% of the whole programs.* [36]"

We can also notice that on each of our two stations, the presentations of the programs are more and more brief. By reading the newspapers, one can see that, in the short slots, the titles of the works, and also their authors, are less regularly mentioned. On Radio-Cité, there is a multiplication of the slots, whose title consists of the name of the performer, which is the only feature of the program. On the "*Poste national*", among the myriad of little slots of records, some programs remain, in which the name of the composer is concealing that of the performer. For instance, it is the case of: "*German dances*" (Mozart), scheduled on Sunday June 5th from 11.20 to 11.30 am. The more important figures than those noticed on Radio-Cité in the two years before do not show a reinforcement of the programs of classical music. They can simply be explained by a higher precision of our sources. We have just seen that from the month of January 1938, the great private station allows itself the luxury of publishing its own weekly, which is, according to the Radio-Cité CEO, "*a further link between you and us; a new occasion of collaborating in a friendly way and of enhancing our relations.*[37]" Then, the station staff can possibly develop the contents of the programs, whereas the other newspapers remain less detailed. Thus, concerning Friday June 17th 1938, for the 1.55 pm slot, when "*Le Petit radio*" is only announcing "records", that of the station indicates: "*Prélude à l'Après-midi d'un faune* (Debussy), by the "*Concerts Staran orchestra (enr.)* [38]." This publication is

[34] *Cf.* table 3.

[35] This exuberance of the station's weekly reveals an erroneous fact. Even if the empty hours are often filled by simple slots of records, the program is already continuous on Radio-Paris. Cf. for example table 6: the 18 programs of Tuesday June 7th 1938.

[36] *Ici…Radio-Cité n*°38 of September 30th 1938, p. 1: "*La nouvelle saison de Radio-Cité"* .

[37] *Ici…Radio-Cité* n°1 of January 8th 1938, p. 1: "*Auditeurs de Radio-Cité…voici votre journal* ", by Jean Antoine.

[38] *Ici…Radio-Cité n°23* of June 10th 1938, p. 5. We can notice here that the "*poème symphonique*" by Debussy is necessarily shortened since the "time and the weather forecast" are ending the programs at 2 pm.

precious at a double level: first, it shows the details that the program makers consider important, apart from the shortening imposed by the lack of space in a "general broadcasting paper". At a second level, the important information clarifies the monitoring of the exceptional galas and of the more ordinary programs.

By comparing the two stations, we can also notice that they both use the microphone and the record-player very differently. On Radio-Cité, the playing of the records becomes more usual, whereas the proportion of the live studio broadcasts is collapsing. Concerning the first, the figures of the programs are even more significant than their duration: 1,434 slots of records playing on 2,023 slots (71%). In one fourth of these programs the content is not identifiable. When the slot is not only entitled "record", the title "the quarter of hour of female listeners" or "waking up in music" is not more evocative. Then, there are the records of songs (13%), of symphonic music (10%), of dance music (8%) and of "light and variety music" (7%)[39]. On Radio-Cité, this flood of records programs is even heightened by those that we have referred to as "live broadcasts and records". Among the 100 programs of this type, one can, from 1938, count 57 programs of a new genre. They are called "*Présentez vous-même vos disques préférés"* or "*Présentation du lauréat de 'Présentez vous-même vos disques préférés' "*[40] [sic]. Those programs, where anonymous listeners become stars, are echoing the programs in which some genuine stars come and comment a selection of a few records. In this context we learn from Pierre Descaves that:

> *"Jean Lumière, interviewed by Jean Laurent in 'The records they prefer" had made the charming and symptomatic choices of works by Fauré, Debussy 'this priest of a superior and pathetic musical style', Albeniz, and Maurice Ravel.* [41]*"*

During the year 1938, the famous female singer Mistinguett lends herself to this little exercise of style. The one that the song-maker Saint-Granier calls "the general in chief[42]" remains in her artistic field, since she successively presents: "*Ma pomme*" by Maurice Chevalier[43], "*La Charlotte prie Notre-Dame*" by Marie Dubas[44] and "*Alone*" by Jean Sablon[45], a title that she pronounces as she would say "*Allo!*" in French: The collector Jean Cocart, who found back this sounding document, claims that the female singer "*reads as she can the text that was written for her by the producer.* [46]" This is possible, because her words are seemingly written and don't sound very much her well known cocky accent:

> "- *Jean Laurent: "And now, what other record do you prefer, Miss?"*
> - *Mistinguett: "An excellent recording by Marie Dubas: "*La Prière à la Charlotte*", on a poem by Jean Rictus. Marie Dubas turned it into a genuine masterpiece, with a very expressive tune. hearing her painful and sincere voice, I feel one sees this poor girl with her black headscarf crossed on her thin shoulders asking the Virgin to take her back to heaven. For me, it's one of Marie's best records. And I have never heard it without crying…"*

[39] These calculations are based on the copy of the musical programs of Radio-Cité for the months of June from 1936 to 1939.
[40] Source: *Ici…Radio-Cité.*
[41] *Ce Soir* of January 10th 1938, p. 7, article by Pierre Descaves mentioned by Christopher Todd *in Pierre Descaves, témoin et pionnier de la Radio*, Ceredigion, Edwin Mellen Press, 2000, volume 1, p.168.
[42] Saint-Granier, *Ma jeunesse folle*, Paris, Éditions de Paris, 1955, p. 199. Jean Granier's father had written the lyrics of all his "*Casino de Paris*" revues with Albert Willemetz.
[43] *Ma Pomme* (G. Fronsac - L. Bigot / C. Borel-Clerc), éd. Salabert. Record Gramophone K-7767 (OLA 1267-1).
[44] *La Charlotte* (J. Rictus / R. Carcel), éd. Carcel. Record Columbia DF 1355 (CL 4550-2).
[45] *Alone* (C. Favson / N.-H. Brown), éd. France Mélodie. Record Columbia DF 1951 (CL 5795-1).
[46] Jean Cocart, *Les radios privées d'avant-guerre*, booklet p. 15.

- - *J.L.: "Then, do listen, dear listeners: "*La Prière à la Charlotte*" recorded by Marie Dubas, a woman with a big heart, who is both fanciful and realistic, sincere and rascally, happy, sad, humorous and romantic. Marie Dubas – I've already told you – is every woman all in one.*[47]*"*

On the contrary, in the program of selected records produced by Jean Nac on Radio-Cité, on Friday June 3rd 1938, Reynaldo Hahn, who was Jean Laurent's guest, doesn't need any prepared paper to justify his choices[48].

Beside its immoderate use of the records, Marcel Bleustein's station is distinguishable from the "*Poste national*" thanks to the abundance of its retransmissions. Whereas on Radio-Paris the relays still concern the concerts of classical music[49], the program makers of Radio-Cité put their microphones in very different places. Over the 155 retransmissions of our sampling, the 69 slots of dance music absorb 45% of the programs[50]. Among the most frequent partnerships, we can notice the "*Monte Cristo*"; the "*dancing des Ambassadeurs*", and the "*Bœuf sur le toit*" [51]. The station also hires large venues in order to organize its galas and song competitions. This is the case, for example, of "*Salle Pleyel*", where Saint-Granier presents the "*Crochet radiophonique*" in 1936 and 1937 and of the "*Normandie*" movie theatre, from 1938 on. This place is also the privileged place for the *"Parades des chansons*" and other "*Galas des vedettes*". The entertainment programs (14%), such as "*Les fiancés de Byhrr*" and the music-hall programs (14%), such as "*Le music-hall des jeunes*" provide other occasions for the station to produce "outdoor programs".

The year 1938 is like the whole period 1936-1939: the proportions of classical and entertainment music are diametrically opposed, in accordance with the "*Poste national*" or with Radio-Cité.

On Radio-Paris, the programs are set on classical music and mostly consist of symphonic concerts (24% in 1936) and vocal and instrumental recitals (24% in 1939). The didactic programs (2% for the period) and the slots of strictly symphonic records (4%) are also increasing, whereas lyrical shows (5%) and broadcasts of mixed classical music are decreasing. On Radio-Cité, the first program in the area of classical music is recorded symphonic music (8% in 1939). More disseminated and rare, the slots of symphonic concerts (1% for the period of 1936-1939) and chamber music (2%) recede in a spectacular way, whereas the instrumental and vocal recitals (6%) are twice as numerous as for the previous period (1930-1935). The abstracts of lyrical works remain at the level of Radio-LL (3%) and complete this category of classical music which peaked in 1938 with 27% of the 188 broadcasting hours[52].

As far as entertainment music is concerned, Radio-Paris only broadcasts three genres, including dance music, a category which matches its record of 8% in 1937 (whereas it was neighboring 12% in 1934 and 1935). The figures of songs are progressing in comparison with the first period, but this genre remains at a ridiculous level of 1%. At last, the entertainment

[47] *Les radios privées d'avant-guerre*, CD n°1 track 19.
[48] « Leurs disques préférés, prod. Radio-Cité de Jean Nac, prés. Jean Laurent », June 3rd 1938.
[49] Among the 33 retransmissions of our corpus, we can count symphonic concerts (16) ; operas or "*Opera-Comique*" (12); chamber music concerts or recitals (5).
[50] This calculation was based on the data of the programs of Radio-Cité for the months of June from 1936 to 1939.
[51] Source : *TSF Programme* and *Ici…Radio-Cité.*
[52] For a global outlook of the repartition of the musical genres, Cf. graphs 1 and 2.

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

programs reach an average level of 2% for the period of 1936-1939, but this is only due to the exceptional year of 1938, when the 10 programs get 4% of the whole hours of June. In this matter, Radio-Cité shows more eclecticism. First, we can notice some important sections that are generally in progress if compared to Radio-LL: songs (moving from 5% to 11%); dancing music (from 11% to 13%), entertainment programs (which decrease from 16% to 14%). Some programs in minority on Radio-Cité can neither be found on Radio-LL nor on Radio-Paris: the "*songwriter*" programs (following the tradition of the *café-concert*), musicals, music-hall (6%) and didactic programs in the field of variety music.

THE REPARTITION OF COMPOSERS AND PERFORMERS: THE INDICATIONS REMAIN LINKED TO THE RESPECTIVE HABITS

Concerning the composers which were mentioned in the programs of the stations, we see a breathtakingly collapse of the number of the references (1,283 on Radio-Paris in June 1937 and 655 in June 1938). On the contrary, on Radio-Cité, the rise is noticeable (47 in June 1937 and 123 in June 1938). The references of the composers, three times as numerous as in 1937, nevertheless remain well above those of the "*Poste national"* (only one fifth), owing to the fact that on the private station the hero-worship of the performer dominates that of the composer[53]. Over the 377 composers mentioned (against 534 the previous year), 75% are mentioned on Radio-Paris (94% in 1937), and 38 composers are common to the two stations. In this "prize list", among the ten most frequently mentioned composers on every station, two are in common: Bach and Mozart[54].

As for the artists, the number of performers on Radio-Cité (244) and the number of their references (314) are for the first time overstepping the figures of Radio-Paris (234 performers and 312 references[55]). We can also notice that the performers give the radios their "artistic color". In fact, only 10 performers are common to the stations[56] : Germaine Cernay (lyrical singer); Jean Sorbier (song); "*Musique de la Garde républicaine*" (Military band); Nelly Goletti (Entertainer); Arthur Endrèze (lyrical singer); Ginette Guillamat (lyrical singer); Orchestre Albert Locatelli (classical band); Robert Burnier (operetta singer); Jean Planel (lyrical singer); Jacques Mamy[57] (classical interpreter).

STORY-CONCERTS AND MINIATURE RECITALS ON RADIO-PARIS

On Radio-Paris, the statistics of the musical programs of 1938 are a little distorted. In June 1938, the section of the "diverse" genres represents one third of the hours of broadcasting for the mere reason that that very month the 196 morning slots of the records programs which we can read in the papers neither mention the description of the contents, nor their topic. Usually, these records programs feed the sections of "mixed music" (9% in 1937) and "light music" (15% in 1937) which are collapsing (respectively 0% and 6%). Mechanically, the figures of "intermediate music" are falling to half of their value: 6%.

[53] Cf. the table 4.
[54] *Cf.* the table 1.
[55] *Cf.* the table 5.
[56] One can also see table 2 of the 10 most mentioned performers in 1938 for every station.
[57] This blind pianist will become the producer of the program "*Clarté dans la nuit*" from 1949 to 1975. For further information, one can read: "Ils ont fait des émissions musicales" in *Les Cahiers d'Histoire de la Radiodiffusion, « 1925-1975, Cinquante ans de musique classique », janvier-mars 2008.*

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

Moreover, that month, only one mention of an operetta could be noticed (0.1%) although this genre usually knows a greater success (2% for the 1936-1939 period).

As in the first hours of the "*Poste national*", and as we have already noticed for 1936 and 1937, the short slots of records are still marking the rhythm for the listeners' mornings. While there were usually two tracks between 7 and 9 am in 1936, the slot is widening in 1937. The musical wake up program is a bit earlier, like the 6.50 am program on Wednesday June 3rd entitled: "Absences", followed at 7.15 am by a slot entiled "popular instruments" and a longer sequence at 8 am with the nice title of "African inspirations" [58]. By starting at 6.30, the broadcasting henceforth accompanies the early birds and the program of early records is spread over four to six slots, including two longer ones between 10 am and noon.

That year 1938, the programs of Tuesday June 7th are modelled on the habits of the station: the short instrumental and vocal recitals are exclusively performed live. One can successively hear: "Piano, by Miss Lauraire"; "Melodies by Miss Sonia Alny"; "Violin, by Mr. Hermann" and "Melodies by Miss Radoul. [59]" The description of the contents becomes more rare as the number of slots rises.

The noon concerts are still matching the midday break, and they are often interrupted by the news and by a recital. Like in the records programs, some concerts get their coherence from a topic. This is the case of the concert conducted by William Cantrelle, that very Tuesday June 7th from 12.15 am to 1.30 pm:

> "'The insects': *The cicada and the ant*, overture (Audran); *A morning with the cockchafers* ' (Mercier); *Waltz of the dragonflies* (Lehar); *Gavotte of the glow-worms* (Lincke); *The song of the bees* (Filippucci); *White butterflies* (Godard); *The song of the flea* (Berlioz); *The feast of the spider* (Roussel); *The flight of the bumblebee* (Rimsky-Korsakoff). [60] "

The composers who are at the crossroad of several musical categories, and who are referred to as "cultural passers" in our typology are slightly decreasing on Radio-Paris and progressing on Radio-Cité. Among the 161 exclusively mentioned on the "*Poste national*" in the 1936-1939 period one could mention as an example Louis-César Desomes, whose *Serenade of the mandolins* is performed by the "orchestra Victor Pascal" on Sunday June 19th 1938[61]. Eleven "passer" musicians are exclusively mentioned, including Géo Koger, the author of French speaking songs at the border of dance music or Jean Boyer, who had composed commercial songs as well as music for movies or revues.

On Radio-Paris, the references of the authors show a steady increase of classical music (ancient music, baroque, classical music, orchestras, recitals, chamber music): 59% in 1936, 68% in 1937, and 70% in 1938. On the contrary, we can see a decrease of the references of authors that we had classified in entertainment music (songs and entertainment): 14%, 13% and 10% for the same three years. Yet the statistics of the references of the performers show an opposite tendency: 87%, 81% and 75% of classical performers (from 1936 to 1938) and 5%, 9%, 15% for bands of entertainment music. This contradiction mostly indicates that Radio-Paris is progressively slipping toward a policy that Marcel Bleustein's

[58] Source: *Le Petit Radio.*
[59] *Cf.* table 7.
[60] *Idem.*
[61] Sources: *Le Petit Radio.*

station has adopted for a long time: a more usual citation of the composers in the classical programs than in the entertainment ones.

RADIO-CITÉ: THE STARS ARE BROADCASTED THROUGH THE RECORD-PLAYER AND IN THE SHOWS FOR THE GENERAL PUBLIC

On the private station, the "American record-player[62]" plays records almost continuously in the mornings. During the first two seasons of Radio-Cité, the programs used to begin at 7 am, a moment when a single record was played, preceding a larger slot, from 7.20 to 7.40 am. In 1936, depending on the days, this slot was dedicated to military music, to an accordion orchestra, or to symphonic music. In 1938, when the programs start at 6.45 am, the name of the records are sometimes precised, like on Thursday June 9th: "Waking-up in music: *Love again*, '*horizons nouveaux*", orch. Wal-Berg." This 20-minute sequence is followed, at 7.05 am, by almost half an hour of "successful tunes" or "Accordion orchestra" with, a turnover of different representatives of this genre: "Raiter, Vacher, Huard, Alexander, Peyronin, Vaissade[63].

Apart from the new rendezvous untitled "*Present the records that you prefer by yourself*", broadcasted at about 1.30 pm in 1938 (this will be one hour earlier in 1939), a new program appears at the end of the decade: "A quarter of an hour's uninterrupted music". This is usually dedicated to "light and varied" symphonic music. The written indication is sometimes the name of the work, like "*La Feria*, '*Suite espagnole*' by Lacôme, on June 3rd 1938[64]".

Instituted in 1938, another daily program is highlighting classical musical, through some records of reference. For about twenty minutes, this rendezvous of the music lovers introduces the evening programs.

The organized repartition of the slots dedicated to classical music gives sense to the fact that the references of classical composers on Radio-Cité remain at the top of the table: 61% in 1939, 68% in 1937, and 67% in 1938.

If the duration of the slots remains short, with an average duration of 23 minutes by program[65], we can also find some punctual events whose duration largely exceeds that of the usual programs. As an example, there are the seven events of June 1938: the three relays from "*La Gaîté lyrique*": "*Véronique* (Messager), with André Baugé"; "*Le Bartbier de Séville* (Rossini) with [the same] André Baugé"; "Roger Bourdin's season" and "*L'Arlésienne* (Bizet)", as well as the "Retransmission of Berlioz"s *Requiem* from the Cour des Invalides"; the "Retransmission of the concert performed in Boulogne sur Mer by the '*Musique des Grenadiers de la Garde Royale Anglaise*'; and the "Closing gala of the Radio-Cité season coinciding with the final competition of the '*Fiancés de Byhr*'). [66]"

[62]In the recordings of the programs that we have listened to, the adjective is never separated from the name.
[63]For an outlook of the time schedule of Radio-Cité, cf. the table 7: the programs of Tuesday June 7th 1938.
[64]Source *: Ici…Radio-Cité.*
[65] *Cf.* table 3.
[66] Source : *Ici…Radio-Cité.*

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

For the 1936-1939 period on Radio-Cité, the proportion of artists still known nowadays (66%) is incomparably higher than the one of Radio-LL (18%)[67]. This new distribution is determined by the policy of the station. On presenting the season 1938-1939, the weekly newspaper claims:

> "We would have enjoyed to release the list of the numerous stars that Radio-Cité has invited for the new season. It would be too long to enumerate them here. Yet, we can say that they'll be gathering the most prestigious names of Literature, the Arts, Music, the Theater, Music-hall and Concert. You'll already be convinced by checking the program of this week. [68]"

We now and then can notice an increase of the number of the "passer performers", who are rather equally divided: 45 on the "*Poste national*" and 47 on Radio-Cité[69]. On that station, the passer performers are also among the highest stars of the time, such as the famous operetta female singer Yvonne Printemps, mentioned several times. Taking his microphone to the "*Bouffes Parisiens*", the announcer of "*Radio Actualités Françaises*" doesn't hesitate to call her the "ideal performer of the charming Parisian operetta [sic] *Les Trois Valses*. [70]" At the time of the last performance of this work by Oscar Strauss, the French artist is very pragmatic when she explains:

> "*For six years, I've put my dresses on and off 4,000 times. After 3,900 performances, the till revenues were higher than those of the week of the premiere, so I'm not sad, I'm sure I'll be back*[71]."

Six months later, on June 18th 1938, some recordings of this star of the stage and the movie are scheduled in one of the mixed programs on the great private station: "Radio-Cité pell-mell, with Yvonne Printemps, Jean Lumière, Jessie Mathews, Frankie Carle. The Don Baretto and Tom Walthem orchestras (enr.)."

Anyway, the famous operettas and movie music are regularly broadcasted on the great private station. For example, Frank Churchill, who wrote the music of Walt Disney's first masterpiece, *Snow-white and the seven dwarfs*, has the wind in his sails. On Wednesday June 22nd 1938, Reginald Foort is playing some cartoon music and also a selection of operettas by Friml[72] on the "movie organ" of Radio-Cité. Several days earlier, the station had been gathering the author and the performer of the two main categories which we have called "intermediate music" by broadcasting: "Tunes by Christiné, a selection performed by the '*Mélodie Jazz band*' with Andrex (enr.). [73]"

Besides, we can notice that the performance of musical works by their authors remains, in this second period, very appreciated by the program makers. The "Honegger

[67] For the year 1938, here is the repartition of the references to performers: 42% in the field of classical music; 11% in "intermediate music" (jazz, operetta, light symphonic music); 45% in entertainment (songs, variety music) and 2% in the various other genres (military, world music).
[68] *Ici…Radio-Cité n°38* of September 30th 1938, p. 1 : "The new season of Radio-Cité" .
[69] Over the 1936-1939period.
[70] Phonothèque de l'INA, "*Yvonne Printemps aux Bouffes Parisiens* ", collection « Radio actualités françaises » recorded on January 17th 1938, reference : 86INA08505PH0476; NS04516.
[71] Ibid., "Yvonne Printemps parle de la dernière représentation des *Trois Valses*", program broadcasted on January 27th 1938, reference : KO121.
[72] Source : *Ici…Radio-Cité.*
[73] Program of Tuesday June 14th

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

Festival" which Jacques Canetti's team proposes on Monday June 20th consists of recordings of "*Rugby*, by the orchestra conducted by the author, [of] *King David*, choir of the Church Saint-Guillaume, *Judith*, with Mrs. Claire Croiza and the Choir Cécilia d'Anvers, and *Pacific 231."*

Between two artistic tours, the lyrical stars don't miss interviews in the radio studios of the capital. For instance, on May 9th 1938, Georges Thill comes and speaks in the Radio-Paris microphone about his projects abroad. The national tenor is a bit awkward face to the leniency of the announcer of the station:

> *"Georges Thill: - "I'd like to sing it often!"*
> *The announcer: - "I wish you could, for yourself and for us; this French work is so nice that it charms us even more every time. Which other conductor will you have over there?"*
> *G.T.: -"Well, the other works will be conducted by maesror Albert Wolff…"*
> *A. (interrupting him): - "Tell me, old chap, are you going to sing all that in French, in Chinese, in raining flight, in Italian?"*
> *G.T.: "No, not at all! This will be sung in French, of course, because the French works are sung in French, but I'll have to sing* Mefistofele *by Boito and* Aida *in Italian" […]*
> *A.: - "Well, so my dear Georges, as I know that you have some travelling preparations, I won't hold you back any more, I thank you, I bless heaven for meeting you today."*
> *G.T.: "Thanks, I am really glad to have spent such a good time with you![74]"*

On Radio-Cité, where the tone of the announcers that we have listened to is curiously more controlled, the stardom of the singers breaks the aesthetic cleavages. While the tenor from the National Paris Opera Lucien Muratore chairs a gala of the "broadcasting crochet"[75], his counterparts Arthur Endrèze and Miguel Villabella are the guests of the "galas of the stars" [76]. Like Marie Dubas, other artists hold this role: the "*Musique de la Garde républicaine*" [77] or the "*Petits chanteurs à la croix de bois*", whose first part is performed by popular singer Félix Paquet!

On May 13th 1938, one can read in the weekly *Ici…Radio-Cité* the referendum of the best programs of the previous week: "1) *Les fiancés de Byhrr*, gala of May 3rd with Saint-Granier and Jeanne Sourza; 2) The "*gala des vedettes*", on April 29th with the "*Musique de la Garde Républicaine*"; 3) The "crochet radiophonique" of May 2nd, hosted by Saint-Granier[78]." A fortnight later, the programs which are preferred are more closer to classical music: « 1) *La Traviata* retransmission from the "Gaîté-Lyrique" with André Baugé on May 19th; 2) "*Les fiancés de Byrrh*" on May 18th; 3) the "Gala de l'orchestre des concerts Pasdeloup" conducted by Fausto Magnani, retransmission from "salle Pleyel" (May 13th).[79]"

Yet, on Radio-Cité the implication of the stars goes beyond a simple patronage or an animation of prestige and they drew 16,000 spectators a week in 1938[80]. The station

[74] Phonothèque de l'INA : « Georges Thill parle de ses projets », Radio-Paris, recording of May 9th 1938, archive originale X647.
[75] *Ici…Radio-Cité n°25* of June 24th 1938, p. 8 : "Through our programs".
[76] *Ibid, n°34* of August 26th 1938, p. 6 then n°75 of June 9th 1939, p. 5.
[77] *Ibid, n°36* of September 16th 1938, p. 6 et n°16 of April 22nd 1938, p. 7.
[78] *Ici…Radio-Cité* n°19 of May 13th 1938, p. 7.
[79] Ibid. n° 21 of May 27th 1938, p. 1.
[80] This is due to the 7 live programs [Source: *Ici…Radio-Cité* n°9 of March 5th 1938, p. 6].

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

sometimes collaborates more regularly with the stars of the recording industry or of the stages, such as in the daily program of "the singing madman[81]". After magnificently recording "The chapel at the moonlight[82]" and "starred" Paris revues[83], the female singer Léo Marjane is performing for the station with a daily "sweet song" in the late afternoon.

In September 1938, Radio-Cité gets the exclusivity of Michel Emer's orchestra, "the young and talented composer of many successes, including '*Y a des fleurs*' and '*La vie est belle*'. [84]" Between Thursday June 1st and Thursday 8th 1939, he will be scheduled 6 times: for the "*Jeu Ocap*", broadcasted from the Normandie movie theater; at one concert with "The Schwartz sisters"; in "The concert à la carte: the broadcasted menu of the associated Gagmen"; in the musical program *Pell-mell*; in the *Songbox*. In the number of June 9th of the station's weekly, Jean-Jacques Vital, who is both Marcel Bleustein's nephew and the "son" in The Duraton family [sic], reveals a bit of the intimacy of this orchestra:

> "*Until 12.30 am – we don't lunch, anyway! – Michel Emer and his "boys" are practicing, and tirelessly practicing. Then, when the program seems to be ready, Michel congratulates himself, saying:*
> - *Gentlemen, let's have a break of fifteen minutes!*
>
> *Then, like schoolchildren hearing the bell, there is a rush toward the exit. On the way, the violinist – called "Fleur Bleue" – has the time to confess:*
> - *This is really the first time he has givns us anything!*
>
> *Fifteen minutes is nothing, you will say! Rather nothing, of course, but we must think of the program of the day after and two days later: there are the rehearsals of the stars, the writing of the orchestrations, the composing of the new songs, their recording, and so on, and so forth.*
> *Music is softening the mores. The Michel Emer's musicians are surely softened!*[85] "

The strong commitment and the skillfulness that are required from the radio musicians is clearly visible here. Let us see the range of competences of these orchestra-men.

A comparative study of the musicians broadcasted in the second period of the thirties shows the differences rather than the common points between our two models. On the side of the authors, the difference of habits in the matter of the written presentation of the programs doesn't hide the essential features: classical, French and contemporary music very largely prevail on Radio-Paris, whereas the music is much more diverse on Radio-Cité. The monitoring of the performers matches the tendencies observed through the monitoring of the programs and confirms the gap between the two stations. This gap really appears in 1937 and is widening from 1938 on. On Radio-Paris, the increase of the references to almost unknown recital artists and the increase of the little station-orchestra is strongly contrasting with the lines of stars, the "grand concerts" such as the music-hall revues that are spreading over the programs of Radio-Cité. In the field of variety music, where the references to the performers are present in a majority on the private station, the artists often multiply the shapes of their performances. They are sometimes also composers and arrangers, widening their action to

[81] After the "Sunday Music-hall" hosted by Charles Trenet in 1938, one will find "The club of the singing madman" every Wednesday evening in 1939.
[82] *La Chapelle au clair de lune* (lyrics and music by Georges Brown), Léo Marjane, accompanied by an orchestra conducted by Wal-Berg, ref. OLA 1930-1/M3 90261 – Gramophone K 7944.
[83] Such as the one which starts at the "A.B.C." on September 30th 1938 with others stars: Lys Gauty, Claire Franconnay, Georges de la Fouchardière, Fréhel, Félix Paquet and Félix Mayol.
[84] *Ici Radio-Cité n°36* of September 16th 1938, p. 2: "L'orchestre Michel Emer".
[85] *Ici…Radio-Cité* n°75 of June 9th 1939, p. 1-2 : *"Michel Emer et ses boys, présentés par Jean-Jacques Vital".*

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

some media or some show places that are mutually connected and complementary: the Parisian stages, those in the provinces or abroad; the movie industry; the recording indutry and the radio. The various groups that we brought out through these two models of stations show the strong artistic and musical activity of the end of the thirties, which are both relayed and initiated by the radio itself.

Many thanks to Gérard Hocmard for his help with the language issues.

Average of the daily musical slots[86]

	Radio-Paris	LL ou Cité	in total
1930-1935	6	3	4,5
1937 et 1938	16 then 16	11 then 16	14 then 16
Decade	9	9	9

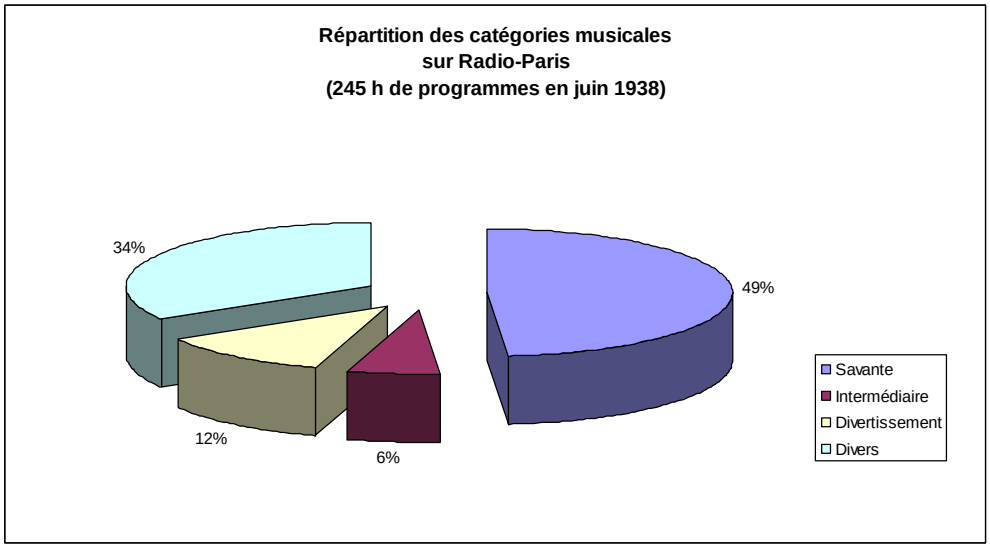
Table 1:
The 10 most frequently mentioned composers in June 1938

Raw	Composer	nb réf.	Catégorie musicale	nb ref. decade[87]	Composer	nb ref.	Musical category	nb ref. decade
	On Radio-Paris (655 references)				On Radio-Cité (123 references)			
1	Claude Debussy (1862-1918)	17	Classical 20th Century	178	Hector Berlioz (1803-1869)	4	Classical 19th Century	73
2	Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921)	12	Classical 20th Century	164	**Jean-Sébastien Bach (1685-1750)**	**3**	**Ancient music**	**51**
3	Franz Schubert (1797-1828)	11	Classical 19th Century	139	**W-A Mozart (1756-1791)**	**3**	**Classical music**	**4**
4	Jules Massenet (1842-1912)	9	Classical 19th Century	101	André Messager (1853-1929)	3	Operettas and alike	120
5	Léo Delibes (1836-1891)	9	Classical 19th Century	65	Robert Schumann (1810-1856)	3	Classical 19th Century	6
6	**Jean-Sébastien Bach (1685-1750)**	**8**	**Ancient music**	**120**	Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849)	3	Classical 19th Century	47
7	**W-A Mozart (1756-1791)**	**8**	**Classical music**	**172**	Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868)	3	Classical 19th Century	101
8	Robert Schumann (1810-1856)	8	Classical 19th Century	105	Piotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840-1893)	3	Classical 19th Century	74
9	Marcel Delannoy (1898 -1962)	8	Classical 20th Century	16	G-F Handel (1685-1759)	2	Ancient music	101
10	Albert Roussel (1869-1937)	8	Classical 20th Century	35	Churchill, Frank (1901-1942)	2	Operettas and alike	51

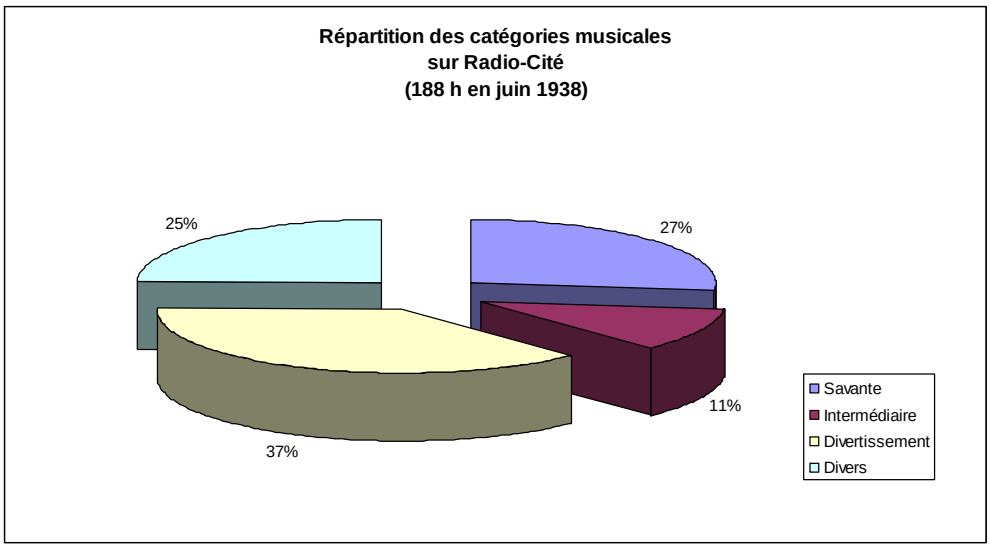
[86] For a more detailed outlook of the year 1938, see table 3:"the musical slots in June 1938".
[87] On a sampling of the 10 months of June of the decade concerning Radio-Paris and Radio LL/Radio-Cité.

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

Graph 1
Repartition of the musical categories
On Radio-Paris
(245 hours of programs in June 1938)



Graph 2
Repartition of the musical categories
On Radio-Cité
(188 hours of programs in June 1938)



IRCMUS
institut de recherche
en musicologie

Table 2:

The 10 most frequently mentioned performers in June 1938

Raw	Performer	nb ref.	Musical category	nb ref. decade[88]	Performer	nb ref..	Musical categor	nb ref. decade
	On Radio-Paris (312 references)				On Radio-Cité (314 references)			
1	Orchestre Jo Bouillon (1936-1947)	9	Entertaining band	32	Charles Trenet (1913-2001)	5	Song	13
2	Orchestre Georges Bailly (?-?)	8	Classical band	16	André Baugé (1892-1966)	4	Lyric-art performer	19
3	Orchestre William Cantrelle (?-?)	7	Classical band	14	Jean Lumière (1907-1979)	4	Song	15
4	Orchestre Jean Giardino (19?-….)	5	Classical band	8	Reda Caire (1905-1963)	4	Song	6
5	Marie Simon (?)	4	Lyric-art performer	7	Leopold Stokowsky (1882-1977)	4	Classical performer	7
6	Émile Rousseau (18..-19..)	4	Lyric-art performer	17	Orchestre de Philadelphie (1900-….)	4	Classical band	7
7	Chorale (ou chœurs) Félix Raugel (193.-1963)	4	Classical band	15	Orchestre Stéphane Grapelli (1908-1997)	4	Jazz band	4
8	Orchestre national (1934-….)	4	Classical band	26	Orchestre des Concerts Lamoureux (1881-….)	3	Classical band	7
9	Désiré-Émile Inghelbrecht (1880-1965)	4	Classical performer	28	Orchestre philharmonique de Berlin (1882-….)	3	Classical band	12
10	René Baton (1879-1940) (pseudonym : Rhené-Baton)	4	Classical performer	13	Paul Florendas (?-?)	3	Classical performer	3

[88] On a sampling of the 10 months of June of the decade concerning Radio-Paris and Radio LL/Radio-Cité

Table 3:
The musical slots in June 1938

	Radio-Paris	Radio-Cité	In total
Number of the musical programs	481 (49 %)	493 (51 %)	974 (100 %)
Number of the musical hours	245:40 (57 %)	188 :47 (44 %)	434 :27 (100 %)
Average duration of the musical slots	0:31	0:23	0:27
Average number of the daily musical slots	16	16	16
Average duration of the daily music	8:21	6:17	7:14

Table 4:
The composers scheduled in June 1938

	Radio-Paris	Radio-Cité	In total
Number of the composers cited	339	92	377
Number of the specific composers	285	38	-
Number of the composers in common	54	54	-
Number of the references of composers	655 (84 %)	123 (16 %)	778 (100 %)
Ratio (ref. / nb)	1, 9	1, 3	2

Table 5:
The performers scheduled in June 1938

	Radio-Paris	Radio-Cité	En totalité
Number of the performers cited	234	244	468
Number of the specific performers	224	234	-
Number of the performers in common	10	10	-
Number of the references of performers	312 (50 %)	314 (50 %)	626 (100 %)
Ratio (ref. / nb)	1, 5	1, 6	1, 6

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

Table 6:
The musical programs on Radio-Paris
On Tuesday June 7th 1938

Title	Genre	Content	Start	End	Duration
Records.	Undetermined	Records.	22:30	22:45	0:15
Records.	Undetermined	Records.	6:30	6:40	0:10
Records.	Undetermined	Records.	7:05	7:15	0:10
Records.	Undetermined	Records.	7:50	8:00	0:10
Records.	Undetermined	Records.	8:35	9:50	1:15
Records.	Undetermined	Records.	9:50	10:45	0:55
Records.	Undetermined	Records.	10:15	10:45	0:30
Records.	Undetermined	Records.	11:00	11:45	0:45
Concert	Symphonic concert	Concert, direction M. William Cantrelle : "Les insectes" : *La Cigale et la Fourmi*, ouverture (Audran) ; *Une matiné chez les hannetons* (Mercier) ; *Valse des libellules* (Lehar) ; *Gavotte des vers luisants* (Lincke) ; *La chanson des Abeilles* (Filippucci) ; *Papillons blancs* (Godard) ; Chanson de la puce (Berlioz) ; *Le festin de l'araignée* (Roussel) ; *Le vol du bourdon* (Rimsky-Korsakoff).	12:15	13:30	1:15
Concert	Recital	Mélodies, par Mlle Bernadette Delprat.	13:30	13:45	0:15
Concert	Symphonic concert e	Suite du concert : *Zampa*, ouverture (Hérold) ; *Dans les Steppes* (Volpatti).	13:45	14:05	0:20
Concert	Recital	Piano, par Mlle Lauraire : *Deux sonates* (Scarlatti) : a) en la majeur ; b) en sol majeur ; *Papillons* noirs ; *Hallucinations* (Schumann).	14:45	15:00	0:15
Concert	Recital	Mélodies, par Mlle Sonia Alny.	15:00	15:15	0:15
Concert	Recital	Violon, par M. Hermann : *Prière* ; *Prélude* ; *Gigue* ; *Libellule* (Scarlatti).	16:00	16:15	0:15
Concert	Recital	Mélodies, par Mlle Radoul.	16:15	16:30	0:15
Concert	Symphonic concert	Concert, direction M. Ellis : *Suite Française* (Périlhou) ; *Estudiantina* (Turina) ; *Carnaval des animaux*, fragments (Saint-Saëns) ; *Deux contes* (Piriou) ; *Lakmé*, ballet (Delibes) ; *Cantabile* (Sporck) ; *Les deux pigeons*, suite (Messager).	17:00	18:00	1:00
Concert	Chamber music	Flûte et piano, M. G. Blanquart et M. Jean Doyen : *In memoriam* ; *Rêverie et petite valse* (A. Caplet) ; *Syrinx* (Debussy) ; *Les joueurs de flûte* (Roussel) ; *Fantaisie* (Fauré).	19:00	19:30	0:30
Concert	Chamber music	Quatuor à cordes de Paris, Mlle G. Cernay et, Mlle Pauline Gordon : *Quatuor* (Schumann) ; Mélodies : *Lieder* (Brahms) ; Piano par Mlle P. Gordon : a) *Stèle sur le tombeau de Paul Dukas* (F. Schmitt) ; b) *5e Sonate* (Ch. Koechlin).	22:15	22:45	0:30

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie

Table 7:
The musical programs on Radio-Cité
On Tuesday June 7th 1938

Title	Genre	Content	Start	End	Duration
Records	Entertainment	Le réveil en musique : *C'est un record, La Tonteria* (enr.)	6:45	6:55	0:10
Records	Dancing	Orchestre musette Deprince (enr.)	7:05	7:30	0:25
Records	Undetermined	Le Quart d'heure des auditrices, prés. Par J.B. Evrard (enr.).	8:05	8:20	0:15
Records	Song	Minute de la Chanson Maternelle (Offerte par Francia, 69, rue de Clichy)	8:25	8:30	0:05
Records	Song	Votre chanteur préféré : Mauri Totti : *Le mur de ton jardin, Belles nuits d'Hawaï, Idylle hawaïenne* (enr.)	8:45	8:55	0:10
Records	Entertainment	Les succès oubliés, prés. Yvonne	12:40	13:00	0:20
Records	Undetermined	Présentez v.-m. vos disques	13:20	13:35	0:15
Records	Operetta	Monsieur Beaucaire [(Messager)], sélection par le New Light Symphony Orchestra (enr).	13:50	14:00	0:10
Records	Recital	Moment musical. César Franck : *Pièces pour orgue ; Choral en la mineur et pastolrale* (enr.).	18:30	18:50	0:20
Records	Undetermined	Disque du jour.	18:55	19:00	0:05
Records	Didacticism on entertainment	Leur carrière par leurs chansons, par L.R. Dauven : Schertzinger.	19:26	19:34	0:08
Concert	Music-hall	Le music-hall des jeunes 38, présenté par Jean Granier, avec le jazz Ben Horris, présidé par Albert Préjean. En 1e partie : Jane Pierly. Retr. Du Normandie.	20:00	20:35	0:35
Concert	Song	Au micro : Quart d'heure du tour de chant : Julien, présenté par Ded Brasl	21:00	21:15	0:15
Records	Didacticism on jazz	L'histoire du jazz, prés. N.J. Canetti (enr.).	22:15	22:30	0:15
Records	Didacticism on classical music	"Ceux de chez nous", Philippe Gaubert, prés. Par Henri Malherbe.	22:30	23:00	0:30
Records	Symphonic music	"Concerto" de Max Bruch, par Yehudi Menuhin et l'Orchestre Symphonique de Londres, dir Sir Landon Ronald.	23:00	23:30	0:30

IRCMUS
institut de recherche en musicologie