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FRENCH MUSICAL BROADCASTING IN 1939

THROUGH A COMPARISON BETWEEN RADIO-PARIS AND RADIO-CITÉ

by Christophe BENNET

THE year 1939 leads us to conclude the annual panorama of the French musical broadcasting of the thirties, a panorama organized through the prism of two big stations of the public and private networks. We have seen that in 1938, while the influence of the Government was weighing even more on the public stations (without any improvement of the programs), the commercial stations, strengthened by several years of experience, were adapting their program schedules in accordance with the success of their new formulas. By responding to the expectations of their audience, those stations continue their action in 1939. They are multiplying the entertainment programs, but they don't neglect the aspirations of the amateur listeners¹. We are going to show that various initiatives, here and there, widen the gap between the two stations. From September on, both stations face troubles in their programs and in their publications. While "Le Petit Radio", the official organ of the public stations, "apologizes for the inaccuracies which are necessarily about to appear in the columns, due to the current events²", "Ici...Radio-Cité" is publishing the last number of its history, and lets a listener [take the opportunity of] this letter to thank you for the effort that was accomplished by Radio-Cité in order to give as much satisfaction as possible to the lovers of beautiful music.³"

Historian Karine Le Bail has clearly shown that within those months of turmoil preceding the war, "Radiodiffusion française" deployed some strategies and concrete measures aiming at increasing the audience figures: "The radio calls up celebrities. The "Conseil supérieur" of Radio-PTT and Radio-Paris, in order to increase the attractiveness of the Governmental stations. Alfred Cortot would even present his concerts himself.⁴" Her investigations have also shown that the "Conseils de gérance" take action even in the programs of the performers, when they estimate that the works are too elitist. "For instance, during the sitting of the "Conseil de gérance" of Paris-PTT on March 31st, while a so-called Mr. Autry recognizes the musical interest of the program by Pierre Bernac scheduled for a concert broadcasted from 12.30 to 12.45 am on April 30th, he proposes to add, at least 'some songs whose genre would be accessible to everyone'⁵."

¹Beside the articles concerning musical broadcasting in the years 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1938 (in Site du groupe PLM, Publications des membres de l'équipe), one could read on this topic: 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 *Le Petit Radio*, n° 647 of September 1st 1939, p. 3: "A nos lecteurs".

³ *Ici...Radio-Cité*, n°86 of August 25th 1939, p. 5: "The mail box".

⁴ Karine Le Bail, *Musique, pouvoir, responsabilité, 1939-1953*, PhD thesis in History from Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris (cycle supérieur d'histoire du XX^e siècle), under the direction of Jean-Pierre Azéma, Paris, septembre 2005, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid*: intervention of Emmanuel Bondeville at the sitting of the "Conseil de gérance" of Paris-PTT, on June 16th 1939.

Beyond the resolutions taken at the highest level to increase the audience figures of the public stations, we can observe, for our two models of stations, what the dominant musical features are by associating three angles of a complementary analysis: the time schedules of the programs, the distribution of the composers announced in the programs by the specialized weeklies, and the one of the performers.

**THE TIME SCHEDULES OF THE PROGRAMS
REMAIN VERY CHARACTERISTIC
MUSICALLY SPEAKING**

A PROFUSION OF CONCERTS AND RECORDS

Compared to the whole decade, the year 1939 shows the largest corpus as far as the number of programs and volumes of hours are concerned⁶. For the month of June only, one can count no less than 1,209 slots dedicated to music. The 457 programs proposed by Radio-Paris show a slight decline if compared to June 1938 (481). But on Radio-Cité, the explosion of the number of programs is confirmed: the figure reaches the impressive level of 752 (against 332 in 1937 and 493 in 1938). A record of the durations can be matched to this record: the two stations are totalizing 483 hours of music broadcasting (against 184 hours in 1933, at a time when Radio-LL, the predecessor of Radio-Cité, was emitting from “*La rue du Cirque*”). By jumping from 188 monthly hours of music (in 1938) to 265 hours (in 1939), Radio-Cité takes such a leap that, for the first and last time of the decade, its figures overtake that of Radio-Paris (55% of the durations for the former; 45% for the latter). If the average figure of the daily slots is stable on the “*Poste national*” (15 slots with an average duration of 28 minutes), the figure is still progressing on Marcel Bleustein’s station: 11 slots in 1937; 16 in 1938; 25 in 1939 (with an average duration of 20 minutes). Finally, in 1939, we measure an average daily figure of 7 hours and 15 minutes of musical programs on Radio-Paris (a steady decline since 1936) against 8 hours and 50 minutes on Radio-Cité (whereas the figure was only 4 hours in 1937).

The distribution of the musical genres (expressed through the titles of the programs) is similar to what we had observed in the previous years. Radio-Paris still prefers classical music, with almost 70% of its slots and its durations. The category of varied genres occupies the second position with 17% of the slots and 11% of the durations⁷. This is unusual but could be explained by an increase of the undetermined programs and those dedicated to military music, a phenomenon that we’ll be monitoring soon. At a third stage, we can find what could be qualified as intermediate or middle music: for 8% of the slots and 12% of the durations. Eventually, entertaining music, with 7% of the slots and of the durations, remains a minority of the programs for this station. The contrary occurs on Radio-Cité, where this genre is at the top of the categories thanks to the high figures of 40% of the slots and 44% of the durations. The varied genres are also set at the second place, and they represent 27% of the slots and

⁶ We recall here that we have monitored all the months of June for the decade, because this month constituted an average between the “high season” months and the summer months.

⁷ As shown on the recapitulative table of the programs of Radio-Paris, where the four big musical categories and their musical types are detailed.

24% of the durations. This is mainly due to the numerous programs which remain difficult to identify aesthetically speaking. In the papers, these are untitled: “records” or “new recordings”. At a third place, classical music occupies a modest position with at least 20% of the slots and of the durations, while “intermediate music” concerns only 17% of the slots and 13% of the durations⁸.

In June 1939, the section of the varied genres on Radio-Paris reaches the high level of 17% of the slots and 11% of the durations. This is especially thanks to the appearance of military music, a genre which is usually absent on the “*Poste national*”. It absorbs more than 3% of the slots and 2% of the durations. Considering the political context of the spring and summer 1939, one won’t be astonished by the presence of these musical slots. Anyway, they are all associated with the regional songs that uphold the French identity with local accents. Among the 15 programs of recorded military music that we have noticed, we could mention the sequence of Friday June 16th: “Military marches and songs from the Limousin”, the one of Thursday June 22nd: “Military marches and patois songs from the Périgord” and the one of Wednesday June 28th: “Military marches and Alsatian popular songs”⁹. In June 1939 on Radio-Paris, we also notice some musical programs which are indirectly patriotic, such as the “Concert by the ex-servicemen Authors and Composers, conducted by E. Bigot” broadcasted on Monday 12th or the “Transmission of the concert given by the Inter-Allied Union, with J. Françaix, and P. Tortelier: works by Bach, Beethoven, Françaix, Falla, Tortelier and Liadow” released on Tuesday 13th¹⁰.

Finally, we can recall that for several years the programs makers of the private network have based themselves on the “taste surveys” of the listeners to reach a maximum audience figure. In this year 1939, the survey, which the specialized press echoes, comes from across the English Channel. This confirms the primacy of music and the expectations of British listeners. Carried out by the BBC, this survey proposes a scaled listing of the most desired genres. Entertaining music is coming first; dancing music comes 5th; light music the 7th, operetta the 14th; recitals and great opera the 17th. The bottom of the league is for chamber music, a genre that is not very accessible to the general public¹¹.

RADIO-PARIS BETWEEN VARIETY CONCERTS AND RECITALS

For a long time, the brief performance of a soloist on Radio-Paris has regularly been inserted between the two parts of the midday orchestral concerts. The most significant element, which has been confirmed since 1936, is the proliferation of small recitals in the afternoons. Over the 997 programs live that we had picked up in the period 1936-1939, we had counted almost 478 recital sequences. In 1937, the programs with soloists remained detailed despite their short duration. But in 1939, the title of the works performed no longer appears, as is the case for the seven recitals of June 30th which are only entitled: “Melodies by M. Patard”; “Melodies by Madeleine Lebergry”; “Melodies by Aimée Fontenay”; “Melodies by Colette Nancy”; “Violon by Miss Andrade”; “Piano by Mis Rollet”; “Melodies by Miss Charny”¹².

⁸ One can see the recapitulative table of the programs of Radio-Cité.

⁹ Sources: *Radio Magazine* and *Mon Programme*.

¹⁰ Sources: *Le Petit Radio*.

¹¹ *Le Petit Radio* n° 640 of July 14th 1939, p. 3: “What is preferred by the listeners”.

¹² Source: *Le Petit Radio*. Those unidentified “celebrities” are chosen through auditions, whose dates are sometimes announced in the newspapers.

Musical programs on Radio-Paris on Thursday June 15th 1939

date	content	start	end	duration
June 15th 39	Mélodies, par M. Verroust.	12:15	12:25	0:10
June 15th 39	Concert par l'orchestre Victor Pascal : <i>Valse des fleurs</i> (Tchaïkovsky) ; <i>Canzonetta</i> (Mendelssohn) ; <i>Ronde</i> (Haydn) ; <i>Psyché</i> (Paladilhe) ; <i>Colombine</i> (Delahayes) ; <i>D'une prison</i> (Hahn) ; <i>Danse hongroise n°2</i> (Brahms) ; <i>Les soldats en miniature</i> (Yves) ; <i>Ingeborg</i> (Noack) ; <i>Marika-Czardas</i> (Derschatta) ; <i>Battement d'ailes</i> (Flégier) ; <i>Flamenquerias</i> (Rolland) ; <i>Valse du souvenir</i> (Larcher) ; <i>Radetzki</i> (Strauss).	13:05	14:00	0:55
June 15th 39	Violon, par Hortense de Sampigny.	14:15	14:30	0:15
June 15th 39	Mélodies, par Robert Faury.	14:30	14:45	0:15
June 15th 39	Disques pour les enfants.	14:45	14:55	0:10
June 15th 39	Mélodies, par Germaine Féraldy.	16:15	16:30	0:15
June 15th 39	Piano, par Hélène Pignari.	16:30	16:45	0:15
June 15th 39	Musique de chambre par Mmes Lélia Gousseau, Andrade, Daniels et G. Gathelat : <i>Sonate</i> (Veracini) ; <i>Duos</i> (Schumann) ; <i>Saudades do Brazil</i> [en disque le même jour sur RC] (D. Milhaud).	17:05	17:45	0:40
June 15th 39	Concert varié, direction R. Ellis : <i>Cigale et Magali</i> , ouverture (Casadesus) ; <i>Mélodies élégiaques</i> (Grieg) ; <i>Bunny</i> (Porret) ; <i>Aquarelles boréales</i> (Amadei) ; <i>Les braconniers</i> , sélection (Offenbach) ; <i>Noël pastoral</i> (Aubert) ; <i>Au bon vieux temps</i> (Mouton).	19:00	20:00	1:00
June 15th 39	Transmission du Théâtre National de l'Opéra-Comique : <i>Le Rêve</i> (Alf. Bruneau), avec Mmes Jane Rolland et Lecouvreur, MM. L. Arnoult, Endrèze, Guenot, orch. Direction Eugène Bigot.	20:30	23:00	2:30

Statistics of the Radio-Paris programs in June 1939

	number	In %	durations	In %
Total programs	457	100,0%	217:10:00	100,0%
Information on the programs	184	40,3%	60:10:00	27,7%
i (performers cited)	28	6,1%	9:40:00	4,5%
a (author cited)	117	25,6%	100:00:00	46,0%
& (authors and performers)	77	16,8%	33:05:00	15,2%
t (theme only)	51	11,2%	14:15:00	6,6%
Categories (4) and under-categories (29) of the programs	457	100,0%	217:10:00	100,0%
Classical	312	68,3%	151:10:00	69,6%
Chamber	27	5,9%	19:40:00	9,1%
Symphonic concert	56	12,3%	50:40:00	23,3%
Classical didacticism	13	2,8%	5:20:00	2,5%
Symphonic music	10	2,2%	3:15:00	1,5%
Lyrical and operat	10	2,2%	14:00:00	6,4%
Recital	187	40,9%	52:50:00	24,3%
Symphonic and lyrical	3	0,7%	2:30:00	1,2%
Symphonic and recital	6	1,3%	2:55:00	1,3%
Intermediate music	37	8,1%	26:25:00	12,2%
Jazz didacticism		0,0%		0,0%
Jazz		0,0%		0,0%
Mixed music	2	0,4%	1:20:00	0,6%
Music “light and varied”	30	6,6%	21:40:00	10,0%
Operettas	5	1,1%	3:25:00	1,6%
Entertainment	31	6,8%	16:10:00	7,4%
Café-concert		0,0%		0,0%
Song	8	1,8%	2:00:00	0,9%
Song-writers		0,0%		0,0%
Musical		0,0%		0,0%
Dancing	17	3,7%	10:50:00	5,0%
Entertainment didacticism		0,0%		0,0%
Music-hall		0,0%		0,0%
Film music		0,0%		0,0%
Commercial music	6	1,3%	3:20:00	1,5%
Diverse	77	16,8%	23:25:00	10,8%
Ethnological didacticism		0,0%		0,0%
Children	3	0,7%	1:10:00	0,5%
Undetermined	54	11,8%	16:10:00	7,4%
Military music	15	3,3%	4:45:00	2,2%
Traditional music	2	0,4%	0:30:00	0,2%
New International productions		0,0%		0,0%
Religion	3	0,7%	0:50:00	0,4%
Formats of the programs	457	100,0%	217:10:00	100,0%
Live	313	68,5%	151:10:00	69,6%
Live with records		0,0%		0,0%
Records	132	28,9%	44:50:00	20,6%
Undetermined		0,0%		0,0%
Relay	12	2,6%	21:10:00	9,7%

Over the last few years, the release of the content of the afternoon recitals has become more rare. For the sole Wednesday June 14th 1939, when we counted eight, only one program was detailed. This was called “*Scènes d’enfants* for piano (Schumann), by Miss Wakmann-Field”. There is another new element in 1939, which contributes to the reduction of the number of programs: the short sequences of recorded music in the mornings are usually limited to two slots. From 7 o’clock, depending on the days, dances, choirs and fanfares and military marches alternate¹³.

As far as the weekend programs are concerned, one cannot see a real difference with an ordinary day. On Saturdays, there is only a “filling” of the slots at the end of the mornings or the beginning of the afternoons, according to the existing patterns. In 1939 more precisely, the programs makers visibly content themselves with extending the morning sequences of record playing, and placing the parade of recitals earlier in the afternoons¹⁴. As for the musical broadcasting on Sundays, it was rare until then for Radio-Paris to broadcast entertaining music at an interval of only three hours. In 1939, however, the station expresses the wish of more openness and less austerity in its Sunday broadcasting. In fact, on the “menu” of Sunday June 18th 1939, one can read at 3pm: “Transmission from the ‘*Théâtre National de l’Opéra-Comique*’: *Carmen* (Bizet), with Mme Renée Gilly and M. Georges Thill.”; at 5.45 pm: “*Works by Moskowski*”; at 8.30 pm: “*the sound riddles*”, a broadcasting competition (P. Colline), in collaboration with sound maker Robert and the A. Cadou orchestra”; at 9 pm: “*Symphonic concert and choral, relayed from Warsaw*”; at 10.25 pm: “*French operettas*” and at 11 pm: “*Jo Bouillon and his orchestra*”¹⁵.

In June 1939, Radio-Paris is still broadcasting a plethora of “variety concerts”¹⁶, programs entitled “light music”¹⁷, sequences of “records of light and variety music”¹⁸, that is mixed and heterogeneous spaces which almost constitute a “brand mark” of the station. Conducted by François Gras, the concert of Sunday June 4th 1939 illustrates both the relative legitimacy of such miscellanies and the protests that they spark. At the beginning of that Sunday afternoon, *Le Petit Radio* announces:

“Concert, direction Fr. Gras : *Old Nick* (Tzipine); *La pie voleuse*, ouverture (Rossini); *La Housarde* (Ganne); *Blanche Neige et les sept nains*, sélection (Churchill); *Yvonne* (Jeanjean); *En relisant vos lettres* (Masson-Kick); *Saltarelle* (Gounod); *The Donkey Serenade* (Friml); *Boublichka* (Némo et Mills); *Jubilee Stamp* (Ellington)”.

We can see here that the concert consists mainly of “light and symphonic” music. Four out of the ten composers cited here could be listed in our index¹⁹ in this category of “light and

¹³ As for instance on the morning of Tuesday June 20th when the “*Concerto in E flat major*” by Liszt is following a slot of “*Military music and popular Scottish dances*”. One can notice that the dances are neither Tyrolean nor Bavarian but taken from the folklore of an allied country...

¹⁴ As for the programs of Saturday June 3rd 1939. Source: *Le Petit Radio*.

¹⁵ Source: *Le Petit Radio*.

¹⁶ On the 6th by William Cantrelle ; on the 7th under somebody called Giordino; on the 15th by the Roger Ellis orchestra; on the 21st by Giordino; on the 24th by Eddie Foy (on Sunday June 19th 1938, this station presents “Eddie Foy’s jazz”; on the 26th by Georges Dervaux. Many other programs have similar contents and are simply entitled “concert”.

¹⁷ Like the Wednesday concerts at 10 pm conducted by Jean Clergue: on the 7th; the 14th; the 21st; the 28th.

¹⁸ On Saturday June 3rd from 1pm to 2 pm; on June 5th in the same slot; on Friday 30th still at the very beginning of the afternoon.

¹⁹ Over the decade 30, we counted 2,185 distinct composers for 10,656 cumulated references.

symphonic” music: Georges Tzipine (1907-1987), Faustin Jeanjean (1900-1979) and Louis Ganne (whom we place on the border of operetta); without any further indication, we have also registered the authors: “Némo and Mills” in this category. The two romantic composers, Rossini and Gounod, find their place here thanks to the popularity of the works of the former (bordering on “musique de genre”) and, probably the success of the lyrical production of the latter. Classical vocal art itself is not so far from the genre “operettas and the like” represented by Charles Rudolf Friml (1879-1972) and Frank Churchill (1901-1942), even if the productions of cartoons whose music he composed largely feed the repertoire of music-hall singers²⁰. Finally, two authors slightly stand out: jazzman Duke Ellington (1899-1974) and composer L. Masson whose broadcasting production led us to qualify him as a composer of classical music of the 20th Century²¹. Through aesthetic proximity, every piece which does not specifically belong to a “genre” could be related, on the whole, to a form of light music, an “average” music. But if taken alone and considered under the angle of their style, some of those works are particularly distant. Nowadays, it would be very difficult to match Duke Ellington’s swing with Gounod’s “delightful romances”, the fluidity of the tunes of *The Thieving Magpie* or the simple melodies of *Snow-White and the seven Dwarfs* that were conceived to be memorized and hummed. But this is what the programs makers of Radio-Cité are doing, with those miscellanies of “light and varied” music “. The idea of “fairly classical but still accessible aesthetics” favors the changes of sound landscapes, the sliding from one style to another.

A MYRIAD OF ENTERTAINMENT SEQUENCES ON RADIO-CITÉ

Concerning Radio-Cité, we must notice that the journal of the station (which was created in January 1938) evolves during the year 1939. Henceforth, instead of announcing only the programs of Radio-Cité, the weekly newspaper is also proposing a selection of the best programs of the competitor stations. This fresh editorial orientation shows a double advantage. Through the consideration devoted to the other stations, it sheds the narcissism that could be denounced and becomes a non specialized magazine. It can then replace any other weekly broadcasting paper and may attract the listeners used to putting together their programs from several stations²².

Concerning the observed increase of the number of musical slots on Radio-Cité, we noticed a maximum of 35 programs per day. On Monday June 26th 1939, when you kept your radio on without any interruption, you were able to hear five performances live: a short concert by a clarinet quartet; two sequences of live songs, including the daily “soft song” by Léo Marjane, accompanied by S. Grapelly”; two other performances, including “The

²⁰ We could quote some of the performers who adapted the famous “*Who’s afraid of the big bad wolf?*” (copyrighted in 1934): Gardoni et Puig; Jean Sablon; Ferrari; Arèse; Perchicot; Georges Milton; Juyn & Martine; Jo Bouillon; Les Minstrels; Léon Raiter; Jean Vaissade.

²¹ Conducting on Radio-Paris in 1935, L. Masson wrote a “*Romance without lyrics*”, performed on Wednesday June 28th 1933, among some works by Mendelssohn and Saint-Saëns and a “*Suite for Ballet*” preceding a “*Romance*” by Debussy on June 3rd 1935. The piece that he entitled “*On reading your letters again*” had already been performed by an orchestra, conducted by Victor Pascal, on Sunday June 9th 1935. That day, according to the newspapers, the other author wasn’t Kiegt but Kick!

²² Cf. the big page of the number 73 of May 26th 1939: “Elsewhere: Some selected programs”. This opening to the programs of the competitors may have enabled to justify the rise of the weekly price from 0,75 F to 1 F in 1939.

Musical programs on Radio-Cité on Saturday June 26th 1939

date	contents	start	end	duration
June 26 th 39	Musette. [à 7h :] Music-hall.	6:45	7:30	0:45
June 26 th 39	Concert des auditeurs. [Mode. Inf. Ephéméride. Menu] Votre chanteur préféré : G. Thill.	7:55	9:00	1:05
June 26 th 39	<i>Rigoletto</i> (Verdi), enr.	9:05	9:15	0:10
June 26 th 39	Enregistrement de Letchenko.	9:15	9:30	0:15
June 26 th 39	Enregistrement de l'orchestre Hal Kemp.	9:45	10:00	0:15
June 26 th 39	<i>Lakmé</i> , ballet (Léo Delibes).	10:00	10:15	0:15
June 26 th 39	De Stello, enr.	10:15	10:30	0:15
June 26 th 39	Enregistrement de violon. Campoli.	10:30	10:45	0:15
June 26 th 39	Gus Viseur et son quintette.	10:45	11:00	0:15
June 26 th 39	Piano, par Sp. Kalogeras.	11:00	11:15	0:15
June 26 th 39	Disques.	11:30	11:45	0:15
June 26 th 39	Enregistrement de la chorale Eresoinka.	11:45	12:00	0:15
June 26 th 39	Ouverture des <i>Joyeuses commères de Windsor</i> (Nicolai) (enr.).	12:05	12:15	0:10
June 26 th 39	Présentez v.-m. vos disques préférés.	12:15	12:30	0:15
June 26 th 39	Enregistrement de l'orchestre Alfredo.	13:15	13:30	0:15
June 26 th 39	Nouveaux enregistrements.	13:45	14:00	0:15
June 26 th 39	Orgue de cinéma.	14:15	14:40	0:25
June 26 th 39	Enregistrement de l'orchestre Ambrose.	14:40	15:00	0:20
June 26 th 39	Sélections d'opérettes de Christiné.	15:05	15:15	0:10
June 26 th 39	Enregistrement d'Yvette Guilbert.	15:25	15:45	0:20
June 26 th 39	Enregistrements d'Endrèze.	16:00	16:15	0:15
June 26 th 39	<i>Les deux pigeons</i> (Messenger), (enr.).	16:15	16:30	0:15
June 26 th 39	Retransmission de la "Taverne de l'Olympia".	17:05	18:00	0:55
June 26 th 39	Le Moment musical. Chopin, Louis Aubert.	18:25	18:45	0:20
June 26 th 39	Enregistrement de l'orchestre H. Chapman.	19:15	19:25	0:10
June 26 th 39	Concert radiophonique avec l'orchestre P. Florendas et Yv. Galli.	20:15	20:45	0:30
June 26 th 39	"La semaine des quat'jeudis", concert offert par Colombes-Goodrich [encadré supplémentaire].	20:50	21:10	0:20
June 26 th 39	Au micro : quatuor de clarinettes.	21:10	21:30	0:20
June 26 th 39	Une chanson douce, par Léo Marjane. [à 21h55 :]La chanson des trois.	21:45	22:00	0:15
June 26 th 39	<i>5^e symphonie en mi mineur</i> (Tchaïkowsky) (enr.)	22:50	23:45	0:55
June 26 th 39	Concert.	23:45	0:15	0:30

Statistics of the programs of Radio-Cité in June 1939

	number	In %	durations	In %
Total programs	752		265:53:00	
Information of the programs	752	100,0%	265:53:00	100,0%
i (performers cited)	356	47,3%	108:04:00	40,6%
a (author cited)	36	4,8%	10:23:00	3,9%
& (authors and performers)	78	10,4%	30:04:00	11,3%
t (theme only)	267	35,5%	111:33:00	42,0%
? (unknown content)	15	2,0%	5:49:00	2,2%
Categories (4) and under-categories (29) of the programs	752	100,0%	265:53:00	100,0%
Classical	143	19,0%	52:45:00	19,8%
Chamber	7	0,9%	2:53:00	1,1%
Symphonic concert	4	0,5%	6:38:00	2,5%
Classical didacticism	5	0,7%	1:43:00	0,6%
Symphonic music	63	8,4%	22:19:00	8,4%
Lyrical and opera	4	0,5%	0:53:00	0,3%
Recital	56	7,4%	16:24:00	6,2%
Symphonic and lyrical	1	0,1%	0:35:00	0,2%
Symphonic and recital	3	0,4%	1:20:00	0,5%
Intermediate music	126	16,8%	34:35:00	13,0%
Jazz didacticism		0,0%		0,0%
Jazz	33	4,4%	10:57:00	4,1%
Mixed music	10	1,3%	4:15:00	1,6%
Music "light and various"	56	7,4%	11:55:00	4,5%
Operettas	27	3,6%	7:28:00	2,8%
Entertainment	298	39,6%	116:08:00	43,7%
Café-concert		0,0%		0,0%
Songs	106	14,1%	25:01:00	9,4%
Song-writers	4	0,5%	1:00:00	0,4%
Musical		0,0%		0,0%
Dancing	88	11,7%	46:54:00	17,6%
Entertainment didacticism		0,0%		0,0%
Music-hall	29	3,9%	15:25:00	5,8%
Film music	2	0,3%	0:25:00	0,2%
Commercial music	69	9,2%	27:23:00	10,3%
Diverse	185	24,6%	62:25:00	23,5%
Ethnological didacticism		0,0%		0,0%
Children	1	0,1%	0:08:00	0,1%
Undetermined	134	17,8%	49:58:00	18,8%
Military music	7	0,9%	1:44:00	0,7%
Traditional music	13	1,7%	3:00:00	1,1%
New International productions	30	4,0%	7:35:00	2,9%
Religion		0,0%		0,0%
Formats of the programs	752	100,0%	265:53:00	100,0%
Live	124	16,5%	45:51:00	17,2%
Live with records	37	4,9%	9:57:00	3,7%
Records	525	69,8%	163:04:00	61,3%
Undetermined	11	1,5%	4:01:00	1,5%
Retransmission	55	7,3%	43:00:00	16,2%

American cinema organ: Max Lajarrige at the Hammond organ and Jean Patard”. Beside the daily slot entitled: “Announce yourself the records you prefer”, one could count 27 slots of records constituting the most important part of the programs. Two slots are devoted to songs, including one to Yvette Guilbert; three are jazz-oriented; one is devoted to lyrical music. That day, the slot entitled “morning music-hall” was devoted to Jeanne Aubert and to Georgius. One can also find two slots of “light and variety music”; two slots of symphonic music²³; one sequence of “new publications”; three slots dedicated to the operetta²⁴. Six slots of recorded recital²⁵ and one slot of commercial music are ending this long list of recorded music²⁶. Finally, two relays are completing the broadcasting of the station: the first is scheduled at 5.05 pm, live from “*Taverne de l’Olympia*”, and the other, a “concert with the P. Florendas orchestra and Yvonne Galli”, is broadcasted from the ‘Normandie’ movie theater²⁷.”

That year, the dominating musical color of the station is entertainment. In 1939, the musical program starts even earlier than the previous years, at 6.37 am sharp. The “Paul Beuscher accordion quarter of hour” is followed at 6.55 am by “Morning music-hall” and is devoted to “Frehel and Fernandel”, for example²⁸. After 9 am, the daily programs continue until noon. Day after day, in this slot with a lower audience level, the musical extracts embrace the most diverse styles and genres: from the “*Sylvia* Ballet (Delibes)” to “Recording of the Hot Club de France Quintet” and also visit the “Jean Alfaro Argentine Orchestra” or “Shirley Temple’s hits, by the Henderson Twins²⁹”. From 11 am on, celebrities are sometimes passing by in the studio. This is the case on Monday June 12th 1939, when “at the micro: Miss Gautier” [plays the cello]³⁰.

Classical music lovers, however, are not excluded from the targeting. For about twenty minutes, the “musical moment” instituted in 1938 is renewed. This rendezvous for music lovers introduces the evening programs. We can for instance notice the program of the week starting on June 4th 1939, published by the journal of the station in a frame entitled “Radio-Cité’s ‘musical moment’”:

“Sunday at 6.17 pm – Debussy: *Sonata for the flute, alto and harp*.

Monday at 6.25 pm – J.S. Bach: *Cantata*, by the choir and orchestra of the Bach Society.

Tuesday at 6.25 pm – Vaughan Williams: *Serenade to Music*, soloists and orchestra conducted by Sir Henry Wood.

Wednesday at 6.45 pm – Liszt: *The legend of Saint-François de Paule walking on the waters, The forgotten waltz, The Campanella*.

Thursday at 6.22 pm – Berlioz: *The Damnation of Faust* (extracts) with Charles Panzéra, José de Trévi and M. Berthon.

Friday at 6.23 pm – Chausson: *King Artus*, with Endrèze and *Poem for violin and orchestra*, with Yehudi Menuhin.

²³ This is “*Lakmé, ballet* (Delibes)” and the “5th Symphony in E minor (Tchaikovsky), by the Philadelphia orchestra, conducted by Leopold Stokowski”.

²⁴ Including: “Overture of the ‘Merry Wives of Windsor’ (Nicolai)” ; Selections of operettas by Christiné” and “The Two Pigeons (Messager)”.

²⁵ Including one with “baritone Endrèze” and a daily slot, “The musical moment”, devoted that day to Chopin and Louis Aubert.

²⁶ There are also four slots simply entitled: “recorded music”, whose contents were undetermined.

²⁷ Cf. the detailed reproduction of the day.

²⁸ Cf. among many others, Monday 5th and Wednesday June 28th 1939 [Source: “*Ici...Radio-Cité*”].

²⁹ Respectively on Friday 2nd, Friday 16th, Wednesday 21st and Thursday June 22nd 1939 [Source: “*Ici...Radio-Cité*”].

³⁰ Source: *Ici...Radio-Cité*.

Saturday at 6.17 pm – Florent Schmitt: *Suite en Rocaille*, by ‘Quintette instrumental de Paris’.³¹”

Beside those “short concerts”, some kinds of “musical causeries” remain. They are nonetheless toned down and include some bizarre themes, rather eye-catching and populist. In January 1939, for example, Pierre Templier produces a weekly program called “The great scandals of music”. This series is launched on Wednesday January 11th at 10.30 pm by a session devoted to Italian opera, from Lulli to Rameau³². The sessions of jazz vulgarization are a specificity of the station. Broadcasted from 1936 on, the series “An evening in Harlem” is still scheduled on Wednesdays on Radio-Cité. Although its announcer Henry Gedovius works full time on Radio-37³³, this doesn’t prevent him from recording programs that are broadcasted every week on Radio-Cité³⁴. This makes us surmise that the people both keen on jazz and capable of speaking about it in the micro are not so numerous. As a connoisseur, amateur he can actually talk about the orchestras as well as the improvisers. The numerous pictures that we have found in his archives prove his regular frequentation of the American jazz-bands³⁵. He is also close to the French performers, as indicated by his “war correspondence” with conductor Jacques Hélian, who was to become, after the war, the second record-selling millionaire behind Tino Rossi. After broadcasting 9 times in June on Radio-Cité, mobilized from August 27th 1939, the one who is at that moment the only “radio-cavalryman” Georges der Mikaelian, writes to him from the “headquarters of the brigade of sector 115”:

“My dear Géo,

I correctly received your letter, via my sister, which delighted me at a moment when we are far from any family and any friend [...] As we have nothing to do, apart from some guard chores and some radio exercise (because while you have left the radio, I have joined it myself), I help some friends unearthing potatoes. [...] Dear Géo, I wish you the most luck possible. Don’t forget to write to me, it will make me so happy to hear from you [...]. Pay my tribute to your missus and to baby and allow me to tell you that I’m shaking your hand.”³⁶

The strong proximity that exists between this man of the records and radio sectors and the world of jazz enables him to talk about it easily. Despite his life spent among records, he doesn’t play the expert and remains sensitive to the demands of his listeners. According to the magazine *Jazz-Hot* which published an article on him in September 1952, this is “probably because he has bought records, [that] he pays attention to his listeners, exactly as if he were concerned about the satisfaction of this clients.” His tone is always friendly and devoided of artifice³⁷.

In the matter of musical programs, only two noticeable elements really distinguish Sunday broadcasting from the other days of the week. The first is the program entitled “The lunch concert of Radio-Cité, hosted by Maurice Yvain, with the Grand Orchestra of the Gaumont Palace, conducted by Georges Tzipine (broadcasted from the Gaumont Palace).”

³¹ *Ici...Radio-Cité* n°74 of June 2nd 1939, p. 2.

³² *Ici...Radio-Cité* n°53 of January 6th 1939, p. 2: “The great scandals of the music”.

³³ Fonds Gédovius of l’INA. Letter of the CEO G. Gemond of June 21st 1937.

³⁴ For instance on Wednesday June 10th from 11 to 11.30 pm.

³⁵ Like that of Freddie Taylor “and his Swing Men from Harlem” dedicated on March 14th 1935.

³⁶ Letter of Jacques Hélian of September 28th 1939. Fonds Gédovius of INA, file n° 1. On the life conditions of musicians during the “phony war”, one could read: “Letters” of ON (sheltered at Rennes) published under the leadership of Désiré-Emile Inghelbrecht. One can also read: Christophe Bennet (dir), “1925-1975. Fifty years of classical music on the radio”, *Les Cahiers d’Histoire de la Radiodiffusion*, n° 95 Janvier-Mars 2008, p 30-32.

³⁷ As we saw by reading the scripts of some of his programs.

Every Sunday from 1.15 to 1.45 pm from April 1939 on, the composer of *Là-haut* hosts “music that everyone understands, which speaks to the heart and dispels the worries of the hour.”³⁸ At the same time, and this is the second main point, the very young “*Orchestre philharmonique de Paris*” becomes a regular visitor of the studio of “*Rue de Washington*”. This orchestra produces prestigious concerts exclusively for Radio-Cité, such as the “8th Gala concert by the ‘*Orchestre Philharmonique de Paris*’ [released on June 4th] under the baton and with the performance of violinist Jacques Thibaud.”

Even if the monitoring of the programs of 1939 brings an indisputable feeling of continuity, we must notice the regular tidying up of the programs. The short musical sequences that we had described appear all the less repetitive as they take place in program schedules that are incessantly reshaped. This is why the weekly *Le petit Radio* reckons in April 1939 that the restructuring of the evening programs heralds “the beginning of a new season.”³⁹ Jean Guignebert, the editor-in-chief of the journal, justifies the perpetual modifications of the programs through the wish to satisfy a maximum of listeners:

“Once again, we have planned to reshape the noontime schedule. Frankly speaking, we didn’t make any noticeable progress. The opinions are diverse, depending on the place where the listeners have dinner (at home or at a restaurant). As it is quite difficult to satisfy everyone, we’re going to ‘cut the apple into two’: we’ll be moving some lunchtime programs to the evening and we’ll be maintaining others in their current slot.

Anyway, we are going to “rethink” the organization of the programs, since summer is arriving. This is the time when we are preparing our programs for the autumn and winter. Indeed, if we are “cicadas”, we’re also a little “ant-like”.⁴⁰”

We can see that the broadcasting of Radio-Cité is based on the managers’ permanent reflection, stimulated by regular listeners’ tribunes.

THE PRIMACY OF UNIVERSAL MASTERS

Beyond the astonishing mixtures, or the unusual associations that some programs show, the monitoring of the composers mentioned by the newspapers, and the distribution of their works (the number of references) gives a further idea of the aspect of musical programs.

TOWARDS A REDUCTION OF THE COMPOSERS’ SUPREMACY

In 1939, the newspapers definitely keep indicating the name of the composers appearing in the programs of Radio-Paris. But this indication is fading away a little more every year: 1,736 references appeared in June 1936, 1,283 in June 1937, 655 in June 1938, and 598 only in June 1939, that is to say three times less than some years earlier⁴¹. Anyway, in June 1939, the references that we picked up on Radio-Paris represent 82% of those of the two stations. This is why the composers’ aesthetics provide a more accurate idea of the musical color of this station than of its private competitor. We can also notice that more than

³⁸ *Ici...Radio-Cité* n°67 of April 14th 1939, p. 7: “Maurice Yvain presents the ‘Grand Orchestre Symphonique du Gaumont Palace’”.

³⁹ *Le Petit Radio* n°628 of April 21st 1939, p. 2.

⁴⁰ *Ici...Radio-Cité* n°74 of June 2nd 1939, p. 1: “Our tribune”.

⁴¹ We couldn’t ascertain whether this progressive reduction of information was due to the station or to the newspapers themselves.

half of the 94 composers mentioned in the programs of Radio-Cité are also mentioned on Radio-Paris, representing 57 of the 280 composers broadcasted by this station. Corresponding to the “hit parade” of the ten most frequently mentioned composers (about whom we’ll speak soon) these are “safe values” of the classical heritage.

SOME VERY CLASSICAL AUTHORS ON RADIO-PARIS

By scrutinizing the distribution of the authors in the programs, we can see that, like in the previous years, the mention of the authors often remains closely linked to the usual repertoire of the performer being broadcasted. On Tuesday June 20th 1939, beside the “*Chant élégiaque*” by Florent Schmitt and the “*Trois Histoires*” by Jacques Ibert performed on the “*Poste national*”, by cellist Maurice Maréchal and pianist Jean Doyen, one can see that their program includes the piece “*Saudades do Brazil*” by Darius Milhaud⁴². Only five days earlier, it had already been broadcasted among the pieces of “Chamber music by Mrs Lélia Gousseau, [Lise] Daniels and G. Gathelat.⁴³” But there is a more surprising phenomenon, which is absolutely exceptional in the whole corpus of our data: this reference also appears on the program of the competitor station on the same day: “‘The musical moment’ by Darius Milhaud: *Les amours de Ronsard; Saudades do Brazil (enr.)*”⁴⁴ Even if such musical selections are incongruous nowadays or appear in more coherent programs, they quite show how the mentions of the authors match their time and are linked to the choice of performers.

We can also notice that the musical eclecticism of some great composers explain their omnipresence on the waves. One often finds them in the concerts of “light and variety music”, a phrase in use on Radio-Paris over the whole decade. On Wednesday June 14th 1939, the famous *Espana* by Gabriel Chabrier (recorded in the table of the ten most frequently mentioned composers on Radio-Paris in June 1939) are matched with “*Le Roi s’amuse*” by Delibes and “*Le Petit Duc*” by Lecoq⁴⁵. Reynaldo Hahn, whom we recorded as a “chamber music and recital” composer for the significant broadcasting of his melodies, is also one of the greatest composers of the modern operetta. Beside the operetta *Brummel*, which released twice in our corpus (on Monday June 7th 1937 and Monday June 19th 1939⁴⁶), the tunes and duets of his operettas are often feeding the concerts of light music, or the programs of mixed music. Among the most frequent, we could mention, the extracts from *Ciboulette* (whose title appears six times on Radio-Paris in the programs of the decade) and the extracts from his *Mozart* (also mentioned six times), which born from his collaboration with Sacha Guitry.

Acting in the same way as for the year 1938, we have established a “hit parade” of the ten most frequently mentioned composers⁴⁷. This still underlines the strong presence of the “great classics” on Radio-Paris. That year, succeeding Debussy, the “winner” is Mozart, with 17 references. Nevertheless, Debussy keeps being often mentioned, with a total of 11 references (on a par with Ravel). Robert Schumann also remains in the table, with a total of 10 references (against 8 in 1938). Johann-Sebastian Bach is still present with 10 references in 1939 (8 in 1938).

⁴² Source: *Le Petit Radio*.

⁴³ Program of Thursday June 15th 1939. Cf. the contents of all the programs of Radio-Paris for this day of June 15th 1939.

⁴⁴ Program of Thursday June 15th 1939. Source: *Ici...Radio-Cité*.

⁴⁵ According to *Le Petit Radio*.

⁴⁶ Sources: *Le Petit Radio*.

⁴⁷ Cf. the table “The 10 most mentioned composers in June 1939”.

Curiously, in June 1939, Bach, Mozart, Debussy are, together with Beethoven (who enters the “hit parade”) the four common denominators of Radio-Paris and Radio-Cité.

For this station, the ten most frequently mentioned composers are also the “safe values” of the great musical heritage.

RADIO-CITÉ DOESN'T BOYCOTT GERMAN COMPOSERS

Still, there are fewer references in this station. The weekly “*Ici...Radio-Cité*”, which is the most accurate of the newspapers as for the contents of the station’s programs, rarely cares to mention the name of the composers, except for the few prestigious concerts or the slots of the “musical moment” where it is systematically indicated. As a result, there are fewer references: from 2 to 4 references per composer in this table, instead of 9 to 17 for the ten composers of the Radio-Paris “hit parade”. They are inevitably the “top figures”, liable to draw an important audience.

One should point out the fact that there is no boycott of German authors, since with Beethoven, Richard Strauss, Bach (the three most frequently mentioned composers), Mozart and Johann Strauss, the “hit parade” is German at 50% (40% on Radio-Paris).

Concerning the composers that are only mentioned on Radio-Cité, they have sometimes had a classical musical education and finally evolved as performers in the sector of entertainment. This is notably the case of Michel Emer⁴⁸. In the same vein as Ray Ventura, this composer and conductor recruited by Radio-Cité keeps acting everyday for the radio. On January 27th 1939, *Le Petit Radio* devotes its section “The radio celebrities” to him:

“Let’s remember that the Michel Emer orchestra, a Radio-Cité exclusivity, is composed of twelve excellent musicians who are far from remaining confined to a genre and pass from the pleasant to the severe, from jazz to the melody, and then satisfy the various tastes of the numerous listeners [...]

Still, the activity of this congenial musician goes further. He’s known to Northern America, South America, Africa... As a composer, he wrote two operettas [...] He’s currently, working in collaboration with Maurice Yvain on lyrics by Willemetz and Mouézy-Eon for an operetta which is to be performed at the Mogador.

Michel Emer is the composer of songs that met with great success. [...] To complete Michel’s artistic physiognomy, we could add that the composition of his songs for the revue “*La Lune rousse*” didn’t prevent him from composing a “Symphonic poem”, which was performed by the Concerts Padeloup.

⁴⁸ A biographic notice on Michel Emer (1906-1984) can be found in “Phonoscopies n° 41”, 10th year, January 2003.

The ten most mentioned authors in June 1939

Rank	Author	nb ref.	Musical Category	nb ref. decade ⁴⁹	Auteur	nb réf.	Musical Category	nb ref. decade
	On Radio-Paris (598 references)				On Radio-Cité (131 references)			
1	Wolfgang-Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791)	17	Classical	172	Ludwig van Beethoven, (1770-1827)	4	Classical 19th Century	101
2	Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921)	14	Classical 20 th Century	164	Richard Strauss (1864-1949)	4	Classical 20 th Century	34
3	Maurice Ravel (1875-1937)	11	Classical 20 th Century	133	Joan-Sebastian Bach (1685-1750)	3	Ancient music	120
4	Claude Debussy (1862-1918)	11	Classical 20th Century	178	André Messager (1853-1929)	3	Operettas and alike	90
5	Joan-Sebastian Bach (1685-1750)	10	Ancient music	120	Johannes Brahms (1833-1897)	3	Classical 19 th Century	64
6	Robert Schumann (1810-1856)	10	Classical 19 th Century	105	Johann Strauss (1825-1899)	3	Classical 19 th Century	100
7	Piotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840-1893)	10	Classical 19 th Century	54	Nikolaï Rimski-Korsakov (1844-1908)	3	Classical 19 th Century	56
8	Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827)	9	Classical 19th Century	101	Claude Debussy (1862-1918)	3	Classical 19th Century	178
9	Florent Schmitt, (1870-1958)	9	Classical 20 th Century	57	Georg Friedrich Haendel (1685-1759)	2	Ancient music	48
10	Emmanuel Chabrier (1841-1894)	9	Classical 19 th Century	85	Wolfgang-Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791)	2	Classical music	172

⁴⁹ Based on a sampling of the ten months of the decade concerning Radio-Paris and Radio LL/Radio-Cité

Moving with equal command from classical music to jazz, from the sophisticated orchestral harmony to the popular melody, Michel Emer is one of the best representatives of modern music, in its complexity and lively diversity.⁵⁰

Coming from a classical background, these “cultural passers” adapt their art to the circumstances of their performances as artists. A composer and conductor, the musician is completing the list of the other artists: the instrument players, the singers who operate as intermediates between several musical aesthetics.

THE PERFORMERS ARE AT THE CORE OF THE PROGRAMS

A MULTIPLICATION OF THE MENTIONS OF THE PERFORMERS

Between the year 1938, when the two stations are mentioning their performers in equal terms (312 and 314 references⁵¹) and 1939, the gap is widening. Our last list shows a common tendency: that of an increase of the number of references. But with 422 references on the “*Poste National*” against 562 on Radio-Cité⁵², the latter resembles more a “performers” than a composers’ station”. This tends to indicate that, as a whole (but even more on the commercial station), the element that will draw the audience (and also generate the mention of such or such composer), is the performer. In June 1939, 57% of the references to performers mentioned on the two stations are cited on Radio-Cité.

Another observation could be made: the performers, who have by then become accustomed to the medium (which has become more a friend than a competitor), are sailing from one station to another. While observing the evolution of the number of performers shared by the two stations, the progression is significant: there was no performer common to the two in June 1935 (when the idea of an “artist of the station” was dominating); 3 in June 1936; 5 in June 1937; 10 in June 1938 and 24 in June 1939. The number of celebrities is certainly only 4% of the whole of artists mentioned that month, but the figure reveals the circulation of the musicians between the stations and shows their involvement in the radio programs whatever the station.

As we did for the authors, we considered a corpus of 10 performers, who were the most present for each of the two models of station.

RADIO-PARIS INTRODUCES PERFORMERS IN ENTERTAINMENT MUSIC

One shouldn’t be astonished by the fact that the table of the ten most mentioned performers on Radio-Paris is similar to that of the composers⁵³; apart from the Jo Bouillon Orchestra (which performs on Saturdays and Sundays in entertainment programs), there are only groups or performers of classical music or lyrical performers. If we compare this with the year 1938, three performers remain present: the “*Orchestre Jo Bouillon*” (which remains in the top position), and two little multipurpose orchestras, which are capable of performing the much vaunted programs of “light and variety music”: those of Georges Bailly and William

⁵⁰ *Le Petit Radio* n°614 of January 27th 1939, p. 1 : “Michel Emer”, by Jacques Tem.

⁵¹ For 234 performers mentioned on Radio-Paris and 244 on Radio-Cité.

⁵² For 285 and 347 distinct performers.

⁵³ Cf. the table “The ten most cited performers in June 1939”.

The 10 most mentioned performers in June 1939

Rank	Performer	nb ref.	Musical category	nb ref. decade ⁵⁴	Performer	nb ref.	Musical category	nb ref. decade
	On Radio-Paris (422 references)				On Radio-Cité (562 references)			
1	Orchestre Jo Bouillon (1936-1947)	9	Entertainment band	32	Léo Marjane (1918-....)	25	Song	26
2	Orchestre Georges Dervaux (?-?)	8	Classical band	14	Orchestre Michel Emer (1906-1984)	25	Entertainment band	25
3	Jean Doyen (1907-1982)	8	Classical performer	44	Stéphane Grapelli (1908-1997)	22	Jazz performer	22
4	Orchestre Georges Bailly (?-?)	7	Classical band	16	Jacques Hélian (1912-1986)	9	Entertainment performer	9
5	Orchestre William Cantrelle (?-?)	7	Classical band	14	Orchestre Philharmonique de Londres (1932-....)	8	Classical band	11
6	Germaine Cernay (?)	6	Lyric-art performer	21	Max Lajarrige (?)	8	Entertainment performer	8
7	Chorale (ou chœurs) Félix Raugel (193.-1963)	6	Classical band	15	Orchestre Marek Weber (1884-1964)	6	Classical band	9
8	Maria Branèze (?-?)	5	Lyric-art performer	8	Julien (?-?)	5	Song	6
9	Chœur Joseph Noyon (?-?)	5	Classical band	10	Charles Trenet (1913-2001)	5	Song	13
10	Orchestre Albert Locatelli (?-?)	5	Classical band	20	Jean Sablon, (1906-1994)	5	Song	10

⁵⁴ Based on a sampling of the ten months of the decade concerning Radio-Paris and Radio LL/Radio-Cité

(they already held the same rank in the previous year). Two other comparable orchestras complete the table: those of Albert Locatelli and Georges Dervaux (at a lower level in the matter of references). In the third rank, one can find pianist Jean Doyen, who performs as much in the chamber music sector as within the frame of symphonic concerts. Jean Doyen had been broadcasted for a long time. In our ten-year computation of the programs, he appears 44 times and every year (except in 1933). Though he had already been presented in 1930 as a “soloist of the concerts “*du Conservatoire*”, of Colonne, Lamoureux and Pasdeloup”, he seems to specialize in broadcasted performances⁵⁵. His qualities had indeed been greeted by the broadcasting press of the State network in 1937, on the occasion of the Prize that he had been given by the Society of the friends of Gabriel Fauré:

“Following this last test, the jury, chaired by M. Gabriel Pierné and M. Henri Rabaud, from the Institute, rewarded the young pianist Jean Doyen. *Le Petit Radio* is happy, on this occasion, to congratulate [this] young pianist, whose beautiful talent the listeners of “*La Radiodiffusion*” know and appreciate.⁵⁶”

Yet, the “*Poste national*” also recruits some famous singers or celebrities of choral singing. The “*Petits chanteurs à la croix de bois*” are thus invited to perform on the radio, even if they are not mentioned in the programs of Radio-Paris in June 1939. Their popularity even enables them to participate in a regular show on Radio-Cité on Thursday evenings in 1939⁵⁷. As far as the “*Poste national*” is concerned, it broadcasts a report on one of their rehearsals at the “*Manécanterie*” on March 26th. In this recording, which has miraculously been preserved, we can hear the demanding voice of abbé Maillet, who manages them, in the distance. One of the children explains to the interviewer that he doesn’t particularly enjoy religious music. Unaware of what his words imply, he innocently sings some lyrics of a Spanish fox-trot which had been in the air for two years:

“ - [Child] “Take my mandarins,
‘cause they have a thin skin, and pretty pips for you;
Take my mandarins, and tell me where you are seated;
Except if it saddens you, I’ll come and peel them for you⁵⁸” ...
- [Interviewer] “This is not very moral! But at this age, everything is permitted!”⁵⁹”

Another archive of Radio-Paris of March 1939 is also interesting because it is very rare. It concerns a program with female singer Marie Dubas. The performance of this star of the song has been caught during one of her galas. The one who created the “*Doux caboulot*” notably performs “*C’est un Monsieur*” by Pierre Dunan and “*Arbi-Arba*”, “a little Arabian fantasy”. If she is not clearly audible when she moves away from the micro, one perfectly perceives the mood of a café-concert, and the piano, as “honkytonk” as one may wish. The ambiance is easy-going and the audience is welcoming:

⁵⁵ If we consider the sixty records or so that we found at the BnF, we could more particularly mention the “piece in the shape of a habanera”, by Ravel, which he recorded with his associate in the studio, Lucienne Radisse: one record 78 t.

⁵⁶ *Le Petit Radio* n°518 of March 12th 1937, p.3, article titled “Musical success of Jean Doyen”.

⁵⁷ They are scheduled every Thursday from 8.55 pm to 9.15 pm.

⁵⁸ *Mandarins*, Lyne Clevers, song, acc. by an orchestra, conductor Bruno Coquatrix. Sacem: November 19th 1928 and May 29th 1936 ; Created by Lyne Clevers in November 1936, “*Chez Ray Ventura*”, accompanied by him and his collegians.

⁵⁹ Phonothèque of INA : « Répétition des Petits Chanteurs à la croix de bois », Radio-Paris, recording of March 26th 1939, band referenced KO00084B ; X00235 at 3’40”.

“Marie Dubas: -“Er... Because there is the “T.S.F.”? But on the T.S.F. they won’t hear anything this evening, (...) well! No, because when I’m wriggling about (laughter in the public). Well, I’m annoyed, I don’t like that [speaking in the micro]; anyway! They won’t hear me. First of all, I’m going to sing ‘*Ah maman!*’. This is a little marching song, anyway they already heard it on the TSF yesterday.” [...]

[At the second encore:]

- “If I propose ‘*La Femme durRoulier*’ to you. Will you sing it with me? (“Yes”, the audience say); if you chicken out, I leave! (laughter). [...] Personally, I’ll sing it in my way, while you will sing it in your way, as you like!⁶⁰”

CELEBRITIES ARE EVERYWHERE ON RADIO-CITÉ

Contrary to the table of composers, that of the most broadcasted performers perfectly reflects the musical tendency of Radio-Cité. In fact, one can count four singers (Léo Marjane; a singer called Julien; Charles Trenet and Jean Sablon), three performers or bands in the sector of entertainment music (the Michel Emer orchestra; Jacques Hélian and organist Max Lajarrige), a jazz performer (Stéphane Grapelli) and two classical orchestras (the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the Marek Weber Orchestra). With Stéphane Grapelli, Charles Trenet is the only artist who was already mentioned in the 1938 ‘hit parade’ (5 mentions for each of them). This is because they both had a regular program the previous year. The violinist’s weekly program became a daily one in 1939. With 22 references, he is almost as famous as the Michel Elmer Orchestra (25 references) and as Léo Marjane (25 references). The latter is indeed scheduled every evening at 9.45 pm under the appropriate title of “a soft song”.

Thus, after magnificently interpreting “*La Chapelle au clair de lune*”⁶¹ (*The Chapel in the moonlight*), and “starred” in Parisian revues⁶², Léo Marjane records a daily vesperal “soft song”. In the sound archives of Radio-Cité, we could trace one of them: “*Partir sans laisser d’adresse*” (*Leaving without any address*) shows a musical introduction by a violin (probably that of Stéphane Grapelli) followed by a guitar, a piano, a bass on the chorus and the warm and expressive voice of the singer⁶³. Despite her artistic activity, she will remain faithful to this rendezvous until 1940⁶⁴. The recording of the programs on flexible records enhances the “gift of ubiquity” of the artists who are leading both broadcasting activities and live performances on theater stages in parallel⁶⁵.

The classical music sector also offers a pageant of celebrities. They are usually the guests of the new studio of the “*Rue Washington*”. It had been inaugurated by “Jacques

⁶⁰ Phonothèque de l’INA : “Marie Dubas et [Pierre] Bordas chantent à un gala”, Radio-Paris, recording of March 1939, original archive X647, band at 23’50”.

⁶¹ “*La Chapelle au clair de lune*” (lyrics and music by Georges Brown), Léo Marjane, accompanied by an orchestra, conductor Wal-Berg, réf. OLA 1930-1/M3 90261 – Gramophone K 7944.

⁶² Like the one that began at the A.B.C. theater on September 30th 1938 with some other celebrities : Lys Gauty, Claire Franconnay, Georges de la Fouchardière, Fréhel, Félix Paquet and Félix Mayol.

⁶³ Phonothèque de l’INA : “Léo Marjane chante ‘Partir sans laisser d’adresse’” ; Radio-Cité, recording of May 5th 1939, ref. 94INA08505PA13.

⁶⁴ The “programme sonore” of Sunday February 25th 1940 is still mentioning her performance at 8.05 pm and proposes a sound extract. Source : Jean Cocart, “Les radios privées d’avant-guerre”, CD1 plage 1.

⁶⁵ On April 14th 1939, “*Ici..Radio-Cité*” publishes a picture of the artist with a notice : “Léo Marjane, the new celebrity of the “singing tour”, who sings on Radio-Cité in exclusivity”.

Thibaud, at the violin, accompanied by the ‘*Orchestre Philharmonique de Paris*⁶⁶’. We could also, among many others mention Darius Milhaud and Arthur Honegger, conducting the same “*Orchestre Philharmonique de Paris*” one Sunday evening on Radio-Cité, in a concert devoted to the “*Groupe des Six*⁶⁷”; the pianist Alfred Cortot, who is said by a listener to “have understood what laypeople had to be made to hear and whose selection must be praised without any reserve⁶⁸”; or also the conductor Félix Weingartner⁶⁹.

The celebrities, who are midway between the classical and entertainment genres are also the guests of the studios, and particularly that of Radio-Cité. But contrary to the operetta singer André Bauge who is present on all the stations owing to his numerous recordings⁷⁰, some “cultural passers” appear to be confined to commercial radios. For example, guitarist and composer Gino Bordin is never mentioned in the programs of Radio-Cité. After hosting “the charming half an hour” on Radio-Cité⁷¹ in 1938, the artist, who is nicknamed “the man of the magic guitar”, attends a program on the station Radio-37 in 1939. This program is entitled “Accordion and song⁷²”. Devoting its front page to this “conductor and discoverer of celebrities” (including Guy Berry and Carlo Cotti), the occasional partner of Frédo Gardoni and the official accompanist of Tino Rossi⁷³, “*Le Petit Radio*” of January 13th writes:

“Gino Bordin’s repertoire is extremely wide and includes works ranging from Chopin, Schumann and other classics to the most modern fox-trots and tangos.⁷⁴”

In April 1939, the “Clément Doucet and Jean Wiener” tandem are the guests of the studios of the “*Rue de Washington*”, which enables the station’s magazine to praise the two talented performers:

“The creators of ‘jazz for two pianos’, two magicians whose musical responses get tangled and merge like the multiple tones of an orchestra under the lead of a conductor will be on Radio-Cité tonight. [...] Wiener can interpret any composer on request: Bach as well as Gershwin, Handel as well as Irving, Chopin as well as Christine⁷⁵.”

These two pianists not only bridge the gap between classical music and jazz, but also between symphonic music and the productions of the movie industry, a cultural sector which maintains a close relation with the composers. While Georges Delerue particularly stands out in this domain, we can notice here that Jean Wiener, who had already composed 50 scores for movies in 1936, was the then artistic manager of the company “*Film Éclair*”, and Georges

⁶⁶ Ici...Radio-Cité n°69, p. 6 of May 5th 1939 : “La brillante inauguration du studio Washington”.

⁶⁷ Ici...Radio-Cité n°73, p. 1 of May 26th 1939.

⁶⁸ Ici...Radio-Cité n°74, p. 7 of June 2nd 1939 : “*courrier des auditeurs*”.

⁶⁹ On Sunday June 11th 1939. This is always the “Orchestre Philharmonique de Paris”, in a “Festival Beethoven”.

⁷⁰ On Radio-Paris, he performs as much “Rêve de printemps” (by Richard Tauber), from the movie “*La Marche à la gloire*”, like on Tuesday June 2nd 1931, as an abstract of the “Barbier de Séville” by Rossini, like on Tuesday June 8th 1937. On the station Radio-Cité, which broadcasted some of its shows from the “Gaîté-Lyrique”, he is scheduled in one of the programs “votre chanteur préféré”, such as Réda Caire, Jean Tranchant or Alibert!

⁷¹ Ici...Radio-Cité n°32 of August 12th 1938, p. 7 : “The charming half an hour is scheduled every Tuesday evening, at 8 pm with Gino Bordin and his magic guitar. The famous virtuoso is surrounded by his band, with Jean Bernardi and Lucette Dunor, and the smiling song writer Charles Monelly who hosts the program”.

⁷² Ici...Radio-Cité n°73 of May 26th 1939, p. 6: “Chez les autres, quelques émissions sélectionnées”.

⁷³ Before this guitarist began to accompany the singer of “*Marinella*” in his tours, one could hear the Gino Bordin band at the Corsican Pavilion of the Exhibition 1937 every evening.

⁷⁴ *Le Petit Radio* n°614 of January 13th 1939, p. 1: “Gino Bordin”, by Jacques Tem.

⁷⁵ Ici...Radio-Cité n°66 of April 7th 1939, p. 5 : “Wiener and Doucet”.

Tzipine, Maurice Yvain's partner of the Sunday program on Radio-Cité, conducts the music that accompanies the newsreel section of '*films Gaumont*'⁷⁶."

By focusing on our two emblematic stations in 1939, we can see the shape of a breakaway from some invariants of the previous years: the steady but clear disappearance of the mention of the composers' names, and the explosion of musical slots. This is more oriented by the performances of the artists than by the musical works themselves. Radio-Paris and Radio-Cité are strengthening their respective identities. While the latter favors entertainment music but still allows a non negligible space to the classical genre, the "*Poste national*" remains a big cultural station. Its quest of audience figures leads it to open its broadcasting to aesthetics and shows which are musically lighter. The war is going to upset this balance. The State monopoly will favor the survival of classical music and musical creation. In its proportions, however, classical music will continuously be eroding in favor of more federative aesthetics, whose outlying radios will be delighted. The "private radios" will be surfing on this question and make it the core of their activity. But this is another story.

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⁷⁶ *Ici...Radio-Cité* n°67 of April 14th 1939, p. 7.