

*Musiciennes: Women Musicians in
France during the Interwar Years,
1919-1939*

Laura Ann Hamer

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Abstract

The musical life of interwar France (1919-39) has fascinated many writers; however, the part played by women musicians has been much neglected. This thesis seeks to rectify this situation by presenting a study of the activities and reception of the *musiciennes* of interwar France. The thesis is divided into three parts: part one provides a contextual framework within which to situate the pursuits of women musicians by considering both their contemporary social position and the gender-specific conditions which affect the lives, careers, and reception of *musiciennes*. Part two focuses on conductors and composers. Jane Evrard and her Orchestre féminin de Paris are discussed within the context of the contemporaneous development of the all-woman orchestra and rise of the first professional female conductors. The career of Germaine Tailleferre is considered as a case study of one of the most high-profile women composers. Her activities are placed against a backdrop of the wider contributions of *compositrices*, including Armande de Polignac, Marguerite Canal, Jeanne Leleu, Elsa Barraine, Yvonne Desportes, Claude Arrieu, Claire Delbos-Messiaen, and Marcelle de Manziarly, and the female candidates of the interwar Prix de Rome competition. Part three examines women such as Marguerite Long, Nadia Boulanger, and Wanda Landowska as performers and pedagogues, the reactions of contemporary critics, and discusses the subsequent reception of the *musiciennes*. A number of complex reasons are suggested to explain the current obscurity of many of the women, including the paradigm shift in French musical aesthetics after World War Two which tended to favour the Total Serialism propagated by Boulez, the concomitant decline of the professional all-women orchestras, and the commercial disadvantages which affect the promotion of women's music. By offering a reassessment of the *musiciennes* of interwar France this thesis poses a case for their full inclusion within the mainstream music history dedicated to this period.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This thesis began life as a study of the piano music of Germaine Tailleferre; however, a complicated legal case is currently underway which has removed the vast majority of Tailleferre's manuscript scores from the public domain, and rendered them unavailable for academic study. As a significant proportion of Tailleferre's piano music remains unpublished, and a substantial number of the works which were published during her lifetime are no longer available, it soon became apparent that it would not be possible to dedicate an entire thesis to this topic. In response, I decided to broaden the scope of my enquiry to investigate the wider activities of women musicians in interwar France. I soon realised that women contributed to French musical life during this period in nearly every possible way, as composers, performers, conductors, and pedagogues. The majority of these women musicians, however, have been virtually forgotten, and have received little scholarly attention to date. These *musiciennes*, therefore, became the new focus of my thesis.

Women such as Jane Evrard, Marguerite Canal, Elsa Barraine, Claude Arrieu, Ginette Neveu, and Lily Laskine, to name but a few, were recognised as being amongst the most eminent of contemporary musicians working in France during the interwar years. However, despite the fact that much has been written about the rich musical life which flourished in the French capital during this period, little consideration has been accorded to *musiciennes*, who suffer from the pervasive academic tendency to air-brush feminine activities and achievements out of mainstream history. This thesis redresses this situation and presents a more balanced picture of musical life in interwar France by considering the women musicians who worked alongside their better-known male colleagues.

Little published literature exists as yet regarding the majority of *musiciennes* who are addressed in this thesis. There is little published information regarding Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris, or the female competitors for the interwar Prix de Rome competition, and few publications concerning the *compositrices* Armande de Polignac, Marguerite Canal, Jeanne Leleu, Elsa Barraine, Yvonne Desportes, Claude Arrieu, Claire Delbos-Messiaen, Marcelle de Manziarly, Marguerite Røesgen-Champion, or Henriette Puig-Roget. We are largely reliant upon contemporary newspaper articles and reviews for information about these women and their music. The recent publication of a new collection of essays about twentieth-century French women composers by the Association Femmes et Musique, *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle* (Paris: Delatour France, 2007) marks a significant development. Whilst serving as a useful source of basic information, this book (essentially a dictionary) does not contain any in-depth musical or critical discussions, and rarely provides more than factual biographical information. Moreover, not all of the women composers examined within the context of this thesis (such as Marguerite Røesgen-Champion) are represented. This thesis presents the first detailed consideration of many of the women composers active in interwar France in the English language.

Of the *musiciennes* of interwar France, Germaine Tailleferre and Nadia Boulanger have received the most scholarly attention to date. There are two books devoted to Tailleferre: Robert Shapiro, *Germaine Tailleferre: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994) and George Hacquard, *Germaine Tailleferre: La Dame des Six* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998).¹ Shapiro's bio-bibliography

¹ There is also a substantial article on Tailleferre, by Caroline Potter, and a significant essay, by Laura Mitgang. See Caroline Potter, 'Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983): A Centenary Appraisal', *Muziek & Wetenschap*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 1992), 109-128 and Laura Mitgang, 'Germaine Tailleferre: Before, During, and After Les Six', in *The Musical Women An International Perspective*, Vol. 2,

is a valuable research tool which contains extensive listings of sources, reviews, and recordings; whilst Hacquard's book presents a useful introductory biography to the composer. Neither of these, however, addresses her music, her critical reception, nor her impact on the contemporary musical milieu. Amongst the literature concerning Nadia Boulanger, Léonie Rosenstiel's *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1982), written with the co-operation of Nadia Boulanger, constitutes a thorough biographical study. Caroline Potter's recent book, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) provides important analytical discussion of the music whilst also considering the close relationship between Nadia and Lili Boulanger. The main aspects of Nadia Boulanger's career discussed in this thesis, however, are her conducting and pedagogic activities; features that have received considerably less attention to date.²

Musiciennes are referred to throughout this thesis by their surnames, in opposition to the practice sometimes applied of calling women musicians by their first names as it was felt this does not accord sufficient respect.³ The exceptions to this are Nadia and Lili Boulanger who are referred to as Nadia Boulanger and Lili Boulanger in order to avoid confusion. The majority of the material presented in this thesis is derived from extensive archival research which I undertook in Paris. All translations from the original French, unless otherwise stated, are my own. I am grateful to the European Erasmus Exchange Programme which facilitated my spending the academic year of 2006-7 at the Université de Paris IV – La Sorbonne. I also undertook research

editor-in-chief Judith Lang Zaimont, associate editors, Catherine Overhauser and Jane Gottlieb (New York, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1987), 177-221.

² Jeanice Brooks's article, 'Noble et grande servante de la musique: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting Career', *The Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996), 92-116 presents the first important consideration of her conducting activities.

³ For example, Clara Wieck-Schumann is referred to as 'Clara' throughout Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, Revised Edition (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001) and Nadia Boulanger as 'Nadia' in Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: Norton, 1982).

at the New York Public Library (in February 2007) in order to use the Tailleferre Archive. I extend my gratitude to the School of Music, Cardiff University who awarded me with a research grant which enabled this work in the US.

In Paris, I made contact with a number of the surviving family members of the *musiciennes* who I was researching, many of whom gave generously of their time in order to assist me in my investigations. In the case of Jane Evrard, I acknowledge the munificent help of her family, especially her son Manuel Poulet. All of Jane Evrard's extant papers, and a large number of reviews and programme notes which she personally collected during her lifetime, are currently in the possession of her family. I am grateful to the Poulet family for granting me generous access to the Evrard-Poulet Archives, and for allowing me to photocopy important materials. I am also grateful to the Poulet family for answering my many questions relating to Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris. In my investigations regarding Germaine Tailleferre, I am grateful to her only surviving heir, her granddaughter Elvire de Rudder, for meeting with me and sharing her reminiscences of her grandmother. I am also grateful to Madame de Rudder for granting me permission to obtain photocopies of a number of Tailleferre's archived letters. I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Michel Gemignani, the younger son of Yvonne Desportes, for his invaluable assistance in granting me access to private materials of his late mother's currently in his possession, allowing copies, and answering my many questions.

I have worked in a large number of libraries and archives, in France, Britain, and the US, whilst pursuing the research for this thesis, and I acknowledge the patience and help of all the staff and librarians who have assisted me with my many queries and demands. Special mention must be made of the staff of the music department at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Médiathèque Musicale

Mahler, and the Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand. I also acknowledge the help of Monsieur Ben Zerrouk, Principal Archivist of the Académie des Beaux-Arts at the Institut de France, who brought out many documents for me whilst I was researching women competitors for the Prix de Rome during the interwar years. I would like to extend my gratitude to the staff of the music departments of the New York Public Library, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the British Library. A special mention must also be given to the staff of the library of the School of Music, Cardiff University for their help in procuring numerous inter-library loans.

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Musiciennes: Women Musicians in France during the Interwar Years, 1919-1939

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Libraries

BMD Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand

BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France

MMM Médiathèque Musicale Mahler

Abbreviations of French Feminist Organisations

CNFF Conseil National des Femmes Françaises

FNF Fédération Nationale des Femmes

LFDF Ligue Française pour le Droit des femmes

UFCS Union Féminine Civique et Sociale

UFF Union Fraternelle des Femmes

UFSF Union Françaises pour le Suffrage des Femmes

UNVF Union Nationale pour le Vote des Femmes

Other Abbreviations

WLM Women's Liberation Movement

Abbreviations used in Appendix 2

Ded. Dedicated (to)

Com. Commissioned (by)

Prem. Première

Pub. Published (by)

Rev. Revised

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Part One

Women Musicians in France: Context

The Social Position of Women in Interwar France

One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. (Simone de Beauvoir)¹

Any consideration of the *musiciennes* who were active in France during the interwar period must be understood in relation to contemporary conservative attitudes towards women. The interwar years formed part of the Third Republic (1870-1940) which was marked by its traditionalist stance towards women who were denied both suffrage and citizenship.² Between the two world wars, French women were expected to inhabit a narrowly confined social position which was politically enforced by the government through a range of strategies intended to suppress their political rights, curb their public activities, and encourage them to embrace the traditional feminine rôles of wife and mother. In addition to lack of suffrage, restrictive governmental policies towards women included their systematic exclusion from the workforce and the prohibition of biological control (through the illegality of contraception and abortion) intended to compel them to have children. This chapter will examine the constricted social rôle which was politically assigned to French women during the interwar period in order to situate the activities of *musiciennes* within their contemporary context of a culture which was hostile towards feminine achievement.

¹ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, Translated and edited by H. M. Parshley, with an Introduction by Margaret Crosland, Everyman's Library 137 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1993), 281.

² All French men were granted the right to vote in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution (1789); however, in the spring of 1793 the National Convention decreed that 'children, the insane, minors, women, and prisoners, until their rehabilitation, will not be citizens.' (Cited from Dorothy McBride Stetson, *Women's Rights in France*, [New York, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1987], 29.) (It is noteworthy that not all French men retained the right to vote throughout the entire nineteenth century.)

The 1920s: Conservative Politics and the Denial of Suffrage

Social and political attitudes towards French women during the 1920s were markedly conservative and this may be interpreted as a reaction against the partial social and economic freedoms they had attained during World War One when war-time conditions had forced women to adopt traditionally masculine rôles.³ The Prime Minister René Viviani appealed directly to French women shortly after the declaration of war; he had called rural women to the land and urban proletarian women to the factories.⁴ Thus, the responsibility of feeding the nation had lain with more than three million women who maintained French farms during the war years. In urban areas women not only replaced men in factories but also served as train and tram drivers. Moreover, women had comprised one third of the work force in armaments, munitions, and war industries. An increased number of women had also been employed in the white-collar professions during the war, especially teaching.⁵

In the absence of men, women were obliged to assume economic responsibility for their families. In 1915 the government granted married women paternal authority to enable them to take decisions for their children in emergencies when their husbands could not be contacted, such as when they were away fighting at the front. In effect this transfer of familial responsibility to mothers allowed women to replace men as the heads of families. Susan K. Foley has commented that:

The longer the war went on, the more entrenched the new pattern of gender relations seemed to be. Women, it appeared, had not only moved into men's jobs but taken over their world; a world from which men felt they had been exiled. Women had replaced them as 'heads of families', primary or sole wage-earners. They had become financially independent, autonomous, accustomed to living alone and making decisions for themselves and their children. Men seemed to be redundant.⁶

³ For a detailed discussion of the rôle played by French women during World War One see Susan K. Foley, *Women in France Since 1789: The Meanings of Difference* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), especially 163-172.

⁴ Viviani served as Prime Minister of France for the first year of World War One (1914-15).

⁵ Female teachers in France were permitted to instruct boys for the first time during World War One.

⁶ Susan K. Foley, *Women in France Since 1789: The Meanings of Difference*, 171.

The opportunities which had opened up for women during the war were largely closed again during the 1920s. Possibly due to the feminine threat posed to traditional masculine positions during the period of conflict, these years were marked by a conservatism which extolled the right of men to command within both the public and the domestic spheres and also emphasised traditional female rôles. In the years directly following World War One, the French government decided on an official pro-natal political stance with the objective of forcing women to embrace maternity. This strategy was also intended to address France's depleted population as over one million French men had been killed during the war. The French government reacted to this population crisis by passing laws against contraception and abortion: in 1920, inciting abortion was made illegal, as was selling or providing information about contraception. In 1923 these measures were strengthened by a further law which made passing on the name of an abortion practitioner an offence. It also shifted abortion cases to magistrates' courts because juries acquitted eighty per cent of those charged, and stipulated punishments for the performing of abortion at one to five years imprisonment for the abortionist and at six months to two years imprisonment for a woman who had an abortion. These legislative measures were supplemented by a range of administrative initiatives intended to encourage large families. The newly-established Conseil de la natalité introduced payments for families with three or more children and the Médaille de la famille française was awarded to mothers with five or more legitimate children.⁷

Policies, intended to return women to the domestic sphere, were strengthened by a marked post-World-War One trend to exclude women from the French workforce. The number of women in employment declined after the war, when many

⁷ Ibid., 180.

were removed from their wartime occupations, and this trend did not reverse until 1968. It proved impossible, however, to remove women from the workplace entirely. The high number of widows and wives of maimed husbands present in post-World-War-One French society meant that many women were forced to continue in paid employment to provide for themselves and their families. Moreover, there was an extreme shortage of men which meant that many women would never marry and would consequently be required to work in order to support themselves.

Restrictive measures aimed at returning women to the home were counterbalanced by a gradual shift in gender relations which could not be entirely reversed by reactionary and conservative policies, and were visually announced by significant changes in women's fashions after World War One. Simplicity in dress had become normal during the war, due to the limited availability of fabrics, and this pattern did not reverse after the end of hostilities. The 'flapper' style (which consisted of a low-waisted, straight shift) gained wide popularity during the late 1920s. This style emphasised a post-war jubilation which did not embrace maternity. The straight fall of the shift dress of the 'flapper' style (see Figure 1:1) created an androgynous form by concealing the traditionally feminine contours of the chest and hips and functioned as an outward reminder that, despite all the French government's most vigorous efforts, the birth rate in 1920s France remained very low.

The clothes of the fashion designer Gabrielle 'Coco' Chanel (1883-1971) epitomised post-World-War-One chic. Chanel herself was an inspirational rôle-model for any aspiring modern woman, as she had raised herself from orphanage beginnings to the heights of Parisian fashion through her own hard work and efforts, with no male assistance.⁸ Although a Chanel original was very expensive, she allowed her designs

⁸ For information on Chanel see Alice Mackrell, *Coco Chanel* (London: Batsford, 1992).

to be copied and mass produced so that many women could imitate her style. Female hairstyles also underwent a radical change after the war when short hair for women (known as the 'bob') became popular. It also became socially acceptable for respectable women to dye and curl their hair and to wear make-up in public.⁹ The development of cheap dyes and hair curlers allowed working-class women to experiment with the new fashions.¹⁰

Figure 1:1 – Chanel Designs, 1924¹¹



Post-World War One France is, nevertheless, distinguished by its extremely conservative attitude towards women. Significantly, women's suffrage was not granted after the war, despite their contribution to the war effort. This denial of suffrage to French women after World War One created a marked contrast to other countries which had been actively involved in the fighting and in which the feminine

⁹ Before World War One, social stigma had been attached to wearing make-up as it was associated with women who worked in the entertainment industries (such as actresses and music-hall dancers) and women of loose moral values.

¹⁰ The years immediately after the war saw a massive increase in the numbers of women regularly visiting a salon. Cheaper salons which opened late in the evenings opened up in workers' districts to cater for working-class needs. Hairdressing itself became a suitable occupation for women.

¹¹ Reproduced from Georgina Howell, *In Vogue: Six Decades of Fashion* (London: Penguin Books, 1975), 77.

contribution to the war effort had been essential; Germany and Austria granted women's suffrage in 1918 and Great Britain gave the vote to all women in 1928.¹² The French Chamber of Deputies had, in fact, voted in favour of female suffrage in 1919 with a majority of three hundred and forty-four to ninety-seven; however, the Senate delayed debate until November 1922, when the post-war elections produced a more conservative government, and the bill was rejected. French women were not given the right to vote until 1944 and cast their first ballots in the municipal elections of April 1945.¹³

The Development of Interwar Feminism

The suppression of women's political rights during the interwar years was counterbalanced by the steady development of feminism, which had first emerged in France during the nineteenth century.¹⁴ The nineteenth-century French feminist movement had been divided, on ideological grounds, into two distinct groups: secular and Catholic.¹⁵ Feminist groups during the interwar period continued to be divided along the lines of those which were secular and accepted members of any faith and those with a predominantly Catholic membership and association. During the interwar years the larger organisations of French feminism became a constant feature of the political climate and each experienced a rapid and sustained expansion in membership. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, feminism expanded from being a

¹² British women over the age of thirty obtained the vote in 1918; however, universal suffrage to all Britons over the age of twenty-one was not granted until the passing of the Representation of the People Act in 1928.

¹³ The Comité Français de Libération Nationale (CFLN), which had assumed power in Algeria, decided to grant women suffrage, thus making them citizens of the French nation for the first time, on 24 March 1944.

¹⁴ During the nineteenth century, French feminism had tended to be the concern of a relatively small number of women concentrated in the Parisian area.

¹⁵ For an authoritative study of feminism in later nineteenth-century France see Steven C. Hause with Anne R. Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

Paris-based phenomenon to a national concern, the nature of which was further altered by the acquisition of a respectability which attracted an even greater number of women to the Catholic movement, although it also cost the main secular groups their radical edge. Some women of the interwar years even considered feminism to be a soft political option, mainly concerned with suffrage and married women's property. Paul Smith has commented that 'young middle-class women who wanted to rebel in the 1920s and 1930s did not become feminists because feminism was too safe'.¹⁶

Lack of radical approach effectively defined mainstream French feminism during the interwar period. The humiliating prospects of public ridicule and shame proved powerful deterrents to French women, and even the radical French suffrage campaign did not include the types of tactics to which the pre-World-War-One militant British Suffragette movement had resorted, such as breaking the windows of politicians' houses, hunger strikes, race-course deaths, or public protests which involved being tied to the railings outside of parliament.¹⁷

During the interwar years, however, one-hundred and forty-four predominantly all-women groups of a broadly political nature existed within France.¹⁸ A great many of these associations were founded shortly before, during, or after World War One.¹⁹ Women's groups existed which reflected the entire range of the contemporary French political spectrum; from the Catholic model (where single-sex

¹⁶ Paul Smith, *Feminism and the Third Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 14.

¹⁷ For a consideration of the militant British suffrage campaign see Sandra Stanley Holton, 'In sorrowful wrath': suffrage militancy and the romantic feminism of Emmeline Pankhurst' in *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Harold L. Smith (London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1990), 7-24.

¹⁸ Siân Reynolds, *Alternative Politics: Women and Public Life in France between the Wars*, Stirling French Publications, Number 1 (Stirling: Stirling University Press, 1993), 9. Reynolds bases her statistics on the catalogue 'Mouvements de femmes (1919-1940), guide des sources documentaires' (special issue of *Vie sociale*, 11 December 1984) compiled by a French research team working under the auspices of the women's studies programme of the CNRS. This covers only Paris-based groups, however, and excludes philanthropic associations which were considered to be too numerous.

¹⁹ It can be difficult to estimate their actual political weight as the sizes and intensity of action varied enormously between groups and even very small associations had the ability to produce misleadingly large amounts of archived paperwork.

groups were mandatory); through the independent groups which were initiated to campaign for specific issues, such as suffrage or peace; to the left-wing example, which included the women's sections of the main political parties. (Although French women were denied suffrage they were permitted to join political parties which generally included a women's section to cater to the needs of female party members.) Despite ideological differences, women's groups tended to adopt the rules and procedures virtually exclusively practised by the political parties, trade unions, and male groups.²⁰ They tended to have a *comité d'honneur* (patrons) and an executive committee (comprising of a president, secretary, and treasurer). They took minutes and kept records, hired halls and speakers for their meetings, published bulletins (if they could afford to), and attempted to attract public attention to their cause. Women may be regarded, therefore, as adopting the already established conventions of small-scale political life into which they were being initiated.

During the interwar period, secular feminism was dominated by five organisations (see Table 1:1), all of which had their origins in the pre-war years.

Table 1:1 – Interwar Secular Feminist Organisations

Organisation	Commonly Abbreviated Title²¹
Conseil national des femmes françaises	CNFF
Union française pour le suffrage des femmes	UFSF
Ligue française pour le droit des femmes	LFDF
Société pour l'amélioration du sort de la femme et la revendication de ses droits	Amélioration
Union fraternelle des femmes	UFF

²⁰ The French law of 1901 stipulated that any officially-constituted organisation be registered with the authorities and have a committee structure and membership rules.

²¹ All secular feminist organisations shall be referred to hereafter by their commonly abbreviated titles, by which they were generally referred to in the contemporary French press and in later publications about the development of French Feminism, such as Paul Smith, *Feminism and the Third Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

Although all of these groups actively supported obtaining the vote for women it would be inaccurate to consider them as having been in any way militant or radically feminist organisations.²² Their concerns extended far beyond female suffrage and embraced a whole range of social issues focused on improving the daily lives and conditions of women. The main preoccupations of the CNFF may be taken as an instructive example. This organisation was founded in 1901 when it was organised into eight *sections* (standing committees) which dealt with social welfare and assistance, social hygiene, education, labour, peace, the press (pornography), emigration, and legislation. A separate suffrage section was created in 1904 in response to internal pressure. The number of sections was increased to twelve after World War One, which encompassed a new section to deal with child welfare whilst the pornography section was expanded and divided into two; one section dealing with monitoring the press and the arts and the other dealing directly with prostitution and moral double standards.

The concerns of the CNFF, such as childcare and hygiene, may be regarded as being primarily concerned with issues traditionally considered as being feminine and, by extension, as preserving women's politics within the domestic sphere. Interwar French feminist groups did not, in general, address public politics, economics or wider social issues. They were united, however, in their commitment to the peaceful campaign for suffrage, as many of their supporters believed that female suffrage was a social necessity. Figure 1:2 shows members of Amélioration before a march carrying banners which highlight the social reasons why many of the members of this moderate feminist organisation (whose principal objective was to improve the

²² The interwar suffrage campaigners in France did not adopt any of the militant strategies which the British suffragettes had used before the First World War. Their activities also contrast sharply with the radical feminism which was later associated with the woman's movement of the 1960s and 1970s (sometimes referred to as 'second-wave feminism') which was concerned with fighting social injustices towards women (such as unequal pay for the same employment and sexual harassment).

conditions of professional women such as doctors and lawyers) believed that women should vote: to combat immorality and alcoholism, to protect mothers, and to prevent war.

Figure 1:2 – Members of Amélioration before a March, c.1920²³



The secular feminist organisations in France during the interwar years were complemented by three equally well-developed Catholic feminist groups (see Table 1:2), which could also trace their origins to the mid-nineteenth century.

Table 1:2 – Interwar Catholic Feminist Organisations

Organisation	Commonly Abbreviated Title ²⁴
Union nationale pour le vote des femmes	UNVF
Fédération nationale des femmes	FNF
Union Féminine Civique et sociale	UFCS

In common with the secular women’s groups, the Catholic feminist movement in France represented peaceful organisations which campaigned for female suffrage alongside a range of other issues aimed at improving women’s social conditions.

Catholic women (and indeed men) in favour of women’s suffrage, however, did not

²³ Reproduced from Steven C. Hause with Anne R. Kenney, *Women’s Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic* (included amongst the plates which are not given page numbers).

²⁴ All Catholic feminist organisations shall be referred to hereafter by their commonly abbreviated titles, by which they were generally referred to in the contemporary French press and in later publications about the development of French Feminism, such as Paul Smith, *Feminism and the Third Republic*.

meet with universal support from within the Church in France, despite the official endorsement of the Pope. Many clerics remained sceptical and a significant number of conservative Catholics rejected giving the vote to women in favour of a proposed family vote which would give extra votes to the fathers of large families, thereby supporting the Catholic ideal of the large family. Furthermore, the majority of Catholics in support of women's suffrage retained a hierarchical view of women's place within society which privileged patriarchal structures.²⁵ The French government, however, remained resolute throughout the 1920s that women would not be accorded the right to vote and should content themselves within the domestic sphere of the marital homestead.

The 1930s: The Depression, Work, and Political Activity

The gender struggles of the 1920s relating to a woman's proper place within French society continued into the Depression years of the 1930s.²⁶ The immediate response to the Depression in France, as in other countries, was that employed women should return to the home, thereby opening up job opportunities for men. This was not, however, a practical solution as by the 1930s the workplace had become to a large extent sexually diversified; the popular myth that women were taking up men's jobs was, in fact, a fabrication. Men and women rarely did the same jobs even when they worked in the same industry; for example, in the post office nearly all the switchboard operators and postal clerks were women. Typing and secretarial work,

²⁵ The leading Catholic writer at the time on the question of women's suffrage was Father A. D. Sertillanges who maintained that whilst the time had come for women to play a full part in society their traditional rôle within the family must be fulfilled before any other considerations. His book *Féminisme et christianisme*, first published in 1908, was popular and influential enough to have gone through six editions by 1930, without alteration.

²⁶ As a largely self-sufficient agricultural country, France was affected less quickly by the Wall Street crash of 25 October 1929 in the US than other countries; however, it was also particularly slow to improve, and France's economy remained stagnant up to 1938 when the recovery was well underway in many other countries.

also, were virtually exclusively feminine sectors of the workforce. Arguments that women should return to the domestic sphere also ignored the economic necessity that many families were reliant on the woman's wage, either exclusively when there was no man, when the man was out of work, or as a supplement to the man's income.²⁷

Many forms of working-class employment (both industrial and agricultural) during this period were onerous, and often especially so for women. Women earned less than men, at best they received two thirds of a man's pay for the same work, and traditional female jobs (such as secretarial and clerical work) were very poorly paid.²⁸ Conditions for women in factories were particularly unpleasant; they were often expected to perform cleaning duties in addition to their work for no extra money and frequently suffered sexual harassment and sometimes abuse. Life was made even harder for married working women during the 1930s by the difficulty of trying to combine a job with running a house; domestic tasks, such as cooking and cleaning, were very difficult in the absence of modern household machinery.²⁹

The feminist movement in France persevered throughout the 1930s through the continued activities of the main secular groups (the CNFF, UFSF, LFDF, Amélioration, and UFF) and the Catholic organisations (the UNVF, FNF, and UFCS). In 1934 these were joined by the society *Femme Nouvelle* which was established by Louise Weiss (1893-1983).³⁰ Weiss's *Femme Nouvelle* was a pro-suffrage organisation distinguished from all the others by being the only group exclusively concerned with suffrage.³¹ Weiss had originally been approached by members of the

²⁷ Susan K. Foley, *Women in France Since 1789: The Meanings of Difference*, 186-8.

²⁸ It is possible that the conditions of the Depression, when work was scarce, made women reluctant to campaign for better pay and working conditions.

²⁹ The only domestic appliances and machinery which had been invented during the interwar period (such as early refrigerators) were strictly the preserve of the upper classes.

³⁰ For a discussion of the suffrage activities of Louise Weiss and *Femme Nouvelle* see Siân Reynolds, *Alternative Politics: Women and Public Life in France between the Wars*, 14-15.

³¹ *Femme Nouvelle* was not concerned with wider social issues affecting women, such as child care and domestic hygiene.

UFSF with the idea that she might work with them but she believed that they were too timid in their actions and too closely associated with the Radical party, through their president Cécile Brunschvicg (1877-1946).³² *Femme Nouvelle* was intended to be politically neutral; Weiss welcomed the support of any politicians and criticised other feminist groups for developing associations with particular political parties. Weiss's organisation achieved a number of successes, notably in a campaign against an anti-suffragist senator in the Vienne, Raymond Duplantier, who was subsequently defeated in the autumn elections of 1935. *Femme Nouvelle* organised parades attended by famous women aviators, demonstrations on the race course at Chantilly, encouraged women to chain themselves to the Bastille monument, presented socks to senators (to show that women would still darn men's socks even if allowed to vote), provincial tours, and alternative ballots for the elections of 1935 and 1936.³³ Weiss (a former newspaper editor) was skilled at press manipulation and understood the importance of media attention; she regularly alerted the newspapers to what she was doing and also used film and radio in order to broadcast her message to as wide an audience as possible. The effects of *Nouvelle Femme* were to be short-lived, however, as Weiss gave up suffragism in 1937 in order to concentrate her efforts on opposing Fascism both within and outside France.

Throughout the 1930s, extra-parliamentary action became a regular feature of French political life. The rise of the right-wing pro-Fascist leagues and the consequential formation of the left-wing Popular Front brought politics onto the streets and allowed women to engage with political life, through their right to join political parties, even though they were unable to vote for them in the official

³² In addition to being a known feminist and suffrage campaigner Brunschvicg was also a member of the radical party.

³³ In these actions Weiss was inspired by the pre-war militant Suffragette activities in Great Britain.

governmental elections.³⁴ Although women and girls were outnumbered by men and boys, they participated in the street manifestations of both the Fascist leagues and the Popular Front. There were also suffrage demonstrations, inspired by the pre-war Suffragette movement in Britain albeit on a rather more conservative scale. The steady continuation of peaceful suffrage activities throughout the 1930s (concentrated on public lectures, meetings, and small-scale publications) was supplemented by the regular occurrence of public protests. These included entering the Senate through the public gallery and showering the senators with flyers reading ‘Pour combattre l’alcoolisme, la femme doit voter’, hiring buses and driving them around Paris covered with pro-suffrage banners, silent demonstrations by teams of women relaying each other outside the Senate at the opening of session, war widows hiring taxis with special banners to protest over tax law, wearing green ribbons and badges in hats, and talking energetically to the policemen who attempted to move on silent demonstrators.³⁵

Despite the fact that French women did not have the right to vote in governmental elections during the 1930s, there were a number of local, and some national, elective bodies for which they were eligible to vote, notably the representative committees of trade and professional unions. Furthermore, women could sit on local council committees to which they had been co-opted and not elected. This practice was begun by the Communist party as early as 1926 and extensively applied by left-wing municipalities (when Socialist and Communist mayors co-opted women on to municipal councils) after the left had made significant gains in the 1935 elections.³⁶ In general, however, women sat on welfare and

³⁴ The Popular Front was a political alliance of left-wing politicians which included Communists, Socialists, and Radicals.

³⁵ Siân Reynolds, *Alternative Politics: Women and Public Life in France between the Wars*, 16.

³⁶ These women tended to be either party members themselves or the wives of party members.

education committees, dealing with supposedly feminine interests such as childcare, delinquency, health, and social care. Their co-option to committees dealing with such 'feminine' issues, and rather than to those addressing concerns such as economics or party politics, may be regarded as preserving women's politics and political concerns within the domestic and private spheres.

The practice of appointing non-elected women was further exploited by the Popular Front Government of 1936 to 1937 when the Prime Minister Léon Blum appointed three non-elected female government ministers. Significantly, two of the three ministerial posts appointed to women in Blum's Popular Front government dealt with the same types of pseudo-domestic, 'feminine' issues to which the women on the left-wing municipal committees had been assigned. Suzanne Lacore (a previously unknown school teacher from the Dordogne) was appointed to a junior post in the health ministry, under Henri Sellier. She was responsible for a new department, for 'the protection of childhood', created in response to public concern about child abuse and juvenile delinquency. Cécile Brunschvicg (who was known as a prominent suffrage campaigner through her presidency of the UFSF) was attached to the ministry of education, under Jean Zay. Her allocated responsibilities included providing school canteens and special institutions for handicapped and deprived children.

Although it cannot be denied that the presence of women in public office represented both an achievement for women's social status and represented one way in which they could still engage with political life, even in the absence of suffrage, the types of issues which these co-opted women were expected to deal with (notably those concerning health, education, and children) reflected the pervasive belief that

women should be concerned with domestic issues, even within public life. Siân

Reynolds has commented that:

Whether as co-opted ministers or co-opted municipal councillors, these women were in very circumscribed positions. They were subordinate to men, with little real freedom of action: they were assigned to areas most male politicians were unlikely to covet (since they carried little or no career promise); and those areas correspond to the supposedly 'natural' concerns of women. Moreover they owed their status to patronage not election.³⁷

The exception to this trend to co-opt women to deal with domestic issues was the appointment of Irène Joliot-Curie as undersecretary of state for scientific research. In which rôle, Joliot-Curie helped to found the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.³⁸ No further women ministers were appointed, however, after the collapse of Blum's Popular Front government in 1937.

Conclusion

During the interwar years, French women were restricted to an extremely narrow social rôle which was politically assigned, and enforced, by the government. Despite the limited engagement with political life which the steady development of French feminism, access to membership of political parties, and the co-option of a small number of female councillors and ministers represented, French women were denied the right to vote. Thus, through their lack of suffrage and denial of citizenship, French women effectively lacked actual political rights and equality of representation. Discouraged from working, they were expected to content themselves within the domestic sphere where they were to dedicate their time to caring for their husbands and raising their children. The illegality of birth control, moreover, ensured that

³⁷ Siân Reynolds, *Alternative Politics: Women and Public Life in France between the Wars*, 6.

³⁸ Irène Joliot-Curie and her husband Frédéric Joliot-Curie had both become interested in politics during the early 1930s when concerns over the rise of Fascism prompted them to join the Socialist party in 1935. The same year they joined the Comité de vigilance des intellectuels antifascists and in 1936 (the year of her appointment to Blum's government) they both actively supported the Republicans in the Spanish civil war. Irène Joliot-Curie's political career continued after the war when she became a commissioner in the Commissariat à l'énergie atomique. She was also actively involved in promoting women's education and served on the National Committee of the Union of French Women and the World Peace Council.

women lacked all power over their own reproduction. This lack of any legal right to regulate pregnancy created the practical problem of the encumbering considerations of motherhood for any woman wishing to pursue a sexual relationship. Given this politically engrained social expectation that tended to exclude women from the public sphere it may be considered remarkable that so many *musiciennes* were active in interwar France. It is important to position their achievements against this background which was hostile to female professionalism and to understand the reception and criticism of their work as having been shaped by the society in which it was produced and which perceived career-orientated success by women as unusual.

Women Musicians and Gender: Contexts and Limitations

Gender, commonly understood as the social construction of sexual difference, has influenced all aspects of musical culture. (Susan C. Cook and Judith Tsou)¹

Cook and Tsou's identification of the far-reaching consequences of gender on musical activity highlights the extent to which social ideas concerning what artistic pursuits are considered appropriate for men and women have affected the careers of *musiciennes*. Social conventions governing modes of behaviour deemed suitable for the different sexes have historically dictated how women have engaged with every facet of music making, from their perfecting certain instruments as a refined accomplishment, to the difficulties which have prevented female composers from composing many large-scale works (such as operas and symphonies). Recent decades have witnessed a marked tendency towards gender-sensitive scholarship which has aimed to understand why and how social constructions of female gender have impacted upon the lives of women, how their experiences have been limited by cultural prohibitions against 'unfeminine' behaviour, and to challenge the marginalised position which women, and their achievements, have traditionally held within conventional academic work. This chapter will chart the development of feminist scholarship throughout the later twentieth century, discuss the usefulness of gender as a specialised category of historical investigation, and highlight the application of gender-specific study to musicology. Attention will also be focused upon gender-specific considerations which particularly affected the *musiciennes* who

¹ Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, 'Introduction: "Bright Cecilia"', in *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, eds. Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 1.

worked in France during the interwar years, including the problems which they encountered when approaching publishers, modes through which they were received in the contemporary musical press, and restrictions which impinged upon the instruments which women performers were allowed to play.

The Development of Feminist Scholarship

Feminist scholarship, which first arose as a serious academic concern to analyse the conditions of women's lives and to explore the cultural understandings of what it means to be a woman, emerged in the US in the later 1960s.² Throughout the ensuing four decades, it rapidly developed into an international academic phenomenon which was marked, from the outset, by its interdisciplinary nature.³ Feminist scholarship has had a significant impact upon the social sciences, literary criticism, film studies, women's history, and, more recently, musicology. The emergence of women's studies in the later twentieth century, as a separate discipline, has helped to consolidate feminist academic pursuits and to focus attention upon women as being worthy of serious study.⁴

Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones have commented that 'to be a feminist implies a particular politicised understanding of being a woman'.⁵ Feminist scholarship has always had a political dimension, and was initially guided by the aims of the second-wave feminism of the Women's Liberation Movement (hereafter WLM).⁶ The WLM

² Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones, 'Thinking for Ourselves: An Introduction to Feminist Theorising', in *Contemporary Feminist Theories*, eds. Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 1-10.

³ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴ For a detailed account of the development of women's studies, as an independent academic discipline, see Mary Maynard, 'Women's Studies', in *Contemporary Feminist Theories*, eds. Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 247-258.

⁵ Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones, 'Thinking for Ourselves: An Introduction to Feminist Theorising', 2.

⁶ Second-wave feminism developed throughout the later 1960s and early 1970s, particularly in Northern America and Western Europe, and built upon the obtainment of suffrage achieved by the first-wave feminism of the later nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries.

focussed upon obtaining greater social, economic, and legal rights for women. The wide range of their campaigns included such diverse issues as gender inequality in the workplace, the end of sexual harassment and discrimination, equal pay for equal work, abortion, domestic violence, the sexual objectification of women, and the unequal divide of housework and childcare.⁷ Feminist theory, upon which the majority of feminist scholarship is based, has been produced from both the grass roots of the WLM and from within the academy.⁸

Feminist scholars were (and still are) concerned with challenging the male-dominated curriculum.⁹ Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, much research was done to make women visible and uncover, for example, women's history and literature.¹⁰ This type of research, focused upon revealing the experiences and contributions of women which had tended to be forgotten, or marginalised, within conventional academic writing is sometimes referred to as 'compensatory' or 'recuperative' history.¹¹ Simultaneously, a number of diverse feminist theories were postulated which attempted to address, and offer possible explanations for, the marginalisation and subjugation of women, male domination, and the social tendency towards patriarchal systems.¹² Feminist theories have emerged which have been influenced by nearly every major philosophical system of the twentieth century, and feminist theorists (like

⁷ For information on the WLM see, for example, Robin Morgan (ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Random House, 1970) and Sheila Tobias, *Faces of Feminism: An Activist's Reflections on the Women's Movement* (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1997).

⁸ Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones, 'Thinking for Ourselves: An Introduction to Feminist Theorising', 2. (It is noteworthy that many of the first generation of academic feminists were also WLM activists.)

⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰ See, for example, Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It* (London: Pluto Press, 1977) and Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own* (London: Virago, 1978).

¹¹ See, for example, Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, 'Introduction: "Bright Cecilia"', 4 and Mary Maynard, 'Women's Studies', 250.

¹² A complete survey of feminist theories would be a vast endeavour and lies beyond the parameters of the present thesis. For an interesting introduction to the study see Stevi Jackson, 'Theorising Gender and Sexuality', in *Contemporary Feminist Theories*, eds. Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 131-140.

any other) tend to be widely divided over different issues. The major strands of feminist theory include, although are by no means restricted to, Marxist feminism, radical feminism, material feminism, psychoanalytical feminism and, more recently, postmodern feminism.¹³

Growth in feminist scholarship led to the establishment of a number of dedicated feminist academic journals, through which feminist theory and research could be disseminated, examples of which include *Signs*, *Questions féministes*, and *Feminist Review*.¹⁴ The dissemination of feminist thought was further aided by the establishment of a number of independent feminist publishing presses, such as Virago, Onlywomen, and The Women's Press.¹⁵ The decline in the WLM during the late 1970s and early 1980s (when the sheer range of feminist issues being campaigned for contributed to the demise of a unified movement) led to a general separation between feminist political action and feminist scholarship, which retreated to the academy.¹⁶ Its presence within academia, however, continued to grow and develop throughout the later twentieth century and perseveres up to the present day.

Using Gender as a Category of Historical Research

Joan W. Scott, in responding to the rapid growth of feminist scholarship in the 1970s and 1980s, has commented upon gender as a useful category of historical research.¹⁷ She referred to the tendency of scholars to use the term 'gender' as

¹³ See Stevi Jackson, 'Theorising Gender and Sexuality' for a useful introduction to each theory.. It should be noted, however, that a number of important feminist writers existed before the rapid expansion of feminist theory in the early 1970s. Important examples include Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (1929), and Simone de Beauvoir, *Le Deuxième sexe* (1949).

¹⁴ Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones, 'Thinking for Ourselves: An Introduction to Feminist Theorising', 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 5. (Although a number of these feminist publishing presses have survived to the present day, the majority have been incorporated into larger mainstream commercial organisations.)

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁷ See Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 5 (Dec., 1986), 1053-1075.

opposed to 'women' when dealing with feminist scholarship, using it as 'a way of referring to the social organization of the relationship between the sexes'.¹⁸ She has also discussed how using 'gender' virtually as a synonym for 'women' has removed the inherent political threat of the latter term, and helped to provide academic legitimacy.¹⁹ Gender, however, is a problematic term as there is no consensus amongst scholars over how to define it.²⁰ The sociologist Ann Oakley was amongst the first to make a distinction between the biological sex which an individual is born with, and the gender which individuals culturally acquire.²¹ More recently Judith Butler has suggested that if gender does not necessarily follow from biological sex, then there is no reason to assume that there are only two genders.²² Scott has defined gender as 'a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences of the sexes' and 'a primary way of signifying relationships of power'.²³

Scott's definition of gender may be useful to musicologists, especially within the context of a study dedicated to women musicians, as both parts of her definition of gender have a particular resonance with the historical status of *musiciennes*. Firstly, perceived differences of the sexes have traditionally dictated which musical activities men and women could engage with; for example, prior to the twentieth century, men could have public careers as professional composers of large-scale genres whilst women were expected to content themselves with amateur music-making within a domestic setting.²⁴ Secondly, the use of gender to signify relationships of power has

¹⁸ Ibid., 1053.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1056. The use of 'women', in conjunction with academic work during the 1970s and 1980s, suggested an implicit allegiance to feminist politics.

²⁰ See Stevi Jackson, 'Theorising Gender and Sexuality', 131.

²¹ See Ann Oakley, *Sex, Gender and Society* (London: Temple Smith, 1972).

²² See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990).

²³ Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', 1067.

²⁴ There are, of course, significant exceptions to this general trend. For example, Augusta Holmès achieved a relatively successful career as a professional composer in nineteenth-century France whilst Ethel Smyth also worked professionally in Germany and Britain during the late nineteenth and turn-of-

had a particular affect on music criticism. Gendered language has frequently been used to describe the musical activities and works of women in order to denigrate them as the efforts of the ‘weaker sex’, thereby implying a hierarchical relationship of creative power along gender lines which privileges men as superior. Susan McClary has described this phenomenon of belittling women’s compositions thus:

The music that has been composed by women [...] has often been received in terms of the essentialist stereotypes ascribed to women by masculine culture: it is repeatedly condemned as pretty yet trivial or – in the event that it does not conform to standards of feminine propriety – as aggressive and unbecoming a woman.²⁵

The use of gendered language to establish an implicit power relationship between men and women, and to preserve the types of stereotypical ‘feminine’ traits which have been culturally ascribed to women which McClary has decried, played an important part in the reviews and criticism of *musiciennes* in interwar France (discussed below).

Further to this, Scott’s definition of gender may also be particularly appropriate for use by musicologists working within the framework of a historical study, as she originally formulated it within the context of the historical discipline. Musicology, especially as it pertains to the historical study of music, is a close disciplinary relative of history, and studies such as the present thesis (bent upon re-evaluating the *musiciennes* of interwar France) share a common goal with historical works which aim to add women’s experiences into recorded history. Scott has described the work of feminist historians which has aimed to ‘prove either that women had a history or that women participated in the major political upheavals of Western civilization’, and also commented on the continuing marginal status of such studies which she believes the use of ‘gender as an analytical category’ would

the twentieth centuries. (For information on Holmès see Gérard Gefan, *Augusta Holmès: l’outrancière* [Paris: Belfond, 1987], and on Smyth see Louise Collis, *Impetuous Heart: The Story of Ethel Smyth* [London: William Kimber, 1984].)

²⁵ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 18-19.

redress.²⁶ In the case of feminist music history one could replace ‘major political upheavals of Western civilization’ with ‘major musical styles and developments’. Despite some excellent research into the *musiciennes* of interwar France, particularly that of Caroline Potter and Georges Hacquard, they continue to be marginalised within mainstream music history.²⁷ For example, although the inside fly-leaf of the hard-cover version of Roger Nichols’s *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris, 1917-1929* proclaims that ‘it was a time in which women were coming into their own: the composers Germaine Tailleferre and Lili Boulanger; salon hostesses the princesse de Polignac and Mme Clemenceau; teachers such as Nadia Boulanger, Lili’s formidable elder sister; and the amazing harpsichordist Wanda Landowska’, actual discussions of women musicians within the main text of the book are minimal.²⁸ Scott’s analytical category of gender is thus equally pertinent to musicology.

Gender and Music

Cook and Tsou have commented that ‘gender as a category of analysis has come slowly and often with difficulty to the academic discipline of music’.²⁹ McClary has also written of the late arrival of gender studies and feminist scholarship within musicology: ‘feminist criticism emerged in literary studies and art history in the late 1970s, many women musicologists such as myself looked on from the sidelines with interest and considerable envy. But at the time, there were formidable obstacles

²⁶ Joan W. Scott, ‘Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis’, 1055.

²⁷ For recent work on the *musiciennes* of interwar France see, for example, Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), and Georges Hacquard, *Germaine Tailleferre: La Dame des Six* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1998).

²⁸ Roger Nichols, *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris, 1917-1929* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), inside fly-leaf. The index of this work lists only four entries for Germaine Tailleferre and none for Lili Boulanger (perhaps not surprisingly as her death in 1918 rendered her impact within Nichols’s stated period of study [1917-29] minimal) compared to forty-five and seventy-nine for the male composers Arthur Honegger and Darius Milhaud respectively.

²⁹ Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, 1.

preventing us from bringing the same questions to bear on music'.³⁰ Whilst Cook and Tsou decline to discuss the reasons why gender entered musicology later than in many other disciplines, McClary advances the fact that musicology was a male-dominated discipline during the 1970s, and suggests that this would have made female scholars 'loath to jeopardize the tentative toeholds' which they had managed to achieve.³¹

To this may be added the methodological explanation that musical research, prior to the advent of New Musicology in the 1980s, tended to be focussed around formalist analysis and positivism. In his seminal work of 1985, *Musicology*, Joseph Kerman observed the serious shortcomings of positivist musicology:

[...] a virtual blackout was imposed on critical interpretation – that is, the attempt to put the data that we collected to use for aesthetic appraisal or hermeneutics. Even historical interpretation was scant. In this area, most of the activity consisted of arranging the events of music history, considered as an autonomous phenomenon, into simplistic evolutionary patterns [...] Much less attention was paid to the interaction of music history with political, social, and intellectual history.³²

Kerman's remarks highlight the barriers which would have prevented using gender as an analytical category within musicology at this time. The wide-scale deficiency of critical interpretation would have prevented the consideration of gender as a possible factor within such investigations, whilst the lack of engagement between music history and political or social history would have precluded serious consideration of sociological reasons – such as the marginalisation of women to the domestic sphere – to explain why women composers have (generally) produced less than men. Kerman's call for a shift from positivist fact-finding to critical interpretation contributed to a large-scale change in the nature of musicology, which subsequently became more concerned with criticism, theory, and examining the social contexts of musical production. These far-reaching changes in the way that scholars looked at and thought about music are often understood as contributing to the development of New

³⁰ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, 5.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

³² Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1985), 42-3.

Musicology.³³ Concomitant to the development of new research methods, and also related to the appearance of New Musicology, scholars began to look beyond the canon of musical works which had developed in both the academy and the concert halls throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and to study different repertoires.³⁴

The development of New Musicology has had positive benefits for those who use gender as a category of musical research, as it helped to legitimise study of musicians and composers who lay beyond the traditional canon, such as women.³⁵

Cook and Tsou have commented that ‘like its sister discipline, women’s history, the study of women in music began with compensatory history: the identification of those women – typically composers or performers of neglected concert music – whose lives and work were not part of the accepted musico-historical canon of “great works”’.³⁶

Since the 1980s, there has been an increase in the number of separate studies of women composers being undertaken.³⁷ This ‘compensatory’ history has been

³³ New Musicology is a difficult concept to precisely define, David Beard and Ken Gloag have commented on the fact that it never ‘existed as an integrated movement’ (David Beard and Ken Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts* [London: Routledge, 2005], 122). They describe it as ‘a loose amalgam of individuals and ideas, dating from the mid-1980s, nearly exclusively based in America, whose work has now largely been absorbed into the common practice’ and identify these scholars’ common concerns as ‘a wider post-modern move to displace positivism and the concept of the autonomous musical work’. (Ibid., 122.)

³⁴ For an interesting account of the development of the musical canon see William Weber, ‘The History of Musical Canon’ in *Rethinking Music*, eds. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 336-355. For a lively collection of challenges to the traditional musical canon see Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (eds.), *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992). Further recent contributions to the critical reappraisal of musicology, its methods, and its subjects (which are indicative of the wider concerns of New Musicology) include Leo Treitler, *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1989); Anthony Pryer, ‘Re-Thinking History. What is Music ‘History’ and How Is It Written? Anthony Pryer Reflects on the Problems of Music Historians and on Some Recent Histories of Early Music’, *The Musical Times*, Vol. 135, No. 1821 (Nov., 1994), 682-690; and Alastair Williams, *Constructing Musicology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

³⁵ The development of New Musicology has also helped to legitimise the serious studies of many other repertoires which lay outside the canon, such as world music, jazz, and popular music.

³⁶ Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, 4.

³⁷ The following books represent just a small portion of the work, and subsequent publications, being done in the field of women composers: Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (London: Gollancz, 1985); Françoise Tillard, *Fanny Mendelssohn* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1996);

supplemented by the preparation of new editions of works by women composers and the publication of previously unpublished works for the first time.³⁸ The appearance of *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* in 1994, moreover, marked a new level of recognition and respect for the lives and achievements of female composers.³⁹ The present study contributes to the ‘compensatory’ history dedicated to the contributions of women musicians, which has developed within musicology over the last three decades. It aims to uncover the activities, works, and experiences of *musiciennes* working within interwar France in order to provide a more balanced picture of this period by adding these women into its musical history.

Beyond such research into ‘compensatory’ history, Cook and Tsou have further identified that ‘in the late 1980s explicitly feminist scholarship in musicology also emerged’.⁴⁰ Such scholars as Susan McClary and Eva Rieger began to discuss the rôle and construction of gender in musical language, to create new musical aesthetics of sexuality, and to provide feminist musical criticism of a wide range of musical works.⁴¹ This work has been influenced by (and is many ways analogous to) the feminist criticism which emerged in film and literary studies in the 1970s.⁴² The present thesis, being more concerned with the activities and reception of *musiciennes* than analysis, does not engage with the types of feminist music criticism which

and Adrienne Fried Block, *Amy Beach, Passionate Victorian: An American Composer's Life and Works* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

³⁸ For example, Marianna d'Auenbrug, *Sonata per il Clavicembalo o Forte piano*, ed. S. Glickman (Bryn Mawr, 1990); Hildegard von Bingen, *Ordo Virtutum*, ed. A. E. Davidson (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute of Publications, 1985); and Clara Wieck-Schumann, *Sonate für Klavier* (Wiesbaden-Leipzig: B&H, 1991).

³⁹ Julie Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (London: Macmillan, 1994).

⁴⁰ Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, 5.

⁴¹ See Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) and Eva Rieger, *Frau, Musik und Männerherrschaft. Zum Ausschluß der Frau aus der deutschen Musikpädagogik, Musikwissenschaft und Musikausbübung*. (Kassel: Furore-Verlag, 1988).

⁴² Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, 7.

McClary has pioneered.⁴³ Marcia J. Citron, meanwhile, has discussed the sociological and cultural barriers which have (historically) prevented women from pursuing professional careers as composers. Citron's theory, which was first published in *The Journal of Musicology* in 1990, posits that a number of pre-requisite conditions are necessary in order for an individual to become a professional composer. These include access to adequate musical education and training, publication, opportunities for performances, and the attraction of critical attention.⁴⁴ She argues that women have encountered gender-specific conditions (such as lack of easy access to serious compositional studies) which have prevented them from fulfilling all of these.

Citron's theory is useful within the context of the present study, as an understanding of how such gender-specific barriers as she has identified have prescribed and limited the activities of the *compositrices* of interwar France; it can help to explain the scope of their careers, the problems which they encountered, and the critical reception which they attracted. For the purposes of this thesis, her theory regarding women composers may be extended to women musicians, conductors, performers, and teachers. Her first and third pre-requisite conditions, education and training and opportunities for performances, could be relatively easily obtained by *musiciennes* during the interwar years.⁴⁵ Despite familial pressures and socially accepted norms of behaviour, training and careers for women were open during the interwar period. The Paris Conservatoire and the Schola Cantorum admitted high

⁴³ However, the application of feminist music criticism to the music of *compositrices* represents an interesting field of possible further study.

⁴⁴ See Marcia J. Citron, 'Gender, Professionalism, and the Musical Canon', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Winter, 1990), 102-117. Citron later expanded and developed her theory in her later book *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

⁴⁵ The possibility of gaining access to training did not, of course, remove social barriers against 'unfeminine' behaviour. Some families remained reluctant to support women's musical education, both morally and financially. For example, Germaine Tailleferre's father attempted to prevent her from studying at the Paris Conservatoire (because he associated it with amoral sexual behaviour), and refused to support her financially. See Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', recueillis et annotés par Frédéric Robert, *La Revue internationale de la musique française*, No. 19 (February 1986), 12.

numbers of female students during these years, and the names of both women performers and women composers regularly appeared on concert programmes during this period.⁴⁶ However, Citron's pre-requisite conditions of publication and the attraction of criticism continued to affect *musiciennes* throughout the interwar years. To these may be added the further gender-specific condition of choice of instrument performed, as sociological conventions concerning which instruments were deemed appropriate for women to play continued to influence, and restrict, the choices of women performers in the interwar period.

Women Composers and Publication

Publication is an important marker of professional success as it contributes to the establishment of a composer's career through the dissemination of their work. Citron has commented upon the scarcity of published work by women composers, and attributed this fact to social considerations:

Publication [...] boasts a poor record with regard to women: only a small percentage of their works have appeared in print. At first glance publication seems an open-and-shut situation, a decision based on merit and anticipated profit for the publisher. Yet certain factors of social organization and practices have impinged forcefully on the issue and rendered publication anything but quality- or economics-based.⁴⁷

The factors of social organisation which she highlights are focused upon the fact that prior to 1800, publication was virtually controlled by patrons, who rarely employed women, and that after 1800, the likelihood of a work being published became associated with its potential to attract repeat performances.⁴⁸ Indeed, Citron argues that the presence of a male-dominated musical establishment, encompassing

⁴⁶ For information regarding the access of women to formal musical education in France see Florence Launay, *Les Compositrices en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2006); especially Chapter 1 'Devenir compositrice au XIXe siècle', 23-70.

⁴⁷ Marcia J. Citron, 'Gender, Professionalism, and the Musical Canon', 106.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

performers, conductors, and concert organisers, made it difficult for women to forge the necessary contacts to procure many performances of their work.⁴⁹

Women composers continued to experience difficulties with publication into the interwar period. In a 1934 interview with the feminist paper *La Française*, Marguerite Canal protested against the discrimination which she experienced from publishers as a woman composer:

There are the trials with the publishers [...] the arguments about the author's rights, the chicanes of all orders and sorts that the business men have no scruples in undertaking against a woman. I spend my life [...] running here and there in order to defend my interests [...] I spend my life defending myself, fighting...⁵⁰

It is noteworthy that Canal had a bitter personal experience with the publishing industry on account of the failure of her marriage. She had been married to the publisher Maxime Jamin who, during the course of their marriage, had promoted her music and supplied lists of her other available works with every published score.⁵¹ A legal battle followed their divorce in the early 1930s regarding author's rights and royalties. Although this was eventually settled in Canal's favour, the divorce cost her the principal promoter of her works and made it necessary for her to find another publisher.⁵²

Her remarks strongly suggest that publishers were disposed to discriminate against women composers, and not to treat them in a fair and professional manner. In adopting this prejudiced stance towards women, publishers may be seen as fitting

⁴⁹ Ibid., 106.

⁵⁰ « Ce sont les procès avec les éditeurs [...] les discussions pour les droits d'auteur, les chicanes de tous ordres et de toutes sortes que les hommes d'affaires n'ont aucun scrupule d'entreprendre contre une femme... Je passe ma vie [...] à courir de ci de là, pour défendre mes intérêts [...] Je passe ma vie à me défendre, à lutter... » *La Française* (30 May 1934), Anonymous press clipping, Fonds Marguerite Canal, BMD.

⁵¹ Several of Jamin's lists of Canal's other works are preserved within her published scores held at the BnF and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The marketing and promotional nature of these are evident through the extensive information supplied, regarding where other scores of her music may be purchased.

⁵² See Dominique Longuet, 'Marguerite Canal', in *Compositrices françaises au XXème siècle*, Association Femmes et Musique, (Paris: Delatour France, 2007), 70.

within the wider socio-political trend prevalent in interwar France which tended to debar women from public and professional life.⁵³ Publishers' reluctance to treat women composers on an equal footing with men was mirrored by the wider situation of women in employment, who were scarcely ever granted the same employment rights and conditions as men, and who, at best, received two thirds of a man's pay for the same work.⁵⁴

Canal's decision to speak out against the inequality which she was experiencing in a feminist paper is significant as it implies that she was sympathetic to the aims of the interwar French feminist organisations whose principal objectives included improving the conditions of working and professional women. A feminist publication would have been an ideal vehicle for her remarks as its writers, editors, and readers would have been supportive of her plight. She would have been able to speak openly, free from male censorship. Publishing her outcry away from the mainstream musical journals, whilst probably limiting its impact upon the musical world, also removed the possibility of it leading to her being labelled a trouble-maker, which may have further damaged her chances of securing a new publishing contract.

Although Canal's accusation of discrimination from publishers represents an isolated incident amongst the sources consulted during the research for the present thesis, it may be indicative of a wider problem. The fear of public shame and ridicule proved a powerful deterrent to women's suffrage campaigners in France, and contributed to the lack of militant feminist activity which marked interwar French feminism.⁵⁵ Similar concerns over mockery, or fears of being branded a feminist (who were frequently portrayed in an unfavourable light in the wider press), may have

⁵³ See Chapter 1 'The Social Position of Women in Interwar France'.

⁵⁴ Susan K. Foley, *Women in France Since 1789: The Meanings of Difference* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 186-8.

⁵⁵ See Chapter 1 'The Social Position of Women in Interwar France', 7-12.

prevented other women composers from speaking out about problems which they encountered when dealing with publishers.⁵⁶ Works by women composers appeared from a wide range of publishers during the interwar period. For example, works by Germaine Tailleferre were published by Durand, Chester, Heugel, and Lemoine; Yvonne Desportes's compositions were issued by Andraud, Leduc, Heugel, and Eschig; whilst Claude Arrieu's music was published by Durand, Lemoine, Heugel, Enoch, Salabert, and Amphion.⁵⁷ This does not prove, however, that they never encountered problems with publishers.⁵⁸ The fact that each worked with a number of different publishing houses, rather than building up a working relationship with one specific publisher, may indicate that it was not always easy for them to publish their work.

Critics Reactions to Women Musicians

The importance of critics' reactions should not be underestimated for the important rôle which they play in forming public opinion. Criticism focuses attention upon a specific artist or work, and acts as a form of validation of that individual or work being worthy of critical attention. It is possible to postulate that the amount of critical attention that an artist receives is proportional to the level of their professional acceptance. Citron has argued that critical reception is an important marker of

⁵⁶ For discussion of interwar feminism and the French media see Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilisation Without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917-1927* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁵⁷ For information about Tailleferre, Desportes, and Arrieu's publishers see Appendix 2 'Chronological Work List of Germaine Tailleferre's Compositions, 1909-1943'; Jacques Casterede, Vincent Gemignani, Marcel Landowski, Jean Podromides, Olivier Roux, and Valentine Roux-Cœurdevey, *Yvonne Desportes: Catalogue des Œuvres* (Plaquette réalisée à titre privé, Gemignani: 1995); and Claude Chamfray, 'Claude Arrieu', *Le Courrier musical de France*, NO. 35 (1971), fiche biographique.

⁵⁸ As sources relating to French women composers of the interwar years are increasingly deposited in research libraries, it is possible that further evidence may come to light regarding discrimination which they (may) have faced. A number of Tailleferre's publishers were approached during the research of the present thesis; however, the nature of the current legal case concerning her manuscripts made research in their archives impossible.

professional status but that women composers have ‘been subjected to gender-linked evaluation, placing them in a “separate but not equal” category that has widened the gulf between themselves and the homogenous canon’.⁵⁹

In general, however, the reviews which French women musicians received during the interwar period were positive. The vast majority of reviews studied for the present study (which especially included reviews of Germaine Tailleferre’s compositions, the concerts of the Orchestre féminin de Paris, and the Prix de Rome competition) were found to be supportive towards their activities. Although generally optimistic, the reviews which women musicians tended to receive in interwar France were often couched in adjectives with traditionally feminine associations (see Table 2:1).

Table 2:1 – Common Adjectives used in Reviews of Women Musicians

Charming	charmant(e)
Delicate	délicat(e)
Elegant	élégant(e)
Fresh	frais/fraîche
Delicious	délicieux/délicieuse
Seductive	séduisant(e)
Graceful	gracieux/gracieuse
Pretty	joli(e)
Light	léger/legère

For example, in 1929, Marcel Belvianes described Tailleferre’s Piano Concert No. 1 in *Le Ménestrel* as ‘a very pretty musical work’.⁶⁰ That same year, Robert Obussier found that Tailleferre’s *Pavane, Nocturne, Finale* was ‘not very original but delicate and of a charming pastoral colour’.⁶¹ Paul Le Flem, writing in *Comœdia*, was

⁵⁹ Marcia J. Citron, ‘Gender, Professionalism and the Musical Canon’, 108. The tendency of women, particularly in the nineteenth century, to concentrate on composing music for the private performance sphere (especially *salons*), amplified this situation as critics rarely provided reviews of *salon* concerts.

⁶⁰ « un très joli travail musical... » Marcel Belvianes, ‘Concerts Divers : Premier concert du groupe des six’, *Le Ménestrel*, 11 décembre 1929, 550.

⁶¹ « ...pas très original mais délicat et d’un charme couleur pastel. » Robert Obussier, ‘Concerts-Poulet’, *Le Ménestrel*, 13 décembre 1929, 538.

delighted by Tailleferre's *Pavane, Nocturne, Finale*, describing them as 'three charming pieces'.⁶²

It should be noted, however, that the types of adjectives listed in Table 2:1, despite their traditional associations with femininity, were also used to define French music in general. Since the nineteenth century, French critics had characterised their national musical style by what Richard Taruskin has referred to as, 'that cluster of values – purity, sobriety, objectivity, grace, impersonal precision, etc. – by which the French defined themselves'.⁶³ Adjectives which may traditionally be perceived as 'feminine' (such as 'grace', 'delicacy', or 'elegance'), formed part of the critical rhetoric developed to describe the objective, and precise, aesthetic aims of French music. Thus, the music of male composers was also frequently depicted using the same 'feminine' adjectives that were applied to the music composed by women. For example, when describing the works of Premier Grand Prix de Rome winner Francis Bousquet in 1923, Charles Dauzats claimed that he had already written 'some charming songs'.⁶⁴ In 1924, Francis Poulenc's ballet *Les Biches* was praised for its 'grace' and 'freshness' in *Le Journal des débats*.⁶⁵ In 1941, the same journal described the all-male repertoire (entirely composed by men, and interestingly including some Austro-German works) performed in a violin recital by Jacques Thibaud in terms of 'delicious and moving beauty':

Adjectives would seem spindly and standardised in order to describe and distinguish the successive and so diverse beauties of the Sonata in C Minor of Beethoven, or of the Concerto of Mozart, of the Sonata of Pierné, which is dedicated to him [Thibaud], or of the *Minstrel of*

⁶² «...trois charmantes pièces » Paul Le Flem, 'Concerts Poulet', *Comœdia*, 9 Décembre 1929, 2.

⁶³ Richard Taruskin, 'Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology', *19th-Century Music*, xvi (1992-3), 290.

⁶⁴ « M. Francis Bousquet a composé de charmantes mélodies... » Charles Dauzats, 'Les Grands Prix de Rome de musique', *Le Figaro* (1 July 1923), 1.

⁶⁵ « ... *Les Biches* de M. Francis Poulenc... est toute grâce, toute fraîcheur... » J. Kessel, 'Deux ballets nouveaux', *Le Journal des débats* (6 June 1924), 3.

Debussy, or of the *Danse espagnole* of Manuel de Falla, of all the delicious and moving pages...⁶⁶

The application of ‘feminine’ adjectives, to both male and female composers, by contemporary French critics is also apparent in the descriptions of the comparative musical qualities of the various members of Les Six which appeared in the musical press. In *Comœdia*, Paul Le Flem referred to ‘the seductive grace of a Germaine Tailleferre, the nuanced and delicate music of a Louis Durey...’⁶⁷ In *Le Courrier musical et théâtral*, Louis Laloy described ‘the freshness of Poulenc... the vivacity of Durey, the elegance of Germaine Tailleferre’.⁶⁸ The lack of gender discrimination in the selection of adjectives applied to both male and female composers by contemporary French critics undermines the accusation of gender bias against them. Although the music of women composers in France was often described as ‘charming’, ‘fresh’, and ‘light’, the blanket application of such adjectives to all French composers does not suggest that their sex prompted the critics to describe women’s music in these terms.

Unlike the critical treatment of women composers, however, that of women performers did regularly demonstrate gender-biased language. Katharine Ellis has discussed the gendered language which male critics developed to describe the performance activities of female pianists in nineteenth-century Paris, and argued that such rhetoric was used to reinforce ‘the idea of woman as vessel for divine truth,

⁶⁶ « Les épithètes sembleraient grêles et standardisées pour qualifier et discriminer les beautés successives et si diverses de la Sonate en Ut mineur de Beethoven, ou du Concerto de Mozart, de la Sonate de Pierné, qui lui est dédiée, ou du *Minstrel* de Debussy, ou de la *Danse espagnole* de Manuel de Falla, et de toutes pages délicieuses et pathétiques... » M.B., ‘Concert de Jacques Thibaud’, *Le Journal des débats* (24 January 1941), 2.

⁶⁷ « La grâce séduisant d’une Germaine Tailleferre, la musique nuancée et délicate d’un Louis Durey... » Paul Le Flem, ‘Le dixième anniversaire du "Groupe des Six", *Comœdia* (14 December 1929), 2.

⁶⁸ « ...la fraîcheur de Poulenc... la vivacité de Durey, l’élégance de Germaine Tailleferre. » Louis Laloy, ‘Le Groupe des Six’, *Le Courrier musical et théâtral* (10 January 1930), 5.

serving the cult of the work'.⁶⁹ Such metaphors persisted into the interwar period, when talented female performers continued to be described in terms of pseudo-divine mediums through which musical creative power could flow. In 1930, for example, Pierre Leroi portrayed Jane Evrard as one such vessel of a higher musical power: 'with her beautiful arms, muscular and supple, she kneads the musical material; a delicious, impulsive force emanates from her in radiations of which her body is the swaying antenna...'⁷⁰

Female performers were thus often described in terms of the typical 'feminine' adjectives listed in Table 2:1. Unlike the case of composers, when such words were applied to the music of both men and women, 'feminine' adjectives were reserved for female performers. For example, in a 1938 concert review for *Le Figaro*, Stan Golestan referred to the 'delicious and warm talent of the harpist Lily Laskine who, with the flautist Roger Cortet, interpreted the Concerto of Mozart'.⁷¹ (Thus Laskine is characterised by feminine adjectives, whilst Cortet is simply named.) A 1932 review composed in feminine terms such as 'beauty', 'delicacy', and 'blossoming', of a recital by Yvonne Lefébure by Georges Mussy, suggests that (to this critic at least) complete technical and interpretative mastery was more difficult for a female performer to achieve:

If the great and official consecration is accessible with greater difficulty to women pianists, nothing is lacking anymore for Mlle Yvonne Lefébure to conquer it. She has finished her season with a recital of all beauty. Splendid execution, prelude and fugue in A minor of Bach of a scope and brilliance which I have never seen achieved by a woman; exquisite musicality and delicacy in the expression of the Sonata in E flat of Mozart, to only cite the great phases

⁶⁹ Katharine Ellis, 'Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 50, No. 2/3 (Summer – Autumn 1997), 371.

⁷⁰ « Avec ses beaux bras, musclés et souples, elle pétrit la matière musicale; une délicieuse force impulsive émane d'elle en irradiations dont son corps est l'antenne ondulante... » Pierre Leroi, *Le Chantecler* (6 December 1930); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁷¹ « ...le talent délicieux et chaud de la harpiste Lily Laskine qui, avec le flûtiste Roger Cortet, interpréta le Concerto de Mozart. » Stan Golestan, 'Quelques célèbres virtuoses', *Le Figaro* (28 March 1938), 4.

of the performance, asserting the full blossoming of a young talent and the personality of the artist who has justified her place of soloist at the big concerts.⁷²

Sometimes critical accounts of performances by female performers also

included physical descriptions of the women, especially when they were beautiful. In a 1935 review of Tailleferre's *Two Songs After Byron*, which appeared in *Le Courrier musical – théâtral – cinématographique*, Roger Tolleront described the singers Anita Réal as 'golden-haired' with a 'silver voice', and Lise Granger-Daniels as having a 'deliciously resonant' voice.⁷³ Commentary upon the physical appearance of *musiciennes* was not even limited to male critics; in 1930, Lucie Delarue-Mardrus described the glamour of the Orchestre féminin de Paris thus: 'Ardent, fervent, with their hair short, their arms bare, and their long dresses, directed by Jane Evrard, thin and golden-haired'.⁷⁴ Emphasis upon the physical appearance of female performers contributed to critics not judging women on an equal status with men, as such reviews demonstrate that beauty was used as a value judgement.

Critical tendency to construe female performers as vessels of musical creativity, to describe their technical abilities in terms of gendered language, to indicate that it was more difficult for them to achieve complete technical mastery of their instrument and virtuosa status, or to focus attention upon their physical appearances contributed to the placing of women performers in another 'separate but not equal category' (as Citron has identified for women composers).⁷⁵ The gendered

⁷² « Si la grande et officielle consécration est plus difficilement accessible aux pianistes femmes, rien ne manque plus à Mlle Yvonne Lefébure pour la conquérir. Elle a terminé sa saison par un récital de toute beauté. Splendide exécution, prélude et fugue en la mineur de Bach d'une ampleur et d'un éclat auxquels je n'ai jamais vu atteindre par une femme ; musicalité exquise et finesse dans l'expression de la Sonate en mi bémol de Mozart, pour ne citer que les grandes phases de la séance, affirmèrent le plein épanouissement d'un jeune talent et la personnalité de l'artiste qui a justifié sa place de soliste aux grands concerts. » George Mussy, 'Concerts et récitals', *Le Figaro* (28 June 1932), 8.

⁷³ « Mlle Anita Réal, cantatrice aux cheveux d'or et à la voix d'argent, Mme Lise Granger-Daniels, également cantatrice à l'organe délicieusement timbré... » Roger Tolleront, 'Récitals Concerts divers', *Le Courrier musical – théâtral – cinématographique* (1-15 January 1935), 26.

⁷⁴ « Ardeur, ferveur, avec leurs cheveux courts, leurs bras nus et leurs longues robes, dirigées par Jane Evrard, mince et coiffée d'or fin ! » Lucie Delarue-Mardrus, *Le Journal* (2 December 1930); press-clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁷⁵ Marcia J. Citron, 'Gender, Professionalism and the Musical Canon', 108.

criticism which women performers received during the interwar period represented a serious gender-specific barrier, which prevented them from being treated in an equal manner to men.

Women Performers and Instruments

Women performers have historically been restricted in their choice of instrument by social considerations relating to which were deemed suitable for them to play. These social restrictions may be considered just as serious for female performers as those gender-specific conditions (identified by Citron) affecting women composers. Cultural ideas regarding which instruments women could learn to play, which had developed throughout the nineteenth century, were so firmly entrenched by the interwar years that they continued to dictate women's performance practices.

Ironically, it is possible to suggest that the social conventions which prevented professional women performers from engaging with the entire spectrum of musical instruments may have developed through an extension of the restrictions and considerations placed upon the musical education of young ladies of the upper and upper-middle classes. Music had formed an important constitutive element of the education of such young ladies since the eighteenth century.⁷⁶ The primary social function for cultivating musical accomplishments in upper-class women was that they might attract potential suitors by displaying their feminine charms through musical performance, thereby securing good marriages. The instruments which upper-class women were encouraged to learn, especially the piano and the harp, allowed them to appear in physically attractive positions whilst playing: daintily seated before the

⁷⁶ For an account of the rôle of music within a young lady's education during the eighteenth century see Julie Anne Sadie, 'Musiciennes of the Ancien Régime' in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 197-8.

keyboard or displaying fine arms whilst plucking the strings.⁷⁷ Any instrument which required the types of noticeable physical efforts which interrupted perceived notions of composed feminine beauty was strictly prohibited. This especially applied to brass and wind instruments as the distortion of the facial muscles and puffing out of the cheeks that the playing of such instruments required were considered to be unsightly and unfeminine, and more likely to repel, than to attract, a potential suitor.⁷⁸

These social considerations appear to have permeated into the realm of professional musical activity, although an important distinction must be made between the upper-class women who cultivated music as a fine accomplishment, and professional female musicians who used their musical skills as the means of earning their living.⁷⁹ Throughout the nineteenth century, professional female performers also tended to concentrate upon the instruments which were considered to be the most appropriate for women to play. This is particularly reflected in the high number of professional female concert pianists, notable examples of which include Clara Wieck-Schumann, Louise Farrenc, and Marie Pleyel.⁸⁰ Singing, on both an amateur and a professional level, was also considered acceptable for women. However, social prohibitions against women playing wind and brass instruments were equally marked amongst professional female performers. Discussing Alphonse Sax's controversial attempt to establish a women's brass sextet (featuring his own instrumental inventions) in 1860s Paris, Katharine Ellis has commented that he 'knew that social

⁷⁷ For a consideration of instruments played as an accomplishment see Leon Plantinga, 'The Piano and the Nineteenth Century', in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. R. Larry Todd (New York, Oxford, Singapore, Sidney: Schirmer Books, 1990), 1-3.

⁷⁸ See Trevor Herbert, *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁷⁹ For a discussion of class considerations in women's musical education see Nancy B. Reich, 'Women as Musicians: A Question of Class', in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth Solie (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), 125-148.

⁸⁰ For an examination of women concert pianists working in nineteenth-century France (and their critical reception) see Katharine Ellis, 'Female Pianist and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris', 358-385.

prejudices against women playing wind instruments had to be overcome'.⁸¹ In an open letter published in *Le courrier medical* in 1862, Sax, who was promoting the health benefits of brass playing, also tried to argue against the prevalent contemporary belief that playing wind instruments was 'un-lady like':

The idea of women playing wind instruments, especially brass instruments, such as the horn, cornet or trombone, may appear bizarre to you at first. You will object that no lady would want to accept our new system of instrumental health because she would not consent to the temporary loss of the gracefulness of her face while she blows down an instrument. I do not regard this as a serious objection. Quite apart from the fact that it is not necessary to puff out one's cheek as much as certain musicians do – and which is a fault resulting from bad teaching – I see nothing in it which is disgraceful for the fair sex.⁸²

Despite a public concert in the Salle Herz in August 1865, which met with what Ellis has referred to as a 'feminist triumph' in the press, Sax's sextet appears to have disbanded after 1867.⁸³ It is noteworthy, as Ellis has also commented, that 'Sax's enterprise was primarily an exercise in commercial advertising and, ultimately, in exploitation'.⁸⁴ Notwithstanding Sax's attempts to overcome preconceptions against women playing brass instruments (in order to promote his own instruments), prejudices persisted right until the mid-twentieth century.

Social preconceptions continued to affect instrument choices for women into the interwar period. The instruments played by the most prestigious virtuose in France during these years were generally those which were considered socially acceptable for them to play. Examples include the pianists Marguerite Long and Yvonne Lefébure, the harpsichordist Wanda Landowska, the violinists Ginette Neveu and Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, and the harpist Lily Laskine. The social barrier which prevented women from learning brass instruments had a severe consequence for the *Orchestre féminin de Paris*. The impossibility of finding female woodwind and brass players

⁸¹ Katharine Ellis, 'The Fair Sax: Women, Brass-Playing and the Instrument Trade in 1860s Paris', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 124, No. 2 (1999), 235.

⁸² Alphonse Sax, *Le courrier medical*, 11/xxxvi (6 September 1862), 314; cited in *ibid.*, 236 (Ellis's translation).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 222 and 252.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

precluded the possibility of forming a full symphony orchestra, and was the principal reason that the ensemble was a string orchestra. Manuel Poulet has described the problems that Jane Evrard encountered when trying to engage female double bass and wind players thus:

There was only one double bass player because, at that time, it was very difficult to find a woman who played the double bass. The *Sinfonietta* of Albert Roussel [written for the Orchestre féminin de Paris in 1934] has a second movement in which the bass is very important and he sent Jane Evrard a letter saying ‘you will have to engage a man and give him a wig and a dress to play the double bass!’ [...] Sometimes, when they wanted to play early music with wind instruments – such as the flute and the oboe – it was difficult to find women, because in those days it was not normal for women to play wind instruments. Occasionally she had to engage male musicians but this was exceptional.⁸⁵

Conclusion

Social constructions of gender and ‘accepted’ realms of activity for women have affected, limited, and prescribed every aspect of women’s engagement with music, as well as the modes through which their musical activities and works have been received. The past three decades have witnessed the emergence and development of gender-sensitive scholarship within musicology which seeks to understand the musical activities of women within the contexts and limitations which have been socially imposed upon them. It is important to remember, when considering the *musiciennes* of interwar France, the gender-specific limitations and preconceptions which have particularly influenced their dealings with publishers, the criticism which they received, and the instruments which they played. An awareness of gender, as an issue which influenced and shaped the experience of these women, helps to explain the scope of their activities and the reception which they received during their lifetimes.

⁸⁵ Interview with Manuel Poulet (see Appendix 1); the Orchestre féminin de Paris never did engage a male double-bass player and disguise him as a women to play Roussel’s *Sinfonietta*.

Part Two

Women Conductors and Composers

On the Conductor's Podium: Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris

All the orchestra! Ardent, fervent, with their hair short, their arms bare and their long dresses, directed by Jane Evrard, thin and golden-haired. Behold the feminine flame which seems in the process of renewing the world!¹ (Lucie Delarue-Mardrus)

Jane Evrard became one of the first professional woman conductors in France when she founded the Orchestre féminin de Paris in 1930. From their inaugural concert, until World War Two, Evrard's orchestra was one of the most active and well-received musical ensembles in the French capital. The Orchestre féminin de Paris functioned as a performance platform for talented female instrumentalists: each of the twenty-five women string players whom Jane Evrard chose from amongst her friends, colleagues, and pupils to form the orchestra had received a Premier Prix in performance from the Paris Conservatoire.²

The Orchestre féminin de Paris was distinguished not only by the recognised quality of its performance but also by its programming of eclectic and innovative repertoire. The orchestra specialised both in reviving Baroque compositions, such as François Couperin's *La Troisième Leçon de Ténèbres* (1713-14), and in promoting contemporary music. A large number of the leading composers of the day, including Arthur Honegger, Florent Schmitt, and Maurice Ravel, wrote works specifically for it and several of these, such as Albert Roussel's *Sinfonietta* (1934), were dedicated to Jane Evrard. Numerous distinguished virtuosi performers, including Wanda

¹ « Tout l'orchestre ! Ardeur, ferveur, avec leurs cheveux courts, leurs bras nus et leurs longues robes, dirigées par Jane Evrard, mince et coiffée d'or fin ! La flamme féminine ! Voilà qui semble en voie de renouveler le monde ! » Lucie Delarue-Mardrus, *Le Journal* (2 December 1930); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

² See Appendix 1 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

Landowska, Paul Bazelaire, and Lily Laskine, were also attracted to collaborate with the orchestra and appeared as soloists. Despite the contemporary eminence of the *Orchestre féminin de Paris*, however, it has now become a virtually forgotten ensemble.

This chapter will draw on extensive archival documentation relating to the actions and reception of Jane Evrard and the *Orchestre féminin de Paris* in order to evaluate their contributions to interwar French musical life.³ It will also assess Jane Evrard as a conductor, including her independent career, image, and personal thoughts on being a woman conductor. Further to this, it aims to situate the activities of Jane Evrard and her orchestra within the context of the development of the all-woman orchestra and the emergence of the first professional female conductors that occurred in the later nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries.

Jane Evrard: A Biographical Background

The violinist and conductor Jane Evrard was born Jeanne Stéphanie Chevallier in Neuilly-Plaisance on 5 February 1893 and was the daughter of a retired naval officer turned civil servant (Jean Joseph Chevallier) and a musician (Blanche Félicie Boissard).⁴ One year after Jeanne's birth the family moved to the town of Evrard, the name of which would inspire her in later life to adopt Jane Evrard as a professional stage name.⁵ At the age of seven, Jeanne Chevallier asked her parents for a violin and soon exhibited signs of a precocious musical talent. She commenced her musical studies in violin and solfège in earnest in Paris; firstly at the Cours Masse and then, from the age of twelve, at the Paris Conservatoire. At the age of fourteen she won a

³ I am grateful to the Poulet family for allowing me generous access to the Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁴ I am grateful to Manuel Poulet for providing me with information about Evrard's background; see Appendix 1 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

⁵ The Chevallier family had moved to Evrard in order for the father to take up the post of director of technical services.

Première Médaille in Solfège and at the same age she entered the prestigious violin class of Augustin Lefort where she met the violinist, Gaston Poulet (1892-1974), whom she married 20 June 1912.

Whilst they were still students this exceptionally gifted young couple were invited to play for Georges Rabani, the conductor of the Concerts Rouge, which at this time was a veritable breeding-ground for musical talent, and here they succeeded to the violin desks of Lucien Capet and Jacques Thibaud. Together, Gaston and Jeanne Poulet played for the summer seasons at the Casino in Deauville and also at the Odéon theatre.⁶ In 1910 they joined Alphonse Hasselmans's orchestra, and in 1913 they were engaged by Pierre Monteux to participate in the orchestra of the Ballets Russes's historic première of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*.

Figure 3:1 – Jane Evrard as a Young Woman, c.1912⁷



In 1910 Gaston Poulet was awarded a Premier Prix in violin performance at the Paris Conservatoire and in 1911 launched an international solo career with his Brussels début playing the Beethoven Violin Concerto under the direction of Eugène

⁶ Manuel Poulet, *Jane Evrard (1893-1984) : Première Femme Chef d'Orchestre* (unpublished, Mrach 2000), 1. (I am grateful to Manuel Poulet for giving me copies of unpublished papers relating to Jane Evrard which he has complied.)

⁷ Photograph courtesy of Manuel Poulet.

Ysaÿe. In 1912, and encouraged by Gabriel Fauré, he decided to form a string quartet under his name with Victor Ocutil (second violin), Amable Massis (viola), and Lois Ruysen (cello). Occasionally his wife, Jeanne Poulet, would replace Ocutil as second violin in the Quatour Poulet. Thus, in June 1917, she accompanied her husband to the home of Claude Debussy to perform the composer's G minor String Quartet. Debussy was so delighted with the performance that he proclaimed 'do not change a thing, from now on that is how it must be played!'⁸ Debussy was a personal acquaintance of Gaston Poulet and consulted him throughout 1917 for technical advice whilst he was composing his Violin Sonata. Gaston Poulet and Debussy gave the première of this work at the Salle Gaveau in the summer and an additional performance at St Jean-de-Luz in September, which proved to be Debussy's final public appearance as a pianist.

Encouraged by his conducting teacher Arturo Toscanini, Gaston Poulet decided to become a conductor and in 1927 founded the Association des Concerts Poulet which took place in the Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt until they merged with the Concerts Siohan in 1935. Jeanne Poulet, however, took no part in the Association des Concerts Poulet. She dedicated her musical efforts to teaching the violin and gathering fellow musicians around her to play chamber music. During the 1920s, she also developed a parallel career as a film actress and it was in this decade that Jeanne Chevallier Poulet first adopted the professional stage name of Jane Evrard for her work in the cinema.⁹ (It was the contemporary vogue for American film stars which prompted her to anglicise the spelling of her name.) In 1927 she appeared as the Countess d'Agoult in *La Valse de l'adieu* by Henry Roussel, which also featured Pierre Blanchard in the rôle of Fryderyk Chopin. In 1928 she co-starred alongside

⁸ See Appendix 1 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

⁹ See Appendix 1 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

Marthe Chenal, whilst playing the part of the Countess de Lamballe in *Le Collier de la reine*.¹⁰

She was also, by now, the mother of two children: Jacqueline Poulet (born 6 September 1914) and Manuel Poulet (born 18 May 1921). As the 1920s progressed, however, the marriage between Gaston and Jeanne Poulet began to run into difficulties and at the end of the decade (in 1928 or 1929) they decided to separate. In 1930, Jeanne Poulet officially became Jeanne Chevallier, and adopted the professional name Jane Evrard permanently, in order to highlight her break from her former husband Gaston Poulet and symbolise her decision to step out from his musical shadow.¹¹ It was the well-known critic Émile Vuillermoz who first urged Evrard to take up conducting professionally, after hearing the chamber music recitals which she organised for amateurs. It was in this milieu that Vuillermoz first saw Evrard conducting and was greatly impressed by her skills. Evrard directed in public for the first time at the Salle d'Iéna in Paris the 3 June 1930 (see Figure 3:2), when she conducted a small string orchestra, composed of students and amateurs, in a charity concert. The large size of Evrard's name on this poster, which indicates that she was the main attraction, is significant as it suggests that she must have already have been relatively well known within interwar Parisian musical life.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Manuel Poulet for supplying me with a list of Jane Evrard's cinematic rôles.

¹¹ After his divorce, Gaston Poulet also continued to develop an extremely successful professional career. Between 1932 and 1944 he was the director of the Bordeaux Conservatoire and conductor of the Bordeaux Philharmonic Orchestra. From 1940 to 1945 he also conducted the Concerts Colonne in Paris. In 1944 he was appointed professor of chamber music at the Paris Conservatoire and taught there until his retirement in 1962. His second son Gérard Poulet (b. 1938) is also a professional violinist of international reputation and currently professor of violin at the Paris Conservatoire.

Figure 3:2 - Poster Advertising Jane Evrard's First Public Conducting

Engagement¹²



Following the critical success of this first appearance, Vuillermoz encouraged Evrard to found her own, professional, orchestra.¹³ Three months later she selected twenty-five highly-talented female string players from amongst her students and colleagues to form the Orchestre féminin de Paris.

The Activities of the Orchestre féminin de Paris

In *L'Excelsior* on 12 December 1932 Vuillermoz described the dual purpose of the orchestra, that he had been instrumental in bringing into being, which at once satisfied Paris's musical need of a string orchestra whilst simultaneously removing the difficulty of joining a male-dominated orchestra for talented female instrumentalists:

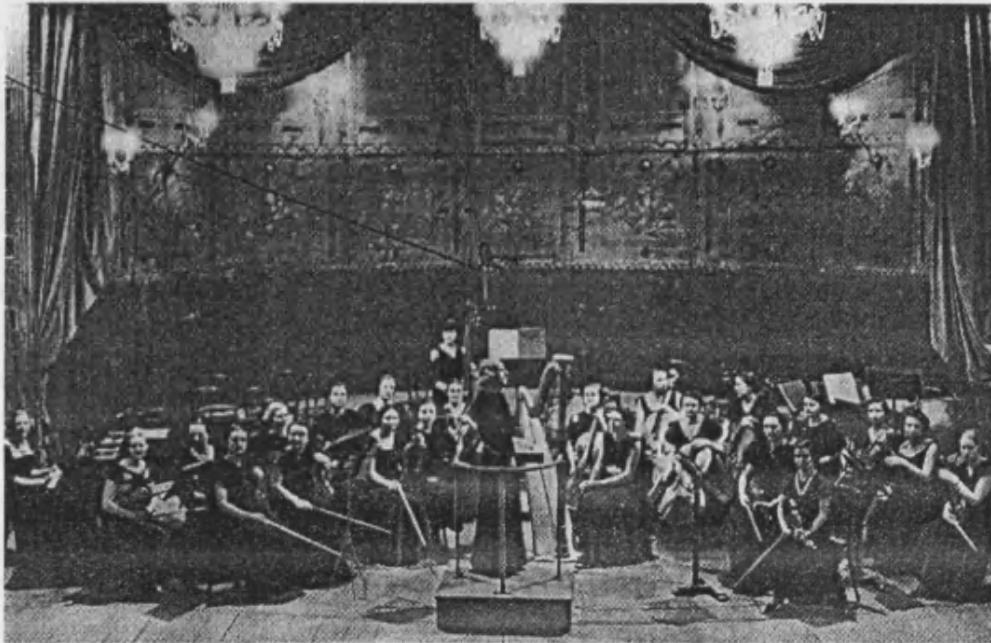
The initiative taken by Jane Evrard, excellent violinist, accomplished and hard-working musician is intelligent and reasoned... This orchestra has a neat originality and responds to a definite need. Firstly, it is the only string orchestra that we possess... There is a whole series of light and heavy works which need this specialised ensemble...

¹² Poster conserved in the Evrard-Poulet Archives.

¹³ See Appendix I 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

Furthermore, Jane Evrard frankly poses the problem of feminine work in the domain of the musical ensemble. In place of infiltrating one by one into our male orchestras, the women are brought together here and loyally place in full light their personal effort. Here is an honest and courageous gesture...¹⁴

Figure 3:3 – The Orchestre féminin de Paris¹⁵



As Paris's only string orchestra, as Vuillermoz commented, the Orchestre féminin de Paris was in a unique position to perform the large and specialised repertoire which already existed for this ensemble. In choosing the works which it would perform, however, Evrard wished to move beyond the standard concert programmes; she believed that musicians should play a socially-educational rôle and always strove to introduce the concert-going public to new and challenging repertoire. The programmes of the orchestra reveal their dual specialisations in both early and

¹⁴ « L'initiative prise par Jane Evrard, excellente violoniste, musicienne accomplie et travailleuse infatigable, est intelligente et raisonnée... Cet orchestre a une originalité propre, et répond à des besoins précis. Tout d'abord, c'est le seul *Streichorchester* que nous possédions... Il y a là toute une série d'œuvres légères ou fortes qui ont besoin de cet organisme spécialisé... De plus, Jane Evrard pose franchement le problème de la main-d'œuvre féminine dans le domaine de la musique d'ensemble. Au lieu de s'infiltrer une à une dans nos orchestres masculins, les femmes se réunissent ici et mettent loyalement en pleine lumière leur effort personnel. Voilà un geste honnête et courageux... » Emile Vuillermoz, *L'Excelsior* (12 December 1932); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

¹⁵ Photograph courtesy of Manuel Poulet.

contemporary music.¹⁶ In 1936, Evrard's colleague and associate, Arthur Hoérée

(1897-1986), formulated the Orchestre féminin de Paris's musical objectives thus:

To make use of music, to serve music. Two attitudes, two distinct goals. On the one hand, stereotypical programmes, impressive works, the 'panache' of execution which brings about a successful coup. On the other hand, the desire to instruct the public with unknown or misunderstood works, a faithful performance, looking to perfection and not enslaved to personal success. The Orchestre féminin de Paris and their director, Jane Evrard, as much by the quality of their programmes and the polish of their performance... serve the music with a zeal, a nobility, a disinterest which calls for respect and admiration.¹⁷

Furthermore, an article that appeared in *La Revue musicale belge* in July 1939

attributed the Orchestre féminin de Paris's success at least partially to their innovative programming:

The success which has greeted her [Jane Evrard's] initiative was moreover significant. If, on the one hand, she revealed to the French public works which were totally unknown to them, it is also certain that, only a fervent and careful performance would have been able to touch a public whose ears have for too long been held alert by the more powerful and more spicy sonorities of the big, modern symphony orchestra.

Amongst the early works, Jane Evrard loves the purest, the most simply musical: the names of Purcell, Corelli, Ditters von Dittersdorf, Leclair, figure in her programmes next to Handel, Mozart, Vivaldi... It is also certain that the activity of Jane Evrard and the quality of the performances which she directs have exerted their influence over the contemporary composers, who have entrusted to her the premières of their works for string orchestra. The *Sinfonietta* by Roussel, *Prélude, Arioso et Fughette sur le nom de Bach* by Honegger, the works of Milhaud, Henry Barraud, Maurice Jaubert, etc., have benefited from her attentive cares and from her accomplished musicality.¹⁸

¹⁶ Programmes conserved in the Evrard-Poulet Archives.

¹⁷ « Se servir de la musique, servir la musique. Deux attitudes, deux buts distincts. D'un côté, les programmes stéréotypés, les œuvres à effet, le "panache" d'une exécution extérieure entraînant à coup de succès. De l'autre côté, le désir d'instruire le public par des œuvres inconnues ou méconnues, une exécution fidèle, visant à la perfection et non inféodée au succès personnel. L'orchestre féminin et son chef, Jane Evrard, tant par la qualité des programmes et le fini de l'interprétation... servent la musique avec un zèle, une noblesse, un désintéressement qui dictent le respect et l'admiration » Arthur Hoérée, 'Les Concerts : Orchestre féminin de Paris', *La Revue musicale* (September-October 1936), 261; press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

¹⁸ « Le succès qui salua son initiative était d'ailleurs significatif. Si, d'une par, elle révélait au public français des œuvres qui lui étaient totalement inconnues, il est certain aussi que, seule, une exécution fervente et soignée pouvait toucher un public dont les oreilles avaient été trop longtemps été tenues en éveil par les sonorités plus puissantes et plus pimentées du grand orchestre symphonique moderne. Parmi les œuvres anciennes, Jane Evrard affectionne celle qui sont les plus pures, les plus simplement musicales : les noms de Purcell, Corelli, Ditters von Dittersdorf, Leclair, figurent dans ses programmes auprès de Haendel, Mozart, Vivaldi...

Il est certain aussi que l'activité de Jane Evrard et la qualité des exécutions qu'elle dirige ont exercé leur influence sur les compositeurs contemporains qui lui ont confié la création de leurs œuvres pour orchestre à cordes. La *Sinfonietta* de Roussel, *Prélude, Arioso et Fughette sur le nom de Bach* de Honegger, des œuvres de Milhaud, Henry Barraud, Maurice Jaubert, etc., ont bénéficié de ses soins attentifs et de sa musicalité accomplie. » Anonymous, 'Jane Evrard et l'Orchestre féminin de Paris', *La Revue musicale belge* (5 July 1939); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

Evrard was committed to presenting performances of early music, notably by Jean-Baptiste Lully, Claude Gervaise, Michel Blavet, André Grétry, and François Couperin. It should be noted, however, that the early music revival in France was already well-established by the interwar period; it had been gaining ground throughout the nineteenth century and taken on a special impetus and nationalist significance in the wake of the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71).¹⁹ The presentation of early music, therefore, was not an innovation of this period as by the 1930s, early music formed an accepted part of Parisian concert life. French interest in early music, however, did continue throughout the interwar period and the specialised nature of the Orchestre féminin de Paris, as a string orchestra, placed it in a unique position to revive early works written for this ensemble. Evrard purposefully sought out and researched unpublished early works for chamber orchestra, with the assistance of the Belgian composer and critic Arthur Hoérée, in order to incorporate them into her orchestra's repertoire.²⁰ Hoérée transcribed the surviving figured bass parts of the early works which he worked on with Evrard and then realised and orchestrated these in order to produce new versions for the Orchestre féminin de Paris to perform.

Arthur Hoérée was associated with Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris throughout its existence: as a critic, a collaborator in their efforts to revive early music, and also as a composer. Hoérée was a polymath; a consummate musician, writer, and scientist.²¹ He had received a thorough training as both a musician and an

¹⁹ For a recent and authoritative study of the early music revival in nineteenth-century France see Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

²⁰ See Appendix 1 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

²¹ See Nicole Labelle, 'Arthur Hoérée', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Second Edition, Volume 11 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 579-80. Significantly, Labelle's article makes no mention of Hoérée's association with Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris.

engineer, having studied organ and music theory at the Brussels Conservatory and at the Institut Musical in Anderlecht, and then engineering at the École Polytechnique in Brussels. In 1919 he settled in Paris and completed his musical studies at the Conservatoire with Paul Vidal (fugue and composition), Vincent d'Indy (conducting), Joseph Baggers (percussion), and Eugène Gigout (organ).²² He published his first article in 1918 and began his long association with *La Revue musicale* in 1922 for which he wrote until 1949, completing around four-hundred articles.²³ Hoérée wrote around a thousand articles on aesthetics, analysis, and music history and also contributed entries to numerous music dictionaries. Throughout the interwar period Hoérée also toured extensively as a lecturer, acted as an accompanist for his wife (the soprano Régine de Lormoy), produced radio programmes for Radio-France, and composed around forty film scores.²⁴

The Orchestre féminin de Paris première Hoérée's new transcriptions of several Baroque works, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 3:1 - New Transcriptions of Baroque Works Premiered by the Orchestre féminin de Paris

Title of Composition	Composer
<i>Concerto pour flûte</i>	André Grétry
<i>Quatre Danceries</i>	Claude Gervaise
<i>La Troisième Leçon des Ténèbres</i>	François Couperin

In 1936, the Orchestre féminin de Paris, with the help of Hoérée, resurrected Couperin's *Troisième Leçon de Ténèbres* which was to become a staple of their

²² His career at the Paris Conservatoire was distinguished by winning the Prix Halphen (1922) for his *Heures claires* for soprano and the Prix Lepaulle (1923) with his *Pastoralle et danse* for string quartet.

²³ He also wrote extensively for *Comœdia* (around two-hundred articles) and *Le Mois* and worked as a film critic for all three publications from 1936 to 1946.

²⁴ Hoérée's multi-faceted and distinguished career continued after World War Two, he was appointed professor of orchestration at the École Normale de Musique in Paris in 1950; from 1958 to 1968 he taught artistic culture at the Centre de Formation Professionnelle of Radio-France and in 1972 he was appointed to the Musicological Institute at the Sorbonne, where he worked until 1980. He was elected to the Académie Royale de Belgique in 1978.

subsequent performing repertory and very popular amongst critics and audiences alike. In the December 1936 edition of *La Revue musicale*, José Bruyr described how the orchestra had saved this work from obscurity:

The Leçons de Ténèbres, for one or two voices, by Monsieur Couperin, composer and organist of the chamber to the King are from 1713-14.

Work worse than unknown. Dead work. Worse than dead. Forgotten. It will be the honour of Jane Evrard and her *Orchestre féminin de Paris* to have saved it from this oblivion, from this death.²⁵

The *Orchestre féminin de Paris*'s expertise in early music was officially recognised in 1939 when the commissariat des fêtes of the city of Paris chose them to collaborate in the celebrations organised to mark the tercentenary of the birth of the seventeenth-century dramatist Jean Racine (1639-1699). Racine's *chef-d'œuvre*, and only comedy, *Les Plaideurs* (1668) was performed in the open air between the 16 and 18 June on the steps of the Palais de Justice and included the performance of seventeenth-century dances (reconstructed and choreographed by Robert Quinault) to music by Lully (researched and directed by Jane Evrard) which was performed by the *Orchestre féminin de Paris*.²⁶

The *Orchestre féminin de Paris* also actively promoted modern repertoire and many contemporary composers wrote works for them, as illustrated in the following table.

²⁵ « Les *Leçons de Ténèbres, à une ou deux voix, par Monsieur Couperin, compositeur-organiste de la Chambre du Roy* sont du 1713-14.

Œuvre pire qu'inconnue. Œuvre morte. Pire que morte. Oubliée. Ce sera l'honneur de Jane Evrard et de son *Orchestre féminin de Paris* de l'avoir sauvée de cet oubli, de cette mort. » José Bruyr, 'Musique ancienne: *Troisième Leçon de Ténèbres* de François Couperin, réalisée et orchestrée par Arthur Hoérée (Concert Jane Evrard)', *La Revue musicale* (December 1936), 447-8; press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

²⁶ Andrée Botta, '*Les Plaideurs* sur les marches du Palais de Justice', *Le Populaire* (June 1939); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives. I am grateful to Manuel Poulet for giving me a copy of the programme for this event which also contained valuable information.

Table 3:2 - New Works Premiered by the Orchestre féminin de Paris

Title of Composition	Composer
<i>Prélude, Arioso et Fughette</i>	Arthur Honegger (Version for strings by Arthur Hoérée)
<i>Six poèmes de Jean Cocteau (Version for Strings, flute and voice)</i>	Arthur Honegger
<i>Symphonie pour cordes et trompette (No. 2)</i>	Arthur Honegger
<i>Troisième symphonie pour cordes</i>	Jean Rivier
<i>Prélude, Salut et Danse</i>	Georges Migot
<i>Cortège d'Amphitrite (Chœurs et cordes)</i>	Georges Migot
<i>Chant de Noël</i>	Joaquin Rodrigo
<i>Sarabande lointaine</i>	Joaquin Rodrigo
<i>Sinfonietta</i>	Albert Roussel
<i>Janiana – Symphonie pour cordes</i>	Florent Schmitt
<i>Sonate à deux</i>	Maurice Jaubert
<i>Intermèdes</i>	Maurice Jaubert
<i>Le Triptyque</i>	Alexandre Tansman
<i>Les Danceries</i>	Marguerite Roesgen-Champion
<i>Suite pour cordes</i>	Marguerite Roesgen-Champion
<i>Troisième concerto pour clavecin et orchestre</i>	Marguerite Roesgen-Champion
<i>Valse romantique</i>	Marguerite Roesgen-Champion
<i>Evocation</i>	Marguerite Roesgen-Champion
<i>Valse 1930</i>	Marguerite Roesgen-Champion
<i>Suite de danses (Deux valse, Cordes, Harpe)</i>	Yvonne Desportes
<i>Trois chansons pour cordes</i>	Maurice Ravel
<i>Sérénade pour orchestre à cordes</i>	Yves Daniel-Lesur
<i>Petite suite</i>	Guy Ropartz
<i>Concerto grosso</i>	Albert Stoessel
<i>La Tristesse et la Joie</i>	Jean Barraud
<i>Java</i>	Ivan de Maigret
<i>Les Figures de Quadrille</i>	Henri Casadesus

Several of these works, including *Janiana* by Schmitt, *Sinfonietta* by Roussel, *Intermèdes* by Jaubert, and *Suite pour cordes* by Roesgen-Champion were dedicated to Jane Evrard. Evrard, however, never officially commissioned any composer to write for her orchestra; rather it was the composers themselves, after they had heard the Orchestre féminin de Paris performing, who contacted her to express their desires to write something for it.²⁷ One of the works which was written specifically for the orchestra and which became one of the most popular within their repertoire was

²⁷ See Appendix 1 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

Roussel's *Sinfonietta* (1934). This work was so well received at its November 1934 première that it had to be encoresd.

In the 21 November edition of *Comædia*, Paul Le Flem recounted the enthusiastic reception which greeted the première of Albert Roussel's *Sinfonietta*:

An important 'première' figured on the programme. It was the *Sinfonietta* for string instruments, written by Albert Roussel last summer, and which... will count amongst the most moving works... This *Sinfonietta* had such success that it was necessary to repeat it after the première which had not exhausted the enthusiasm of the audience.²⁸

Figure 3:4 - Poster Advertising the Orchestre féminin de Paris's Première of Roussel's *Sinfonietta*²⁹



Despite the fact that the Orchestre féminin de Paris was an all-woman orchestra, led by a female director, they did not actively seek to promote the music of women composers to the detriment of men; they wished to present the music of

²⁸ « Une importante « première » figurait au programme. Il s'agit d'une *Sinfonietta* pour instruments à cordes, écrite par Albert Roussel l'été dernier, et qui... comptera parmi les ouvrages les plus émouvants... On fit à cette *Sinfonietta* un tel succès qu'il fallut la redonner après une première exécution qui n'avait pas épuisé l'enthousiasme des auditeurs. » Paul Le Flem, 'La nouvelle "Sinfonietta" d'Albert Roussel est accueillie avec un tel enthousiasme qu'elle est bissée', *Comædia* (21 November 1934); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

²⁹ Poster conserved in the Evrard-Poulet Archives.

composers of both sexes on their programmes. One woman composer who was, however, closely associated with the Orchestre féminin de Paris, was Marguerite Røesgen-Champion (1894-1976). The Swiss-born Røesgen-Champion had been privately musically educated by her mother, the singer Cécile Røesgen-Liodet, and then at the Geneva Conservatory where she studied piano with Marie Panthis and composition with Ernest Bloch and Jacques Dalcroze. Following her graduation in 1913 she pursued a concert career as a harpsichordist, appearing as a soloist with leading French orchestras, mainly in Paris but also in Italy, Spain, and Holland. In 1926, however, she settled in Paris and dedicated herself to composition.³⁰

Røesgen-Champion wrote several works for the Orchestre féminin de Paris, including *Les Danceries*, *Suite pour cordes*, *Valse romantique*, *Evocation*, *Valse 1930* and *Troisième concerto pour clavecin et orchestre*, and also appeared frequently with the orchestra as both a harpsichordist and a pianist. Figure 3:5 reproduces the programme (including photos of Jane Evrard, Marguerite Røesgen-Champion and the Orchestre féminin de Paris) for one of the many concerts for which Røesgen-Champion collaborated with Evrard and her orchestra, in Compiègne 12 May 1937. This programme reveals the orchestra's predilection for eclectic programming, representing a wide chronological sweep from the early music of Purcell, Grétry, and Tartini to the première of Røesgen-Champion's *Valse romantique*, *Evocation*, and *Valse 1930*.

³⁰ See Aaron I. Cohen, 'Marguerite Sara Røesgen-Champion', in *International Encyclopedia of Women Composers* (New York and London: R. R. Bowker Company, 1981), 393.

Figure 3:5 – Programme for Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris, with Marguerite Røesgen-Champion, Compiègne, 12 May 1937³¹

PROGRAMME PREMIÈRE PARTIE

PROGRAMME DEUXIÈME PARTIE

COMPIÈGNE
12 MAI 1937

I IOLBERG (suite) GRIEG
Valse - Sorabande
Air - Rigaudon

II CONCERTO FA MAJEUR HAYDN
Piano et Cordes
Marguerite Røesgen-Champion

III SERENADE EN SOL MOZART
Petite musique de nuit
Allegro - Romance - Menuet - Rondo

I a) HORNPIPE PURCELL
b) SERENADE du QUATUOR HAYDN
c) TAMBOURIN (Denis le Tyran) GRÉTRY
d) ADAGIO (cello et cordes) TARTINI
MENUET (cello) VALENSIN
cello: Paule d'Ambrosio

II a) VALSE ROMANTIQUE Marguerite
b) EVOCACTION (à la mémoire de) Røesgen-Champion
c) VALSE 1930 1^{er} audition
au piano l'auteur

III ADAGIO FIORILLO - Gabriel BOUILLON
ETUDE en FA mineur RODE - Gabriel BOUILLON
Violon - Violette d'Ambrosio

IV SINFONIETTA A. ROUSSEL
dédiée à JANE EVRARD 1^{er} audition à Compiègne

ENTR'ACTE

ORGANISÉ AVEC LE CONCOURS DE

JANE EVRARD
Chef d'Orchestre

ET DE

Marguerite Røesgen-Champion
Pianiste - Compositeur

2 francs

It was not only composers, moreover, who were attracted to work with Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris; many of the most revered and celebrated solo

³¹ Poster conserved in the Evrard-Poulet Archives.

performers of the day also collaborated with the orchestra. Table 3:3 illustrates a number of the most famous contemporary virtuosi who appeared with the Orchestre féminin de Paris:

Table 3:3 – Solo Artists who Appeared with the Orchestre féminin de Paris³²

Name of Artist	Instrument
Paul Bazelaire	Cello
Ginette Neveu	Violin
Wanda Landowska	Harpsichord
Maurice Duruflé	Organ
Lily Laskine	Harp
Geneviève Martinet	Cello

Jane Evrard and her Orchestre féminin soon became well known in Paris, where their principal performance venues were usually the Salle Gaveau, the Salle du Conservatoire, the Salle Pleyel, and the Palais de Chaillot, and began to undertake additional concerts in all of the main French towns and cities. Following one such provincial concert in April 1935, the critic André Picquet wrote in *Le Journal de Douai* that:

Distinction contains and expresses the first-class quality of the talent of Mme Jane Evrard. It was a surprising evening of peaks bathed in sunshine, freshened by the breeze and vivacity of spirit, finally a picturesque sparkle welcomed with great favour by a public at first surprised, then conquered.³³

The Orchestre féminin de Paris also undertook several immensely successful foreign tours, notably to Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Holland. The orchestra's performance in Bilbao at the beginning of their Spanish tour in early 1933 earned the following laudatory review in the 28 January edition of *El Pueblo*:

³² This table is not intended as an exhaustive list of virtuosi solo musicians who appeared with the Orchestre féminin de Paris but is intended, rather, to give an indication of the calibre of artists who appeared with the orchestra.

³³ « La distinction contient et exprime la qualité première du talent de Mme Jane Evrard. Ce fut une soirée étonnante sur des culminances ensoleillées, allégées d'air frais, de vivacités d'esprit, enfin un chatoiement pittoresque accueilli avec une grande faveur par un public d'abord surpris, puis conquis. » André Picquet, *Le Journal de Douai* (12 April 1935); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

The orchestra was simply admirable. Perfect homogeneity, very fine technique of expression, which discovers the individual qualities of its constituent artists and a magnificent collective artistic spirit, qualities which spontaneously converge in the incomparable director.³⁴

In a similar vein, and after the orchestra had performed in Barcelona in February 1933, the following review appeared in *La Publicitat*:

This orchestra has a magnificent homogeneity of sound. The result is a perfect intonation, splendid tone, an uncommon balance and expressive unity. Madame Evrard is a complete musician. Her manner of direction is sober and elegant and she dominates her orchestra and the works which she interprets to perfection.³⁵

The arrival of World War Two in 1939, however, curtailed the activities of the Orchestre Féminin de Paris. Although the orchestra never officially disbanded, the conditions of the Occupation made it increasingly difficult for them to present concerts.³⁶ During the early years of the war, however, it was still possible for the Orchestre féminin de Paris to continue performing and it maintained its dual commitments to both reviving early music and presenting premières of new composition until at least 1942.

In April 1940 the Orchestre féminin de Paris gave the premières of *Petite suite* by Guy Ropartz and *Concerto grosso* by the American composer Albert Stoessel at a 'Suites Françaises' concert.³⁷ In a review of this concert which appeared in *L'Époque*, Carol Berard praised Evrard's musical talents thus: 'and I want to celebrate the gifts of Madame Jane Evrard. What vigour in her gestures! An internal flame burns her. A lively, vibrant, dancing statue, she is raised before the fresco of the orchestra, she

³⁴ « L'Orchestre fut simplement admirable. Homogénéité parfaite, très fine technique d'expression, qui découvre les qualités individuelles des artistes qui le composent et un magnifique esprit artistique collectif, qualités qui convergent spontanément dans l'incomparable directrice. » Brandomin, *El Pueblo* (28 January 1933). (Anonymous French translation of a Spanish review contained in the Evrard-Poulet Archives.)

³⁵ « Cet orchestre est d'une homogénéité sonore magnifique. Le résultat est une justesse parfaite, splendide sonorité, un équilibre et unité expressive peu commune. Mme Evrard est une musicienne complète. Sa façon de diriger est sobre et élégante et elle domine à la perfection son orchestre et les œuvres qu'elle interprète. » Luis Sanchez, *La Publicitat* (February 1933). (Anonymous French translation of a Spanish review contained in the Evrard-Poulet Archives.)

³⁶ See Appendix 1 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

³⁷ The 'Suites Françaises' were a weekly Parisian concert series organised by Marguerite Røesgen-Champion during the early years of World War Two.

extracts from the instruments their most expressive accents'.³⁸ The orchestra was also able to continue its promotion of contemporary music in late 1940 by the inauguration of a concert series intended to showcase modern compositional talent by the Association de musique contemporaine for whom the orchestra gave the first concert in the Salle Chopin, 25 November. The critic Jean Douel remarked that 'the first concert of the A. M. C. [Association de Musique Contemporaine] [...] brought together the names of five composers amongst "the most eminent and the most representative of the young Parisian school"'.³⁹ The five composers represented on the programme were Maurice Jaubert (*Intermèdes*, 1937), Jean Rivier (Third Symphony, 1938), Albert Roussel (*Sinfonietta*, 1934) – Douel further noted that 'Jane Evrard is the fortunate dedicatee of these three works – Daniel-Lesur (*Trois Poèmes*, after Cécile Sauvage) and Arthur Honegger (*Six Poèmes*, after Cocteau, orchestrated by Arthur Hoérée).⁴⁰

The Orchestre féminin de Paris presented their final première performances at a Triptyque concert 12 May 1942.⁴¹ Florent Schmitt's *Janiana* (dedicated to Jane Evrard) was première alongside *La Tristesse et la Joie* by Jean Barraud, *Java* by Ivan de Maigret, and *Les Figures de Quadrille* by Henri Casadesus. Suzanne Demarquez, for *Informations musicales*, wrote of *Janiana* that:

...one would guess at the première that Florent Schmitt's new suite, *Janiana*, is dedicated to Jane Evrard... nimble with a supple and gracious femininity. The refinement, the complexity

³⁸ « Et je veux célébrer les dons de Mme Jane Evrard. Quelle vigueur dans ses gestes ! Une flamme intérieure la brûle. Statue vivante, vibrante, dansante, elle se dresse devant la fresque de l'orchestre, elle arrache aux instruments leurs accents le plus expressifs. » Carol Berard, 'Suites françaises', *L'Epoque* (20 April 1940); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

³⁹ « Le premier concert de l'A. C. M. ... réunissait les noms de cinq compositeurs parmi « les plus éminents et les plus représentatifs de la jeune école parisienne ». » Jean Douel, 'Association de musique contemporaine', *Informations musicales* (November/December 1940); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁴⁰ « Jane Evrard est l'heureuse dédicataire de ces trois œuvres. » Ibid. (*Trois Poèmes* by Daniel-Lesur was performed by Pierre Bernac, voice, and Denyse Dixmier, piano.)

⁴¹ The Triptyque Concerts was a series of Parisian music concerts organised throughout World War Two.

of the sound are due to the multiple divisions of the strings... Great success, especially after the finale which outlines with spirit some highly fanciful pantomime.⁴²

Furthermore, in November and December 1940 the orchestra was able to continue its dedication to the revival of early music at two concerts; the first, a Concert Spirituel, given at the Salle du Conservatoire on 2 November which included the *Stabat Mater* of Pergolèse along with music by Couperin, Veracini, and J. S. Bach; the second, a concert given in the Basilique Sainte-Clotilde on 28 December. For this second concert, which also included a performance of Pergolèse's *Stabat Mater*, the orchestra collaborated with Maurice Duruflé and the Chorale Yvonne Gouverné. In 1941, moreover, the orchestra was also able to renew its pre-war collaborative work with highly accomplished solo artists when it had the opportunity to work with the virtuoso cellist Pierre Bazelaire. In February 1941 they accompanied a recital which he gave at the Salle Gaveau, including works by Marin Marais, Grétry, P. E. Bach, Berthomieu, Tcherpnine, Bazelaire, and Ronchini.

As the war progressed, however, the orchestra's public performances became increasingly sporadic and difficult to organise, although in 1941 they were engaged by the organisation Jeune France on an educational and altruistic programme to undertake a series of concerts in Parisian youth centres. Jeune France was a charitable organisation which aimed to educate deprived young French men and women in vocational schools and colleges through cultural activities such as concerts, plays, and educational lectures. The artistic programme was intended as an intellectual and cultural supplement to their professional training. In August 1941, Evrard herself described the object of these concerts in an article for *Comœdia*: 'to make young men

⁴² « On devinerait à l'audition que la nouvelle suite de Florent Schmitt, *Janianna*, est dédiée à Jane Evrard... preste d'une souple et gracieuse féminité. Le raffinement, la complexité de la sonorité sont dues à de multiples divisions des cordes... Gros succès, surtout après le finale qui silhouette avec esprit quelque pantomime hautement fantaisiste. » Suzanne Demarquez, *Informations musicales* (12 June 1942); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty understand and like music, that is the goal that I have been assigned and that I am trying to attain.’⁴³ In a review which appeared in *Comœdia* a few days after Jane Evrard’s article, Arthur Hoérée described the educational aspects of one such concert which was aimed at young girls, the carefully selected repertoire, and the instructive talk from a representative of Jeune France who introduced the girls to the various instruments of the orchestra:

Three hundred young girls from vocational schools are united, here [in a youth centre], in order to hear the beautiful orchestra of Jane Evrard. And what a programme: Vivaldi, Dalayrac, Leclair, Bach, Mozart! ... The representative of Jeune France comes in person to present the different instruments of the orchestra: the singing and high-pitched violins, the deeper viola, the warm tenor voice of the cello, the double bass, the grandfather of the family. A short sentence characterises, for these children, the timbre of the characters that they are going to hear in the symphony, that conversation, where everybody speaks at almost the same time but without resulting in confusion.⁴⁴

Janine Regnier reviewed the uplifting effect which the playing of the Orchestre féminin de Paris had at one such concert thus:

Two hundred young heads brought close together follow the movement of the bows and of the baton of Jane Evrard handled with dexterity. Two hundred young heads in which the organisers of Jeune France try hard to place music...

Each day, they return to the youth centres accompanied by artists, actors or musicians and teach appreciation of beauty.

Yesterday, it was in a Franciscan convent that Jeune France was transported with the Orchestre féminin of Jane Evrard... In an attentive silence, they listen. By the will power of Jane Evrard, they penetrate without effort into the world of sound, following such masters as Bach, Vivaldi and Dalayrac, the names of whom undoubtedly were previously unknown to them.

‘I who believed that classical music was boring!’ whispers a thin voice between two rounds of applause.

‘And I who only knew the accordion’ admits another, lower, voice. Here is how to redress the tastes of French children.⁴⁵

⁴³ « Faire comprendre, faire aimer la musique par des jeunes gens et des jeunes filles de quatorze à vingt ans, voilà le but qui m’a été assigné et que j’essaie d’atteindre. » Jane Evrard, ‘Jane Evrard nous parle de ses concerts dans les Centres de Jeunesse’. *Comœdia* (2 August 1941); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁴⁴ « Trois cents fillettes des écoles professionnelles sont réunis, ici, pour écouter le bel orchestre de Jane Evrard. Et quel programme : Vivaldi, Dalayrac, Leclair, Bach, Mozart ! ... Le speaker de « Jeune France » vient en personne présenter les différents instruments de l’orchestre : les violons chantants et aigus, l’alto, plus grave, le violoncelle a la chaude voix de ténor, la contre-basse, le grand-père de la famille. Une courte phrase caractérise, pour ces enfants, le timbre des personnages qui vont se faire entendre dans la symphonie, cette conversation, ou tout le monde parle presque en même temps sans qu’il en résulte la confusion. » Arthur Hoérée, ‘Trois cents fillettes écoutent Mozart’, *Comœdia* (9 August 1941); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁴⁵ « Deux cents jeunes têtes rapprochés suivent le jeu des archets et de la baguette que Jane Evrard manie avec dextérité. Deux cents jeunes têtes où les organisateurs de l’association Jeune France s’efforcent de mettre de la musique.

Between July and November 1941, the Orchestre féminin de Paris gave forty-five such concerts in youth centres. They also performed before two-hundred unemployed young women, under the auspices of a Franciscan Mission, and to nine-hundred adolescents in a hangar in Belleville; travelling all around the Parisian region (L'Ile de France) from Gennevilliers to Versailles and from Grenelle to Belleville. In 1943, the orchestra undertook another series of socially-orientated concerts throughout French factories. In giving these concerts Jane Evrard wanted to bring classical music to factory workers, to introduce them to this genre and to educate them about it in order that they could cultivate and develop their musical tastes, as she expressed in a short interview given to *Actes* in July 1943:

If we no longer go to them, it is that already, there are more than 40,000 members of the Jeunesses musicales who attend the biggest concerts given at the Opéra or the Palais de Chaillot. I would like to realise the same miracle with the factory workers. Fatigued by a long day of labour they can only go to music with difficulty, therefore music must go to them at their place of daily work. Music speaks directly to the heart of men, it is the company of their joy and their sadness, it helps them to live, to be aware of themselves, to better love the others with whom they move, to better accomplish their duty too. It introduces into existence an element of order and harmony which is a powerful factor of spiritual elevation and of social peace.⁴⁶

Chaque jour, il se rendent dans les Centres de jeunesse accompagnés d'artistes, comédiens ou musiciens, et enseignent à goûter le beau.

Hier, c'était au couvent de la Mission franciscaine que Jeune France s'était transporté avec l'orchestre féminin de Jane Evrard... Dans un silence attentif, elles écoutent. Par la volonté de Jane Evrard, elles pénètrent sans effort dans le monde des sons, à la suite de maîtres tels que Bach, Vivaldi et Daleyrac, dont les noms leur étaient sans doute la veille inconnus.

« Moi que croyais que la grande musique était ennuyeuse ! » chuchote une voix fluette, entre deux applaudissements.

« Et moi que ne connaissais que l'accordéon », avoue une autre voix plus basse encore.

« Voilà comment on redresse les goûts des enfants de France. » Janine Regnier, 'Quand Bach et Vivaldi se révèlent à deux cents fillettes des centres de jeunesse', *Paris-Soir* (23 July 1941); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁴⁶ « Si nous n'allons plus à eux, c'est que maintenant, ils sont plus de 40.000 membres des jeunesses musicales qui vont assister aux plus grands concerts donnés actuellement soit à l'Opéra, soit au Palais de Chaillot. Je voudrais réaliser le même miracle avec les ouvriers. Fatigués par une longue journée de labeur ils peuvent difficilement aller ? (if mistake is in original, use a [*sic*] à la musique, aussi la musique doit elle les rejoindre sur le lieu même de leur travail quotidien. La musique parle directement au cœur de l'homme, elle est la compagne de son bonheur et de sa tristesse, elle l'aide à vivre, à prendre connaissance de lui-même, à mieux aimer les autres dont elle se rapproche, à mieux accomplir son devoir aussi. Elle introduit dans l'existence un élément d'ordre et d'harmonie qui est un puissant facteur d'élévation spirituelle et de paix sociale. » Jane Evrard, entretien avec Michèle Nicolai, 'Jane Evrard entreprend la croisade de la belle musique dans les usines françaises', *Actes* (18 July 1943); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

Despite these intermittent, and socially-orientated, war-time concerts the Orchestre féminin de Paris did not survive the war as an ensemble and never regrouped after the end of the hostilities. Jane Evrard continued her career as an independent conductor during the years following the war but, despite moderate success, she never recovered the fame or prestige which she had enjoyed whilst working with her Orchestre féminin during the 1930s.⁴⁷

Jane Evrard as a Conductor

Like all women during the 1930s attempting to do a job previously perceived of as being exclusively reserved for men, Jane Evrard had to contend with the vexed question of what type of public image she should present. Evrard did not believe that adopting a neutral or masculine style of dress would help a woman to succeed in a conductor's rôle. In her own career she decided to adopt a consciously feminine mode of dress:

I do not think that seeking an outfit which does not display feminine grace would help conquer these resistances? To the contrary, masculine clothes would only increase the mocking hostility from the representatives of the masculine sex. And I remember a question posed by the press at the time of my début. What should be the dress of a woman on the conductor's podium? Will she have a slightly more masculine outfit? Or will she have her back bare? Questions quickly resolved by me, having no need to equip myself with masculine attributes, trying only to conserve femininity, within simplicity.⁴⁸

Jane Evrard routinely appeared on the conductor's podium in a series of long, elegant evening dresses, with her hair styled and full make-up. It is possible that this glamorous public image was influenced and informed by her days as an actress and

⁴⁷ For a brief discussion of Evrard's later career and reception see Chapter 7 'Unjustly Neglected or Justifiable Obscurity?'

⁴⁸ « Je ne pense pas que la recherche d'un costume ne mettant pas spécialement en vue la grâce féminine serait de nature à vaincre les résistances ? Au contraire, un vêtement de tendance masculine ne ferait qu'accroître l'hostilité moqueuse des représentants du sexe fort. Et je me souviens d'une question posée par la presse lors de mes débuts. Quelle doit être la tenue d'une femme au pupitre ? Serait-elle en un costume un peu plus masculin ? Ou aurait-elle le dos nu ? Questions vite résolues pour moi, n'ayant nullement éprouvé le besoin de me munir d'attributs masculins, essayant seulement de conserver la féminité, dans la simplicité. » Jane Evrard, *Regards sur mon passé*, 4. (This document remains unpublished and I am grateful to Manuel Poulet for providing me with a copy.)

her publicity photographs of this time (see Figure 3:6) recall those of the movie stars of the interwar years.

Figure 3:6 - Jane Evrard during the 1930s⁴⁹



The creation of a public image akin to that of a movie star represents one way in which women conductors tackled the presentation of their sex during the interwar years. Jane Evrard's public image may be regarded as hyperfeminine; it fully capitalises and manipulates both physical and artificial characteristics perceived as desirable amongst members of the female sex: beauty, style, and grace. This glamorous public image demonstrates one possible presentation of female gender and contrasts sharply with strategies adopted by other contemporary women conductors, notably Ethel Leginska (1886-1970) and Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979).

The public image of Ethel Leginska fits within an emerging group of women during the 1910s and 1920s labelled 'new women' in the Anglophone press and generally characterised by bobbed hair and the adoption of trousers. Leginska often

⁴⁹ Photograph courtesy of Manuel Poulet.

chose to conduct in masculine concert dress (see Figure 3:7). The appearance of a woman in male concert dress at the head of an orchestra may be seen as highlighting feminine encroachment upon traditionally masculine territory; Leginska had not only taken over a man's job but she had also taken his clothes in which to do it. The 'new women' of the early twentieth century presented an entirely novel take on feminine gender; one which flaunted social conventions by the adoption of some attributes of masculine appearance.

Figure 3:7 – Ethel Leginska⁵⁰



The 'new woman' Ethel Leginska provided a striking example of how a woman might appear on the conductor's podium. Her conducting activities (which had always been limited to America) gradually decreased throughout the 1930s, however, combining to make Leginska a less visible contemporary contrast to Jane Evrard than Nadia Boulanger, the other most famous female conductor in Paris at this

⁵⁰ Reproduced from J. Michele Edwards, 'Women on the Podium', in *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting*, ed. José Bowen (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 223; Ethel Leginska (unidentified newspaper clipping, New York Public Library, Leginska clipping file).

time. Boulanger always strove to minimise her femininity upon the podium by dressing plainly and neutrally either completely in white or in black, with flat heels and devoid of extravagant hair-styles, make-up or accessories. (See Figure 3:8)

Figure 3:8 – Nadia Boulanger⁵¹



These clothes helped to reinforce the public image being created of Boulanger in the press as a type of musical ‘priestess’ who had renounced her sexuality in order to serve the higher purpose represented by music. She even chose to renounce the ultimate outward symbol of a conductor’s authority and musical expertise: the baton. It is possible that Boulanger identified the baton as a phallic symbol, her use of which would have underlined her usurp of a traditionally male rôle as Jeanice Brooks has commented:

Her [Boulanger’s] refusal to use the baton, a potentially phallic symbol and the main external marker of the conductor’s identity, can be interpreted as a refusal to adopt the visual trappings both of male power and of the conductor’s role...⁵²

⁵¹ Reproduced from John Warrack, liner note to Nadia Boulanger and the BBC Symphony Orchestra. *BBC Legends: Boulanger Conducts Fauré Requiem, Lili Boulanger Pie Jesu, Psalm 24, Du fond de l’abîme*. 1999. Compact Disc. BBCL 4026-2.

⁵² Jeanice Brooks, ‘Noble et grande servante de la musique: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger’s Conducting Career’, *The Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996), 98.

Jane Evrard, on the other hand, identified the baton with a magic wand writing that ‘the old tales sometimes placed a magic wand into the hands of women.

Modern life transposes this miracle and it is now with an orchestral baton that certain women know how to work their magic spell.’⁵³ In the May 1941 edition of *Pour Elle*, Evrard had previously commented that: ‘When I was little I dreamed of being a fairy because of the magic wand. And that wand, which gives birth to joy and enchanting sounds, is now in my possession.’⁵⁴

Contemporary critiques of Evrard’s conducting style suggest an assured, confident and resolute technique. They are also marked, however, by a significant amount of gender bias as is illustrated by a review by Jules Casadesus which appeared in *Le Quotidien* on 11 June 1930 in which he remarks that directors of the stronger sex could be envious of Evrard’s conducting arm, thereby implying a presupposed masculine superiority. ‘Her baton is supple and vigilant [...] I do not believe it useful to add that her arm possesses, moreover, a persuasive virtue which would be the envy of many orchestral conductors of the male sex.’⁵⁵

Furthermore, Pierre Leroi, writing for *Le Chantecler* on 6 December 1930 in almost sycophantic terms, appeared to be as struck by Evrard’s stage presence and beauty as by her conducting abilities. His obvious attraction to Evrard’s physical appearance seems to prevent this critic from providing an objective assessment of her musical abilities:

With her beautiful arms, muscular and supple, she kneads the musical material; a delicious, impulsive force emanates from her in radiations of which her body is the swaying antenna...

⁵³ « Les anciennes légendes plaçaient parfois dans les mains des femmes une baguette de fée. La vie moderne transpose le miracle et c’est maintenant avec un bâton de chef d’orchestre que certaines d’entre elles savent exercer leur sortilège. » Jane Evrard, *Regards sur ma passé*, 1.

⁵⁴ « Quand j’étais petite je rêvais d’être fée, à cause de la baguette magique. Et cette baguette, qui fait naître la joie et les sons enchanteurs, est maintenant en ma possession. » Jane Evrard, *Pour Elle* (21 May 1941); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁵⁵ « Sa baguette est souple et vigilante... Je ne crois pas utile d’ajouter que son bras possède en outre une vertu persuasive que lui envieraient beaucoup de chefs d’orchestre du sexe fort. » Jules Casadesus, *Le Quotidien* (11 June 1930); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

Here is a very curious case of plasticity which, far from harming the musical expression, it completes and interprets with an ability of irresistible seduction.⁵⁶

In June 1975, Evrard expressed her own thoughts on being a woman conductor when she wrote her recollections, *Reflections on My Past (Regards sur mon passé)*. She argued that in the 1930s, when she became a conductor, music had become a suitable job for a woman and, as such, there was no longer any reason why she should not pursue orchestral direction as a career: 'Since music was no longer considered to be an accomplishment and had become a bread-earner, there was no reason why a woman should not take up the conductor's baton.'⁵⁷

Evrard recollected how she had been bemused by the mild furore caused by the appearance of women at the heads of orchestras:

We were told of the noise made by the first female lawyer, the stupefaction produced by the first female doctor and how many others... The great critic Vuillermoz found curious and significant the conquest of feminism represented by the taking of possession of a conductor's baton. And he compared my orchestra to a battalion composed exclusively of Amazons which I lead into combat!⁵⁸

Evrard, however, was fully cognisant of the fact that orchestral conducting, even in the late twentieth century, was not a common career choice for women:

Nowadays women have become the equal of men in nearly all activities, especially in music (who would seriously dream of contesting women's access to the domain of instrumental virtuosity, or to be admitted to the circle of composers?). But for a still inexplicable reason, it would not appear that women have been admitted to figure amongst those who have for vocation to lead orchestras...⁵⁹

⁵⁶ « Avec ses beaux bras, musclés et souples, elle pétrit la matière musicale; une délicieuse force impulsive émane d'elle en irradiations dont son corps est l'antenne ondulante... Voilà un cas très curieux de plasticité qui, loin de nuire à l'expression musicale, la complète et interprète avec un pouvoir de séduction irrésistible. » Pierre Leroi, *Le Chantecler* (6 December 1930); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁵⁷ « Puisque la Musique n'était plus considérée comme un art d'agrément et qu'elle devenait ainsi un gagne-pain, il n'y avait pas de raison pour que la femme ne tienne pas en main la baguette de chef d'orchestre. » Jane Evrard, *Regards sur mon passé*, 2.

⁵⁸ « On relatait le bruit que fit la première avocate, la stupéfaction produite par la première Doctoresse et combien d'autres... Le grand critique Vuillermoz trouvait curieuse et significative cette conquête de féminisme que représentait la prise de possession d'une baguette de chef d'orchestre. Et il comparait mon orchestre à un bataillon composé exclusivement d'amazones que je menais au combat ! » Jane Evrard, *Regards sur mon passé*, 2.

⁵⁹ « La femme est devenue de nos jours l'égale de l'homme dans presque toutes les activités, en musique plus particulièrement (qui songerait à contester aux femmes l'accès au domaine de la virtuosité instrumentale, ou d'être admise dans le cercle des compositeurs ?). Mais par une cause

The Development of the All-Woman Orchestra and the Emergence of Women Conductors

During the 1930s, however, when Jane Evrard's Orchestre féminin de Paris was presenting critically-acclaimed concerts in France, a proliferation of women's orchestras was developing throughout Europe and North America, and the activities of Evrard's Orchestre féminin de Paris may be seen as part of this broader trend. What follows is a brief examination of the all-woman orchestra from its nineteenth-century origins to its heyday between the two world wars. In common with Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris, the majority of these women's orchestras were directed by aspiring female conductors, and the interwar years saw the emergence of a number of distinguished women conductors, including Ethel Leginska, Antonia Brico, Frédérique Petrides, and Nadia Boulanger.

Throughout the nineteenth century, music conservatoires were educating high numbers of female students. This access to the conservatoires led to a subsequent increase in the number of professionally-trained women instrumentalists. The majority of contemporary professional orchestras, however, excluded women players. The creation of the first all-woman orchestras may be seen as a direct reaction to this refusal by professional orchestras to accept female instrumentalists. The earliest all-woman orchestra was founded by Josephine Weinlich in Vienna in 1867; the Los Angeles Woman's Orchestra (founded in 1893) became the first such American organisation.⁶⁰

The majority of the late nineteenth-century women's orchestras, like the ones that followed them in the twentieth century, were founded and directed mainly by

encore inexplicquée, il ne paraît pas que la femme ait été admise à figurer parmi ceux qui ont pour mission d'animer les orchestres... » Jane Evrard, *Regards sur mon passé*, 3.

⁶⁰ See Anita Mercier, 'Pioneers on the Podium', *The Julliard Journal Online*, Vol. XX, No. 6 (March 2005).

women. Two female conductors who managed to establish careers in the US during this period were Emma Roberto Steiner and Caroline B. Nichols. Steiner toured the US working as a peripatetic conductor for light opera companies. In 1888, Nichols (who had been a violin student of Leopold Lichtenberg and Charles Loeffler) founded the Boston Fadette Orchestra.⁶¹ The Fadettes toured the summer resorts and vaudeville theatres of the Keith circuit throughout the US and Canada, presenting an eclectic repertoire which included symphonic movements, opera overtures, popular songs, and dramatic incidental music used for silent films.⁶²

The broad range of the Fadette's repertoire, ranging from Austro-Germanic classical repertoire of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to popular music, distinguished them from the numerous women's orchestras that existed in both Europe and North America during the later nineteenth century that specialised in performing lighter music, such as vaudeville songs, salon music, and (later) jazz. Margaret Myers, who has undertaken doctoral research at Göteborg University into the history of women's entertainment orchestras (*Unterhaltungsorchester*) from 1870 to 1950, has identified two waves of women's entertainment orchestras; the first from c.1870 until just after World War One and the second lasting until the 1940s.⁶³ Myers has established (from documentary sources) around two hundred women's entertainment orchestras which were active in the 1890s and this number peaked at around three hundred in the first decade of the twentieth century. These women's entertainment orchestras, however, must be regarded as distinct from traditional, classical all-woman orchestras, such as the *Orchestre féminin de Paris*. Although professional ensembles, their primary function was to entertain (they were routinely

⁶¹ Nichols named her orchestra after the heroine of George Sands's novel *La Petite Fadette* (1848).

⁶² See J. Michele Edwards, 'Women on the Podium', in *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting*, ed. José Bowen (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 221-222.

⁶³ Margaret Myers, 'Blowing Her Own Trumpet: European Ladies' Orchestras and Other Women Musicians 1870-1950 in Sweden' (PhD Thesis, Göteborg University, 1993).

hired by hotels and restaurants specifically for this purpose) rather than to purvey high music, and as such their members may be regarded as more akin to artisans than musical artists.

Women's entertainment orchestras originated in the German-speaking countries of central Europe (where they were referred to as *Damenorchester* or *Damenkapellen*) during the middle of the nineteenth century. Myers has identified the members of the first wave of women's entertainment orchestras as coming from the lower-middle artisan class and often from families of musicians. These musicians were usually educated by their parents or other family members (as was also common amongst circus and theatre families). The size of these women's entertainment orchestras tended to vary from quartets or quintets up to sixty-piece bands; restaurants were their primary employers where they served the purpose of attracting customers. Women's entertainment orchestras tended to be peripatetic, travelling between restaurants with a heavy chest of music which held a repertory of up to two thousand pieces of varying length and technical ability. The primary duty of these orchestras was to entertain the restaurants' clientèle whilst they dined; a mixture of fantasias, overtures, and selections from the Classical repertoire (especially Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Wagner, Suppé, Strauss, Offenbach, Meyerbeer, Gounod, Bizet, Rossini, Verdi, Mascagni, Puccini, Donizetti, and Leoncavallo) were often programmed alongside a variety of shorter works, such as dances, marches, and character pieces.⁶⁴

The number of women's entertainment orchestras declined dramatically after World War One, however, when the advent of widely-available recorded music decreased the demand for live music and increased financial pressures made it no

⁶⁴ Margaret Myers, 'Searching for Data about European Ladies' Orchestras, 1870-1950', in *Music and Gender*, eds. Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 189-213.

longer profitable for the majority of restaurants to hire full orchestras or large bands.⁶⁵

The social backgrounds and educations of women in the second wave of women's entertainment orchestras identified by Myers (post-World War One to the 1940s) appears to have been more varied than the first, when links to older family band traditions seem to have been broken. The musicians still tended to come from lower middle-class backgrounds, though not necessarily musical, and to have been educated by private music teachers, though a few appear to have been autodidacts. Very few of the musicians in the women's entertainment orchestras had received a conservatoire education. The repertoire of women's entertainment orchestras also gradually evolved after World War One, with the growing popularity of jazz in Europe, and more popular tunes and dance music began to be introduced into the programmes of these orchestras.⁶⁶

Whilst the numbers of women's entertainment orchestras went into decline after World War One the number of classical women's orchestras increased. For the purposes of this study, entertainment orchestras are distinguished from classical orchestras in terms of education, repertoire, and main performance venues. In contrast to the women who worked in the entertainment orchestras, the majority of instrumentalists in the classical all-women orchestras had received conservatoire training, their repertoire tended to focus on symphonic works rather than lighter music, and their principal venues were concert halls as opposed to restaurants. Between the 1920s and 1940s there were around thirty classical women's orchestras in the US alone, many of which had a full complement of eighty players or more.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ The size of ladies' entertainment orchestras tended to diminish post World War One, so that by the 1920s a piano trio was the most common ensemble.

⁶⁶ Margaret Myers, 'Searching for Data about European Ladies' Orchestras, 1870-1950', 195-6.

⁶⁷ Anita Mercier, 'Pioneers on the Podium'.

In Britain the phenomenon of the professional all-woman classical orchestra of the interwar years was represented by the British Women's Symphony Orchestra.⁶⁸

Edith Gwynne Kimpton conducted the first concerts of the British Women's Symphony Orchestra which was later also directed by Malcolm Sargent, Alec Sherman, and Grace Burrows.⁶⁹ The novelty of an all-woman orchestra was greeted with the same curiosity from critics in Britain as in many other Western countries, as is exemplified in the following patronising review which appeared in *The Musical Times* in 1940:

The concert given at the Queen Mary Hall on April 23 by the British Women's Symphony Orchestra should count as a contribution to the nation's war-effort, for it had a courage and cheerfulness, and its operations were largely successful. This band of players has lately executed a kind of retirement, not altogether strategic, from the large arena of Queen's Hall to the small platform of the Queen Mary Hall, and from the belief that sixty women could play as well as sixty men to the realization that the number was more like thirty; and the result has been a gain in artistic strength, for the thirty who now compose the orchestra are all reasonably qualified to play in symphonies and concertos... The Queen Mary Hall translates *p* into *mf* and *f* into *ff*, and the ladies join in the amplification with zest. On this occasion the two flutes who led the attack in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' Overture scorned Mendelssohn's timid markings and heralded the fairy host like the trumpets of Duke Theseus. As if prompted by their example the thirty ladies, and two men (a trumpet and a double-bass), gave a loud and genial concert that drowned care but did not unduly wash out art.⁷⁰

The feminine presence within the London concert scene of the 1930s was strengthened, moreover, by the 'Macnaghten Concerts'. These were founded in 1931 by three enterprising young women musicians: the conductor Iris Lemare, who directed the concerts, the composer Elisabeth Lutyens, and the violinist Anne Macnaghten, to promote the music of young British composers alongside seldom-heard work from the Classical repertory.

Women's orchestras of the early twentieth century, like those of the later nineteenth century, tended to be directed by women conductors, with the notable

⁶⁸ I am grateful to George Kennaway for making me aware of the existence of this orchestra.

⁶⁹ Anonymous, 'Obituary: Edith Gwynne Kimpton', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 72, No. 1055 (January 1931), 79. It is notable that Kimpton also organised concerts for young people which were given by an all-woman orchestra.

⁷⁰ W. McN., 'London Concerts: British Women's Symphony Orchestra', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 81, No. 1167 (May 1940), 228.

exceptions of the male conductors of the British Women's Symphony Orchestra. The early-twentieth century saw an abundance of all-women orchestras directed by the female conductors who had founded them.⁷¹ The development of women's orchestras during the 1920s and 1930s, moreover, created increased conducting opportunities for women and the all-women orchestras played an important nurturing rôle in the careers of many female conductors during this period, especially for the American musicians Ethel Leginska, Antonia Brico, and Frédérique Petrides who were all amongst the first women to train professionally as conductors. The careers and examples of these women and the women's orchestras which they directed during the 1920s and 1930s may be considered as providing three immediate precedents and rôle models for Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris.

Ethel Leginska pursued a successful career as a concert pianist before commencing conducting studies in order to gain insights into orchestration which she believed would help her with her own compositions; however, Leginska soon chose to make conducting her primary musical pursuit.⁷² In 1923, she studied conducting under Eugene Goossens in London and then under Robert Heger in Munich. Leginska drew on her contacts from her concertising to arrange guest-conducting appearances for herself with major European orchestras in Berlin, London, Munich, and Paris throughout 1924.⁷³ She made her American conducting début on 9 January 1925 with the New York Symphony at Carnegie Hall when she became the first woman to conduct a major American symphony orchestra. Leginska abandoned her career as a

⁷¹ See Anita Mercier, 'Pioneers on the Podium'; early-twentieth-century female founders of all-women orchestras included Mabel Swint Ewer, Elizabeth Kuyper, Eva Anderson, Ruth Sandra Rothstein, Virginia Short, Fanny Arnsten-Hassler, Edith Gordon, Jeanette Scheerer, Marjorie Smith, Gwen Treasure, Margaret Horne, and Ethel Stark.

⁷² For a comprehensive study of the career of Ethel Leginska see Marguerite and Terry Broadbent, *Leginska: Forgotten Genius of Music* (Wilmslow: North West Player Piano Association, 2002).

⁷³ Leginska regularly programmed her own orchestral compositions and performed piano concertos whilst conducting from the keyboard.

concert pianist in 1926 in order to concentrate her musical efforts on conducting. Unable to secure a position as a permanent conductor, however, she founded the Boston Philharmonic Orchestra of ninety men. Despite good reviews this ensemble was only financially viable for one season (1926-1927). By the spring of 1927, Leginska had accepted the post of conductor with the newly-formed Boston Women's Symphony which gave successful tours of fifty to seventy-five concerts each fall between 1928 and 1930. Leginska also worked with the Chicago Women's Symphony Orchestra (1927-1929) and in 1932 formed the National Women's Symphony, which only gave one concert. During the late 1920s and early 1930s, she focused on the operatic repertoire and appeared as guest conductor with the symphony orchestras of London, Havana, and Dallas.⁷⁴

Leginska's slightly younger contemporary, Antonia Brico, commenced her conducting studies with Paul Steindorf whilst an undergraduate at the University of California at Berkeley where she won a scholarship to attend master classes with Sigismund Stojowski. In 1927, Brico went to Bayreuth to study under Karl Muck who encouraged her to enrol on the prestigious conducting programme at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik; for her graduation concert Brico conducted the Berlin Philharmonic.⁷⁵ In the face of the rise of the Third Reich, Brico returned to the US in 1934 and founded the successful Women's Orchestra of New York (later called the New York Women's Symphony). On 25 July 1938, Brico became the first woman to conduct the New York Philharmonic.⁷⁶

Frédérique Petrides, like Brico, also began conducting at an American university, studying under John Lawrence at New York University. After Petrides

⁷⁴ J. Michele Edwards, 'Women on the Podium', 222-224.

⁷⁵ Brico was the first woman and the first American to attend the conducting programme at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik.

⁷⁶ See J. Michele Edwards, 'Women on the Podium', 224 and Anita Mercier, 'Pioneers on the Podium'.

failed to secure a position as a permanent conductor, she decided to found her own all-woman orchestra: the Orchestrette Classique (later called the Orchestrette of New York). This chamber orchestra, which functioned from 1933 to 1943, became known for its innovative programming of little-known works by well-known composers, premières, American music, and occasional performances of music by women composers.⁷⁷

The advent of World War Two, however, brought increased opportunities for women instrumentalists which, ironically, had a negative knock-on effect for women conductors. Military conscription depleted the number of men in orchestras and women were called upon to take men's places, as in so many other professions. Thus, World War Two facilitated the integration of women into the previously all-male professional orchestras and the all-woman orchestras began to disband. For example, Frédérique Petrides's Orchestrette Classique of New York disbanded in 1943 because of the loss of its members to the former all-male orchestras. Women conductors, however, had been gaining respect for decades leading all-women orchestras and the reduction in the numbers of women's orchestras led to decreased opportunities for women to conduct. Leginska and Brico both sank into obscurity after World War Two. In 1940 Leginska moved to Los Angeles and became a piano teacher. Brico moved to Denver in the early 1940s in the expectation that she would be appointed permanent conductor of the Denver Symphony; however, she was rejected without audition on account of her gender. Brico was forced to take church jobs in order to support herself and established a private studio of piano, conducting, and voice students.⁷⁸ Anita Mercier has commented that:

⁷⁷ See J. Michele Edwards, 'Women on the Podium', 225.

⁷⁸ Brico enjoyed a small renaissance in later life after her former piano student, the country singer Judy Collins, made a documentary film (*Antonia: A Portrait of the Woman*) about her life and professional

The careers of Leginska and Brico illustrate a trend that defined the fate of virtually all women conductors of their era: opportunities that proliferated in the 1920s and '30s began to recede in the 1940s, and almost completely disappeared in the 1950s. After World War I, the future had looked promising. Although women conductors still hadn't gained full acceptance, significant inroads were being made. Audiences and musicians alike were growing accustomed to seeing women at the podium. But the World War II era turned back the clock.⁷⁹

It was not until the 1970s and 1980s, that women began to appear on the conductor's podium again. One direct consequence of the decline of women conductors after World War Two was that these younger women lacked female rôle models and teachers. Despite this, the last three decades have seen a re-emergence of women at the heads of orchestras; JoAnn Falletta and Marin Alsop in the US, Jane Glover and Siân Edwards in Britain and Claire Gibault in France all maintain careers as internationally-renowned conductors. (A full consideration of the return of women conductors, however, lies beyond the scope of the present study.)

The Exceptional Case of Nadia Boulanger

The career of Nadia Boulanger probably represents that of the single most successful woman conductor during the interwar years. It also represents the most exceptional, as Boulanger's conducting career does not fit the model followed by other women conductors at this time; she was not formally trained in conducting (unlike Leginska, Brico, and Petrides) and, also unlike them, she did not emerge as the musical director of an all-woman orchestra. Boulanger conducted her first entire programme at a concert in the salon of the Princesse Édmond de Polignac in June 1933. By the end of the decade, in addition to appearing with dozens of orchestras in France, Belgium, Britain, and the US, she had become the first woman to direct the Royal Philharmonic Society, the National Symphony, and the orchestras of Boston and Philadelphia.

disappointments in 1973. She was engaged as a guest conductor at the Lincoln Center and the Hollywood Bowl and in 1977 she conducted the Brooklyn Philharmonic.

⁷⁹ Anita Mercier, 'Pioneers on the Podium'.

Jeanice Brooks believes that Boulanger's success was partly due to the construction of her public image and that Boulanger herself was complicit, through her interviews with the press, in fashioning an image which transcended gender by erasing her femininity whilst simultaneously portraying her conducting as servitude rather than the pursuit of personal ambition.⁸⁰ Brooks has identified an article by Simone Ratel which appeared in the 15 July 1928 edition of *Minerva* as containing many of the seminal ideas which Boulanger and her allies in the press would propagate in order to construct an image which reconciled her conducting career with accepted models of feminine behaviour.⁸¹ Ratel's article removed Boulanger's sexuality by comparing her to a priest, a celibate male. This religious metaphor was strengthened by fashioning Boulanger's conducting as a renunciation of personal ambition in order to serve her true master: music. Brooks has commented that:

Ratel's central image of the priest allows her to present Boulanger's activities without evoking ideas of desire or ambition, stressing instead the concept of service. Virtually all subsequent discourse between Boulanger, her public and the press was devoted to projecting images which reinforce this concept. Accounts of her physical appearance, of her beliefs about women's role in society, and of her demeanour and style on and off the conductor's podium were shaped to support the idea of Boulanger the servant of music.⁸²

In retrospect, Boulanger would cite her beginnings as a conductor in her teaching activities, directing a vocal ensemble which became very good, and thus portraying her motivation as pedagogic rather than self-aggrandisement. In her discourse with the press, she was also prone to stressing that for her a career as an international conductor functioned as a poor second best to that of wife and mother, which had been denied to her. An article by Louis Biancolli, entitled 'Boulanger Gives Views on Careers', appeared in the *New York World Telegram*, on 11 February

⁸⁰ See Jeanice Brooks, 'Noble et grande servante de la musique: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting Career', *The Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996), 92-116.

⁸¹ Simone Ratel, 'Princesse de la Musique', *Minerva*, 15 July 1928. This article announced that Boulanger had been elected the 'Musical Princess' by the magazine's reader with one-thousand, five-hundred and sixty-two votes.

⁸² Jeanice Brooks, 'Noble et grande servante de la musique: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting Career', 94.

1938, with the subtitle 'She Believes Women Desire Lives as Mothers and Wives'.⁸³

This article reported that Boulanger believed that women were naturally drawn to careers in the arts or business but placed these desires in a hierarchical system below those of wishing to be wives and mothers. This assured readers that Boulanger was not a threat to the existing social order. She did not urge other women to emulate her in aspiring to become conductors but counselled them that the traditionally feminine rôles were of higher value. Thus, as stated by Brooks, 'by presenting her own activities in this unfavourable light, Boulanger was paradoxically free to engage in them without serious opposition'.⁸⁴

The extent to which Boulanger's career was truly the result of her pedagogic activities, however, is debateable. Although it is true that she presented her first full programme in 1933, her earliest conducting engagements actually date from 1912 and 1913. For these she directed, amongst other works, Raoul Pugno's *Koncertstück* for piano and orchestra with the composer himself at the keyboard.⁸⁵ These performances were arranged by Boulanger's mentor, Pugno, whose influence was strong enough to persuade concert organisers to allow the twenty-five-year-old woman to direct an all-male orchestra. Pugno's death in the following year, however, and the arrival of World War One prevented any further conducting appearances for the immediate future. It was not until the 1930s and an equally powerful patron in the person of the Princesse Édmond de Polignac that Boulanger was able to renew her efforts in this direction. The Princesse Édmond de Polignac heard Boulanger directing a group of her students and subsequently became interested in her during the winter of 1932-1933. The result was a gala concert in the Princess's salon the following June, which

⁸³ Cited in Jeanice Brooks, '*Noble et grande servante de la musique: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting Career*', 103. This article concerned Boulanger's Carnegie Hall début.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

included excerpts from Bach cantatas, some sung by a choir made up of Boulanger students. However, it also included a Vivaldi Concerto, the Bach Brandenburg Concerto no. 5, and solos by the professional soprano Maria Modrakowska, accompanied by a small orchestra.⁸⁶

The Princesse Édmond de Polignac and Boulanger then devised a plan for a series of concerts in the salon starting in 1934, supplemented by more public engagements in the Cercle de l'union interallié and the Salle Gaveau. Although some of Boulanger's students were involved in a number of these concerts, the majority of the singers and players were professionals hired for the occasion. She appeared as the conductor for many different ensembles, some of them already established with a regular director.⁸⁷ The patronage of the Princesse Édmond de Polignac, as well as many of Boulanger's subsequent conducting engagements, was for Boulanger herself, rather than for any group of students directed by her.⁸⁸

The career of Nadia Boulanger must be considered as unique amongst those of the women conductors who emerged during the interwar years. The majority of the other women conductors of this period (Leginska, Brico, Petrides, and Evrard) were intrinsically connected to the all-women orchestras which they directed; their own sex was therefore always inherently connected with their conducting activities. By both avoiding association with a woman's orchestra and by participating in the projection of a public image which sought to erase her female sexuality Boulanger transcended both her own sex and any form of engagement with the contemporary all-women orchestras. By contrast, the career of Jane Evrard, as a female director of an all-woman orchestra, must be considered as fitting more easily within the contemporary

⁸⁶ Ibid., 100-101.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 101-102.

⁸⁸ No fixed group of Boulanger students in fact existed before the creation of the Nadia Boulanger Ensemble Vocal in 1936.

trend of women conductors directing all-woman orchestras. Furthermore, in many respects, it is easier to draw analogies between her activities and those of her slightly earlier American contemporaries (especially Leginska, Brico, and Petrides) than with her French compatriot, Nadia Boulanger.

Conclusion

The activities of Jane Evrard and her *Orchestre féminin de Paris* in 1930s Paris must be considered as fitting within a wider European and North American interwar trend of all-woman orchestras directed by female conductors. The importance of these women's orchestras for professional female instrumentalists should not be underestimated as the provision of their own orchestras removed the contemporary difficulties associated with female players auditioning for the professional male-dominated orchestras by directly providing them with their own performance platforms. All-women orchestras, such as the *Orchestre féminin de Paris*, increased the visibility of professional female performers during the interwar period, thereby increasing their acceptance by both the musical profession and the concert-going public.

Once accepted, the *Orchestre féminin de Paris* made a significant contribution to contemporary Parisian concert life. As Paris's only string orchestra during the 1930s (and the early years of World War Two) the *Orchestre féminin de Paris* was in a unique position to present the specialised repertoire which exists for this ensemble. Jane Evrard, however, wanted to go beyond the standard and best-known works for string orchestra. She believed that music should play an educational rôle within society, rather than being primarily a diverting entertainment, and strove to introduce the public to both early and contemporary music by incorporating such works into her

orchestra's repertoire. The Orchestre féminin de Paris's commitment to early music must be understood as fitting within an already well-established early music revival movement within interwar France. The orchestra made an original contribution to this wider trend, however, by its ability to revive early works for string orchestra. The Orchestre féminin de Paris's dedication to promoting contemporary music reveals not only the breadth of its repertoire but also the high regard in which this orchestra must have been held. The fact that so many highly-respected contemporary composers entrusted the première performances of their works to the Orchestre féminin de Paris demonstrates that they must have been considered an ensemble with a superb quality of performance, led by a skilled and accomplished conductor, Jane Evrard.

L'Une des Six: The Case of Germaine Tailleferre

Georges Auric, a personal friend of Erik Satie, along with Honegger... Darius Milhaud, who was not yet back from Brazil, joined us a little later, likewise Francis Poulenc. Thus was born the group which Satie baptised 'Les Nouveaux Jeunes'... Louis Durey joined us to our great joy. The first concert obtained an undreamed-of success; by I do not know what miracle... Encouraged by this success, we decided to continue. We were also excited by the media fury. I will only cite the famous article by Henri Collet which appeared in *Comœdia*, on 16 January 1920, and which was entitled 'Les cinq Russes, Erik Satie et les six Français'. He had chosen our six names, simply because he had met us at Milhaud's home... (Germaine Tailleferre)¹

Renowned as being the only female member of Les Six, Germaine Tailleferre is perhaps the most well-known French woman composer of the interwar years. She is, however, far from being the only one and it is the objective of chapters four and five to demonstrate the wide-ranging extent to which *compositrices* contributed to musical life in interwar France. Chapter four considers the career and reception of Tailleferre as an important case study of one of the most high-profile woman composers of this period. Chapter five meanwhile, assesses the broader activities of contemporary *compositrices*, most notably Claude Arrieu, Elsa Barraine, Marguerite Canal, Claire Delbos-Messiaen, Yvonne Desportes, Jeanne Leleu, Marcelle de Manziarly, and Armande de Polignac. It also discusses the women competitors for the interwar Prix de Rome competition, in order to highlight the degree to which female composers were accepted by the Académie des Beaux-Arts during this period.

¹ « Georges Auric, ami personnel d'Erik Satie, ainsi qu'Honegger... Darius Milhaud, qui n'était pas encore rentré du Brésil, nous a rejoints un peu plus tard, de même que Francis Poulenc. Ainsi naquit ce groupe que Satie baptisa "Les Nouveaux Jeunes"... Louis Durey, s'est joint à nous pour notre plus grande joie. Ce premier concert obtint un succès inespéré ; par je ne sais quel miracle... Encouragés par ce succès, nous décidâmes de continuer. Nous étions excités en outre par le déchaînement de la presse. Je ne citerai que cet article fameux d'Henri Collet qui parut dans *Comœdia*, le 16 janvier 1920, et qui s'intitulait "Les cinq Russes, Erik Satie et les six Français". Il avait choisi nos six noms, tout simplement parce qu'il nous avait rencontrés chez Milhaud... » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', recueillis et annotés par Frédéric Robert, *La Revue internationale de la musique française*, No. 19 (February 1986), 26-7.

Tailleferre has been chosen for individual consideration of one *compositrice* working in interwar France as her unique position within Les Six contributed to her becoming the most widely-known woman composer of her generation.² This chapter will argue that, far from having a detrimental effect on Tailleferre's reputation, her connection with Les Six was beneficial in facilitating her career by bringing her early critical recognition and possibilities for commissions and performances. Her situation within Les Six, a group which was often perceived of as having avant garde leanings, also granted her access into many of the influential artistic circles within contemporary Paris, thereby providing her with plentiful opportunities to forge important contacts and make her work more widely known. Tailleferre's reception is assessed throughout this chapter by drawing upon a wide-range of critical reviews which her works received.³ Thus, this chapter represents the first detailed study of Tailleferre's reception in the interwar musical press.

Tailleferre also provides a significant example of how the career of a woman composer (to an arguably greater extent than a man's) can be irrevocably damaged by a tragic private life. The success of her early association with Les Six, and accompanying flurry of compositional activity, was interrupted in 1925 by her short-lived marriage to Ralph Barton; unfortunately, this unhappy nuptial experience (which ended in 1929) was followed by a second ill-fated marriage to Jean Lageat in 1931.⁴ Tailleferre's husbands treated her with cruelty, both were unfaithful and Lageat was also physically abusive and violent. Barton and Lageat both actively attempted to stop her composing and her marriages, therefore, represent effective disruptions to her career. This chapter, by identifying marriage to an unsupportive

² This thesis was originally intended to present a study of Tailleferre's piano music (see 'Preface and Acknowledgements'); therefore, this chapter is also intended as a reflection of this research.

³ Reviews of Tailleferre's works were systematically collected by the present author during archival research in Paris, 2006-7.

⁴ Her second marriage was terminated by divorce in 1955.

husband as a gender-specific condition capable of partially ruining a woman composer's career, accesses the detrimental effect which Tailleferre's tragic personal life had on her career.⁵

In addition to providing an assessment of Tailleferre's career and reception during the interwar years, this chapter also aims to provide an evaluation of her musical development throughout this period through an examination of her piano music.⁶ Tailleferre's piano music has been chosen as a representative illustration of her repertoire to reflect the dual nature of her career as both a composer and a pianist. She played the piano professionally all her life, appearing as both a soloist and an accompanist. The piano was central to Tailleferre's production as a composer, in addition to writing piano music throughout her lifetime she also routinely prepared a two-piano short score (as a preliminary stage) when working on her large-scale works.⁷ Moreover, Tailleferre's piano music has not, as yet, received much scholarly attention, and it is an object of this chapter to redress this situation.⁸

⁵ See Chapter 2 'Women Musicians and Gender: Contexts and Limitations' for a discussion of further gender-specific conditions which impinge upon the careers, and the reception, of women musicians.

⁶ Tailleferre's piano music from the interwar period has not yet been published in full and discussion here is restricted to that quantity of it which is. See 'Preface and Acknowledgements' for a discussion of the current problems affecting research into her manuscript scores.

⁷ See Appendix 2 for a worklist of Tailleferre's compositions, 1909-1943.

⁸ For a discussion of Tailleferre's orchestral and stage works see Caroline Potter, 'Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983) – A Centenary Appraisal', *Muziek & Wetenschap*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (summer 1992), 109-128.

Figure 4:1 – Germaine Tailleferre, c.1920⁹



At the Paris Conservatoire, 1904-1917

Tailleferre was born into a middle-class Parisian family and received her earliest musical instruction from her mother, an amateur pianist.¹⁰ She entered the preparatory class of Eva Sautereau-Meyer at the Paris Conservatoire in 1904 against considerable paternal opposition. Her father was enraged that her mother had arranged for her to audition at the Conservatoire without his consent, an institution that he connected with vice and loose moral behaviour, and he proved to be vociferous in his objections. In her *Mémoires*, Tailleferre reminisced that ‘the Conservatoire represented for my father a place of perdition... he cried “For my daughter, to be at the Conservatoire or to be a street walker is the same thing. I will never give my

⁹ Reproduced from Germaine Tailleferre, ‘Mémoires a l’emporte-pièce’, recueillis et annotés par Frédéric Robert, *La Revue internationale de la musique française*, No. 19 (February 1986), 9.

¹⁰ The biographical details of Tailleferre’s life have already been well documented in a number of studies; it would be inappropriate, therefore, to reproduce them in detail in this thesis. See particularly Germaine Tailleferre, ‘Mémoires a l’emporte-pièce’, recueillis et annotés par Frédéric Robert, *La Revue internationale de la musique française*, No. 19 (February 1986), 7-82; Laura Mitgang, ‘Germaine Tailleferre: Before, During, and After Les Six’, in *The Musical Woman: An International Perspective*, Judith Lang Zaimont (Editor-in-Chief), Catherine Overhauser and Jane Gottlieb (Associate Editors) (New York, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1987), 177-221; Robert Shapiro, *Germaine Tailleferre: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994); and Georges Hacquard, *Germaine Tailleferre: La Dame des Six* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1998).

permission!'"¹¹ She studied with Sautereau-Meyer until 1906, despite the lack of fatherly support, winning a Première Médaille in sight-reading and a Premier Prix in solfège. These early successes persuaded her father to withdraw his resistance, although he continued to refuse to assist her financially so that, from the age of fourteen, Tailleferre was forced to earn her own money by tutoring younger students. Her father's objections to her pursuing serious musical studies represent the first male opposition to her musical ambitions. Unfortunately, he also set a precedent: his attempts to prevent her from studying or working were repeated by both of her husbands in later years.

Tailleferre proved herself to be a talented and diligent student at the Conservatoire, and was rewarded by an impressive number of Premier Prix (see Table 4:1):

Table 4:1 – Prizes won by Germaine Tailleferre at the Paris Conservatoire

Year	Prize	Discipline
1913	Premier Prix	Harmony (class of Henri Dallier)
1913	Premier Prix	Counterpoint (class of Georges Caussade)
1915	Premier Prix	Fugue (class of Charles-Marie Widor)
1915	Premier Prix	Accompaniment (class of André Estyle)

It was whilst she was a student in Caussade's counterpoint class in 1913 that Tailleferre met three of the men who would later become her fellow members of Les Six: Georges Auric, Arthur Honegger, and Darius Milhaud. It is possible to assert that Tailleferre learned an equal amount about music through her close friendship with Milhaud outside of the class as she did within, as it was through him that she discovered and learned to love contemporary music. Tailleferre, Milhaud, and Honegger all joined Widor's composition class during the early part of World War

¹¹ « Le Conservatoire représentait pour mon père un lieu de perdition... [il] criait : 'Pour ma fille, être au Conservatoire ou faire le trottoir Saint-Michel, c'est ; la même chose. Jamais je ne donnerai mon autorisation !' » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires a l'emporte-pièce', 12.

One. War-time conditions, however, forced Widor to reduce the frequency of his classes from three times a week to only one and Milhaud took it upon himself to compensate for this lack of formal instruction by supplementing the course with informal *soirées* at his apartment. At these gatherings ‘chez Darius’ the young friends concentrated on studying modern scores, especially Stravinsky. Tailleferre, moreover, also compensated for the disruptions of the Conservatoire’s curriculum by seeking the independent guidance of Charles Koechlin in orchestration and composition, continuing to work with him intermittently until 1923.

Tailleferre composed her earliest piano works whilst she was still at the Conservatoire. *Impromptu* (c.1909) and *Romance* (1913) exhibit a distinct lack of experimentation and rely on well-established musical techniques as both are derived from the nineteenth-century piano miniature, each work is tonal and utilises ternary form.¹² *Impromptu* is highly reminiscent of a late-Romantic piano miniature, see Table 4:2. The conservatism of the tonal writing is underpinned by the modulation of the B section to the dominant B major (enforced by a written-out key signature change).

Table 4:2 – Musical Structure of *Impromptu*

Section	Bars	Tonality
A	1-23	E major
B	24-53	B major
A' (abbreviated and modified)	54-68	E major

Tailleferre enhanced the conventional tonal language of this miniature by the incorporation of harmonic shifts (such as the unprepared move to A flat major in bar

¹² It is difficult to place an exact date of composition on *Impromptu* as it has been variously given. Orledge gives c.1912, Hacquard claims that it was published by Jobert in 1912, Shapiro also states 1912 but Wehage’s comparative catalogue gives *Impromptu* as Tailleferre’s earliest composition and dates it to 1909 (with the comment that the SACEM deposit was marked 1909). (See Appendix 2 ‘Chronological Work List of Germaine Tailleferre’s Compositions, 1909-1943’ for a discussion of the various partial catalogues of Tailleferre’s works which exist.)

four, see Example 4:1), modulations, and chromatic ambiguities. A spontaneous feel is generated by continuous flowing triplets, which blur the accompaniment and the melodic line (see Example 4:1), and the frequent harmonic changes which create an impression of improvisation.

Example 4:1 - *Impromptu* (bars 1-4)¹³



Musical contrast between sections A and B are achieved more by tonality than by rhythm or texture which remain the same, see Example 4:2:

Example 4:2 - *Impromptu* (Section B, bars 24-27)¹⁴



The slightly later *Romance* is very similar in style to *Impromptu* and uses the same late-Romantic advanced tonal idiom. The improvisatory surface detail, created by the continuous flowing semiquaver accompaniment and frequent melodic shifts (see Example 4:3), conceals a highly controlled ternary design.

¹³ Germaine Tailleferre, *Impromptu* (Paris: Éditions Jobert, 1925), 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

Example 4:3 – Romance (bars 1-9)¹⁵



Both *Impromptu* and *Romance* are competent piano miniatures which reveal a solid compositional technique. In assessing them it is important to remember that they are youthful works, which may partially account for their rather dated style and lack of experimentation. They were, moreover, both written before Milhaud introduced Tailleferre to more modern musical developments and this may also have contributed to their reliance on conventional formal and tonal designs. Despite their lack of innovation, *Impromptu* and *Romance* present attractive works which are not too technically demanding, as such they would have been suitable for proficient amateurs. It is possible to suggest that they were influenced by the contemporary early twentieth-century vogue for appealing piano music suitable for *salon* performance, such as the hundreds of short piano works composed by Cécile Chaminade, and may even have been destined for this market.¹⁶

Satie's 'Fille musicale'

Towards the end of World War One, Tailleferre met Erik Satie, by chance, at the home of the pianist Marcelle Meyer. This accidental encounter proved to have

¹⁵ Reproduced from Germaine Tailleferre, *Romance* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1924), 3.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the piano music of Cécile Chaminade see Marcia J. Citron, 'Cécile Chaminade' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Second Edition, Volume 5 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 457-458.

such a beneficial influence on her subsequent career that she later referred to it as her 'lucky Sunday':

Marcelle was a prodigious pianist; she literally made light work of all the technical difficulties of modern music... she was brimming over with enthusiasm at the idea of premiering new works. Therefore I took her my pieces for two pianos [*Jeux de plein air*, 1917], in order to read through them; as she was a very good sight-reader, we gave them an excellent 'avant-première'. At that moment, Satie arrived. After having perceived some snippets of the pieces in the hall, he entered the salon, enchanted and demanded who was their author. When we were introduced, he embraced me and he called me his 'musical daughter'; he immediately wanted to enrol me on the programme of his concerts of 'furniture music'. It was for me my lucky Sunday, as all my life was transformed.¹⁷

Jeux de plein air reveals that Tailleferre had made considerable musical development since completing *Impromptu* and *Romance*. This two-piano duet contains two movements: 'La Tirelittentaine' and 'Cache-cache mitoula'. James Harding has commented that these two sections 'took as their starting point children's songs and wove them into a framework of controlled spontaneity.'¹⁸ Tailleferre's use of children's songs as material from which to derive a new composition would probably have appealed to Satie and pre-dates Cocteau's well-known (though slightly later) advice to Les Nouveaux jeunes that they should draw musical inspiration from everyday life.¹⁹

Harding's description of the musical procedure used in *Jeux de plein air* as the weaving of songs into a contrived framework is sufficiently apt as the material of each movement is largely generated from the song melodies. 'La Tirelittentaine' opens with a statement of the song in the right hand of piano one (bars 1-8, Example 4:4) which

¹⁷ « Marcelle était une pianiste prodigieuse ; elle se jouait littéralement de toutes les difficultés techniques de la musique moderne...elle débordait d'enthousiasme à l'idée de créer de nouvelles œuvres. Je lui apportai donc mes morceaux à deux pianos, afin d'en faire la lecture ; comme elle était une très bonne lectrice, nous en donnâmes une excellente 'avant-première'. Sur ces entrefaites, Satie arriva. Après avoir perçu quelques bribes de ces morceaux dans l'antichambre, il entra dans le salon, ravi, et demanda qui en était l'auteur. Quand nous fumes présentés, il m'embrassa et m'appela sa 'fille musicale' ; il voulut tout de suite de m'inscrire au programme de ses concerts de 'musique d'ameublement'. Ce fut pour moi le dimanche de ma chance, car toute ma vie en fut transformée. » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires a l'emporte-pièce', 26.

¹⁸ James Harding, *The Ox on the Roof: Scenes from Musical Life in Paris in the Twenties* (London: Macdonald, 1972), 63.

¹⁹ See Jean Cocteau 'Le Coq et l'Arlequin', in Jean Cocteau, *Jean Cocteau : romans, poésies, œuvres diverses*, (Paris : Librairie Générale Française, 1995), 425-78.

then migrates through the texture into a doubled (octave-parallel) statement in piano two (bars 9-16). This melody then undergoes various forms of thematic development, including expansion (bars 28-39, Example 4:5); modulation (bars 60-62, Example 4:6); and fragmentation (bars 86-93 Example 4:7).

Example 4:4 – ‘La Tirelittentaine’, *Jeux de plein air* (bars 1-16)²⁰

La Tirelittentaine

The musical score is titled "La Tirelittentaine" and is for two pianos. It consists of 20 bars. The tempo is marked "Pas trop vite". The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains bars 1-6, and the second system contains bars 7-16. A dashed line is drawn above the first system, indicating the melody in the right hand of the first piano. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (p), articulation (\lessdot), and phrasing slurs.

²⁰ Reproduced from Germaine Tailleferre, *Jeux de plein air* (Paris: Durand, 1919), 2; the song melody is identified by the broken line.

Example 4:5 – ‘La Tirelittentaine’, *Jeux de plein air* (bars 28-39)²¹

28 au Mouvt 29 30 31 32 33 34

1 *pp*

2 *p* mais en dehors

35 36 37 38 39 40 41

1 *sf*

2

Example 4:6 – ‘La Tirelittentaine’, *Jeux de plein air* (Piano 1, bars 60-2)²²

60

Piano *p*

²¹ Ibid., 3; the song melody is identified by the broken line.

²² Ibid., 4.

Example 4:7 – ‘La Tirelittentaine’, *Jeux de plein air* (bars 86-93)²³

The second movement of *Jeux de plein air* ('Cache-cache mitoula') demonstrates the influence of Tailleferre's interest in Stravinsky, especially his recent experimentations with bitonality. Caroline Potter has commented on the bitonality of Tailleferre's slightly later *Ballade* for piano and orchestra (1920-2), which she suggests was influenced by the piano arrangement of Stravinsky's *Petrushka* (1921), where the arpeggios are played with one hand on the black keys and the other on the white.²⁴ Potter observes that Tailleferre borrowed this idea in her *Ballade* but she appears to have already experimented with this technique in 'Cache-cache mitoula' as

²³ *Ibid.*, 5; the song melody is identified by the broken line.

²⁴ See Caroline Potter, 'Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983) – A Centenary Appraisal', *Muziek & Wetenschap*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (summer 1992), 112. The date of 1921, given here, refers to the year that Stravinsky completed his piano arrangement of *Petrushka* (original ballet composed 1910-1).

the second-piano part of this movement opens with the right hand playing all white notes whilst the left hand plays all black (see Example 4:8). Furthermore, as *Jeux de plein air* predates Stravinsky's piano arrangement of *Petrushka* by five years it is possible to assert that she arrived at this method of presenting bitonal material upon the piano keyboard independently. (Albeit that her interest in bitonality may very well have been prompted by her concurrent interest in Stravinsky.²⁵)

Example 4:8 – ‘Cache-cache mitoula’, *Jeux de plein air* (bars 1-11)²⁶

Satie was suitably impressed by *Jeux de plain air* to invite Tailleferre to contribute to his ‘furniture music’, a series of concerts which were to take place at a Montparnasse artists’ studio in the rue Huyghens, where young painters such as Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque regularly exhibited. At the rue Huyghens studio, Satie wanted to combine an art exhibition with unimposing, light, background music that one could sit on like furniture, hence *musique d’ameublement* (furniture music). The first rue Huyghens concert had already taken place on 6 June 1917; it included *Trio* by Georges Auric, *Six Poèmes d’Apollinaire* by Arthur Honegger, *Carillons* by Louis Durey, and a four-hand version of Satie’s *Parade* performed by the composer and Juliette Mérovitch. In an introduction to one of the rue Huyghens concerts in early

²⁵ It is possible to suggest her tuition with Koechlin as a further possible source of interest in bitonality.

²⁶ Reproduced from Germaine Tailleferre, ‘Cache-cache mitoula’, *Jeux de plein air*, 8.

1918, Satie referred to the composers on the programme as Les Nouveaux jeunes and they gave their first official concert under that name on 15 January 1918 at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier. The programme opened with Tailleferre's *Sonatine pour cordes* (which became the first two movements of her *Quatuor à cordes*), performed by an all-woman string quartet: Hélène Jourand-Morhange (first violin), Fernande Capelle (second violin), Marguerite Lutz (viola), and Adele Clément (cello). The concert also included music by Arthur Honegger, Georges Auric, Alexis Roland-Manuel, Louis Durey, and Francis Poulenc.²⁷

Tailleferre's later description of her fortunate meeting with Satie as her 'lucky Sunday' was a fitting one as it was his interest in her which first brought her to public attention as a composer. His introduction of Tailleferre into Les Nouveaux jeunes, moreover, first connected her name with those of the young men with whom she would later rise to prominence as Les Six, her association with which would become the fact for which she was most well-known. That it was Satie, rather than one of the young men, who invited her to join Les Nouveaux jeunes may also have helped to validate her position within the group as he was an established figure and the driving force behind their early concerts; his patronage of Tailleferre, therefore, acted as a strong endorsement of her music. Furthermore, the original conception of the furniture music concerts as background accompaniment to an art exhibition provided a perfect combination of Tailleferre's two great interests: music and art. When she met Satie, Tailleferre had been studying art at the Académie de la Grand Chaudière and the Académie Ranson and was vacillating between a career in art or music. The artistic setting of Les Nouveaux jeunes's early concerts represented an ideal synthesis

²⁷ See Nancy Perloff, *Art and the Everyday: Popular Entertainment and the Circle of Eric Satie* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

of the two as it allowed Tailleferre to concentrate on her musical talents within an artistic milieu.

Les Six

In January 1920, Tailleferre's name became associated with those of Auric, Durey, Honegger, Milhaud, and Poulenc for posterity when Henri Collet produced his two historic articles for *Comœdia* in which he baptised them Les Six.²⁸ Numerous scholars have debated the appropriateness of referring to Les Six as a group of composers in the conventional sense (meaning one which endorses similar compositional principals and holding several aesthetic ideas in common); however, it is certainly true that they were united by bonds of friendship which lasted their entire lifetimes.²⁹ Regardless of whether or not Les Six ever did truly function as a musical group their one collaborative work, *L'Album des Six* for piano (1920), contains an interesting 'Pastorale' by Tailleferre which reveals more experimental writing.³⁰ This short work (of only fifty-three bars) is derived from the juxtaposition of blocks of contrasting material, a number of which reveal a continuation of ideas first presented in *Jeux de plein air*. The opening of 'Pastorale' contains a similar bitonal idea to the one found in 'Cache-cache mitoula': one hand (the left) plays all white notes the other (the right) plays all black (see Example 4:9).

²⁸ See Henri Collet, 'Un livre de Rimsky et un livre de Cocteau – les cinq russes, les six français et Erik Satie', *Comœdia*, 16 January 1920 and 'Les « Six » français : Darius Milhaud, Louis Durey, Georges Auric, Arthur Honegger, Francis Poulenc et Germaine Tailleferre', *Comœdia*, 23 January 1920.

²⁹ See, for example, James Harding, *The Ox on the Roof: Scenes from Musical Life in Paris in the Twenties* (London: Macdonald, 1972); Eveline Hurard-Viltard, *Le Groupe des Six ou le matin d'un jour de fête* (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1988); Jean Roy, *Le Groupe des Six* (Paris: Seuil, 1994).

³⁰ Each member of Les Six contributed one short piano piece to *L'Album des Six*: 'Prélude' (Auric), 'Romance sans paroles' (Durey), 'Sarabande' (Honegger), 'Mazurka' (Milhaud), 'Valse' (Poulenc), and 'Pastorale' (Tailleferre).

Example 4:9 – ‘Pastorale’, *L’Album des Six* (bars 1-4)³¹



The writing of ‘Pastorale’, like *Jeux de plein air*, also includes thematic development of a simple melodic line. Tailleferre further uses the first statement of this melody to create contrast (both through dynamic level and texture) with the opening bitonal idea (see Example 4:10a).

Example 4:10a – ‘Pastorale’, *L’Album des Six* (bars 9-14)³²



The static harmonic language of this example is interrupted, and rendered unstable, by the sudden (semitone downwards) shift of the chordal accompaniment in bar thirteen.

When the melody later reappears it has been considerably altered, it is mainly the rhythm and the characteristic triplet figure which betrays the relationship to the original, and has migrated to the inner part of the texture (see Example 4:10b):

Example 4:10b – ‘Pastorale’, *L’Album des Six* (bars 29-34)³³



³¹ Germaine Tailleferre, ‘Pastorale’, *L’Album des Six* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1920), 11.

³² Reproduced from Germaine Tailleferre, ‘Pastorale’, 11.

³³ Ibid, 12.

Although 'Pastorale' is a short piece it is well constructed and reveals the experimentation of a young composer moving through a period of development; it is, moreover, likely that its brevity was intentional as each of the works included within *L'Album des Six* is very short. The piquant bitonality and 5/8 time signature enhance the impression of light-hearted humour for which Les Six, as a group, were well-known.

Tailleferre's inclusion within Les Six brought her early recognition and helped to launch her career by providing her opportunities for performances, publications, and commissions. Her association with a group of interesting young composers allowed her access into many of the most elite artistic groups within contemporary Paris and thus brought her into contact with influential performers, critics, impresarios, and patrons. For example, it was through the milieu of Les Six that Tailleferre met the virtuoso pianist Arthur Rubinstein, who helped to promote her music by taking her *Jeux de plein air* on tour with him to Brazil and introducing her *Quatuor à cordes* to other countries.³⁴ Perhaps most significantly, Tailleferre's membership of Les Six secured her invitations to the musical *soirées* of the Princesse Édmond de Polignac, whose prestigious *salon* represented one of the most influential meeting places and musical forums of interwar Paris.³⁵ In this environment Tailleferre met a number of the most illustrious of contemporary musicians, including Ricardo Viñes, Florent Schmitt, Sergei Diaghilev, Manuel de Falla, and Maurice Ravel. It was not only contacts, moreover, that Tailleferre secured but also commissions, as in 1923

³⁴ Tailleferre acknowledged Rubinstein's support by dedicating her *Quatuor à cordes* to him. In her *Mémoires* Tailleferre asserted that Rubinstein was a good friend to her but carefully parried any suggestions of an amorous association: 'Arthur Rubinstein fut pour moi un ami d'une qualité tout à fait exceptionnelle. J'insiste sur le mot « exceptionnelle », du fait qu'Arthur était un Don Juan et l'on peut dire que dans chaque capitale du monde il laissait une foule de victimes éplorées.' Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 42.

³⁵ See Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester, New York; Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 2003).

the princess requested her to compose a Piano Concerto. This support from the Princesse Édmond de Polignac is significant as she was one of the most important artistic patrons in contemporary Paris; her attention of Tailleferre reveals that she must have considered her to have been an interesting and highly talented composer.

It was during the early 1920s, the heyday of Les Six, that Tailleferre produced her first major works, between 1920 and 1922 she was simultaneously working on her first Violin Sonata and a *Ballade* for piano and orchestra. Tailleferre's Violin Sonata was written for the virtuoso violinist Jacques Thibaud, with whom Tailleferre had a brief, though unhappy, relationship as his tight performance schedule prevented them from seeing each other.³⁶ In her *Mémoires* she sadly reminisced that:

Thibaud travelled all over the world; he only stopped for a couple of days in each town. To try to see him was an unthinkable thing. As for writing to him, it was also not very simple, because the letters sent to consulates always arrived after his departure. This lasted for three years, during which time I did not see Jacques more than ten times, and never more than a little half hour, on the sly, between his rehearsals and many engagements.³⁷

She wrote her Violin Sonata as a release from the anguishes that she was suffering and as a means of expressing her feelings for him. The Princesse Édmond de Polignac supported the composition of this work by inviting Tailleferre to the Polignac family home in St. Jean-de-Luz during the winter of 1920 to allow her to work on the Sonata in peace. The Violin Sonata was given its première at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier in June 1922 by Jacques Thibaud and Alfred Cortot. Writing of this première in *Comœdia*, Paul Le Flem praised Tailleferre's talent of invention, her solid technique, and the elegance of her writing:

Mlle Tailleferre occupies a choice position in the young school, as much by the natural distinction of her inspiration as by the grace with which she adorns her slightest productions.

³⁶ Tailleferre met Thibaud in England in the autumn of 1920 at the home of Paul Kochanski. See Christian Goubault, *Jacques Thibaud (1880-1953), Violoniste français*, Préface de Yehudi Menuhin, Discographie de Gérald Drieu (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1988), 61-2.

³⁷ « Thibaud parcourait le monde ; il s'arrêtait quelques jours seulement dans chaque ville. Essayer de le voir était chose impensable. Quant à lui écrire, ce n'était pas non plus si simple, car les lettres envoyées dans les consulats arrivaient toujours après son départ. Cela dura trois ans, durant lesquels je ne vis pas Jacques plus de dix fois, et jamais plus d'une petite demi-heure, en cachette, entre ses répétitions et ses multiples rendez-vous. » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 44.

She is the author of a *Quatuor à cordes* in which she demonstrates a charming gift of invention served by an indisputable technique. The same qualities are found in her *Sonate* which seduces by the rhythms, the melodic liveliness, the orderly elegance and the concise workmanship.³⁸

This warm review, from as influential and well-established a critic as Paul Le Flem, is indicative of the supportive critical reception which Tailleferre's first Violin Sonata received. Moreover, Le Flem's reference to her occupation of 'a choice position in the young school' suggests that her situation amongst the most interesting young composers working in Paris during the early 1920s was both well established and accepted by the musical world and the press. The security of her position within the contemporary Parisian musical milieu is further suggested by the Princesse Édmond de Polignac's support of the Violin Sonata, as the princess's name, and activities as a patron, are so inextricably linked to backing the most promising and talented musicians of the day. Furthermore, the choice of Thibaud and Cortot as performers for the sonata's première also indicates the high level of prestige which Tailleferre must have already secured as a composer to attract an international virtuoso violinist and pianist to programme her music.³⁹ Unfortunately, although the Violin Sonata represents the most positive result of Tailleferre's unhappy liaison with Jacques Thibaud, this relationship set a trend of disappointment for her love life from which it never escaped.

Following the success of her Violin Sonata, Rolf Maré commissioned a ballet from Tailleferre for the 1923 season of the *Ballets Suédois*.⁴⁰ Tailleferre responded

³⁸ « Mlle Tailleferre occupe une place de choix dans la jeune école, tant par la naturelle distinction de son inspiration que par la grâce dont elle orne ses moindres productions. Elle est l'auteur d'un *Quatuor à cordes* où elle montre un don d'invention charmante servi par une indiscutable technique. Les mêmes qualités se retrouvent dans sa *Sonate* qui séduit par les rythmes, l'enjouement mélodique, l'élégance ordonnée et concise de la facture. » Paul Le Flem, 'La Musique au Concert', *Comœdia* (26 June 1922), 4.

³⁹ It is possible that the services of Jacques Thibaud and Alfred Cortot to give the Violin Sonata its première may have been influenced by the fact that the work was written for and dedicated to Thibaud and by the relationship between him and Tailleferre.

⁴⁰ Tailleferre had first collaborated with the *Ballets Suédois* in 1921 when she contributed to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*, the surreal ballet which Cocteau concocted with five members of Les Six

with *Le Marchand d'Oiseaux*, a one-act ballet after a scenario by the artist and poetess Hélène Perdriat with costumes and scenery by Perdriat (see Figures 4:2a and 4:2b) and choreography by Tailleferre and Jean Borlin.⁴¹ In her *Mémoires*, Tailleferre remembered that Borlin (the chief dancer and choreographer of the *Ballets Suédois*) was always delighted when the ballet authors themselves contributed to the stage directions and recalled her own attempts at dance choreography with mischievous humour, 'in my enthusiasm and recklessness, I began to dance or rather to run from one end of the stage to the other, raising up a cloud of dust with my shoes [...] which sounded like a cavalry charge.'⁴² *Le Marchand d'Oiseaux* opened on 25 May at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and was an instant success; the ballet was performed ninety-four times from its première in 1923 until the *Ballets Suédois*'s final Parisian season in 1925, drawing praise from the critics.⁴³ Writing in *Comædia*, Raymond Charpentier described how Tailleferre skilfully manipulated Baroque techniques of composition in her score:

Mlle Tailleferre has embroidered an alert and seductive music which, I suppose, voluntarily takes after pastiche. The opening, in an imitation of Bach, proves that the charming musician knows how to manage with skill the writing of the old masters... In a general manner, the themes are clear, fresh and cleverly brought out. They have a force of expansion and are suitable to the subject...⁴⁴

(Tailleferre, Auric, Honegger, Milhaud, and Poulenc). This work is well known and often regarded as contributing to the break up of Les Six as a functioning musical group (if indeed they ever were one) because Durey refused to take part in the collaboration shortly before the première. For information about *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel* see L. M. Gottlieb, 'Images, Technology, and Music: The Ballets Suédois and *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 88, No. 4 (Winter 2005), 5235-55.

⁴¹ For a synopsis of the scenario of *Le Marchand d'Oiseaux* (which revolves around the differences between two sisters and their admirers) see James Harding, *The Ox on the Roof: Scenes from Musical Life in Paris in the Twenties*, 154-5.

⁴² « Dans l'enthousiasme et l'inconscience, je me mis à danser ou plutôt à courir d'un bout de la scène à l'autre, soulevant avec mes souliers un nuage de poussière... qui sonnait comme une charge de cavalerie. » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 31.

⁴³ For a detailed account of the contemporary reception of *Le Marchand d'Oiseaux* (which was largely divided over understanding it as a Neoclassical work and interpreting it, on account of the sex of Tailleferre and Perdriat, as a feminist manifestation) see Laura Hamer 'Germaine Tailleferre and Hélène Perdriat's *Le Marchand d'Oiseaux* (1923): French Feminist Ballet?' (*Studies in Musical Theatre*, forthcoming Spring 2010).

⁴⁴ « Mlle Tailleferre a brodé une musique alerte et séduisante qui tiendrait, je suppose, volontiers du pastiche. Le début, à l'imitation de Bach, prouve que la charmante musicienne sait manier avec adresse l'écriture des vieux maîtres... D'une manière générale, les thèmes sont clairs, frais et mis habilement

Caroline Potter has described this ballet as ‘a charming example of the neoclassical style, drawing on traditional forms and dances and employing often acidulous harmonies with a distinctly modern twist’.⁴⁵ Tailleferre herself wrote an article about the ballet for *L’Intransigeant* in which she states that she made deliberate allusions to Chopin and to eighteenth-century music.⁴⁶ She did not acknowledge a strict intellectual approach but, rather, claimed that she had chosen a spontaneous choice of sounds which had happened to please her. Sergei Diaghilev admired the overture so much that he used it as an interlude when the *Ballets Russes* toured.⁴⁷

Figure 4:2a – Hélène Perdriat’s Set Design for *Le Marchand d’Oiseaux*⁴⁸



en valeur. Ils ont de la force d’expansion et conviennent au sujet... » Raymond Charpentier, ‘“Marchand d’Oiseaux” Ballet de Mme Hélène Perdriat, Musique de Mlle Germaine Tailleferre’, *Comœdia* (27 May 1923), 1.

⁴⁵ Caroline Potter, ‘Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983), in *New Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, ed. James R. Briscoe (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 317.

⁴⁶ Germaine Tailleferre, ‘Quelque mots de l’une des “Six”’, *L’Intransigeant* (3 May 1923).

⁴⁷ In the early 1920s, Tailleferre worked for Diaghilev at the Bibliothèque de l’Opéra where they went through scores together. He was always on the look out for new works and her immense talent as a sight-reader made her perfect for this position. He later commissioned a work from her [*La Nouvelle Cythère*]; however, this was for the ill-fated 1929 season when Diaghilev’s sudden death precipitated the cancellation of all of the *Ballets Russes*’s production for that year and the project was abandoned.

⁴⁸ Reproduced from *Comœdia* (27 May 1923), 1.

Figure 4:2b – Hélène Perdriat’s Costumes for *Le Marchand d’Oiseaux*⁴⁹



The Princesse Édmond de Polignac was so delighted by *Le Marchand d’Oiseaux* that she commissioned a Piano Concerto from Tailleferre which was written at the Polignac family home in Bouzaréah and completed in early 1924. Similar to *Le Marchand d’Oiseaux*, the Piano Concerto is another Neoclassical work which remains close to the style of the ballet which the princess had admired so much. In a programme note written for her own American performance of the Piano Concerto in 1925, Tailleferre described the Neoclassical nature of the work as a reaction against programme music and as an attempt at musical autonomy: ‘the classic from which I have used in this work may be regarded as in a way a reaction against Impressionism and Orientalism, and as an indication of an attempt to find an expression purely musical, exempt from all literary implications.’⁵⁰

In his review for *Comædia*, Paul Le Flem also commented on the Neoclassical nature of the Concerto and the contrapuntal influence of the eighteenth-century harpsichord school:

⁴⁹ Reproduced from *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁰ Germain Tailleferre, Programme note on her Piano Concerto written for the Philharmonic Society of New York, April 1925. (Programme note contained within the Tailleferre archive at the New York Public Library.)

This score, worthy of the sympathy of pianists in search of novelties, consists of three movements of a reasonable duration. The author has visibly yielded to the suggestions of the style of the eighteenth century... If there is influence, it is especially noticeable in the overall conception, in the manner of organising the answering phrases, in the developments which do not restrict themselves to repetitions of themes or to banal transpositions of motifs. The harmonic style is frankly of our age. But the author, faithful to the classical tradition, is far from considering chords for their sole intrinsic valour solid and devoid of pedantry. This Concerto recommends itself to pianists desirous of enriching their repertoire by its qualities of ease, of measure, of good taste.⁵¹

The Neoclassicism inherent in Tailleferre's *Le Marchand d'Oiseaux* and Piano

Concerto, which reveals the strong influence of Stravinsky on her own music, became characteristic of her musical conceptions and she continued to write in this style until the end of her life.⁵²

The US and First Marriage: Ralph Barton

By 1924, however, the attention which Tailleferre had received in the advent of the branding of Les Six began to fail and she was experiencing financial difficulties. She resolved to try her luck in the US, as she expressed in her *Mémoires*:

It was urgent for me to change my way of life. The great exaltation provoked by the Group of the Six had begun to drop off. I continued to live off the minor celebrity status that I had acquired. My daily life was hardly improved. I had always the same money problems... I resolved therefore to leave for America...⁵³

⁵¹ « Cette partition, digne de la sympathie des pianistes en quête de nouveautés, comporte trois morceaux d'une durée raisonnable. L'auteur a visiblement cédé aux suggestions du style du XVIII^e siècle... S'il y a influence, elle se remarque surtout dans la conception de l'ensemble, dans la façon d'ordonner les répliques, dans les développements qui ne se bornent pas à des redites de thèmes ou à de banales transpositions de motifs.

Le style harmonique est franchement de notre époque. Mais l'auteur, fidèle à la tradition classique, est ??? loin de considérer les accords pour leur seule valeur intrinsèque, les utilise dans un dessein contrapontique solide et dénué de pédantisme.

Ce Concerto se recommande aux pianistes désireux d'enrichir leur répertoire par ses qualités d'aisance, de mesure, de bon goût. » Paul Le Flem, 'Le Concerto pour piano de Mlle Tailleferre', *Comœdia* (19 October 1925), 2.

⁵² For a discussion of the Neoclassical influences upon the work of Tailleferre see Laura Hamer 'Entre Satie et Stravinsky : les modèles néo-classiques de Germaine Tailleferre', in *Musique française, esthétique et identité en mutation 1892-1992*, ed. Pascal Terrien (Delatour France, forthcoming 2010).

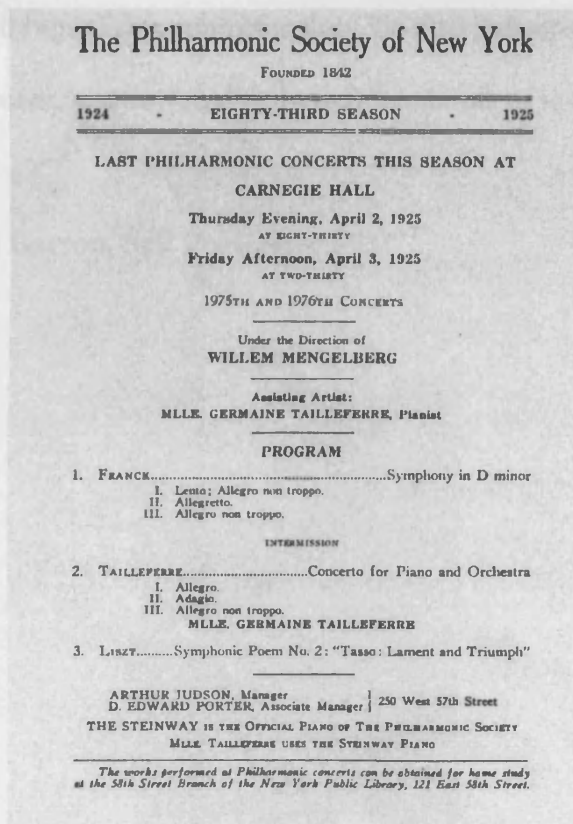
⁵³ « Il était impérieux pour moi de changer d'existence ; la grande exaltation provoquée par le Groupe des Six commençait à tomber. Je continuais à vivre sur la petite célébrité qui m'était acquise. Ma vie quotidienne ne s'était guère améliorée. J'avais toujours les mêmes soucis d'argent... Je résolus donc de partir pour l'Amérique... » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 48.

Tailleferre spent the first few months of 1925 in New York where she was able to secure a few performances of her work, thereby suggesting that her reputation was already sufficiently established, even across the Atlantic, to awaken American curiosity in her compositions. On 14 February she made her American performance début as a pianist at the Aeolian Hall in New York when she gave her Violin Sonata in a concert of the Franco-American Musical Society with Robert Imandt. The Philadelphia Orchestra gave the American première of her Piano Concerto with Alfred Cortot appearing as the soloist on 20 March.⁵⁴ Tailleferre also performed the Piano Concerto in New York at the Carnegie Hall, on 2 and 3 April, under Willem Mengelberg (see Figure 4:3).⁵⁵ This prestigious choice of performance venue further implies that she was well-known enough, as both a pianist and a composer, to justify an appearance at one of America's most famous concert halls. Despite these American performances of her work, Tailleferre was not completely satisfied with her first trip to the US as her ambition had been to secure a teaching position which would have enabled her to have spent six months of each year teaching in the US and six in France, which she intended to dedicate to composition. (It is difficult to envisage how Tailleferre actually expected this to happen in reality as she spoke very little English.)

⁵⁴ Cortot also performed the Concerto on April 3 in Boston, under the directorship of Serge Koussevitzky.

⁵⁵ Information relating to American performances of Tailleferre's works is derived from an examination of extant concert programmes contained in the Tailleferre Archive at the New York Public Library.

Figure 4:3 – Programme for Tailleferre’s American Performance of her Piano Concerto (1925)⁵⁶



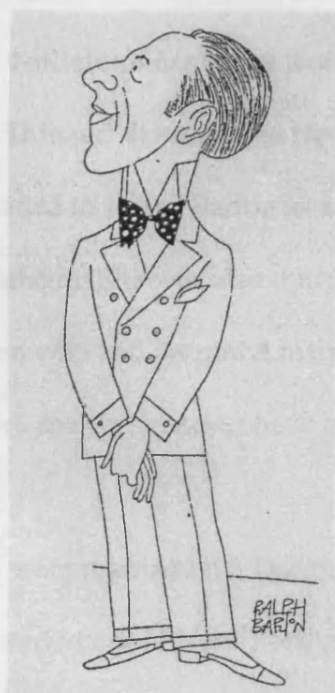
Tailleferre returned to France in May 1925 for another performance of her Piano Concerto, with herself as soloist and Koussevitzky as conductor. She undertook a second trip to the US in September but again failed to secure a permanent teaching position and found that the few private pupils who she was able to attract did not begin to solve her financial problems. She made a third trip to New York in the autumn of 1926 when she met and married her first husband, the American caricaturist, illustrator, and artist, Ralph Barton (1891-1931).

Tailleferre met Barton on 15 November 1926 at a party given by Blanche Knopf, the wife of the leading American publisher Alfred A. Knopf. She was introduced to him by two French friends, the painters Georges Lepape and Bernard Boutet de Monvel,

⁵⁶ Programme contained within the Tailleferre archive at the New York Public Library. Reproduction courtesy of the New York Public Library.

who knew Barton as all three of them regularly contributed illustrations to *Harper's Bazaar* magazine. Barton was a determined Francophile, spoke fluent French, and had a fascination for all things Gallic; unfortunately, he also had a reputation as a consummate womaniser, and suffered from frequent bouts of insomnia and depression.

Figure 4:4 – Ralph Barton, Self Portrait, c.1927⁵⁷



Barton had already been married three times and had two daughters.⁵⁸ He was recently divorced from his third wife, Carlotta Monterey, whom he always maintained was the greatest love of his life. After the Knopf party, Barton drove Tailleferre back to her hotel in his white Voisin and proposed marriage to her. She thought that he was

⁵⁷ Reproduced from Bruce Kellner, *The Last Dandy, Ralph Barton, American Artist, 1891-1931* (Missouri and London: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 212.

⁵⁸ Barton married for the first time, to Marie Jennings, on 6 November 1909. There was one daughter from this marriage, Natalie (later Sister Marie Magdaleine) born 1 October 1910. Anne Minnerly became his second wife in 1917, and Diana, the daughter of this marriage, was born 20 June 1921. Barton married the actress Carlotta Monterey (née Hazel Neilson Taasinge) 17 March 1925, although the couple had been cohabiting and referred to in print as Mr. and Mrs. Barton for two years already. She left him in September 1925 and divorced him, on grounds of infidelity, in early 1926. See Bruce Kellner, *The Last Dandy Ralph Barton, American Artist, 1891-1931*.

trying to make fun of her, but Barton was serious; Tailleferre asked friends for advice, as she was unsure of her feelings and lacked confidence and they persuaded her to accept him. Barton's biographer, Bruce Kellner, has attempted to analyse what may have attracted Barton and Tailleferre to each other:

Surely ... he was still aching over Carlotta Monterey that winter, having tried again, just a few months before, to get the Van Vechten's [mutual friends] to intercede on his behalf and beg her to return to him. In the face of Carlotta's emotional amnesia, Barton was ripe for the rebound ... His considerable charm, of which both friends and enemies spoke, his impeccable manners, his flawless French pronunciation, and his ardour for all things French, could not have failed to win some attention from Germaine Tailleferre, who spoke no English and had never felt comfortable in America.⁵⁹

In her own *Mémoires*, Tailleferre explained that: 'I had been badly affected by my unhappy love for Jacques Thibaud. It seemed to me that I could never love anyone else again'.⁶⁰ Possibly she decided to marry Barton as a release from her miserable and unrequited feelings for Thibaud. She was also thirty-four years old when she met Barton and he was the first man who had proposed marriage to her, she may have felt that if she had not accepted him she would never have had a second opportunity to marry.

Tailleferre and Barton were married on 3 December 1926 in Ridgefield Connecticut (they had to be married out of New York state due to his divorces), with Tailleferre performing a wedding march of her own composition. The announcement of Tailleferre's marriage which appeared in *Comœdia* back in France reveals that Boutet de Monvel (who had been instrumental in bringing Tailleferre and Barton together and in persuading her to accept his proposal) was present at her wedding: 'Mlle Germaine Tailleferre, French composer, has just married the American caricaturist Ralph Barton. The marriage took place in New York in the strictest

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁶⁰ « J'avais été péniblement affectée par mon amour malheureux pour Jacques Thibaud. Il me semblait que je ne pourrais jamais plus aimer personne. » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 50.

intimacy; M Bernard Boutet de Monvel attended the ceremony.⁶¹ After the marriage, the newlyweds returned to New York for a wedding party at the Knopfs and to spend their honeymoon at their new Manhattan apartment. Barton presented Tailleferre with a player piano as a wedding present which was possibly intended as a joke; however, it heralded the beginning of his dislike of her playing and composing on her real piano.

Soon after their marriage, Barton introduced Tailleferre to his friend Charlie Chaplin with whom she became close as they enjoyed improvising at the piano together. Chaplin had such a high regard of Tailleferre as a musician that he invited her to return to Hollywood with him in order to compose music for his film, *The Circus* (1928). Barton, however, refused to allow her to go; he preferred Tailleferre to spend her time preparing French food for him. She was forced to compose on a silent keyboard so as not to disturb his routine of sleeping by day and working at night, necessitated by his bouts of insomnia.⁶² This refusal of Barton's to allow Tailleferre to compose for Chaplin's new film represented both how deep-set his objections of her composing were and his reluctance to support her musical career, as an invitation to Hollywood could have been a serious opportunity for her.

Barton became increasingly jealous of the attention which his musician wife received and attempted to discourage her from composition, and the marriage soon ran into difficulties because of this. He became angry when they attended rehearsals for her *Harp Concertino* in Boston in March 1927, with Tailleferre herself appearing

⁶¹ « Mlle Germaine Tailleferre, compositrice française, vient de se marier avec le caricaturiste américain Ralph Barton. Le mariage a eu lieu à New York dans le plus stricte intimité. M. Bernard Boutet de Monvel assistait à la cérémonie. » Anonymous, 'Le mariage de Mlle Germaine Tailleferre', *Comœdia* (8 December 1926), 5.

⁶² Laura Mitgang, 'Germaine Tailleferre: Before, During, and After Les Six', in *The Musical Woman: An International Perspective*, Judith Lang Zaimont (Editor-in-Chief), Catherine Overhauser and Jane Gottlieb (Associate Editors) (New York, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1987), 194.

as soloist with the Boston Symphony Orchestra.⁶³ Chaplin, who was also in attendance, was impressed by the way in which she stopped the conductor, Koussevitzky, to make corrections. Barton, however, manifested a fit of jealousy and made it clear that he would not tolerate being 'Monsieur Tailleferre'.⁶⁴

In the spring of 1927, Tailleferre and Barton returned to France, on his request. They sailed on the *Paris* in May, where one of their fellow passengers was the diplomat and writer Paul Claudel. Whilst *en route*, he asked Tailleferre to collaborate with him on a play which he was writing to celebrate the centenary of Marcelin Berthelot's birth, *Sous les remparts d'Athènes*. Tailleferre, however, was uneasy on two accounts: firstly, she lacked confidence in her own abilities to compose for so prestigious a writer; and secondly, she was afraid of offending Claudel's regular composer, her friend Milhaud. Initially she refused to collaborate with him, responding 'never will I compose the music for what you write, we don't tackle Paul Claudel like that! The poor little music of a poor little woman!'⁶⁵ Tailleferre's denigration of her own music as 'the poor little music of a poor little woman' highlights a lack of confidence in her own abilities, which Barton's discouragement may have served to aggravate as she had not displayed reluctance when offered earlier commissions. Claudel, however, persisted with his requests and she finally agreed to work with him on the proviso that she could speak to Milhaud first.

Back in Paris, Tailleferre and Barton settled into studios on the rue de Passy, and Tailleferre asked Milhaud's permission to collaborate with Claudel. Milhaud wholeheartedly encouraged her and lent his full support to the project. As in his

⁶³ During her time in America, the Boston Symphony Orchestra also premièred her orchestration of *Jeux de plein air*.

⁶⁴ Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 54.

⁶⁵ "Jamais je ne ferai de musique sur ce que vous écrivez, on n'aborde pas Paul Claudel comme ça ! Pauvre petite musique d'une pauvre petite bonne femme !", Georges Hacquard, 'Entretiens avec Germaine Tailleferre', *Intemporel*, No. 3 (July-September 1992), 4.

collaborations with Milhaud and Honegger, Claudel explained his wishes and suggested numerous ideas to Tailleferre so that she may produce a score which corresponded to the musical support which he envisaged for his dialogue. Finally, however, the play was performed only once on 24 October 1927 in the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, by the Orchestra of the Radio under Inghelbrecht. Claudel became ambassador to Washington and returned to the US shortly after.⁶⁶ Claudel proposed Barton for the Légion d'Honneur in foreign affairs to thank Tailleferre for her music.

In Paris, in the summer of 1927, Tailleferre and Barton devoted large amounts of their time to renovating and decorating a large house just off the Bois du Boulogne, at 46 rue Nicolo, which contained original artwork by both. They finally moved into this house, whose decoration was a fine example of art deco style and a testament to the couple's respective artistic talents, in late October 1927. The house was extensively photographed for *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *House and Garden* and Kellner reproduces a number of these photographs in his biography of Barton (see Figures 4:5a-c).

⁶⁶ See Catherine Miller, *Cocteau, Apollinaire, Claudel et le Groupe des Six* (Sprimont, Belgium : Mardaga, 2003), 134-5. (Tailleferre's score for her incidental music to accompany *Sous les remparts d'Athènes* is now lost.)

Figure 4:5a – The Studio of 46 rue Nicolo, Paris⁶⁷



Figure 4:5b – Tailleferre and Barton in the Garden of 46 rue Nicolo, Paris⁶⁸



Figure 4:5c – The Drawing Room of 46 rue Nicolo, Paris⁶⁹



⁶⁷ Bruce Kellner, *The Last Dandy Ralph Barton, American Artist, 1891-1931*, 175.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 175.

This superb house probably represented the most fruitful outcome of Tailleferre and Barton's marriage. Both partners possessed artistic talents and were passionately interested by the visual arts; the conception and realisation of this home may be considered as the artistic progeny of their union. Barton's manic-depressive tendencies resurfaced, however, soon after they had moved in and within less than a year (in June 1928) he wished to sell it. Kellner has described how:

His [Barton's] persistent insomnia, like his headaches, seemed to come in waves, always without warning but with increasing frequency and, though he did not realize it, as the seasons changed. The calendar had begun to mark periods when his work appeared regularly or rarely in his magazine outlets. Bouts of depression felled him, too, and by 1928 he must have been aware that one affliction fed on the other.⁷⁰

Barton criticised the rue Nicolo household as being too calm. Kellner has observed that 'Germaine's attempts to maintain some stability in the marriage, by balancing her good humor with some hearty French pragmatism, had only served to annoy him'.⁷¹ In the autumn Barton returned to New York alone for a season full of glamorous dinners and parties with old friends and at the end of the year he and Tailleferre separated. Despite these marital difficulties, however, Tailleferre wrote two piano miniatures, *Pastorale en La bémol* and *Sicilienne*, which she dedicated 'à Ralph' in December 1928.⁷²

Pastorale en La bémol and *Sicilienne* both reveal a strong influence of the nineteenth-century Romantic piano miniature. Like Tailleferre's pre-World-War-One piano compositions (*Romance* and *Impromptu*) they are tonal and constructed in ternary form and they have more in common with these earliest piano miniatures than with the more experimental works written in the early 1920s. The opening of *Pastoral en La bémol* (see Example 4:11) especially recalls the Romantic piano miniature, in it

⁷⁰ Ibid., 172-3.

⁷¹ Ibid., 181.

⁷² In 1928, Barton also dedicated a work to her; *God's Country*, 'to Germaine', a satirical history of America with his own illustrations.

Tailleferre introduces the principal lyrical melody of the piece, the ostinato accompaniment (which firmly grounds the work in A flat major), and the balanced Classical phrasing which she manipulates throughout the A section.

Example 4:11 – *Pastorale en La Bémol* (bars 1-4)⁷³

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'Piano' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Pno.'. Both staves are in 3/4 time and A-flat major. The piano part (top) has a melody starting on a dotted quarter note, followed by eighth notes, with a dynamic marking of 'mp'. The pno. part (bottom) features a triplet accompaniment of eighth notes. The first four bars are shown, with the piano part having a slur over the first two bars and the pno. part having a '3' above the first bar.

The influence of the Romantic piano miniature is less strongly felt in the contrasting B section, where the lack of any clear tonal centre and chromaticism lends a more twentieth-century feel. This experimentation is underpinned, however, by a strict four-bar phrase structure which allows Tailleferre to gradually thicken her texture (see Examples 4:12-14).

Example 4:12 – *Pastorale en La Bémol* (bars 41-44)⁷⁴

The image shows a single staff of musical notation labeled 'Piano'. It is in 3/4 time and A-flat major. The melody in the right hand consists of quarter notes and half notes. The left hand has a triplet accompaniment of eighth notes. The dynamic marking is 'p'. The first four bars are shown, with a slur over the first two bars and a '3' above the first bar.

⁷³ Germaine Tailleferre, *Pastorale en La Bémol* (Paris: Heugel, 1929), 2.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

Example 4:13 – *Pastorale en La Bémol* (bars 49-52)⁷⁵

Example 4:14 – *Pastorale en La Bémol* (bars 55-58)⁷⁶

Although in some respects the retrospective writing of *Pastorale en La Bémol* may appear less developed than the more experimental *Jeux de plein air* and ‘Pastorale’ (from *L’Album des Six*) it is also a good example of the Neoclassical writing which had dominated her music since the early 1920s. On a more subjective note it is possible to suggest that Tailleferre may have found some solace in writing miniatures for her own instrument when her life was complicated by marital difficulties.

Barton returned to France in March 1929, and he and Tailleferre, temporarily reconciled, began searching for another property together, this time in the South of France. A small villa, *Le Bois sacré*, overlooking the bay of Toulon in Provence came onto the market and the couple moved there the 10 April 1929. She began to compose again and he began work on a novel. Unfortunately, the marriage remained unstable and Barton frequently passed the evenings alone in bars in Toulon and some nights in trysts with other women.⁷⁷ During the summer of 1929, Tailleferre composed her *Six*

⁷⁵ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁷ Robert Shapiro, *Germaine Tailleferre: A Bio-Bibliography*, 14-15.

Chansons Françaises; setting of fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts which glorify infidelity. Each of Tailleferre's songs depicts a woman in an unhappy or unfulfilling relationship. Laura Mitgang has commented that:

...they [*Six chansons françaises*] reflect her dwindling faith in marriage. Bored and restless, Barton was seeing other women. According to Tailleferre, he needed a more exciting life of arguments, tears, and reconciliations, which she did not provide. After growing up in a home full of marital tensions, she thought it best to remain conciliatory. This only aggravated Barton further.⁷⁸

In June 1929, whilst Tailleferre was composing her *Six Chansons Françaises*, Barton was openly having an affair with a compatriot in Toulon; he went berserk, however, when Tailleferre announced that she was pregnant. He asked her to allow him to kill their unborn child by shooting her in the abdomen, reassuring her that she would not be harmed by this. Tailleferre fled from their house in panic, at first hiding in the bushes as there were no neighbours nearby who might shelter her. When she heard gunshots she went to the *Grand Hotel de Sanay*, where a mutual friend took her under his protection.⁷⁹ The night's horrors, however, caused a miscarriage. Tailleferre returned to Paris alone and filed for divorce; she and Barton never saw each other again.⁸⁰

Second Marriage: Jean Lageat and the 1930s

After she left Barton, Tailleferre found herself sickened by married life and her sole wish was to adopt a child and bring it up on her own. At the age of thirty-eight, however, she was told that she was too old and she returned to her musical career, which had been interrupted on account of her first marriage, in earnest. This decision to re-establish her musical career was aided by the tenth anniversary of *Les Six*, which was marked in the musical press and by a number of joint concerts which

⁷⁸ Laura Mitgang, 'Germaine Tailleferre: Before, During, and After *Les Six*', 197.

⁷⁹ See Germain Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 61.

⁸⁰ Barton returned to the US and committed suicide in New York on 20 May 1931 by shooting himself in the head.

reunited the six erstwhile friends. As was the result in the immediate aftermath of the conception of 'Les Six', when the critical attention brought Tailleferre early recognition and musical opportunities, the tenth anniversary of the group once again brought her to public attention.

Figure 4:6 – Les Six with Cocteau at the Time of their Tenth Anniversary

(1930)⁸¹



In 1930 Tailleferre demonstrated in music her deep-set desire to have a child when she wrote *Fleurs de France*, her Neobaroque piano suite for children. The Neobaroque piano suite, modelled upon the eighteenth-century French Baroque harpsichord suite, was well established within French piano music by 1930 and important precedents include Debussy's *Pour le Piano* (1896-1901), Roussel's *Suite* (1909-10), and Ravel's *Le Tombeau de Couperin* (1919). Eighteenth-century French Baroque harpsichord suites usually consisted of several movements which generally included a mixture of dances (such as allemands, courantes, sarabandes, giges, and menuets) and short descriptive pieces intended to imitate nature. Unlike Debussy, Roussel, and Ravel, who concentrated more on the Baroque dances and other forms (such as the *prélude* and *toccata*) within their Neobaroque piano suites, Tailleferre

⁸¹ Reproduced from Paul Le Flem, 'Le dixième anniversaire du "Groupe des Six"', *Comœdia* (14 December 1929), 2. (Georges Auric was absent the day that this photograph was taken; however, he was represented by the sketch of him by Cocteau which the others fixed upon the wall.)

focused on the French Baroque concept of mimesis: the presentation of nature in art.

In *Fleurs de France* Tailleferre presented eight short tableaux which represent the flowers of France, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 4:3 – Movements of *Fleurs de France*

1	Jasmin de Provence	Provence Jasmine
2	Coquelicot de Guyenne	Guyenne Poppy
3	Rose d'Anjou	Anjou Rose
4	Tournesol du Languedoc	Languedoc Sunflower
5	Anthémise du Roussillon	Roussillon Camomile
6	Lavandin de Haute-Provence	Haute-Provence Lavender
7	Volubilis du Béarn	Béarn Convolvulus (Morning Glory)
8	Bleuet de Picardie	Picardie Cornflower

Despite the Neobaroque influence apparent in Tailleferre's decision to write a piano suite inspired by the French countryside, *Fleurs de France* contains few pronounced Baroque influences and is much more Classical in style. Perhaps surprisingly, none of these pieces use Baroque forms or dances and each is in ternary form, with the exception of 'Tournesol du Languedoc' which takes Rondo form. *Fleurs de France* totally lacks advanced contrapuntal procedures; however, Tailleferre's ability to derive material from small motivic ideas does suggest the influence of Baroque *Fortspinnung* (spinning out) as illustrated in Example 4:15 from 'Jasmin de Provence':

Example 4:15 – ‘Jasmin de Provence’, *Fleurs de France* (bars 14-19)⁸²

Classically balanced four-bar phrases also dominate throughout *Fleurs de France*, the melodic construction of which hardly ever deviates from this pattern. Simplicity and repetition are also important within this suite, as illustrated by the opening of ‘Rose d’Anjou’ (see Example 4:16).

Example 4:16 – ‘Rose d’Anjou’, *Fleurs de France* (bars 1-9)⁸³

Extreme simplicity in melodic and rhythmic construction characterise these undemanding piano works and it is possible to suggest two influences for this. Firstly, Tailleferre’s early mentor Satie, as the easy repetitive patterns of the pieces within

⁸² Germaine Tailleferre, ‘Jasmin de Provence’, *Fleurs de France* (Paris: Lemoine, 1962), 2-3.

⁸³ Reproduced from Germaine Tailleferre ‘Rose d’Anjou’, *Fleurs de France*, 5.

Fleurs de France recall his *Trois Gymnopédies* (1888) and *Trois Gnossiennes* (1890). Secondly, and especially in her decision to write a set of eight pieces for children, she may have been influenced by Stravinsky's *Les cinq doigts, 8 pièces très faciles sur 5 notes* (1921). In addition to the possible influences of Satie and Stravinsky it seems highly probable that the writing of Ravel was also a model for *Fleurs de France*. Tailleferre had been a personal friend of Ravel's since the early 1920s when she had frequently visited him at his home in Montfort-l'Amaury with the violinist Hélène Jourdan-Morhange.⁸⁴ During the early days of their friendship, Tailleferre had kept Ravel abreast of the latest news and music of Stravinsky and the other members of Les Six, in whom he was passionately interested. In return, he had often advised her on matters of composition and orchestration and it is possible to interpret *Fleurs de France* as Tailleferre's musical homage to Ravel.

Unfortunately, Tailleferre's happiness over regaining her independence, being reunited with her colleagues from Les Six, and reviving her musical career was to be short-lived. In Paris she met a handsome, young lawyer called Jean Lageat by whom she became pregnant and who insisted upon marriage despite her understandable scruples following her painful experiences with Barton:

I would have wanted to make the most of my freedom as a young woman for longer, but the frenzied desire to have a child won out. It seemed to me that with such a boy I could only have a beautiful child! But I had not foreseen that Jean Lageat would share my wish to the point of insisting on marrying me.⁸⁵

Thus, Tailleferre was coerced into marrying Lageat in 1931 and in the November of that year her only child, Françoise, was born.

Unfortunately, this second marriage brought problems of its own; Lageat, who had appeared so charming before their marriage revealed himself to have a violent

⁸⁴ Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 36-7.

⁸⁵ « J'aurais voulu profiter plus longtemps de ma liberté de jeune femme, mais l'envie frénétique d'avoir un enfant l'emporta. Il me semblait qu'avec un tel garçon je ne pourrais avoir qu'un bel enfant ! Mais je n'avais pas prévu que Jean Lageat partagerait mon désir au point d'insister pour m'épouser. » Ibid., 62.

temper and also drank heavily. Lageat beat both Tailleferre and her daughter and also spattered ink all over her manuscripts.⁸⁶ In her *Mémoires* she recalled the brutality of her second husband thus: 'I worked in tears, in the middle of scenes of an unbelievable violence'.⁸⁷ Once again, Tailleferre was discouraged from composition by an unsympathetic and uncomprehending husband. In 1932, her enjoyment of the acclaim which accompanied the première of her orchestral *Ouverture* under Pierre Monteux on 25 December, was marred by his envy. Like Barton before him, Lageat also quickly became jealous of his wife's musical talent and the praise which it attracted; 'he did not hide it that he would never put up with playing the "Monsieur Tailleferre". Exactly like Barton'.⁸⁸

In May 1934, Monteux also conducted the première of her *Concerto pour deux pianos, voix et orchestre* with the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris in which Tailleferre and François Lang took the two piano parts. This Concerto is strongly influenced by the Baroque Concerto Grosso, with the two pianos playing a concertante rôle; the reduction for two pianos is actually called *Concerto Grosso*.⁸⁹

Writing in *Comædia*, Paul Le Flem commented on the Concerto's extremely unusual and experimental orchestration:

Four saxophones are substituted for the usual horns and a vocal octet blends with the orchestral instruments. The timbre of the voices significantly modifies the ensemble. Their fresh colours mix harmoniously with the orchestra and the two pianos whose sonority envelops the voices in a luminous and warm gauze.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Robert Shapiro, *Germaine Tailleferre: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994), 16.

⁸⁷ « Je travaillais dans les larmes, au milieu de scènes d'une incroyable violence. » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 63.

⁸⁸ « Il ne cachait pas qu'il ne supporterait jamais de jouer le [sic] "Monsieur Tailleferre". Exactement comme Barton. » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 64.

⁸⁹ See Caroline Potter, 'Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983) – A Centenary Appraisal', 117.

⁹⁰ « Quatre saxophones se sont, en effet, substitués aux cors habituels et un octuor vocal s'est mêlé au concert des instruments. Le timbre des voix modifie l'ensemble d'appréciable façon. Leurs frais coloris s'associe harmonieusement à l'orchestre et aux deux pianos dont la sonorité enveloppe les voix d'une gaze lumineuse et chaude. » Paul Le Flem, 'La vie symphonique : À l'Orchestre Symphonique de Paris – Un nouveau concerto de Mme Germaine Tailleferre', *Comædia*, (7 May 1934), 2.

Tailleferre's career, however, was interrupted for the second time in 1935 by the conflicting demands of a husband when Lageat was diagnosed with tuberculosis and advised to move to a sanatorium in Leysin, a small mountain village in Switzerland. Unfortunately, Lageat's aggressive disposition was further aggravated by his illness as Tailleferre sadly recalled: 'I worked in an abhorrent atmosphere [...] The illness from which my husband was seriously affected did not improve his difficult character'.⁹¹ Lageat's sickness also affected the family's financial situation. Fortunately, Tailleferre's friend, the composer Maurice Jaubert, was able to facilitate a meeting with the film director Maurice Cloche with whom she collaborated for over twenty years, providing her with much needed income.⁹²

This film work could not alter the fact that, in Switzerland, Tailleferre was deracinated from her Parisian cultural milieu. She did, however, help to launch La Jeune France, a group of young composers which included Olivier Messiaen, André Jolivet, Jean-Yves Daniel-Lesur, and Yves Baudrier in 1936.⁹³ It is possible to suggest a number of probable motives for Tailleferre's voluntary involvement with La Jeune France: firstly, she must have been attracted by the younger composers and their music; secondly, she may have been remembering how her own early career had benefited through her association with Les Six and wished to help another group of young musicians by lending the support of her relatively well-known name to their cause; and thirdly, her association with La Jeune France would have ensured that she was not forgotten by the musical circles back in Paris.⁹⁴

⁹¹ « Je travaillais dans une atmosphère détestable [...] La maladie dont mon mari était gravement atteint ne fut pas pour améliorer son caractère difficile. » Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', 63.

⁹² She also composed film scores for Marc Allegret, Boris Peskine, and Jean Funke.

⁹³ Ricardo Viñes performed Tailleferre's Piano Concerto at the inaugural concert of La Jeune France, 3 June 1936.

⁹⁴ The extent of, and motivation for, Tailleferre's association with La Jeune France remains mysterious. It is to be hoped that this connection will be made clearer if, and when, Tailleferre's private papers re-enter the academic domain.

Despite her musical isolation, Tailleferre managed to produce her Violin Concerto whilst living in Switzerland. This work is dedicated to Yvonne Astruc who gave the work its première with the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, under Monteux, on 22 November 1936. Caroline Potter considers the Violin Concerto to be one of Tailleferre's finest works and has observed that 'its slow movement, a continuous melancholy song with gorgeous enharmonic modulations and a passionate central section, represents Tailleferre at her best, as does the finale, which is an inexhaustible fund of invention'.⁹⁵ One of the most unusual features of the Violin Concerto is that the slow movement was not orchestrated by the composer herself but by Igor Markevitch, who had been staying with Tailleferre in Leysin whilst she was working on it and had asked her if he might orchestrate the second movement.⁹⁶ Despite this acknowledged unorthodox approach, Tailleferre's Violin Concerto was well-received, as is exemplified by the following review which Paul Le Flem produced for

Comœdia:

Sufficiently developed, it offers to virtuosi a search of new notes to place under their bows a lively, charming, and spiritual work [...] Opening of the picturesque, busy and eventful Allegro [...] Largo [...] is lyrical, tender, warm even [...] Final Allegro. It will be nervous, piquant. It is the best of the three movements, in my opinion. It follows its path without roaming, without languishing. The violin has been abundantly provided with strokes and with cascades of notes.⁹⁷

The composition of Tailleferre's Violin Concerto helped to focus her creative output during her Swiss exile, whilst the success of the work's Parisian première

⁹⁵ Caroline Potter, 'Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983) – A Centenary Appraisal', 117-8.

⁹⁶ In an interview which Tailleferre gave to Laura Mitgang in 1982 she explained that she had been curious to know how Markevitch would approach this task. (Laura Mitgang, interview with Germaine Tailleferre, 15 January 1982; Laura Mitgang, 'Germaine Tailleferre: Before, During, and After Les Six', 198-9.)

⁹⁷ « Assez développé, il offre aux virtuoses une quête de nouvelles notes à se mettre sous l'archet is there something missing here ? une œuvre vive, charmante, spirituelle [...] Début d'Allegro pittoresque, grouillant, mouvementé [...] Largo [...] Il est lyrique, tendre, chaleureux même [...] Dernier allegro. Il sera nerveux, piquant. Le mieux venu des trois morceaux, à mon sens. Il suit son chemin sans flâner, sans languir. Le violon a été abondamment pourvu de traits et de cascades de notes. » Paul Le Flem, 'La Vie Symphonique : Une floraison de partitions nouvelles', *Comœdia* (23 November 1936), 2.

bolstered her continuing musical presence within France. The Concerto was followed by two prestigious commissions for the 1937 *Exposition Universelle*, confirming her position as a composer of national significance and further preventing the misery of her marital life from completely ruining her career.⁹⁸ The first ('Au Pavillon d'Alsace') was part of a collective piano album (*À l'Exposition*) intended to honour the pianist Marguerite Long; the second, *Le Marin du Bolivar*, a comic opera after a libretto by Henri Jeanson.⁹⁹

Tailleferre's contribution to *À l'Exposition* is distinguished from the others by both its length and its complexity. Each of the other composers (Georges Auric, Marcel Delannoy, Jacques Ibert, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, Henri Sauguet, and Florent Schmitt) produced a short, simplistic piano miniature. Tailleferre, to the contrary, composed the longest work within the collection and also one which was considerably more demanding, from a performance perspective.¹⁰⁰ Unusually for her, the piece is written upon three staves (which render her complicated layering of textures and development of contrapuntal lines clearer for the performer to follow) and contains multiple written-out key signature changes (which also makes her harmonic language easier for the pianist to follow).¹⁰¹

'Au Pavillon d'Alsace' is modelled on an asymmetrical binary form in which the march-influenced A section acts as an extended introduction to the flamboyant B section. The A section (which reveals an internal ternary form) suggests a military

⁹⁸ For information on the 1937 *Exposition Universelle* see Nigel Simeone, 'The Science of Enchantment: Music at the 1937 Paris Exposition', *The Musical Times* (Spring 2002), 9-17.

⁹⁹ For a consideration of the performance career of Marguerite Long during the interwar years see Chapter 8 'Interactions: Performers, Teachers, Critics'.

¹⁰⁰ For a comparison, Tailleferre's piece is two-hundred bars in length whilst those of her fellow members of Les Six, Poulenc and Milhaud, are fifty-two and one-hundred and thirty-six bars respectively.

¹⁰¹ The observation regarding Tailleferre's use of three staves upon which to present her piano music is, by force, based upon examination of her published piano works. It is possible that other examples of piano works written upon three staves exist within the currently inaccessible unpublished manuscript compositions.

feel through the dotted rhythms and full chords (see Example 4:17). It is mainly constructed through clear-cut, four-bar phrases, indicative of Tailleferre's persistent Neoclassical preoccupations and thinking.

Example 4:17 – 'Au Pavillon d'Alsace', *À l'Exposition* (Bars 1-4)¹⁰²



The B section (after its dramatic introduction, see Example 4:18) is characterised by repetitive semi-quaver figuration (generating a *moto perpetuo* feel), trills, and the use of large chords, covering the entire range of the piano keyboard.

Example 4:18 – 'Au Pavillon d'Alsace', *À l'Exposition* (Bars 59-66)¹⁰³



This miniature (unusual amongst Tailleferre's published interwar piano output for its length and catering for virtuosic display) furnishes a striking conclusion to *À l'Exposition*. (As the works were arranged alphabetically according to the composer surname it is probable that she designed this piece as the brilliant end of a collection.)

These high-profile commissions for the *Exposition Universelle* helped to revive Tailleferre's career; however, in 1937 Lageat suffered a relapse which necessitated a second family move, this time to a lakeside estate in Grasse.¹⁰⁴ In

¹⁰² Germaine Tailleferre, 'Au Pavillon d'Alsace', *À l'Exposition* (Paris: R. Deiss, Éditeur, 1937), 23.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁰⁴ Lageat's father owned a chemical plant in Grasse.

Provence, Tailleferre became friends with the poet Paul Valéry whom she regularly met for dinner in Nice. When she received a generous commission from the government in 1938 to write a lyric piece, preferably a cantata, for which she could choose her own text Valéry expressed his interest in collaborating with her.¹⁰⁵ As with the collaboration with Claudel, she hesitated to work with so great a poet, but he encouraged her to compose in the style of Glück and she quickly realised her own capabilities.¹⁰⁶ Lageat behaved especially badly during the gestation period of this composition, in 1982 Tailleferre recalled how ‘when I was writing *Cantate de Narcisse* with Paul Valéry, which was a very important thing for me, he constantly prevented me from working’.¹⁰⁷ The completed work pleased both Tailleferre and Valéry although it did not receive great critical acclaim and was never published. Its première was delayed until 1942 when it was performed by the Orchestre de la Radio in Marseilles. Opportunities for commissions, and for writing film scores, however, came to an end with the arrival of World War Two. Conflict conditions and shortages made life in France difficult for Tailleferre during the early years of the war and in 1942 she decided to emigrate to the US.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Germaine Tailleferre, ‘Mémoires à l’emporte-pièce’, 68-0.

¹⁰⁶ It is probably significant that the two major occasions on which Tailleferre doubted her abilities during the 1920s and 1930s both coincide with periods of extreme marital difficulties, when her husbands were actively attempting to prevent her from composing. She had questioned her ability to work with Claudel in 1927 (during her marriage to Barton) as she did to collaborate with Valéry in 1938 (when married to Lageat).

¹⁰⁷ Laura Mitgang, interview with Germaine Tailleferre, 13 January 1982; Laura Mitgang, ‘Germaine Tailleferre: Before, During, and After Les Six’, 195. (Translation by Mitgang.)

¹⁰⁸ Lageat had already left France to take up a diplomatic post in Washington and Tailleferre followed him to the US with Françoise in 1942. She spent the remainder of the war in the US, living first in New York and then in Philadelphia, and only returned to France in the spring of 1946. For a brief consideration of Tailleferre’s career after World War Two see Chapter 9 ‘Unjustly Neglected or Justifiable Obscurity?’

Conclusion

Tailleferre's description of her chance meeting with Satie in 1917 as her 'lucky Sunday' was a sufficiently apt one. Satie's warm reaction to her music and accompanying enthusiasm to include her within Les Nouveaux jeunes guaranteed her entry into a sophisticated milieu of musicians, artists, and intellectuals. Tailleferre's association with the French avant garde was thus permanently assured by her subsequent inclusion within Les Six. This important connection brought her early recognition and attention as an interesting young composer within the French musical press and helped her to secure major commissions from such prestigious contemporary patrons as Rolf Maré and the Princesse Édmond de Polignac.

Throughout the interwar period, Tailleferre regularly composed for her own instrument, the piano. Her piano compositions of these years reflect both her wider musical interests and her personal concerns, from the experimentation of 'Pastorale', her contribution to *L'Album des Six*, to the Neobaroque children's piano suite *Fleurs de France*, written at the time that she was longing for a child. A complete understanding of the development of Tailleferre's piano style during the interwar years (in the absence of complete access to her manuscripts) is not yet possible however.

Unfortunately, Tailleferre's early career success was counterbalanced by her extremely unhappy personal life. Both of her husbands, Barton and Lageat, attempted to discourage her from composition. These two disastrous marriages seriously damaged her career by limiting the amount of time that she was able to dedicate to her work, thereby significantly decreasing her professional activities as a composer. In their objections to Tailleferre's professional career, Barton and Lageat were supported by the contemporary political and social milieu which actively sought to marginalise

women to the private domestic sphere, where both Barton and Lageat believed that Tailleferre belonged.¹⁰⁹ Tailleferre's two marriages unfortunately highlight the negative impact which marriage, especially to two such musically unsympathetic and generally unpleasant men, can have on the career of a woman composer by preventing her from concentrating on her work.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter 1 'The Social Position of Women in Interwar France'.

***Compositrices* in Interwar France and Women and the Prix de Rome**

It was, if I may say, the great feminine week: at the Concerts Lamoureux the Concerto of Mlle Jeanne Leleu, at the Concerts Padeloup the *Chansons majorquines* of Mme Renée Staelenberg and the Overture of Mme Germaine Tailleferre [...] in Strasbourg A. Bachelet initiated his audience to the subtle comicalness of *Trifaldin*, the ballet of Mme Yvonne Desportes.¹ (Florent Schmitt)

Florent Schmitt's 1937 review of, what he termed, a 'great feminine week' of concerts highlights the presence of *compositrices* in interwar French concert life. His mention of Jeanne Leleu, Renée Staelenberg, Germaine Tailleferre, and Yvonne Desportes indicates the substantial number of women composers, whilst his reference to their works, including concerti, overtures, and ballets, reveal that these women actively engaged with large-scale genres.² The names of women composers regularly appeared on all of the major Parisian concert series (such as the Lamoureux and Padeloup which Schmitt cites) throughout the interwar period, strongly suggesting that they were accepted by musicians, audiences, critics, orchestras, conductors, and concert-organisers alike during these years.

The acceptance of women composers by the French musical establishment during the interwar period is also indicated by their engagement with the Prix de Rome competition. Although often maligned, Debussy's famous denigration of the competition as 'a useless tradition' being just one example of sentiment against it, the

¹ « Ce fut, si je puis dire, la grande semaine féminine : chez Lamoureux le concerto de Mlle Jeanne Leleu, chez Padeloup les *Chansons majorquines* de Mme Renée Staelenberg et l'ouverture de Mme Germaine Tailleferre [...] à Strasbourg A. Bachelet initiait ses auditeurs aux subtiles cocasseries de *Trifaldin*, ce ballet de Mme Yvonne Desportes... » Florent Schmitt, 'Les Concerts', *Feuilleton du Temps* (27 March 1937); press clipping, Fonds Jeanne Leleu, MMM.

² Despite several efforts, the present author has been unable, as yet, to uncover any information relating to Renée Staelenberg.

Prix de Rome was France's most important artistic award.³ It brought the winner financial reward, official recognition, and critical exposure. For a French composer, moreover, winning the Prix de Rome could represent the first step in a successful career. The presence of women in the interwar Prix de Rome allowed them to compete for the same recompenses and official recognition as young male composers.

This chapter will examine the diverse ways through which *compositrices*, including Armande de Polignac, Marguerite Canal, Jeanne Leleu, Elsa Barraine, Yvonne Desportes, Henriette Puig-Roget, Claude Arrieu, Claire Delbos-Messiaen, and Marcelle de Manziarly, contributed to the musical life of interwar France.⁴ It will also examine the interwar Prix de Rome competition, as during these years four women won the coveted Premier Grand Prix: Marguerite Canal (1920), Jeanne Leleu (1923), Elsa Barraine (1929), and Yvonne Desportes (1932).

The Older Generation: Armande de Polignac

There were a number of older women composers in interwar France, whose careers had been established before the First World War, including the aristocratic composer Armande de Polignac (1876-1962). The First World War caused a rupture on a scale hardly ever seen before, which affected nearly every aspect of European life, social, political, economic, and cultural. Music, and how women engaged with it, was not immune to this as musical styles changed radically in the wake of, and to some degree in response to, the conflict. The musical world which women composers had mainly worked within prior to the war, which tended to be focused on smaller

³ Claude Debussy, 'Concerts Colonne and Société des Nouveaux Concerts Spanish Music', *Société Internationale de Musique* (1 December 1913); cited from *Debussy on Music*, ed. François Lesure (ed.), Translated by Richard Langham Smith (London: Secker & Warburg, 1977), 303.

⁴ It should be noted that a comprehensive study of each of these women composers lies beyond the parameters of the present study (especially in consideration of word count) as each is worthy of a whole thesis dedicated solely to her.

works such as piano miniatures, chamber music, and songs for domestic use and private performance, began to disappear as greater public performance opportunities became available.⁵ Their presence in interwar France guaranteed the continuation of France's long tradition of women writing music whilst the strategies which they adopted in order to adapt themselves to the changing musical milieu illustrate how mature *compositrices* were able to capitalise on the greater opportunities open to them after the war.

Armande de Polignac was an upper-class composer who wrote for pleasure and not for financial gain, she was the niece of the Princesse Édmond de Polignac and wife of the wealthy Comte Alfred de Chabannes-La Palice. Thus, her affluent circumstances afforded her the means to dedicate all her time to her musical pursuits without the need to make money from them. De Polignac studied at the Schola Cantorum, and achieved her greatest triumphs as a composer during the early decades of the twentieth century. She composed prolifically for the piano though only a small portion of these works are published, such as *Barcarolle* (1901), *Berceuse* (1906), and *Nocturne* (1901). Ricardo Viñes, who frequently performed her more virtuosic works in concert, was her principal interpreter and she dedicated a number of pieces to him, including *Toccata* (1904) and *Échappées* (1909).⁶ She also composed fifteen symphonies and a quantity of chamber music, including String Quartets, a Piano Quintet, two Wind Quintets, and several instrumental sonatas. Between 1911 and 1922 her works appeared on the programmes of the Société Musicale Indépendante.⁷

⁵ For a recent, and authoritative, study of women composers working in nineteenth-century France see Florence Launay, *Les Compositrices en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2006).

⁶ See Florence Launay, 'Armande de Polignac', in *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle*, Association Femmes et Musique (Paris: Editions Delatour, 2007), 177-89.

⁷ Florence Launay has noted the peculiarity of de Polignac gravitating towards the Société Musicale Indépendante because, as a student of d'Indy, she would have been welcomed by the Société Nationale de Musique. It is possible, as Launay has suggested, that like Roussel, she wished to distance herself from her former composition teacher. (Ibid., 181-2.)

In 1913 de Polignac's first ballet, *Les Mille et une nuits*, dedicated to the Princesse Édmond de Polignac, was premièred at the Théâtre National de l'Odéon by the Orchestre Colonne and Loïe Fuller's dance troupe.⁸ The attraction of two such prestigious organisations to give the work its première indicates that de Polignac's talents must have been sufficiently recognised to guarantee such a high-profile performance.⁹ (Admittedly, this may have been helped by her close relationship to the Princesse Édmond de Polignac, one of the most influential patrons in early twentieth-century Paris.) De Polignac's choice of Middle-Eastern folk tales as stimuli for her ballet highlights her love of the exotic and also connects this work to the wider contemporary trend of Exoticism within French music, as evidenced by such works as Debussy's 'Ibéria' from his orchestral *Images* (1905-8), Ravel's *L'Heure espagnole* (1907-9), and Schmitt's *La Tragédie de Salomé* (1907).

After the First World War, de Polignac capitalised on the developed opportunities for women composers to obtain performances of large-scale compositions and her own talent for stage works by composing four further ballets. *Les Chimères* was produced by Loïe Fuller's dance troupe at the Théâtre de l'Opéra between May and July 1923 and *Urashima*, based upon Japanese melodies, was produced by Toshi Komori and his Japanese dance company in 1925. The dates of composition for *Brocéliande*, a ballet based upon Celtic mythology, and *La Recherche de la vérité*, written in response to a commission from the Princesse Édmond de Polignac and after a Chinese theme, remain unknown.¹⁰ *Urashima*, *Brocéliande*, and *La Recherche de la vérité* reveal her continued fascination with Exoticism and other cultures, from China and Japan to Celtic Europe. De Polignac herself acknowledged

⁸ Ibid., 184.

⁹ Loïe Fuller's dance troupe was one of the most famous dance companies in *fin de siècle* Paris; see Richard Nelson Current and Marcia Ewing Current, *Loïe Fuller: Goddess of Light* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997).

¹⁰ Florence Launay, 'Armande de Polignac', 187.

the profound influence which exotic cultures (especially the Far East) had upon her: 'the Far East attracts me and charms me to a point which I cannot define, I feel myself very characteristically inspired, you have seen it in my productions, by Persia, China, Japan and always successfully...'¹¹

De Polignac's interest in Exoticism is also manifest in her contemporaneous song cycle *La Flûte de Jade* (1922). The texts for this were drawn from a collection of seventh- to seventeenth-century Chinese poems, translated into French by Franz Toussaint (see Table 5:1).

Table 5 :1 – Texts Contained within *La Flûte de Jade*, Armande de Polignac (1922)¹²

Song	Author	Century Original Poem Written
'Ngo gay ngy'	Danseuse Wou-Hao	Seventh
'Chant d'amour'	Chen-Teuo-Tsan	Sixteenth
'Le Héron blanc'	Li-Tai-Po	Eighth
'Nuit d'hiver'	Pe-Yu-Ki	Seventeenth
'Li-Si'	Li-Tai-Po	Eighth
'Ki-Fong'	Tchan-So-Su	Fifteenth
'La Rose rouge'	Li-Tai-Po	Eighth
'Le Palais ruiné'	Tou-Fou	Eighth

La Flûte de Jade reveals the experimental nature of de Polignac's writing, particularly with regards to her harmonic idiom. The opening of the first song, 'Ngo gay ngy', presents a complex, harmonic language in which the lack of any clear tonal centre is enforced by the pronounced chromaticism:

¹¹ « L'Extrême-Orient m'attire et me charme à un point que je ne puis définir, je me sens très caractéristiquement inspirée, vous l'avez vu par mes productions, par la Perse, la Chine, le Japon et cela toujours heureusement... » Hélène Gosset, 'Armande de Polignac', *La Femme seule* (1920 ?), 8 (article conserved in the de Polignac family archives without exact bibliographical details) cited from Florence Launay, 'Armande de Polignac', 187.

¹² Information compiled from published score: Armande de Polignac, *La Flûte de Jade* (Geneva: Édition Henn, 1922).

Example 5:1 – Armande de Polignac, ‘Ngo gay ngy’, *La Flûte de Jade* (1922),

bars 1-6¹³

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system shows bars 1-3. The voice line begins with a whole rest in bar 1, followed by a quarter rest in bar 2, and then a triplet of eighth notes in bar 3. The piano accompaniment starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic and features a bitonal texture: the right hand contains black notes (F# and C#) while the left hand contains white notes (F and C). The lyrics 'Com - me la lu - ne dans le ciel' are written below the voice line. The second system shows bars 4-6. The voice line begins with a whole note 'bleu,' in bar 4, followed by quarter notes in bars 5 and 6. The piano accompaniment continues with the same bitonal texture. The lyrics 'je suis seu - le dans ma cham - bre' are written below the voice line.

The static nature of the vocal line renders the experimental nature of the piano accompaniment more obvious and suggests independence between the two parts. The short piano interlude which opens ‘Nuit d’hiver’ presents more harmonically experimental writing as Polignac here creates bitonality by giving the right hand all black notes and the left hand all white (see Example 5:2).¹⁴

¹³ Armande de Polignac, ‘Ngo gay ngy’, *La Flûte de Jade* (Geneva: Édition Henn, 1922), 4.

¹⁴ This is similar to the bitonal procedure used by Tailleferre at the opening of ‘Cache-cache mitoula’, *Jeux de plein air* (see Chapter 4 ‘L’Une des Six: The Case of Germaine Tailleferre’). The present author, however, knows of no evidence to suggest that Tailleferre and de Polignac knew each other (though it is, of course, possible that they might have met through the *salon* circle of the Princesse Édmond de Polignac which both composers frequented during the early 1920s).

Example 5:2 – Armande de Polignac, ‘Nuit d’hiver’, *La Flûte de Jade* (1922),

bars 1-2¹⁵

The image shows a musical score for piano, consisting of two staves. The top staff is the right hand, and the bottom staff is the left hand. The music is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The tempo is marked 'Con moto'. The right hand plays a melody of eighth notes, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes and chords. The score is for bars 1 and 2 of the piece.

Women Competitors for the Prix de Rome, 1919-1939

Women were allowed to enter the Prix de Rome competition for the first time in 1903, although some of the more conservative elements of the Académie des Beaux-Arts initially opposed their presence.¹⁶ This resistance appears to have largely dissipated by 1913, however, when Lili Boulanger became the first woman to be awarded a Premier Grand Prix de Rome in musical composition.¹⁷ Her triumph not only proved that it was possible for a woman to win the competition but also acted as a powerful stimulus and encouragement for the women competitors of the interwar years.¹⁸ Moreover, the awarding of the Premier Grand Prix to Lili Boulanger in 1913 appears to have helped change attitudes towards female candidates at the Académie des Beaux-Arts as no further opposition towards them was manifested during the interwar period. An examination of the records of the contestants for the Prix de

¹⁵ Armande de Polignac, ‘Nuit d’hiver’, *La Flûte de Jade*, 13.

¹⁶ It was the radical, left-wing French government of Émile Combe who, in February 1903, forced the Académie des Beaux-Arts to admit women candidates to the Prix de Rome competition. Although some of the academicians attempted to resist this ministerial interference, the government was the Académie des Beaux-Arts’s official patron and their dependence on the government for financial support made them unable to oppose the decision. For a detailed discussion of the female competitors for the Prix de Rome competition from 1903 (the year that they were first allowed to enter) to World War One see Annegret Fauser, ‘“Fighting in Frills” Women and the *Prix de Rome* in French Cultural Politics’, in *Women’s Voices Across Musical Worlds*, ed. Jane A. Bernstein (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 60-86.

¹⁷ Lucienne Heuvelmans became the first woman to win a Premier Grand Prix de Rome (in the sculpture division of the competition) in 1911.

¹⁸ The Prix de Rome competition was suspended during the years of World War One, from 1915 to 1918. (The competition of 1914 was not affected as it had taken place between May and early July, before the outbreak of the war was declared in the August of that year.)

Rome from 1919 to 1939 (see Appendix 4) reveals that women entered the competition regularly throughout these years. Although male candidates continued to out-achieve females, women often progressed to round two of the competition and were frequently awarded prizes (see table 5:2).

Table 5:2 – Winners of the Prix de Rome in Musical Composition during the Interwar Years, 1919-39¹⁹

Year	Premier Grand Prix	Premier Second Grand Prix	Deuxième Second Grand Prix
1919	Jacques Ibert/ Marc Delmas	Marguerite Canal	No record of award recipient
1920	Marguerite Canal	Jacques de la Presle	Robert Duassaut
1921	Jacques de la Presle	Robert Dussaut	Francis Bousquet
1922	No first prize awarded	Francis Bousquet	Aimé Steck
1923	Francis Bousquet/ Jeanne Leleu	Robert Bréard	Yves de la Casinière
1924	Robert Dussaut	Edmond Gaujac	Not awarded
1925	Louis Fourestier	Yves de la Casinière	Not awarded
1926	René Guillou	Maurice Franck	Not awarded
1927	Edmond Gaujac	Henri Tomasi	Raymond Loucheur
1928	Raymond Loucheur	Not awarded	Elsa Barraine
1929	Elsa Barraine	Tony Aubin	Sylver Caffot
1930	Tony Aubin	Marc Vaubourgoin	Yvonne Desportes
1931	Jacques Dupont	Yvonne Desportes	Henriette Puig-Roget
1932	Yvonne Desportes	Marc Vaubourgin	Lucas-Émile Marcel (called Marcelin)
1933	Robert Louis Planel	Henriette Puig-Roget	Henri Challan
1934	Eugène Bozza	Jean Hubeau	René Challan
1935	René Challan	Pierre Maillard-Verger	Marcel Stern
1936	Marcel Stern	Henri Challan	Henri Dutilleux
1937	Victor Serventi/ Pierre Lantier	Jean Hubeau	André Lavagne
1938	Henri Dutilleux	André Lavagne	Gaston Litaize
1939	Pierre Maillard-Verger	Jean Grunenwald	Raymond Gallois-Montbrun

¹⁹ Female prize winners are identified in bold.

Structure and Rules of the Prix de Rome Competition during the Interwar Years

During the interwar period the Prix de Rome competition was organised by the Académie des Beaux-Arts, which itself falls under the jurisdiction of the Institut de France.²⁰ The Académie des Beaux-Arts is subdivided into five sections corresponding to the various art forms: painting, sculpture, engraving, architecture, and musical composition; each of these artistic disciplines had its own annual Prix de Rome competition until the prize was discontinued in 1968.²¹ The Académie des Beaux-Arts was, and remains, the most important artistic institution within France; the awarding of its most prestigious musical prize to a young composer, therefore, denoted the official endorsement of the French artistic and cultural establishment. During the interwar years, the Prix de Rome competition was open to all unmarried French people under the age of thirty. The winner of the Prix de Rome in each discipline was entitled to a period of funded residence at the Académie de France in Rome: the Villa Médicis.²² They were also given the right to the title 'Premier Grand Prix de Rome', which could be written after the name of the recipient in the space traditionally reserved for honours and degrees, thereby indicating the elevated level of esteem which was attached to the award.²³

²⁰ The Institut de France, which represents France's most important learned society, was established in 1795 and comprises five academies: the Académie Française, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, the Académie des Sciences, the Académie des Beaux-Arts, and the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques.

²¹ The origins of the Prix de Rome competition lie in the seventeenth century when Louis XIV awarded scholarships to promising young artists to enable them to undertake a period of study in Italy; it became formalised into an annual artistic competition by the Académie des Beaux-Arts following the establishment of the Institut de France. The first Prix de Rome in musical composition was awarded in 1803. *Le Prix de Rome en Composition musicale*, information brochure prepared by the Académie des Beaux-Arts; I am grateful to Ben Zerrouk (principal archivist of the Archives de la Académie des Beaux-Arts) for providing me with a copy of this document.

²² It was this obligatory period of residence in Rome which necessitated the rule that competitors must be unmarried as the Villa Médicis could not accommodate couples or families.

²³ For information regarding the history of the Prix de Rome and a detailed discussion of its rules and structure see Eugène Bozza, 'The History of the "Prix de Rome"', *Hinrichsen's Musical Yearbook*, 7 (1952), 487-94 and David Gilbert, 'Prix de Rome', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (ed.) Stanley Sadie, Second Edition, Volume 20 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 385-7.

The competition for the Prix de Rome in musical composition opened each year in May with an eliminatory first round, the *concours d'essai*. The first round was judged by a specialist music jury which consisted of the six musician members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts and three adjunct members (who were usually well-known composers). For round one the candidates were required to compose a vocal fugue plus a work for chorus and orchestra, based on a poem chosen by the specialist music jury. The competitors wrote the required works under strict examination conditions, over a period of several days, whilst locked away in the Palais de Fontainebleau (in order to preclude the possibility of external help). Whilst at Fontainebleau they were provided with their own rooms with pianos, in which to work and sleep, but shared meals and recreation. The specialist music jury then chose up to six finalists to progress to round two after having heard the round-one pieces performed.

The second-round candidates returned to their temporary incarceration at the Palais de Fontainebleau for a further twenty-five days in order to compose a cantata setting of a second poem especially chosen by the academicians. Strict rules governed the musical forms of the cantatas; they were required to contain a prelude and several vocal numbers including soprano, tenor, and bass solos, a duet, and a trio. After the twenty-five days of confinement at the Palais de Fontainebleau, and the official deposition of fair copies of the cantatas at the Académie des Beaux-Arts, the candidates had several weeks in which to prepare the presentation of their works (by vocal soloists to piano accompaniment) at the Institut de France, in the presence of the academicians. Each competitor was responsible for choosing their own singers and pianist, rehearsing their musicians, and directing the final performance.

The Prix de Rome competition had a three-level award structure: Premier Grand Prix, Premier Second Grand Prix, and Deuxième Second Grand Prix. The

judging of the competition was extremely complicated and involved two stages. Firstly, there was the *jugement préparatoire* in which the specialist music jury proposed who they felt should be awarded the three prizes. All proposals made by the specialist music jury, however, had to be ratified by the entire Académie des Beaux-Arts during the *jugement définitif* when all of the academicians were entitled to vote.²⁴ Only the winning cantata of the Premier Grand Prix was performed with a full orchestra on the day of the prize-giving. It was exceptionally unusual, however, for a candidate to win the Premier Grand Prix on their first attempt. An eventual winner of the Premier Grand Prix usually participated at least twice, if not three to four times, working their way from admission to the second round to winning the two second prizes and then, perhaps, the Premier Grand Prix de Rome itself. It was generally acknowledged, moreover, that the awarding of a Premier Second Grand Prix heralded the candidate most likely to win the Premier Grand Prix in the following year. Furthermore, Prix de Rome candidates could only ever receive a higher prize in successive competitions; never an equal or lower one.

Marguerite Canal: A Premier Grand Prix by a Unanimous Vote

The first woman composer to win the Grand Prix de Rome in musical composition after World War One was the thirty-year-old Marguerite Canal (1890-1978). She had displayed a precocious aptitude for music at an early age and entered the Paris Conservatoire in 1903 at the age of eleven.²⁵ At the Conservatoire she studied harmony with Henri Dallier, counterpoint with Georges Caussade, and

²⁴ Both the *jugement préparatoire* and the *jugement définitif* often involved several rounds of voting before decisions were reached regarding which candidates would be proposed for, or awarded, the prizes.

²⁵ Canal was born into a musical family in Toulouse. Her father (an engineer) was a keen amateur cellist, her mother a pianist, and her brother a violinist; the family regularly practised chamber music together. See Dominique Longuet, 'Marguerite Canal', in *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle*, 67-71.

composition with Paul Vidal and was awarded Premier Prix in harmony (1911), accompaniment (1912), and fugue (1915). During World War One, Canal became one of the first women in France to conduct an orchestra when she directed concerts held in aid of the wounded at the Palais de Glace in 1917 and 1918.²⁶ It was also during the First World War that she made her first serious efforts at composition; in 1916 she wrote a cycle of *Six Chansons écossaises* and in 1918 she set to music *Ici bas, tous les lilas meurent* by Sully Prud'homme. In 1919 she was appointed to the staff of the Paris Conservatoire as a teacher of solfège.²⁷

Canal competed for the Prix de Rome for the first time in 1919 when she was admitted to the second round and received a Premier Second Grand Prix. In 1920, Canal won the Premier Grand Prix de Rome outright after having received a unanimous vote from the entire Académie des Beaux-Arts. She had been one of eight female candidates (out of a total of thirty) who had entered the *concours d'essai* and had progressed to round two in the company of five men: Paul Fiévet, François Dussaut, Guillaume Sauville de la Presle, Robert Siohan, and Jean Déré.²⁸ The text chosen for the 1920 Prix de Rome cantata was an adaptation of an extract from the fourth Act of Molière's *Don Juan* by Eugène Adenis and the efforts of the six candidates were performed before the academicians on Saturday 3 July. The *procès verbaux* of the Académie des Beaux-Arts for that date reveal that Canal received a unanimous vote for the Premier Grand Prix with the further comment that the decision was motivated by her cantata's 'temperament' and 'sense of theatre'.²⁹

²⁶ Ibid., 67-8.

²⁷ Canal had to leave this job when she won the Prix de Rome in 1920 and consequently left Paris to take up residence at the Villa Médicis in Rome.

²⁸ Archives of the Institut de France, Box 5E79. The fact that as many as eight women entered the Prix de Rome competition in 1920 suggests that female candidates were widely accepted in the competition post World War One.

²⁹ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (3 July 1920), shelf mark 2E24.

In his review of the competition for *Le Ménestrel*, Paul Bertrand (the critic who covered the annual Prix de Rome competition for *Le Ménestrel* throughout the entire interwar period) declared that Canal's cantata had received an unanimous vote for the Premier Grand Prix because it was incontestably superior to the others; distinguishing itself by its sense of poetry and drama:

Amongst the six cantatas performed, that of Mlle Marguerite Canal, second prize in 1919 (*class of Vidal*), placed itself so unquestionably above the others that it received a unanimous first prize. Superiorly performed by Madame Ninon Vallin, Messieurs Cazette and Laffont, it distinguished itself by a very delicate poetic sense, which affirmed itself from the opening of the prelude by a precise declamation an appropriate expression, a sense of drama...³⁰

For any candidate to win the Prix de Rome by a unanimous vote would be a remarkable achievement; for a woman to do so on her second attempt is all the more extraordinary.³¹ The high level of acceptance of female candidates in the Prix de Rome competition by the interwar period, amongst not only the Académie de Beaux-Arts but also the critics and the wider public, is further indicated by Charles Dauzat's review which appeared in *Le Figaro*. Although he remarks upon the fact that this was the third time that a Premier Grand Prix de Rome had been won by a woman his article, whilst expressing admiration for Canal's cantata, contains no comments which would suggest that her winning the 1920 competition was considered especially unusual, on account of her sex:

It is the third time that it [the Académie des Beaux-Arts] gives the ultimate prize to a woman. Mlle Heuvelmans, sculptor, was the first to go to Rome, where she was followed a few years

³⁰ « Parmi les six cantates exécutées, celle de Mlle Marguerite Canal, second prix en 1919 (*classe Vidal*), se plaçait si incontestablement au-dessus des autres que la première récompense lui fut attribuée à l'unanimité. Supérieurement défendue par Mme Ninon Vallin, MM. Cazette et Laffont, elle se distingua par un sens poétique très délicat, qui s'affirme dès le début du prélude, par une déclamation précise, une expression juste, un sens dramatique... » Paul Bertrand, 'Concours de Rome (3 Juillet 1920)', *Le Ménestrel* (9 July 1920). (Bertrand's reviews cited throughout this chapter are reproduced from the multi-volume-bound editions of *Le Ménestrel* held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. As several years are collected into each edition the page numbers bear no relation to the original single-volume copies of the journal. Individual articles cited here, therefore, are identified by date not original page number.)

³¹ It was uncommon for a Prix de Rome winner (in any of the five disciplines in which the prize was awarded) to receive the award by a unanimous vote, several rounds of voting before the academicians reached a decision was more normal. For a candidate to win a Prix de Rome by a unanimous vote forcibly indicates that their work must have been demonstrably superior to the others.

later by the late Lily (sic) Boulanger. This new feminine success is greatly justified by the talent of Mlle Canal, whose cantata, based on M. Eugène Adenis's *Don Juan*, made the most vivid impression on all of the audience gathered together at the Institut de France. Mature stagecraft, contours, colour, nothing was lacking in the winner's work.³²

The 4 July 1920 edition of *Le Petit Parisien* contained an interview with Marguerite Canal which affirmed that she was very happy to have been given the first prize, along with the touching news that the composer had been so overcome with emotion on hearing that she had won the competition that it had been necessary to revive her.³³ The accompanying article also confirmed that Canal's cantata was generally held to have been the superior work during the 3 July performance of all six entries, which had strongly justified the awarding of the Premier Grand Prix:

This time, we can only congratulate the members of the jury for the composition competition [...] I envisage that the decision would have been ratified by the majority of the audience. Indeed, Mlle. Canal's cantata is such a pleasing inspiration that it truly imposed itself and it appeared that it could only win the highest prize.³⁴

Canal wrote numerous works at the Villa Médicis in Rome, including *Arabesque* for solo piano and her *Sonata for Violin and Piano* (1922). She also completed a number of song cycles, such as *Sagesse* (her six settings of poems by Verlaine) and *La Flûte de Jade* (1922). This work, like de Polignac's of the same name (and also composed at the same time), is also based upon Franz Toussaint translations of Chinese poems. Interestingly, Canal chose different texts from Toussaint's collection than de Polignac: 'Narcisse', 'Pluie de Printemps', 'Vœu', 'Les

³² « C'est la troisième fois qu'elle [l'académie des beaux-arts] donne à une femme la récompense suprême. Mlle Heuvelmans, statuaire, était allée la première à Rome, où l'avait suivie, quelques années plus tard, la regrettée Lily [sic] Boulanger. Ce nouveau succès féminin est grandement justifié par le talent de Mlle Canal, dont la cantate, écrite sur le *Don Juan* de M. Eugène Adenis, a fait sur tout l'auditoire réuni à l'Institut de France la plus vive impression. Maturité scénique, relief, couleur, rien ne manque à l'œuvre de la lauréate. » Charles Dauzats, 'L'Académie des Beaux-Arts – Le Grand Prix de Rome', *Le Figaro* (4 July 1920), 2.

³³ Anonymous article about the 1920 Prix de Rome competition in musical composition and interview with Marguerite Canal, *Le Petit Parisien* (4 July 1920), 1.

³⁴ « Cette fois, on ne peut que féliciter les membres du jury du concours de composition musicale [...] j'envisage que ce jugement aura été ratifié par la majeure partie de l'auditoire. En effet, la cantate de Mlle Canal est d'une si heureuse inspiration qu'elle s'imposait véritablement et qu'il paraissait impossible qu'elle ne remportait point la récompense suprême. » Anonymous, 'Mlle Canal obtient le prix de Rome de musique', *Le Petit Parisien* (4 July 1920), 1.

Trois princesses', 'La Femme au miroir', 'Inscription sur un tombeau de la Montagne Fou-Kiou', and 'La Promenade attristée'.³⁵ Caroline Potter has described Canal's numerous vocal works as revealing 'solid craftsmanship and faultless prosody, though their musical language is derivative of earlier French composers, particularly Debussy and Fauré'.³⁶ The songs contained within *La Flûte de Jade* illustrate the justness of this observation as they are well-written and thoughtful responses to Toussaint's poems, although their reliance on late Romantic idioms appear a little dated for 1922.

'Narcisse', the first song, is reminiscent of French *mélodies* of the later nineteenth century. The gentle mood of the song is created by the soft dynamics (the score contains multiple *p* and *pp* markings) and lyrical, lilting piano accompaniment (see Example 5:3). The unpretentious nature of this setting is strengthened by the simple musical structure, which is influenced by ternary form. The influence of Debussy is apparent in the parallel motion accompaniment chords, the advanced tonal idiom, and the precise performance directions.

³⁵ Unlike de Polignac, Canal's publication did not indicate the names of the original Chinese authors.

³⁶ Caroline Potter, 'Marguerite Canal', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Second Edition, Volume 4 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 919-20.

Example 5:3 – Marguerite Canal, ‘Narcisse’, *La Flûte de Jade* (1922), bars 1-5³⁷

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Narcisse' by Marguerite Canal. It consists of two systems of music. The first system covers bars 1-3, and the second system covers bars 4-5. Each system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The lyrics are: 'Nar - eis - ses fa - nes qui flot-tez sur ri - vie - re, si vous voy - ez a Tien Ouan.' The piano accompaniment features a simple, rocking accompaniment with dynamic markings such as 'sfz' and 'p'. The score is in 3/4 time and features a vocal line and piano accompaniment.

The lyrical nature of ‘Narcisse’ is also apparent in ‘Vœu’, where the *cantabile* vocal line is supported by a simple, rocking accompaniment (see Example 5:4). The tender feel of this song, marked *Andante espressivo*, also emanates from the soft dynamics (*p* and *pp* throughout). The song is once more formally conservative, strophic with two identical piano interludes which recur as a codetta.

³⁷ Marguerite Canal, ‘Narcisse’, *La Flûte de Jade* (Paris: Éditions Maxime Jamin, 1924), 2.

Example 5:4 – Marguerite Canal, ‘Vœu’, *La Flûte de Jade* (1922), bars 1-6³⁸

Andante espressivo

Voice

Piano

pp

Nuit tie de clair de

lu - ne, par - fum des prun - niers,

Pno.

Canal achieved contrast within the song cycle by the inclusion of the dramatic ‘Inscription sur un Tombeau de la Montagne Fou-Kiou’. The accompaniment of this song is dominated by loud chords as she makes use of the piano as a percussive instrument (see Example 5:5).

³⁸ Ibid., 7.

Example 5:5 – Marguerite Canal, ‘Inscription sur un tombeau de la Montagne Fou-Kiou’, *La Flûte de Jade* (1922), bars 1-8³⁹

La Flûte de Jade presents an attractive, well-written song cycle which clearly demonstrates Canal’s firm technique and gift for word setting. It is not an innovative work as the Romantic, tonal language is derivative of nineteenth-century models, especially Fauré and Debussy. The piano accompaniments are all subservient to the vocal lines, which, in their turn, are characterised by simplicity and a lack of vocal display. It was this type of solid craftsmanship, and not innovation, which would have helped Canal to win the Prix de Rome.

Canal continued to compose prolifically throughout the 1920s, the years directly following her attainment of the Prix de Rome. Her completed works reveal a predilection for songs and piano works, including the song cycle *Les Sept poèmes de*

³⁹ Ibid., 15.

Baudelaire and *Esquisses méditerranéennes* for piano.⁴⁰ During the 1930s, however, personal difficulties, especially the failure of her marriage to the publisher Maxime Jamin, affected Canal's musical career badly. After her divorce the amount of time which she was able to dedicate to composition became severely limited by the fact that she was forced to support herself financially by teaching, in 1932 she resumed her post as solfège teacher at the Paris Conservatoire.

Jeanne Leleu: A Forgotten Prix de Rome Lauréate

In 1923, the twenty-four-year-old Jeanne Leleu (1898-1979) became the third woman to win a Premier Grand Prix in musical composition. She is, however, not always accredited with this achievement. In the table of Premier Grand Prix de Rome prize winners (1919-1939) which Eugène Bozza supplies with his essay 'The History of the "Prix de Rome"' (published in *Hinrichsen's Musical Yearbook*, 1952) he significantly lists only Francis Bousquet as having won the Premier Grand Prix de Rome in 1923.⁴¹ The incidence of no Premier Grand Prix having been awarded at the 1922 competition (as none of the cantatas entered that year were considered worthy of the first prize) enabled the jury of 1923 to award two Premier Grand Prix.⁴² Thus, both Francis Bousquet and Jeanne Leleu became Premier Grand Prix de Rome.

Leleu came from a musical family in Lorraine; her father was a bandmaster and her mother a piano teacher. Following her initial musical training in Rennes, Leleu entered the Paris Conservatoire at the age of nine and also studied at the École

⁴⁰ Dates of composition unknown.

⁴¹ This is not the only error which Bozza made in his list of Premier Grand Prix de Rome winners. He states that the 1921 Premier Grand Prix was jointly won by Jacques de la Presle (which is correct) and a man named Jacques Paul Gabriel; however, the list of candidates for the 1921 competition archived at the Institut de France reveals that nobody of that name entered (Archives of the Institut de France, Box 5E79). Furthermore, Bozza lists only Victor Serventi as having won the 1937 Premier Grand Prix although, in fact, there were two winners that year also, the other being Pierre Lantier. See Eugène Bozza, 'The History of the "Prix de Rome"', *Hinrichsen's Musical Yearbook*, 7 (1952), 487-94.

⁴² The Académie des Beaux-Arts reserved the right not to award prizes when the academicians felt that none of the submitted cantatas achieved a high enough standard.

Marguerite Long.⁴³ As a child Leleu displayed a sufficiently precocious aptitude for the piano to attract the favourable attention of Maurice Ravel. At the age of eleven she gave the première of his piano duet for children, *Ma mère l'Oye*, with Geneviève Durony at the first concert of the Société Musicale Indépendante at the Salle Gaveau, 20 April 1910.⁴⁴ Ravel was so impressed with this performance that he wrote the young Leleu a note:

When you are a great virtuosa and I am an old gentleman, heaped with honours, or totally forgotten, you may have the very sweet memory of having brought to an artist the rare joy of having heard performed a somewhat special work with the exact feeling which suited it.⁴⁵

Moreover, in 1913, Ravel dedicated to Leleu his *Prélude* for piano after she played it with much success at a sight-reading competition at the Paris Conservatoire. At the Conservatoire, Leleu first completed the preparatory class of Marguerite Long before entering the prestigious advanced piano class of Alfred Cortot. She won her Premier Prix in piano performance in 1913. The disruption to Parisian concert life caused by World War One interrupted Leleu's projected career as a concert pianist and she gravitated towards composition instead. She studied counterpoint with Caussade (and won the Premier Prix in this discipline at the Paris Conservatoire in 1919) and composition with Widor, who encouraged her to enter the Prix de Rome competition.

Leleu entered for the first time in 1921 although that year she failed to get past the first round. In 1922 she progressed to the second round and received a *mention honorable* but no actual prize.⁴⁶ In 1923 Leleu jointly won the Premier Grand Prix with Francis Bousquet for her cantata *Béatrix*, based upon a text by Jean Gandrey-Réty. Paul Bertrand, in his review of the 1923 Prix de Rome competition for *Le*

⁴³ The family moved to Rennes in Leleu's infancy for her father to take up a new job.

⁴⁴ Cecilia Dunoyer, *Marguerite Long: A Life in French Music, 1874-1966* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 94.

⁴⁵ Cited from Odile Bourin, 'Jeanne Leleu', in *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle*, 157, « Quand vous serez une grande virtuose et que je serai un vieux bonhomme, au comble des honneurs, ou tout a fait oublié, vous aurez peut-être le souvenir très doux d'avoir procuré à un artiste la joie bien rare d'avoir entendu interpréter une œuvre assez spéciale avec le sentiment exact qui y convenait. »

⁴⁶ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (1 July 1922), shelf mark 2E24.

Méneſtreſel praised Leleu's ſensitivity, her facility for creating atmosphere, and the fluidity of her writing:

Mlle Jeanne Leleu, ſtudent of M. Charles-Marie Widor, born in Saint-Mihiel in 1898, who obtained, laſt year, a mention, and has made, ſince, conſiderable progress. A delicate and contained ſensitivity which affirms itſelf from the prelude, a little ſhort; an aptitude for creating atmosphere by the perſiſtent repetition of a brief thematic deſign; an appropriate ſenſe of expreſſion which we would wiſh to ſee, ſometimes, more brought out; a diſtinguiſhed fluidity of writing, which makes one think of Gabriel Fauré, all worthy of the firſt prize...⁴⁷

Bertrand made no reference to Leleu's ſex or to the fact that ſhe was the third woman ever to win the Premier Grand Prix de Rome in muſical compoſition. Charles Dauzat made a paſſing reference to Leleu being the fourth woman to win a Grand Prix de Rome in *Le Figaro*: 'Mlle Jeanne Leleu is the fourth woman that the Académie des Beaux-Arts ſends to the Villa Médicis, after Mlle Heuvelmans, ſculptor, and two other muſicians, the late Lili Boulanger and Mme Canal, who is ſtill in Rome'.⁴⁸ The majority of his article, however, was dedicated to a brief biographical ſketch of the two firſt-prize winners, Leleu and Bousquet.⁴⁹ The front-page article entitled 'Le Prix de Rome de Muſique' which appeared in *Le Petit Parisien*, along with a photograph of Leleu and Bousquet, made no alluſion to Leleu's ſex whatſoever, ſimply noting that after a long deliberation the Académie de Beaux-Arts had decided to award two Premier Grand Prix de Romes that year.⁵⁰

Significantly, it was Widor, Leleu's compoſition teacher, who firſt prompted her to enter the Prix de Rome competition. This encouragement from a diſtinguiſhed

⁴⁷ « Mlle Jeanne Leleu, élève de M. Ch.-M. Widor, née en 1898 à Saint-Mihiel, qui obtint, l'an dernier, une mention, et a fait, depuis, des progrès considérables. Une sensibilité délicate et contenue qui s'affirme dès le prélude, un peu court ; une aptitude à créer l'atmosphère par la répétition obstinée d'un bref dessin thématique ; un sens de l'expression juste qu'on souhaiterait voir, parfois, s'extérioriser davantage ; une fluidité distinguée de l'écriture, qui fait penser à Gabriel Fauré, valurent la première récompense... » Paul Bertrand, 'Concours de Rome', *Le Méneſtreſel* (6 July 1923).

⁴⁸ « Mlle Jeanne Leleu est la quatrième femme que l'Académie des beaux-arts envoie à la Villa Médicis après Mlle Heuvelmans, sculpteur, et deux autres musiciennes la regretté Lili Boulanger et Mme Canal, qui est encore à Rome. » Charles Dauzat, 'Les Grands Prix de Rome de musique', *Le Figaro* (1 July 1923), 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁰ Anonymous, 'Le Prix de Rome de Musique', *Le Petit Parisien* (1 July 1923), 1.

a musician as Widor suggests that Leleu, though now very much forgotten, must have exhibited sufficient talent as a young composer to attract his favourable attention.⁵¹ It is noteworthy that Widor, as one of the composition teachers at the Paris Conservatoire, would have been justified in urging his best students to enter the competition as their successes would have reflected on his own talents as a teacher. Between 1919 and 1927 (the year that Widor retired from the Conservatoire) his pupils regularly entered the competition with four winning Premier Grand Prix: Jeanne Leleu (1923), Francis Bousquet (1923), Robert Dussaut (1924), and René Guillou (1926).⁵² Furthermore, from 1914 to his death in 1937 Widor was the *Secrétaire perpétuel* of the Académie des Beaux-Arts and, therefore, continually involved with the Prix de Rome competition. Thus, Widor's support of Leleu, as a celebrated musician, one of the Conservatoire's most eminent composition teachers, and an academician of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, represents a strong endorsement of female competitors.

Leleu's *envois de Rome* consisted of *Suite symphonique* for wind instruments (1926), *Esquisses italiennes* (1926), *Deux Danses* for orchestra (1927), and *Le Cyclope* (incidental music for Euripides's play, 1928). An enthusiastic review of *Deux Danses* by Florent Schmitt appeared in *Le Temps* after the work received its première at the Concerts Colonne in November 1929 which claimed that: 'Mlle Leleu belongs, like her elders Delvincourt, Ibert, Fourestier, to that line of young artists for whom the Prix de Rome is not a sterile vanity but a means of isolation and contemplation

⁵¹ Widor's liking for young women is well-known; however, the present author is unaware of the existence of any material to suggest that there ever existed between him and Leleu anything more than the relationship of a teacher and talented pupil.

⁵² See Appendix 4 for full lists of all the Prix de Rome candidates (1919-39) with details of their teachers, where known.

favourable to a well thought-out production'.⁵³ During the late 1920s Leleu's *envois de Rome* entered the repertoire of the Orchestre Colonne.

Leleu's *Suite symphonique* demonstrates many of the qualities which would have helped her to win the Prix de Rome and, as an *envoi de Rome*, the work would officially have been written for the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Leleu seems to have been acutely aware of this, as the suite is constructed with meticulous care and craftsmanship, alongside a marked trend towards more experimental and innovative ideas. *Suite symphonique* has five movements, each of which has a pictorial title: 'Prélude', 'L'Arbre plein de chants', 'Mouvements de foule', 'Bois sacré', and 'Joie populaire'. The entirety of the score reveals a characteristically French preoccupation with precision as performance directions are indicated in minute precision throughout. The equally Gallic attention to orchestration is also evidenced, the work is scored for two flutes (second doubling piccolo), oboe, cor anglais, clarinet, bassoon, horn, two trumpets, percussion (bass drum, snare drum, cymbals, triangle), and piano. Leleu's fascination with timbre is well exemplified in the coda of 'L'Arbre plein de chants' which is scored for a wind quartet consisting of oboe, cor anglais, clarinet, and bassoon only (see Example 5:6). The coda is also interesting for its experimental and pantonal contrapuntal writing, with the independence of each instrumental part enforced by being given its own key.

⁵³ « Mlle Leleu appartient, comme ses aînés Delvincourt, Ibert, Fourestier, à cette lignée de jeunes artistes pour lesquels le prix de Rome n'est pas une stérile gloriole... mais un moyen d'isolement et de recueillement favorables à une production vraiment pensée. » Florent Schmitt, *Feuilleton du Temps* (16 November 1929); press clipping, Fonds Jeanne Leleu, MMM.

Example 5:6 – Jeanne Leleu, ‘L’Arbre plein de chants’, *Suite symphonique*

(1926), bars 53-7⁵⁴

The image shows a musical score for four instruments: Oboe, Cor Anglais, Clarinet, and Bassoon. The music is in 3/4 time and features a melodic line in the Oboe and Clarinet, and a more rhythmic line in the Cor Anglais and Bassoon. Dynamics are marked *pp*.

Facility as an orchestrator is not the only one of Leleu’s talents which would have helped her to win the Prix de Rome which is apparent in *Suite symphonique* as it also reveals her fecundity at creating drama, an important consideration within the context of the official cantata setting for the competition. This is especially apparent at the opening of ‘Mouvements de foule’ where the *vite* tempo marking, loud dynamics, and rapid, semi-quaver, upward and downward chromatic motion help to create an impression of a swarming crowd (see Example 5:7).

Example 5:7 – Jeanne Leleu, ‘Mouvements de foule’, *Suite symphonique* (1926), bars 1-3⁵⁵

The image shows a musical score for a single instrument, likely a piano or violin. The music is in 3/4 time and features a complex, rhythmic melody with triplets and sextuplets. Dynamics are marked *mf* and *f*.

Leleu continued to compose large-scales works throughout the 1930s, including the orchestral suite *Transparences* (1931), ballet *Croquis de théâtre* (1932), *Concerto pour piano et orchestre* (1937), and *Suite d’orchestre* (1939). The première

⁵⁴ Jeanne Leleu, ‘L’Arbre plein de chants’, *Suite symphonique* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1926), 42.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

of *Croquis de théâtre* was given under Paul Paray on 5 November 1932 at the Concerts Colonne. In reviewing the work for *L'Excelsior*, Émile Vuillermoz praised the work in warm terms:

The delicacy of touch is absolutely charming. When we muse on the innumerable mediocre stage works that we have heard in recent years, we suffer in noting that Mlle Leleu could have given us veritable masterpieces of grace, poetry, and humour, in this genre.⁵⁶

In 1937 she performed her own Piano Concerto, under the direction of Eugène Bigot, at the Concerts Lamoureux. The première provoked another rapturous review from Florent Schmitt:

This Piano Concerto [...] is a remarkably new and audacious work but which, by the interpretation of a virtuosa without equal [...] had to triumph over all obstacles [...] the Concerto of Jeanne Leleu is on the whole a remarkable work and one which will emerge highly amongst the stream of productions of recent years [...] the pianist-composer was applauded at length, as was only right.⁵⁷

Elsa Barraine: A Musical Prodigy

In 1929, Elsa Barraine (1910-1999) won the Premier Grand Prix de Rome at the remarkably young age of nineteen. Her extraordinary musical talents were apparent from a very young age and she entered the Paris Conservatoire when she was twelve.⁵⁸ At the Conservatoire, she studied composition with Paul Dukas, harmony with Jean Gallon, fugue with Georges Caussade, and accompaniment with André Estyle. During her studies at the Conservatoire Barraine proved herself to be an exceptional student and collected an impressive roster of prizes including Premier

⁵⁶ « La délicatesse de touche est absolument charmante. Quand on songe aux innombrables musiques de scène médiocres que nous avons entendues ces dernières années, on souffre en constatant que Mlle Leleu aurait pu nous donner dans ce domaine de véritables chefs-d'œuvres de grâce, de poésie et d'humour. » Émile Vuillermoz, *L'Excelsior*, November 1932; press clipping, Fonds Jeanne Leleu, MMM.

⁵⁷ « Ce concerto pour piano [...] est une œuvre singulièrement neuve et audacieuse mais qui, de par l'interprétation d'une virtuose en l'espèce hors de pair [...] devait triompher de toutes les résistances [...] le concerto de Jeanne Leleu est dans l'ensemble une œuvre remarquable et qui émergera hautement dans la production à flots de ces dernières années [...] la pianiste la compositrice fut longuement fêtée, ce qui n'est que justice. » Florent Schmitt, *Feuilleton du Temps* (27 March 1937); press clipping, Fonds Jeanne Leleu, MMM.

⁵⁸ Barraine was born into a musical family, her father was the principal cellist at the Opéra de Paris.

Prix in harmony, fugue, and accompaniment.⁵⁹ The ultimate prize arrived in 1929 when she won the Premier Grand Prix de Rome.

Barraine entered the competition for the first time in 1928, when she was one of two women (the other being Claude Arrieu) out of a total of ten candidates for the *concours d'essai*. Barraine, along with Henri Tomasi, Maurice Franck, Raymond Loucheur, Marc Vaubourgoin, and Georges Favre, progressed to round two.⁶⁰ The text chosen for the cantata was *Héraklès à Delphes*, by René Puaux. The *judgement préparatoire*, by the specialist music jury, took place on 29 June at the Conservatoire and Barraine was proposed for the Deuxième Second Grand Prix de Rome, with a majority of five votes (out of a possible nine), with the additional comment that her cantata displayed a 'very pretty musical nature', 'gift', and 'serious promise'.⁶¹ At the *jugement définitif*, which took place at the Institut de France the next day, Barraine received five votes (out of twenty-three for the Premier Second Grand Prix, the other eighteen members abstaining); as a result the prize was not awarded.⁶² For the Deuxième Second Grand Prix, Barraine received the unanimity of all twenty-three votes.⁶³ In his review for *Le Ménestrel*, Paul Bertrand praised Barraine's precocious compositional talents, her sensitive nature, and her solid technique thus:

Mlle Elsa Barraine, born in Paris in 1910, student of Messieurs Paul Dukas and Henri Büsser, who was competing for the first time, has obtained straightaway a Deuxième Second Grand Prix [...] This very young girl, who already possesses a singular sureness of writing, is in addition gifted, from all the evidence, with a fine, sensitive nature, which as yet only incompletely expresses itself, but which is full of promise. This slightly melancholic nature, of

⁵⁹ See Raffi Ourgandjian, 'Elsa Barraine', in *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle*, 41-6.

⁶⁰ Archives of the Institut de France, Box 5E82. The lists of candidates for the 1928 and 1929 Prix de Rome competitions archived at the Institut de France record her as Jacqueline Barraine. The *procès verbaux* and press reviews (for both years), however, all refer to her as Elsa Barraine; the name by which she was professionally known.

⁶¹ Archives of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, *Procès verbaux* (29 June 1928), no shelf mark on ledger.

⁶² That no Premier Second Grand Prix was awarded in 1928 (see Table 7:1) suggests that, after Raymond Loucheur's winning cantata, the jury felt that none of the other candidates' works (except for Barraine's) was worthy of a prize. The fact that she received only the Deuxième (and not the Premier) Second Grand Prix indicates that the jury generally recognised her cantata as the second best, which is supported by her receiving a unanimous vote for the Deuxième Second Grand Prix, but that they felt that her work that year did not quite merit the second highest prize.

⁶³ Archives of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, *Procès verbaux* (29 June 1928), no shelf mark on ledger.

a rather Fauréen charm, appears from the Prelude of the Cantata (which oscillates around the mysterious tonality of C sharp minor) [...] the voices being supported by a more pianistic than orchestral accompaniment (tremolos, arpeggios, very often syncopated full chords) which takes on a certain intimate character of real seduction.⁶⁴

Encouraged by her success at winning a prize on her very first attempt (at the age of only eighteen) Barraine re-entered the competition in 1929. That year eight candidates entered the *concours d'essai* (including three women: Elsa Barraine, Yvonne Desportes, and Claude Arrieu). Barraine, along with Tony Aubin, Marc Vaubourgoin, Georges Favre, Jean Marie Dupont, and Sylver Caffot, progressed through to round two.⁶⁵ Figure 5:1 shows Elsa Barraine at the Palais de Fontainebleau in the company of the five male finalists for the 1929 competition.

Figure 5:1 – The Six Finalists for the Prix de Rome at the Palais de Fontainebleau (1929)⁶⁶



⁶⁴ « Mlle Elsa Barraine, née à Paris en 1910, élève de MM. Paul Dukas et Henri Büsser, qui concourait pour la première fois, a obtenu d'emblée un deuxième second Grand-Prix [...] Cette toute jeune fille, qui possède déjà une singulière sûreté d'écriture, est en outre douée, de toute évidence, d'une nature fine, sensible, qui ne s'extériorise encore qu'incomplètement, mais qui est pleine de promesse. Cette nature un peu mélancolique, d'un charme assez fauréen, apparaît dès le prélude de la cantate (qui oscille autour de la mystérieuse tonalité d'ut dièse mineur) [...] les voix étant soutenues par un accompagnement plus pianistique qu'orchestral (trémolos, arpèges, accords plaqués très souvent syncopés) qui affecte un certain caractère d'intimité d'une séduction réelle. » Paul Bertrand, 'Concours de Rome', *Le Ménestrel* (6 Juillet 1928).

⁶⁵ Archives of the Institut de France, Box 5E82.

⁶⁶ Photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand. The six finalists from left to right were: Sylver Caffot, Elsa Barraine, Marc Vaubourgoin, Georges Favre, Tony Aubin, and Jean Marie Dupont.

The text for the 1929 cantata, *La Vierge guerrière*, was written by Armand Foucher. The specialist musical jury proposed Barraine for the Premier Grand Prix on account of ‘the musicality of her work and the qualities of her orchestration’.⁶⁷ The Académie des Beaux-Arts upheld the musicians’ decision, with Barraine receiving twenty-two out of a possible thirty-one votes.⁶⁸ Paul Bertrand, in his review for *Le Ménestrel*, praised Barraine’s developed musicality (which he believed to have progressed since the previous year) and the inventiveness of her writing:

Mlle Elsa Barraine [...] to whom, this year, the Académie des Beaux-Arts has very justly awarded the Premier Grand Prix. Her Cantata, sung by Mlle Jane Laval, MM. Paulet and Roger Bourdin, with M. Maillard-Verger and the author at the piano, confirms a nature that the Cantata of 1928 had already fully revealed. This nature is of an essentially musical and non-dramatic order; a very contained sensitivity gives birth to an especially cerebral musical substance, but of high quality, and of a seduction all the more intense for enveloped in a complex writing, but also sure and distinguished writing, in which more refined than expressive chromaticism dominates. The prelude and the apparition of the Archangel give rise to some extremely remarkable bars. The final Trio, very developed, ends by an unexpected decrescendo, an idea which, throughout the competition, remained entirely personal to Mlle Barraine.⁶⁹

The extremely young age of the successful candidate in the music division of the 1929 Prix de Rome competition did not escape the notice of the wider press. Interestingly, and in contrast to the treatment of Canal and Leleu, Barraine’s sex was also remarked upon by the critics. *Le Matin* commented on her youth, sex, and the precocious development of her talents:

This competition marks a great feminist success. Indeed, it is Mlle Elsa Barraine who won the first prize. The student, born in Paris in 1910, is therefore only nineteen years old. Last year she won the second prize. At the age of twelve, she entered the Conservatoire. She is the

⁶⁷ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (28 June 1929), no shelf mark on ledger.

⁶⁸ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (29 June 1929), no shelf mark on ledger.

⁶⁹ « Mlle Elsa Barraine [...] à laquelle, cette année, l’Académie des Beaux-Arts a fort justement décerné le Premier Grand Prix. Sa cantate, chantée par Mlle Jane Laval, M. Paulet, et Roger Bourdin, avec au piano M. Maillard-Verger et l’auteur, confirme une nature que la cantate de 1928 avait déjà révélée pleinement. Cette nature est l’ordre essentiellement musical et non dramatique ; une sensibilité très contenue donne naissance à une substance musical surtout cérébrale, mais de haute qualité, d’une séduction d’autant plus vive qu’elle s’enveloppe d’une écriture complexe, mais aussi sûre que distinguée, où domine souvent un chromatisme plus raffiné qu’expressif. Le prélude et l’apparition de l’archange donnent notamment lieu à quelques mesures extrêmement remarquables. Quant au trio final, très « écrite », il se termine par un decrescendo inattendu, conception qui, dans l’ensemble du concours, resta exclusivement personnelle à Mlle Barraine. » Paul Bertrand, ‘Concours de Rome’, *Le Ménestrel* (5 Juillet 1929).

student of MM. Paul Dukas and Busser [...] Small, very dark, lively eyes behind horn-rimmed spectacles, the happy candidate did not conceal her joy.⁷⁰

In a curious review, which mingled admiration for Barraine with a general disparagement towards women composers, *Le Petit Parisien* also commented on both her youth and her sex:

Mlle Barraine is not twenty years old [...] She has, in her blue eyes, a calm seriousness, and we discern, behind her ample forehead, a world of totally fresh ideas. She welcomed her success with simplicity. Women have, in music, a diminished role: amongst them, there are few creative minds. Mlle Barraine, whose cantata on Joan of Arc has made a strong impression on the masters who have heard it, is she destined for something else? This young girl reveals, I must say, an attractive personality. What will be her *envoi de Rome*, which we already await with curiosity?⁷¹

The anonymous reviewer's misogynistic assertion that, as a talented *compositrice*, Barraine was exceptional is undermined by the fact that she was the third woman to win the Premier Grand Prix in musical composition in the ten years since the reinstatement of the competition after World War One and further discredited by the public presence of female composers in interwar French musical life. Moreover, Barraine was not the only woman to win a Premier Grand Prix de Rome in 1929; she went to the Villa Médicis in the company of Aleth Guzman, who became the first woman to win the engraving section of the competition.⁷²

Françoise Andrieux and Paul Griffiths have described how 'profoundly sensitive to the enormous upheavals of her time, Barraine was unable to dissociate her

⁷⁰ « Ce concours marque un grand succès féministe. En effet, c'est Mlle Elsa Barraine qui remporta le grand prix. L'élève, née à Paris en 1910, n'a donc que 19 ans. L'année dernière, elle obtint le second grand prix. À l'âge de 12 ans, elle entra au Conservatoire. Elle est élève de MM. Paul Dukas et Busser [...] Petite, très brune, les yeux vifs derrière les lunettes d'écaillé, l'heureuse candidate ne dissimule pas sa joie. » Anonymous, 'Une jeune fille de 19 ans Grand Prix de Rome de Musique', *Le Matin* (30 June 1929), 1.

⁷¹ « Mlle Barraine n'a pas vingt ans [...] Elle a, dans ses yeux bleus, une gravité douce, et l'on devine, derrière son ample front, un monde d'idées toutes fraîches. Son succès a été accueilli par elle avec beaucoup de simplicité. Les femmes ont, en musique, un rôle effacé : parmi elles, peu de cerveaux créateur. Mlle Barraine, dont la cantate sur Jeanne d'Arc a fait une vive impression sur les maîtres qui l'ont entendue, est-elle promise à une autre destinée ? Cette jeune fille témoigne, il faut avouer, d'une personnalité bien attirante. Quel sera son envoi de Rome, que l'on attend déjà avec curiosité ? » Anonymous, 'Les Prix de Rome de musique', *Le Petit Parisien* (30 June 1929), 2.

⁷² 'Victoires des femmes', unmarked press clipping (short article about Barraine and Guzman both winning Premier Grand Prix in 1929), Fonds Elsa Barraine, Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand.

creative processes from her personal, humanist and social preoccupations'.⁷³ This facet of her personality is reflected in her two pre-World-War-Two works *Pogromes* (symphonic music of 1933 after the poem by André Spire and written in reaction to the rise of Hitler and Nazism) and her Second Symphony of 1938 which was entitled *Voïna* (meaning 'war' in Russian) which reflects her unease over the ascent of Fascism and Anti-Semitism and the imminence of World War Two.⁷⁴ Barraine's tendency to write music prompted by her own feelings is also apparent in her short piano piece 'Hommage à Paul Dukas'. This was composed as part of *Le Tombeau de Dukas* which appeared as a musical supplement to the special commemorative issue of *La Revue musicale* in May-June 1936 (intended to pay tribute to Dukas, who had died in May 1935).⁷⁵ Barraine's contribution to the collection (which consisted of nine short piano pieces) is marked by its quite lyricism, suggestive of gentle mourning, whilst her chromatic harmony infers the less restrained side of grief and pathos (see Example 5:8).

⁷³ Françoise Andrieux and Paul Griffiths, 'Elsa Barraine', in *The Grove Dictionary of Woman Composers*, eds. Julie Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel (London: Macmillan, 1994), 38.

⁷⁴ It is probable that Barraine would have herself felt threatened by the rise of Anti-Semitism as her father was Jewish.

⁷⁵ The other composers who contributed to *Le Tombeau de Dukas* were Florent Schmitt, Manuel de Falla, Gabriel Pierné, Guy Ropartz, Joaquin Rodrigo, Julien Krein, Olivier Messiaen, and Tony Aubin. See *La Revue musicale* (May-June 1936).

Example 5:8 – Elsa Barraine, ‘Hommage à Paul Dukas’, *Le Tombeau de Dukas*
(1936), bars 1-6⁷⁶

In parallel to pursuing her compositional activities, Barraine also taught music privately and worked in broadcasting; from 1936 to 1940 she worked at Radio-France as a pianist, sound recordist and Head of Singing. In this way she demonstrated the possibilities of employment for a woman composer, pursuing a career which embraced composition alongside a number of other musical activities.

Yvonne Desportes: Following the Classic Prix de Rome Pattern

In 1932 Yvonne Desportes (1907-1993) became the fifth woman to win the Prix de Rome in musical composition and the last female candidate to claim the Premier Grand Prix during the interwar years. Desportes's parents chose to educate their children at home (before adolescence) with a concentration on the arts, and she received her earliest musical training from her father, the composer Émile Desportes.⁷⁷ She entered a preparatory solfège class at the Paris Conservatoire in 1918, and studied for three years at the École Normale de Musique between 1922 and

⁷⁶ Elsa Barraine, 'Hommage à Paul Dukas', *Le Tombeau de Dukas*, musical supplement to *La Revue musicale* (May-June 1936), 31.

⁷⁷ The young Desportes demonstrated a remarkable facility for art, as well as music, and she mounted an exhibition of her paintings at the age of nine. It was only her mother's objections to her studying at the Académie des Beaux-Arts, due to its reputation for sexual liberalism, which prevented her from pursuing art as her main study. (See Appendix 3 'Interview with Michel Gemignani', the son of Yvonne Desportes.)

1925 before returning to the Conservatoire where her obvious talents secured her a high number of prestigious prizes, including Premier Prix in harmony (1927) and fugue (1928).

Desportes competed for the Prix de Rome a total of four times as reflected in the following table:

Table 5:3 – Years in which Yvonne Desportes competed for the Prix de Rome

Year	Progresses to Second Round	Prize Awarded
1929	No	None
1930	Yes	Deuxième Second Grand Prix
1931	Yes	Premier Second Grand Prix
1932	Yes	Premier Grand Prix

Desportes's relationship with the Prix de Rome followed the classic model of first attempting round one and then progressing to winning the two Second Grand Prix awards before attaining the Premier Grand Prix itself, which was the route taken by many eventually successful candidates who were determined to win the first prize. Her son, Michel Gemignani, has described her resolve to win the Prix de Rome as a means of guaranteeing acceptance by the musical profession and how her perseverance to continue competing for the prize was bolstered by the fact that, although she believed that it was still more difficult for a female composer to succeed, several women had already won the Prix de Rome:

For her, the Grand Prix de Rome represented two things: firstly it was the end of the musical training of a composer; also, it was the means by which to enter the professional world, because it was open to everyone. It was very difficult for a woman but she was obstinate because the Prix de Rome was the assurance of acceptance, all the professors of composition at the Conservatoire had won. She was encouraged in her decision to persevere with the competition by the other women who had won.⁷⁸

In 1930, Desportes progressed to the second round of the Grand Prix de Rome for the first time along with Tony Aubin, Marc Vaubourgoin, Georges Favre, Jacques

⁷⁸ See Appendix 3 'Interview with Michel Gemignani'.

Dupont, and Jean Vuillermoz.⁷⁹ That year she was proposed for the Deuxième Second Grand Prix after receiving eight votes (against one for Dupont) at the *jugement préparatoire* and this decision was upheld by the Académie des Beaux-Arts when she received twenty votes (against seven for Dupont) at the *jugement définitif*.⁸⁰ Paul Bertrand's review of Desportes's Cantata, *Actéon*, which appeared in *Le Ménestrel*, remarked on her harmonic conception and on her femininity. In this curious evocation of Desportes's sex, Bertrand appears to associate femininity in musical expression with a fondness for ternary meters and rhythms:

Mlle Yvonne Desportes, born in Cobourg in July 1907, student of Messieurs Paul Dukas and Noël Gallon, who was competing for the first time, has obtained the Deuxième Second Grand Prix [...] On the whole it [Cantata] is conceived harmonically and not contrapuntally, solidly established from the beginning in the tonality of E [...] within which she deploys pleasant drumming chords. It is all delicacy, all femininity, attested by a marked predilection for ternary measures and rhythms, evoking with a pleasant spontaneity, a touching freshness of feeling [...]⁸¹

Encouraged by her Deuxième Second Grand Prix, Desportes re-entered the Prix de Rome competition in 1931 when she progressed to the second round for a second time with Henriette Puig-Roget, René Challan, Jacques Dupont, Olivier Messiaen, and Émile Marcel.⁸² The musical jury decided to propose Desportes's cantata, *L'Ensorceluse*, for the Premier Second Grand Prix (she carried six votes, against one for Marcelin, and two abstentions), the Académie des Beaux-Arts upheld the musicians' judgement (with nineteen academicians voting for Desportes, two for Marcelin, three for Messiaen, and one abstention).⁸³ Paul Bertrand's annual review of the competition for *Le Ménestrel*, argued that Desportes had produced the most

⁷⁹ Archives of the Institut de France, Box 5E82.

⁸⁰ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (5 July 1930), no shelf mark on ledger.

⁸¹ « Mlle Yvonne Desportes, née à Cobourg en juillet 1907, élève de MM. Paul Dukas et Noël Gallon, qui concourait pour la première fois, a obtenu le Deuxième Second Grand Prix [...] Elle est, dans l'ensemble, de conception harmonique et non contrapuntique, solidement assise dès le début sur la tonalité de *mi* [...] dans le cadre de laquelle elle déploie d'agréables accords en batterie. Elle est toute délicatesse, toute féminité, témoignant d'une prédilection marquée pour les mesures et les rythmes ternaires, évoquant avec une agréable spontanéité, une touchante fraîcheur de sentiment [...] » Paul Bertrand, 'Concours de Rome', *Le Ménestrel* (11 July 1930).

⁸² Archives of the Institut de France, Box 5E82.

⁸³ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (3 and 4 July 1931), no shelf mark on ledger.

homogenous and skilful Cantata, but that it was slightly marred by a lack of compositional scope and sensitivity:

Mlle Yvonne Desportes [...] obtained this year the Premier Second Grand Prix [...] Her Cantata was perhaps, out of all of them, the most homogenous and the most skilful by a keen sense of progressions and contrast. But it seemed to lack somewhat both scope and real sensitivity.⁸⁴

Desportes competed for the Prix de Rome for the final time in 1932, when she succeeded in winning the Premier Grand Prix. That year she progressed to round two with Marc Berthomieu, Émile Marcelin, Henriette Puig-Roget, Jean Vuillermoz, and Marc Vaubourgoin.⁸⁵ The text for the 1932 Prix de Rome cantata was *Le Pardon* by Paul Arosa. Desportes was proposed for the Premier Grand Prix by the specialist music jury (with six votes against three for Marcelin) with the comment that her Cantata was 'well treated, good craftsmanship, good orchestration, good character development'.⁸⁶ The Académie des Beaux-Arts upheld the decision of the specialist jury (with Desportes taking sixteen votes against Marcelin's six) and she became the fifth woman to win the Premier Grand Prix de Rome in musical composition.⁸⁷ In his review of the 1932 competition, Paul Bertrand commented on Desportes's sensitivity and theatrical expertise:

The Premier Grand Prix has been awarded, very rightfully, to Mlle Yvonne Desportes... She had for performers Mme Ritter-Ciampi, MM. José de Trévi and Léon Ponzio, with, at the piano MM. Henri Lauth and Maillard-Verger. Mlle Desportes possesses a real sensitivity and a precious gift for dramatic expression. She found herself at ease in the interpretation of a text of clearly theatrical nature. Without sacrificing to excess the intrinsic quality of the music, she subordinated it to the drama, and notably gave to the Romance a colour at once simple and moving, enveloped the drinking song in a picturesque fantasy... Moreover, she used the incomparable vocal art of an exceptional singer [Gabrielle Ritter-Ciampi] to skilfully bring, at the end of the development of her Romance, an appropriate cadenza, which underlines once more her keen sense of the true character of vocal works.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ « Mlle Yvonne Desportes [...] obtint cette année le Premier Second Grand Prix [...] Sa cantate fut peut-être, de toutes, la plus homogène et la plus adroite par un sens très vif des progressions et des contrastes. Mais elle parut un peu manquer à la fois d'ampleur et de sensibilité réelle. » Paul Bertrand, 'Concours de Rome', *Le Ménestrel* (10 July 1931).

⁸⁵ Archives of the Institut de France, Box 5E82.

⁸⁶ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (1 July 1932), no shelf mark on ledger.

⁸⁷ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (2 July 1932), no shelf mark on ledger.

⁸⁸ « Le Premier Grand Prix a été attribué, fort légitimement, à Mlle Yvonne Desportes [...] Elle eut comme interprètes Mme Ritter-Ciampi, MM. José de Trévi et Léon Ponzio, avec, au piano, MM. Henri Lauth et Maillard-Verger. Mlle Desportes possède une sensibilité réelle et un don précieux de

Desportes's achievement is all the more extraordinary, and her desire to win the competition all the more pronounced as, throughout the duration of her struggles with the Prix de Rome competition, her personal life was complicated by her first marriage, birth of her daughter (Martine), and divorce.⁸⁹ Throughout its history, the Institut de France has generally been considered to be a conservative institution. Its awarding of the Premier Grand Prix de Rome to Desportes in 1931, at a time when the French government actively sought to marginalise women within the domestic sphere and to exclude them from public life, suggests that women were sufficiently accepted by the Académie des Beaux-Arts to allow them to award their highest prize to a young mother, whose divorce and determination to succeed as a musician represented a significant flouting of normal social conventions in interwar France.⁹⁰

The normality of a female winner by 1932 is enforced by the lack of commentary relating to Desportes's sex in the review article which appeared on the front page of *Le Matin*, 3 July 1932. Underneath a photograph of the three prize winners (Desportes, Marcelin, and Vuillermoz) the reporter simply recorded that:

Yesterday the Académie des Beaux-Arts undertook the judging of the Prix de Rome, for musical composition. After the performance of the different candidates' cantatas the following results have been announced:

Grand Prix: Mlle Yvonne Desportes (deuxième second grand prix in 1930 and premier second grand prix in 1931) born 18 July 1907 in Cobourg (Saxony), student of MM. Paul Dukas and Noël Gallon.⁹¹

l'expression dramatique. Elle s'est trouvé à l'aise dans l'interprétation d'un texte de caractère nettement théâtral. Sans sacrifier à l'excès la qualité intrinsèque de la musique, elle a su la subordonner au drame, et notamment donner à la Romance une couleur à la fois simple et émouvante, envelopper la Chanson à boire d'un pittoresque fantaisie [...] D'autre part, elle a su utiliser l'art vocal incomparable d'une interprète d'exception pour amener fort habilement, à la fin du développement de sa romance, une vocalise parfaitement en situation, ce qui souligne encore son sens très vif du vrai caractère de l'œuvre lyrique. » Paul Bertrand, 'Concours de Rome', *Le Ménestrel* (8 July 1932).

⁸⁹ Desportes's first husband was the dancer Fausto Santia. (I am grateful to Michel Gemignani for supplying me with information relating to Yvonne Desportes's personal life.)

⁹⁰ For a consideration of the French's government's marginalisation of women during the interwar years see Chapter 1 'The Social Position of Women in Interwar France'.

⁹¹ « L'académie des beaux-arts a procédé hier à l'attribution des prix de Rome, pour la composition musicale. Après l'audition des cantates, des différents concurrents, les résultants suivants ont été proclamés :

Grand Prix : Mlle Yvonne Desportes (2^e second grand prix en 1930 et 1^{er} second grand prix en 1931) née le 18 juillet 1907 à Cobourg (Saxe), élève de MM. Paul Dukas et Noël Gallon. » Anonymous, 'Les prix de Rome de composition musicale', *Le Matin* (3 July 1932), 1.

Charles Dauzats writing in *Le Figaro*, moreover, simply commented that Desportes's cantata was much applauded and also remarkably well performed.⁹² In Rome, Desportes met and married Ulysse Gemignani, winner of the Premier Grand Prix de Rome in sculpture.⁹³

Despite an acknowledged Baroque influence on her music, Desportes rejected the contemporary French fashion for Neoclassicism in favour of the rich orchestral palette of the Russian Five (Balakirev, Borodin, Cui, Mussorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov) and the harmonic language of Ravel and early Stravinsky. Other notable influences on her work, especially her early compositions, include Florent Schmitt and her teachers Paul Dukas and the Gallons.⁹⁴ Desportes's preference for large-scale, and theatrical, genres is discernable as early as her interwar compositions. Her *envois de Rome* included a symphonic poem entitled *Hercule et les géants* and *Le Rossignol et l'orvet*, a lyrical scene for choir and orchestra. In 1938 she completed her first ballet, *Les Sept péchés capitaux*, and in 1939 she composed her first opera, *Maître Cornelius*.⁹⁵

⁹² Charles Dauzats, 'À l'Institut', *Le Figaro* (3 July 1932), 2.

⁹³ She had two sons, Michel and Vincent, with her second husband.

⁹⁴ For a consideration of Desportes's musical style and technique see Dominique Fauré, 'Yvonne Desportes', *La Revue internationale de musique française*, No. 9 (November 1982), 81-7.

⁹⁵ For details concerning Desportes's compositions see Vincent Gemignani, Jacques Casterede, Marcel Landowski, Jean Podromides, Olivier Roux, and Valentine Roux-Cœurdevey, *Yvonne Desportes: Catalogue des Œuvres* (Plaquette réalisée à titre privé, Gemignani : 1995). BnF call number: Vmc. 16626.

Figure 5:2 – Yvonne Desportes in her Garden, c.1960⁹⁶



Henriette Puig-Roget: A Premier Grand Prix Overturned

The Premier Grand Prix de Rome in musical composition, during the interwar years, was won outright by four women: Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes. It was, however, also proposed to award the Premier Grand Prix to a fifth woman, Henriette Puig-Roget. The specialist music jury decided to propose Puig-Roget for the Premier Grand Prix at the *jugement préparatoire* in 1934; however, this verdict was overturned by the Académie des Beaux-Arts during the *jugement définitif*. Puig-Roget had previously already won the Deuxième Second Grand Prix in 1931 and the Premier Second Grand Prix in 1933; therefore, there was no prize which she could be awarded in 1934 and it proved to be the last year in which she competed.

The Corsican Henriette Puig-Roget (1910-1992) came from an artistic and upper-middle-class family; her father was a general in the French army and her

⁹⁶ Photograph courtesy of Michel Gemignani.

mother a sculptor.⁹⁷ She excelled at the Paris Conservatoire winning a plethora of Premier Prix as illustrated in the following table:

Table 5:4 – Awards won by Henriette Puig-Roget at the Paris Conservatoire

Year	Prize Awarded	Discipline
All won between 1926 and 1930	Premier Prix	Piano
	Premier Prix	Harmony
	Premier Prix	Music History
	Premier Prix	Accompaniment
	Premier Prix	Fugue
	Premier Prix	Organ and Improvisation
1932	Premier Prix	Composition

Furthermore, she was also awarded a Première Médaille in Solfège and the Diplôme d'études musicales supérieures.

Puig-Roget competed for the Prix de Rome a total of four times: 1931, 1932, 1933, and 1934. When she entered the Prix de Rome for the first time in 1931 she exceptionally succeeded to the second round straight away (along with René Challan, Jacques Dupont, Olivier Messiaen, Émile Marcelin, and Yvonne Desportes) and won a prize on her first attempt.⁹⁸ She was proposed for the Deuxième Second Grand Prix during the *jugement préparatoire* after three rounds of voting (obtaining five votes against Marcelin's one, Messiaen's one, Challan's three, and one abstention).⁹⁹ The Académie des Beaux-Arts ratified the specialist jury's decision (with Puig-Roget taking nineteen votes, Marcelin two, Messiaen three, and one abstention) and Puig-Roget was consequentially awarded the Deuxième Second Grand Prix.¹⁰⁰ Paul

⁹⁷ For information on Henriette Puig-Roget see Françoise Mautalent, 'Henriette Puig-Roget', in *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle*, Association Femmes et Musique (Paris: Editions Delatour, 2007), 191-5. Very little published material about Puig-Roget exists as yet, however, and she is not even represented by an article in *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

⁹⁸ Archives of the Institut de France, Box 5E83.

⁹⁹ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (3 July 1931), no shelf mark on ledger.

¹⁰⁰ Archives of the Institute de France, *Procès verbaux* (4 July 1931), no shelf mark on ledger.

Bertrand, in his review of the competition for *Le Ménestrel*, praised Puig-Roget's cantata as the work of a highly-skilled musician:

Her Cantata [...] is the work of an accomplished musician, who ignores nothing of her art, of whom the writing is sure, supple and distinguished, who shows herself expert in the thematic development and the construction of an ensemble, of classic entries, but whose dramatic sense is typified in a more correct than really moving declamation.¹⁰¹

Encouraged by this success on her first attempt, Puig-Roget re-entered the Prix de Rome competition in 1932 (the year that Yvonne Desportes won the Premier Grand Prix). She succeeded to the second round, along with Yvonne Desportes, Marc Berthomieu, Émile Marcelin, Jean Vuillermoz, and Marc Vaubourgoin.¹⁰² In 1932, however, Puig-Roget did not receive a prize. In 1933 she was more fortunate and won the Premier Second Grand Prix with a comfortable majority (she took eight votes against one for René Challan in the *jugement préparatoire* and obtained twenty-seven against Challan's two in the *jugement définitif*).¹⁰³ In his review for *Le Ménestrel*, Paul Bertrand claimed that Puig-Roget had written the most musically rich Cantata, which clearly demonstrated her technical prowess:

The Premier Second Grand Prix de Rome was attributed to Mlle Henriette Roget [...] Her Cantata is, out of all of them, the most musically rich, but the music is a little independent of the subject. It demonstrates a security, a distinction and an elegance of writing (sufficiently complex), of a solidity of construction which are the sign of a remarkable craft.¹⁰⁴

After having successfully competed for both Second Grand Prix awards, Puig-Roget would have been justified in hoping that the next year she would receive the Premier Grand Prix and the eventual outcome must have come as a disappointment.

¹⁰¹ « Sa cantate [...] est l'œuvre d'une musicienne accomplie, qui n'ignore rien de son art, dont l'écriture est sûre, souple et distinguée, qui se montre experte dans le développement d'un thème et la construction d'un ensemble, aux entrées classiques, mais dont le sens dramatique se résume en une déclamation plus juste que vraiment émue. » Paul Bertrand, 'Concours de Rome', *Le Ménestrel* (10 July 1931).

¹⁰² Archives of the Institut de France, Box 5E83.

¹⁰³ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (30 June and 1 July 1933), no shelf mark on ledger.

¹⁰⁴ « Le Premier Second Grand Prix de Rome fut attribué à Mlle Henriette Roger [...] Sa cantate est, de toutes, la plus riche de musique, mais de musique un peu indépendant du sujet. Elle témoigne d'une sûreté, d'une distinction et d'une élégance d'écriture (assez complexe), d'une solidité de construction qui sont le signe d'un métier remarquable. » Paul Bertrand, 'Concours de Rome', *Le Ménestrel* (7 July 1933).

During the 1934 *jugement préparatoire*, the jury of musical specialists proposed Puig-Roget for the Premier Grand Prix (having received four votes against Eugène Bozza's three).¹⁰⁵ During the *jugement définitif*, however, Bozza was proposed for the Premier Grand Prix by the Académie des Beaux-Arts (Bozza obtained fourteen votes, Puig-Roget ten, and Hubeau one). There was an unusual seven further rounds of voting; after the seventh round it was decided to award the Premier Grand Prix to the competition new-comer Bozza, after he had taken fourteen votes to Puig-Roget's eleven.¹⁰⁶

The number of rounds for which the voting for the Premier Grand Prix continued in 1934 suggests that the decision was disputed and that a significant number of the academicians (presumably including the specialist music jury who had originally proposed her) strongly felt that the first prize should be awarded to Puig-Roget. As she had already received the Premier Second Grand Prix there was no prize which she could win in 1934. The reason why the Académie des Beaux-Arts decided to overturn the specialist music jury's proposal to present Puig-Roget with the Premier Grand Prix remains shrouded in mystery. It is possible that they genuinely believed, after having heard the cantatas performed, that Bozza had written the better work but it may equally have been a result of the personal and political infighting for which the Académie des Beaux-Arts was notorious. In his review for *Le Ménestrel*, Paul Bertrand praised Puig-Roget's cantata in glowing terms and consoled her that, with her obvious musical talent, she could not fail to win in the following year:

Her composition included a very pretty sense of atmosphere, lots of charm and also strength. Her musical language was elegant, firm, although stripped of all heaviness of writing, and her developments, which were this time of a clearly dramatic character, all confirmed themselves pleasingly and sometimes even strikingly, notably in the progression of the Duo [...] Maybe she lacked, to carry off the supreme recompense, that vigour and that frankness of masculine accent which have assured the success of M. Bozza. But on considering the exceptional musical value of Mlle Roget [...] and the progress that she has made from the specific context

¹⁰⁵ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (29 June 1934)), no shelf mark on ledger.

¹⁰⁶ Archives of the Institut de France, *Procès verbaux* (30 June 1934)), no shelf mark on ledger.

of the Prix de Rome competition, it seems impossible that she should not succeed outright next year, with a slight delay that her young age still allows her.¹⁰⁷

Puig-Roget did not win the Premier Grand Prix in 1935, however, as, after the disappointment of 1934, she never re-entered the competition. Until 1934, when her Prix de Rome dreams were finally dashed, Puig-Roget had been following the classic model of competing for the Prix de Rome which had proved so successful for her near contemporary Yvonne Desportes. Attaining both the Deuxième Second Grand Prix (1931) and the Premier Second Grand Prix (1933) must have encouraged Puig-Roget to continue competing. It is probable, moreover, that Desportes's recent triumphant progression from the two Second Prix to the Premier may have bolstered Puig-Roget in her own attempts to win the competition.¹⁰⁸

Despite not winning the Premier Grand Prix de Rome, Puig-Roget still managed to maintain a multi-faceted and demanding musical career. Gifted as a concert pianist she appeared with numerous orchestras both in France and abroad and gave the première of Messiaen's *Préludes* in 1930. She also excelled as an organist and played at the Sainte Clotilde, Grande Synagogue de Paris, and became the titulaire at the Oratoire du Louvre. She was appointed to the teaching staff of the Paris Conservatoire in 1957. She continued to compose throughout her lifetime, completing a large number of orchestral compositions alongside numerous solo works for piano and organ. No further female candidates won the Premier Grand Prix or either of the

¹⁰⁷ « Sa composition comportait un très joli sens de l'atmosphère, beaucoup de charme et aussi de force. Sa langue musicale était élégante, solide, bien que dépouillée de toute lourdeur d'écriture, et ses développements, qui étaient bien cette fois de caractère nettement dramatique, s'affirmaient tous heureux et parfois même saisissants, notamment dans la progression du duo [...] Peut-être lui a-t-il manqué, pour enlever la récompense suprême, cette vigueur et cette franchise d'accent toutes masculines qui ont assuré le succès de M. Bozza. Mais en considérant la valeur musicale exceptionnelle de Mlle [...] et les progrès qu'elle a réalisés au point de vue spécial du Concours de Rome, il semble impossible qu'elle ne réussisse pas, avec un léger retard que son jeune âge lui permet encore, à s'imposer sans conteste l'an prochain. » Paul Bertrand, 'Concours de Rome', *Le Ménestrel* (6 July 1934).

¹⁰⁸ See Françoise Mautalent, 'Henriette Puig-Roget', 191-5.

Second Prix during the remainder of the interwar years although at least one (Elaine Pradelle, 1938) progressed to round two of the competition.¹⁰⁹

A Student of Paul Dukas: Claude Arrieu

In 1928 Paul Dukas succeeded Widor as one of the composition professors at the Paris Conservatoire. His classes of the late 1920s and early 1930s were distinguished by the high number of his students which went on to pursue successful careers as composers, including Olivier Messiaen, Tony Aubin, Georges Hugon, and Marcel Duruflé. However, these young men studied alongside a group of equally talented young women: Elsa Barraine, Yvonne Desportes, and Claude Arrieu, who all also went on to be amongst the most prolific French composers of their generation.

Figure 5:3 shows Dukas's Paris Conservatoire composition class of 1928-9 in which Barraine, Desportes, and Arrieu can be seen alongside their male peers.

Figure 5:3 – The Composition Class of Paul Dukas in 1928-9¹¹⁰



¹⁰⁹ The lists of candidates for both rounds of the competition from 1935 to 1939 archived at the Institut de France are incomplete (see Appendix 4 'Competitors for the Prix de Rome Competition, 1919-1939'). The lists for both rounds in 1935, round one in 1937, round one in 1938, and round one in 1939 are missing so it is impossible to know how many women were involved with the competition during these years. Two women (Paule Maurice and Lucienne Pauly) entered round two in 1936 and it is possible that others entered in the years for which the lists of candidates are no longer extant.

¹¹⁰ Reproduced from *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle*, 46.

Barraine, Desportes, and Arrieu all acknowledged the formative influence which Dukas had upon them and the support he also provided by encouraging and nurturing their compositional talents.

Unlike Barraine and Desportes, it was not through winning the Prix de Rome competition that Arrieu (1903-1990) achieved her first successes as a composer.¹¹¹ Claude Arrieu (born Louise Marie Simon) entered the Paris Conservatoire in 1924, where she studied with Marguerite Long, Charles Silver, Georges Caussade, Noël Gallon, Paul Dukas, and Roger Ducasse.¹¹² In 1926, at the age of twenty three and still at the Conservatoire, she decided to adopt the gender-ambiguous pseudonym Claude Arrieu.¹¹³ She secured her first public performance in 1929 when Roger Ducasse introduced her to the influential conductor Walter Straram who premiered her orchestral suite *Mascarades*.¹¹⁴ In 1932, the year that she won the Conservatoire's Premier Prix in Composition, Straram also directed the première of her *Concerto pour piano et orchestre*. Following her graduation from the Conservatoire the same year, Arrieu established herself as a teacher of piano, solfège, harmony, fugue, counterpoint, and composition. She began working for Radio-France in 1935.

¹¹¹ In fact, Arrieu did enter the Prix de Rome twice: 1928 and 1929. On both occasions, however, she failed to get into the second round. (See Appendix 4 'Competitors for the Prix de Rome, 1919-1939'.)

¹¹² A skiing accident in 1925 caused Arrieu to temporarily leave the Conservatoire but she returned in 1926.

¹¹³ The reasons why Arrieu decided to change her name remain unknown, as she never commented upon it. It is possible that she believed that using a gender-ambiguous name would prevent her facing discrimination as a woman composer. Cécile Rémy has suggested that Arrieu may have wanted to distance herself from her family, as her mother also composed and had become jealous of her daughter's superior talents. See Cécile Rémy, 'Claude Arrieu' in *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle* (Paris : Delatour France, 2007), 37.

¹¹⁴ Walter Straram formed his own orchestra from the best players in the four main Parisian orchestras (Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, Concerts Colonne, Concerts Lamoureux, and Concerts Padeloup) and the orchestra of the Paris Opéra in 1923. Straram's orchestra presented an annual series of ten concerts in early spring until his death in 1933, first at the Salle Gaveau and later at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. His funding from a rich American lady allowed him to diverge from the traditional concert repertoire and to present a number of premières, including Berg's Chamber Concerto (6 February 1928) and Olivier Messiaen's *Hymne au Saint Sacrement* (23 March 1933). See Roger Nichols, *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris, 1917-1929* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 51-2.

Alongside her teaching activities and work in broadcasting, Arrieu produced a steady output of compositions. These works regularly received premières from some of the most illustrious contemporary musicians, including Pierre Bernac, Émile Inghelbrecht, and the Orchestre Straram (see Table 5:5). The calibre of artists who performed her music reflects her standing as a composer. The number of première performances which her work attracted during the 1930s, moreover, indicates her established presence within contemporary Parisian concert life.

Table 5:5 – Premières of Claude Arrieu’s Works, 1929-39¹¹⁵

Date	Work Première	Performer(s)	Concert Series (where appropriate)
25/04/1929	<i>Mascarades</i> , orchestral suite (1929)	Orchestre Straram, directed by Walter Straram	
04/02/1932	<i>Concerto pour piano et orchestre</i> (1932)	Orchestre Straram and Lucette Descaves, directed by Walter Straram	
14/01/1933	<i>Variation, Interlude et Final</i> , for flute, clarinet, viola, and piano (1932)	MM. Honorat and Dubois, and Milles Féjard and Meyer	
28/04/1934	<i>La Boîte à malice</i> , 8 pièces pour piano (1931)	Lucette Descaves- Truc	Société Nationale de Musique
25/04/1936	<i>Trio d’anches</i> (1936)	Oubradous, Lefebvre, and Morel	Société Nationale de Musique
10/04/1937	<i>Chanson Bas</i> , for voice and piano after poems by Stéphane Mallarmé (1933)	Pierre Bernac and Denise Dixmier	
1937	<i>Sonatine pour deux violons</i> (1937)	Radio broadcast by Jacqueline Brill and André Girard	

¹¹⁵ This table is intended as an indicative rather than an exhaustive catalogue. It is based upon Claude Chamfray, ‘Claude Arrieu’, *Le Courrier musical de France*, No. 35 (1971), fiche biographique. (This table reflects merely the premières of her compositions; it does not take into account other performances of her works.)

07/05/1938	<i>À l'hirondelle</i> , choral (1934)	Chorale Ronceret	Société Nationale de Musique
1938	<i>Partita</i> for orchestra (1934)	Orchestre Symphonique de Monte-Carlo, directed by Émile Cooper	
1938	<i>Concerto pour deux pianos et orchestre</i> (1938)	Orchestre National and Clara Haskil and Émile Passani, directed by Émile Inghelbrecht	
11/01/1939	<i>Musique pour piano</i> (1939)	Emile Passani	Société Nationale de Musique

The range of genres which Arrieu engaged with during the 1930s, including orchestral works, songs, and piano music, reveals her versatility as a composer and also the high level of confidence which she had already attained (whilst still a young woman in her early thirties) in handling a wide variety of musical forms.¹¹⁶ The majority of her interwar compositions are written within the Neoclassical style and, in common with the majority of Neoclassical composers working in France at this time such as Stravinsky, Tailleferre, and Poulenc, she concentrated on established Baroque and Classical musical forms, such as her *Concerto pour piano et orchestre* (1932), *Partita* for orchestra (1934), and *Concerto pour deux pianos et orchestre* (1938).

The *Sonatine pour deux violons* also illustrates her Neoclassical technique. It is constructed as one continuous piece that divides naturally into the four traditional movements of a Classical sonata: Allegro moderato, Largo, Allegretto, Allegro. The first Allegro section presents an abridged sonata form in which musical tension is generated, in the traditional manner of the Classical period, by the juxtaposition of two contrasting themes, the first dramatic and the second lyrical (see Examples 5:9 and 5:10).

¹¹⁶ For a partial catalogue of Arrieu's compositions see France-Yvonne Bril, *Claude Arrieu: Catalogue des œuvres* (Paris: Gérard Billaudot, 1997).

Example 5:9 – Claude Arrieu, *Sonatine pour deux violons* (1937), bars 1-7¹¹⁷

The musical score for Example 5:9 consists of two systems. The first system shows Violin I and Violin II staves. The second system shows Vln. I and Vln. II staves. The music is in common time (C) and features complex rhythmic patterns and dynamics, including a forte (f) marking.

Example 5:10 – Claude Arrieu, *Sonatine pour deux violons* (1937), bars 20-5¹¹⁸

The musical score for Example 5:10 consists of two systems. The first system shows Violin I and Violin II staves. The second system shows Vln. I and Vln. II staves. The music is in 3/4 time and features a cantabile section with a piano (p) marking.

Despite its reliance on Classical models, Arrieu's frequent changes of tempi and quirky harmony maintain the Neoclassical interest of the work. The Largo section (functioning as a slow movement) continues the influence of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century models by being cast in variation form, whilst the Allegretto is a Classically-influenced Trio, the delicate phrasing of which suggests a Schubertian model (see Example 5:11).

¹¹⁷ Claude Arrieu, *Sonatine pour deux violons* (Paris: Amphion, 1953), 2.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

Example 5:11 – Claude Arrieu, *Sonatine pour deux violons* (1937), bars 86-93¹¹⁹

The image shows a musical score for two violins, labeled Violin I and Violin II, and Vln. I and Vln. II. The score is in 3/8 time and begins with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first system (bars 86-89) features Violin I with a melodic line starting on a quarter rest, followed by eighth and sixteenth notes, and Violin II with a lower melodic line starting on a half note. The second system (bars 90-93) continues the melodic development, with Violin I playing a more active eighth-note pattern and Violin II providing a steady accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings like 'p' (piano).

The closing *Allegro* marks a departure from following strictly Neoclassical formal models as it is through-composed. A sense of cyclic unity is created within the *Sonatina*, however, by the return of the first subject of the opening *Allegro* within the coda.

Beyond the Paris Conservatoire: Claire Delbos-Messiaen and Marcelle de Manziarly

It was not only the Paris Conservatoire, which produced highly accomplished *compositrices* during the interwar years. The educational experiences of Claire Delbos-Messiaen (1906-1959), who studied at the Schola Cantorum, and Marcelle de Manziarly (1899-1989), who received private music tuition from Nadia Boulanger, prove that it was possible for women composers to acquire excellent musical educations elsewhere.

The violinist and composer Claire Delbos-Messiaen, like Armande de Polignac, chose to undertake her formal musical studies at the Schola Cantorum,

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

rather than the Paris Conservatoire. At the Schola Cantorum, Delbos-Messiaen's training was focused upon violin, chamber music, and composition; her teachers included Nestor Lejeune and Guy de Lioncourt. She married her fellow composer, and organist, Olivier Messiaen on 22 June 1932.¹²⁰ The affectionate marriage created a nurturing musical environment for the creative talents of both partners. She composed a number of organ works for Messiaen, including *Paraphase sur le jugement dernier* and *L'Offrande à Marie*.¹²¹ Delbos-Messiaen also composed three song-cycles for voice and piano, including the set based on poems by Cécile Sauvage (Messiaen's mother), *Primevère*.¹²² All of her songs were performed by the Société Nationale de Musique.¹²³ Delbos-Messiaen's musical career was untimely and tragically curtailed, however, by her mental illness and deterioration (she was hospitalised in December 1953 and eventually died in April 1959).

During the interwar years, as her reputation as a teacher blossomed, it increasingly became an honour to have studied with Nadia Boulanger. In 1911 Marcelle de Manziarly became one of her first composition students. She was also one of her most gifted, and Nadia Boulanger carefully nurtured and promoted her young protégée's gifts, helping to secure performances of her early works and introducing her to influential musicians and patrons. In 1921, the première of her *Sonate pour piano et violon* was given at a concert of the Société Nationale de Musique by Nadia Boulanger and Gaston Poulet. This was followed by a second

¹²⁰ Peter Hill and Nigel Simeone, *Messiaen* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 41. Delbos-Messiaen's maid of honour was Claude Arrieu, Messiaen's close friend and class-mate from the Paris Conservatoire.

¹²¹ Messiaen composed *Thème et variations* for violin and piano (1932) for her. In the first edition the work was musically dedicated to her by a 'Mi' (notated in French solfège as a semibreve E); 'Mi' was Messiaen's pet name for his first wife.

¹²² Nigel Simeone, 'Claire Delbos-Messiaen', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Second Edition, Volume 7 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 153-4.

¹²³ Messiaen was elected to the committee of the Société Nationale de Musique in late 1932.

Société Nationale de Musique première of her *Trio pour piano, violon et violoncelle* by Nadia Boulanger, Maurice Maréchal, and Louis Bellanger in 1922.¹²⁴

Similar to her beloved teacher Nadia Boulanger, who remained a close lifelong friend, de Manziarly was also attracted to conducting as well as composition and studied with Félix Weingartner in Basel from 1930 to 1931. She obtained wide success in 1933 when her *Concerto pour piano* was performed by Alfredo Casella and the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra at the Festival of Modern Music. Nadia Boulanger continued to advance de Manziarly's career throughout the 1930s, introducing her to the Princesse Édmond de Polignac with whom she became a great favourite. The Princesse commissioned a number of works, including *Trois duos* for soprano and piano which was given its première by Marie-Blanche de Polignac and Maria Modrakowska at a concert at the École normale de musique in June 1934 organised by Nadia Boulanger.¹²⁵ In the February of the same year Nadia Boulanger also included a work by de Manziarly, *Triptyque pour une madone de Lorenzo d'Alessandro*, on the programme of her Parisian public conducting début.¹²⁶

In common with many composers working in France at the time, de Manziarly was officially commissioned to write music for the 1937 *Exposition Universelle*; she composed incidental music for two of Henri Ghéon's plays produced at the Théâtre d'Essai, *La Parade du Port au Diable* and *Suzanne et les Vieillards*. Also in common with a large number of French musicians and other intellectuals, de Manziarly's career was interrupted by the arrival of World War Two which she, like her mentor Nadia Boulanger, spent in the US.

¹²⁴ See Michèle Friang, 'Marcelle de Manziarly', in *Compositrices au XXème Siècle*, 163-9.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 165-6.

¹²⁶ Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1982), 249.

Conclusion

Although no longer well-known names, a significant number of women were active as professional composers in interwar France. These *compositrices* worked alongside their male peers and an understanding of their contributions to, and place within, the contemporary musical milieu provides a more balanced picture of French musical life during these years than hitherto possible. *Compositrices* wrote within many musical genres, ranging from the small scale (such as piano miniatures, songs, and chamber music) to the large, including orchestral works, concerti, ballets, and opera. The public presence of *compositrices* in interwar France suggests that they were accepted by concert organisers, performers, critics, and audiences. General acceptance of women composers in the interwar period is further affirmed by the fact that four Premier Grand Prix de Rome were awarded to *compositrices* during these years.

Part Three

Careers and Reception of *Musiciennes*

Interactions: Performers, Teachers, and Critics

The development of feminism, predicted by sociologists as an economic necessity, continues with logic and method [...] In a few years the face of the musical universe has been transformed. We see pretty attentive profiles leaning towards the music stands of our biggest orchestras, fine white hands tensing themselves on the fingerboards of violins and cellos [...] After having slid one by one into the music desks of the 'seconds' at the Orchestre Colonne, they will soon monopolise everything and take the place of the principal violinist. More hard-working, more relentless than men, they will conquer in the examinations and the competitions. The Conservatoire, where they already have the majority, will become their personal property and the classes that we shall call 'mixed' will be those where we tolerate the presence of two or three moustache-wearers [...] And in the director's office [...] Gabriel Fauré will have been chased from his armchair by Hélène Fleury or Nadia Boulanger ...¹ (Émile Vuillermoz)

In a humorous 1912 article for *Musica*, mischievously entitled 'The Pink Peril', Émile Vuillermoz warned the public, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, against the dangers posed to the musical profession by ambitious and determined young women. He pointed to the triumphs which they had already scored by infiltrating the Orchestre Colonne and through their high success rates in the annual competitions of the Paris Conservatoire.² Vuillermoz roguishly predicted that the Conservatoire would soon become a female-dominated institution headed by Hélène Fleury or Nadia Boulanger.³

¹ « Le développement du féminisme, prédit par les sociologues comme une nécessité d'ordre économique, se poursuit avec une logique et une méthode [...] En quelques années la face de l'univers musical se transforma. On vit se pencher sur les pupitres de nos grands orchestres de jolis profils attentifs ; de fines mains blanches se crispèrent sur la touche des violons et des violoncelles [...] Après s'être glissées une à une aux pupitres des « seconds » à l'orchestre Colonne, elles arriveront bientôt à les accaparer tous et à prendre la place du violon solo. Plus travailleuses, plus acharnées que les hommes, elles les vaincront dans les examens et les concours. Le Conservatoire, où elles ont déjà la majorité, finira par rester leur propriété personnelle et les classes que l'on appellera « classes-mixtes » seront celles où l'on tolérera la présence de deux ou trois porteurs de moustache [...] Et dans le bureau dictatorial [...] Gabriel Fauré aura été chassé de son fauteuil par Hélène Fleury ou Nadia Boulanger ... » Émile Vuillermoz, 'Le Péril Rose', *Musica*, 11 (1912), 45.

² During the early twentieth century, the Orchestre Lamoureux, the Orchestre Colonne, the Orchestre Padeloup and the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire represented the most prestigious Parisian orchestras. Thus, the acceptance of female string players into the Orchestre Colonne (at a time when women were rarely permitted to join professional orchestras with major reputations) constituted a significant achievement for female instrumentalists.

³ In this prediction, Vuillermoz made direct reference to the fact that both women had recently won a Deuxième Second Grand Prix de Rome: Hélène Fleury (1904) and Nadia Boulanger (1908).

Whilst neither H el ene Fleury nor Nadia Boulanger ever did succeed Gabriel Faur e as Director of the Paris Conservatoire (this institution being yet to see a female Director) women did continue to permeate the French musical profession during the interwar period. Following on from the discussion of women conductors and composers offered in Part Two, this chapter aims to consider other diverse ways in which women contributed to the rich musical life which flourished in France during the period between the two world wars. True to Vuillermoz’s predictions, the Paris Conservatoire continued to attract high numbers of distinguished female students throughout the interwar period, including the composers Elsa Barraine, Yvonne Desportes, Rolande Falcinelli, Henriette Puig-Roget, and Claude Arrieu and the performers Ginette Neveu, Genevi eve Joy-Dutilleux, and Marie-Claire Alain. Interwar Parisian concert life was graced by several virtuosa concert artists who became internationally recognised as being amongst the most highly esteemed in their fields, these including the harpist Lily Laskine, the pianist Marguerite Long, and the violinist H el ene Jourdan-Morhange. Women performers, moreover, played an important r ole in the interwar early music movement, particularly through the harpsichord revival which was at least partially driven by Wanda Landowska and through the early music repertoire presented by Jane Evrard’s Orchestre f eminin de Paris as well as by Nadia Boulanger’s vocal ensemble.

Further to this, several of the most eminent *musiciennes* of the interwar years enjoyed multifaceted careers. Their primary musical occupations as performers, conductors, or composers were often supported by their pedagogical activities and a number of the most famous music teachers working in France during the interwar period were women, including Wanda Landowska, Nadia Boulanger, and Marguerite Long. This chapter will examine several ways in which female musicians made a

significant contribution to interwar French musical life; specifically, through concert life, by their involvement with the early music revival, and through pedagogy. Further to this, the responses of the music critics to these *musiciennes* shall be examined in order to assess the typical reception of women musicians and to gauge the extent of the impact of their activities on contemporary musical life.

Women and Interwar Parisian Concert Life

Musiciennes were a regular feature of interwar Parisian concert life, both on the programmes as composers and on the concert platform as performers.⁴ Concert activity provided women with professional opportunities and also increased their visibility; thereby, giving them the opportunity to gain acceptance and respect as professionals from the public, the critics, and their colleagues. Furthermore, a significant number of the most highly-ranked and accomplished performers of the interwar years were women, including H  l  ne Jourdan-Morhange, Wanda Landowska, Lilly Laskine, Yvonne Lef  bure, Marguerite Long, Marcelle Meyer, and Ginette Neveu.

Throughout the interwar period the piano retained its status as the instrument most closely associated with feminine musical activity. The piano had always been considered a socially acceptable instrument for women to play, both as a drawing-room accomplishment and professionally. High numbers of female pianists had worked alongside their male colleagues throughout the nineteenth century, including the celebrated Clara Wieck-Schumann and Louise Farrenc, and this trend persisted into the interwar years and throughout the entirety of the twentieth century. Interwar Parisian concert life became the home territory of a number of renowned French

⁴ See Chapter 4 'L'Une des Six: The Case of Germaine Tailleferre and Chapter 5 'Compositrices in Interwar France and Women and the Prix de Rome' for a discussion of the activities of women composers during this period.

female pianists, including Annette Haas-Hamburger, Monique Haas, Yvonne Lefébure, Marguerite Long, Marcelle Meyer, and Jacqueline Robin-Bonneau. A complete consideration of the interwar careers of each pianist, although an interesting field of further study, would be lengthy and unmanageable within the context of the present thesis (each woman meriting individual study). Marguerite Long and Yvonne Lefébure are chosen here for representative consideration of a mature and a younger female concert pianist (respectively) working in interwar France.

Long had already established her performance career before the First World War, when she had been one of the most prominent pianists in *fin-de-siècle* Paris and especially well-known as a leading interpreter of Fauré's piano music. During the interwar years she retained her eminent status when she was recognised as a mature concert artist who was particularly renowned as a champion of contemporary French music. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Long regularly appeared at the contemporary music concerts of the Société Nationale and the Société Musicale Indépendante. As a performer, she was most associated with Fauré and Debussy and the extensive work and collaborations with both of these composers which she had undertaken before World War One helped to authenticate her interpretations. Long was particularly dedicated to promoting the music of Fauré, and always endeavoured to play as much of his music as possible, often presenting all-Fauré programmes.⁵

Long extended her associations with contemporary composers after World War One through her friendship with Ravel. On 11 April 1919, she gave the première of his *Le Tombeau de Couperin* at a concert of the Société Musicale Indépendante. Following the success of this performance, Long incorporated the work into her repertoire and often performed it whilst on tour. Her connection with Ravel was

⁵ For a detailed account of the career of Marguerite Long see Cecilia Dunoyer, *Marguerite Long: A Life in French Music* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993).

strengthened in 1932, when he entrusted the première of his G Major Piano Concerto (which took place at the Salle Pleyel with the Orchestre Lamoureux on 14 January) to her. The première of the Concerto was a critical triumph, Long and Ravel subsequently taking the work on a European concert tour (through Belgium, Holland, Austria, Germany, Romania, Hungary, and Poland), with Ravel himself conducting.⁶ In 1934, Long had the opportunity of giving the world première of another contemporary French work when she gave the first performance of Milhaud's First Piano Concerto (of which work she was also the dedicatee) with the Orchestre Pasdeloup under Albert Wolff.⁷

During the interwar period, Long made regular orchestral appearances as a soloist with all of the major Parisian orchestras, revealing her extremely high profile as a concert artist. She worked frequently with the Orchestre Lamoureux under Chevillard, the Orchestre Colonne under Pierné, and the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire under Gaubert. Her central repertoire included Beethoven's C Minor and 'Emperor' Concerti, Schumann's A Minor Concerto, Chopin's F Minor Concerto, Fauré's Ballade for piano and orchestra, and Debussy's *Fantaisie*.⁸ In 1929, Long made her first commercial recording when she recorded Chopin's F Minor Concerto (in André Messager's orchestration) with the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire under Gaubert.⁹ Other recordings followed, the most renowned of which including Beethoven's C Minor and 'Emperor' Piano Concerti, Fauré's Ballade for piano and orchestra, d'Indy's *Symphonie sur un*

⁶ Ibid., 93-5.

⁷ Ibid., 101. (Milhaud's wife, Madeleine Milhaud had been a private piano student of Long's as a child.)

⁸ Ibid., 86.

⁹ A peculiarity of Long's interpretation of the Chopin F Minor Piano Concerto was that she always played a version which Messager had re-orchestrated for her. He conducted the first performance of this edition in 1925.

chant montagnard français, Ravel's G Major Piano Concerto, and Milhaud's First Piano Concerto.¹⁰

At the 1937 *Exposition Universelle*, Long was honoured by her musical colleagues when seventeen composers contributed to two collections of piano pieces intended to be performed by her pupils. A group of French composers (Georges Auric, Marcel Delannoy, Jacques Ibert, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, Henri Sauguet, Florent Schmitt, and Germaine Tailleferre) collaborated over *À l'Exposition*.¹¹ This album, intended for children, was premiered by two of her younger pupils at the inauguration of the Pavillon de la femme et de l'enfant. A second collection of piano works, *Parc d'Attraction*, was amassed through the efforts of a group of nine foreign composers (Ernesto Halffter, Bohuslav Martinů, Vittorio Rieti, Tibor Harsanyi, Arthur Honegger, Federico Mompou, Alexandre Tansman, Alexander Tcherepnin, and Marcel Mihalovici). These pieces called for an accomplished pianist and the première, therefore, was given by Nicole Henriot, a student from Long's advanced Conservatoire class.¹² These two collections of piano pieces intended to honour Long reveal the high regard which she was held in as a musician by her colleagues, both national and international.

Long's career of the interwar years represents that of a mature and established piano virtuosa; she was joined on the Parisian concert stage during this period by her former student, Yvonne Lefébure. The younger pianist had been a child prodigy before World War One, when she had won her Premier Prix in piano at the Paris Conservatoire, in the advanced class of Alfred Cortot, at the exceptionally young age

¹⁰ See Cecilia Dunoyer, *Marguerite Long: A Life in French Music*, 90-1.

¹¹ See Chapter 4 'L'Une des Six: The Case of Germaine Tailleferre' for a discussion of Tailleferre's contribution to *À l'Exposition*, 'Au Pavillon d'Alsace'.

¹² Cecilia Dunoyer, *Marguerite Long: A Life in French Music*, 103-4.

of thirteen.¹³ She made her début as a concert pianist with the Orchestre Lamoureux at the age of fourteen and maintained a brilliant concert career throughout her long life. As a pianist, Lefébure was especially renowned for her interpretations of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, and Chopin. Similarly to Long, Lefébure was also celebrated for her performances of contemporary French composers, especially Fauré, Debussy, Ravel, and Dukas.¹⁴

The piano, however, was not the only instrument at which female performers excelled. Claire Delbos-Messiaen, Jane Evrard, Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, and Ginette Neveu were all prominent violinists, whilst Lily Laskine and Henriette Renié excelled at the harp and the singers Jane Bathori, Marcelle Gérard, Régine de Lormoy, Suzanne Peignot, and Gabrielle Ritter-Ciampi were famous for their vocal abilities.¹⁵ One of the most interesting and innovative instruments embraced by female performers after the First World War, moreover, was the Ondes Martenot.¹⁶ Ginette Martenot, younger sister of the instrument's inventor, became a leading exponent of the Ondes Martenot during the 1930s.¹⁷ In 1937, she directed a sextet of women ondistes performing Messiaen's *Fête des belles eaux* (his contribution to the Fêtes de la lumière scored for six Ondes Martenot) at the *Exposition Universelle*.¹⁸ Each of the

¹³ Lefébure had initially studied in the preparatory piano class of Marguerite Long. She also received the Conservatoire's Premier Prix in accompaniment, harmony, counterpoint, fugue, and composition.

¹⁴ See Yvette Carbou, *La leçon de musique d'Yvonne Lefébure* (Paris: Van de Velde, 1995) and Charles Timbrell, 'Yvonne Lefébure', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Second Edition, Volume 14 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 472.

¹⁵ As in the case of the pianists, each of these performers merits a more complete and further study than offered in the present thesis.

¹⁶ The Ondes Martenot was invented by Maurice Martenot, who first presented it, as soloist, on 20 April 1928 in Levidis's *Poème symphonique*. The Ondes Martenot is a monophonic electronic instrument in which the pitch is controlled by the right-hand manipulating a ribbon (attached to the hand by a ring) and a keyboard whilst the left hand operates a series of controls, contained in a pull-out drawer, which govern articulation, dynamics, envelope, and timbre. See Richard Orton and Hugh Davies, 'Ondes Martenot', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Second Edition, Volume 18 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 408-9.

¹⁷ Following World War Two, Ginette Martenot was succeeded as a virtuosa ondiste by Jeanne Loriod (sister of Messiaen's second wife, Yvonne Loriod-Messiaen).

¹⁸ See Nigel Simeone, 'Music at the 1937 Paris Exposition: The Science of Enchantment', *The Musical Times* (Spring 2002), 13-16.

women received the Grand Prix for their interpretation, strongly indicating that their performance was held in high regard. Further to the activities of these French women, the Polish harpsichordist Wanda Landowska also managed a career as one of the most successful solo performers of the interwar period. Her concertising, as a harpsichordist, may be seen as fitting within the early music revival of these years.¹⁹

***Musiciennes* and the Early Music Revival**

The early music revival in France was well established by the interwar period, and the performance of early music was an accepted part of Parisian concert life during these years.²⁰ After the First World War, a significant number of *musiciennes* contributed to the continuing early music revival, including Wanda Landowska, Marguerite Roesgen-Champion, Nadia Boulanger, Jane Evrard, and Germaine Tailleferre. The harpsichord revival formed an important constituent of the early music movement in early twentieth-century France. This trend continued throughout the interwar period when the sound of the harpsichord seemed to form a sonic link to the music of the past. It would be scarcely an exaggeration to state that the twentieth-century harpsichord revival was, to a significant extent, propelled by the efforts of Wanda Landowska. She had scored her first successes as a virtuosa harpsichord performer in Paris during the *fin-de-siècle* period.²¹ Despite passing the duration of

¹⁹ Although Polish by nationality, Landowska is considered within the context of this study as she lived and concertised in Paris during the interwar period, was received and accepted as a great virtuosa in France and had a significant impact on French musical life during this period.

²⁰ For a comprehensive consideration of the early music revival in nineteenth-century France see Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). See also Chapter 3 'On the Conductor's Podium: Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris'.

²¹ For a detailed discussion of Landowska's early career in *fin-de-siècle* Paris see Annegret Fauser, 'Creating Madame Landowska', *Women & Music* 10 (2006), 1-23.

World War One in Berlin, Landowska returned to Paris after the war and resumed her brilliant career as concert harpsichordist in that city.²²

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Landowska concertised extensively in both France and abroad.²³ From 1927 onwards, she also organised her own concert series, dedicated to the presentation of early repertoire. These concerts took place on Sunday afternoons in the concert hall which Landowska had specially built in the grounds of her villa in Saint-Leu-la Forêt (a village just north of Paris).²⁴ Landowska's effort to revive the harpsichord were not restricted to early music, she also inspired contemporary composers to write works for the instrument, notably Manuel de Falla's Concerto for Harpsichord, Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Violin and Cello (1926) and Francis Poulenc's *Concert champêtre* (1929). These Neoclassical harpsichord concertos, written for Landowska, are amongst the first twentieth-century contributions to the instrument's repertoire.²⁵

Landowska's recordings reflect the foundation of her concert repertoire: *The Goldberg Variations* (which she recoded twice, 1934 and 1945), *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, *Italian Concerto* and *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* by J. S. Bach, Handel's Suites, Scarlatti Sonatas, and Couperin's *Ordres*.²⁶ Landowska was one the most important figures in the twentieth-century harpsichord revival; she was not, however, the only female harpsichordist in interwar Paris. The Swiss composer Marguerite Roesgen-Champion was also active as a concert harpsichordist in the French capital

²² In 1913 Landowska had been invited to Germany by Hermann Kretzschmar to take up the post of Professor of Harpsichord at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik. During World War One, Landowska was placed on parole as a civil prisoner, as her Polish nationality made her a nominal citizen of the Tsar.

²³ In 1923, she undertook her first of several highly successful (and financially remunerative) tours to the US, accompanied by four harpsichords.

²⁴ Howard Schott, 'Wanda Landowska: A centenary appraisal', *Early Music*, 7 (1979), 469.

²⁵ This trend to write for the harpsichord (initiated by Landowska and established by de Falla and Poulenc in the late 1920s) continued throughout the twentieth century. Prominent examples include György Ligeti, *Continuum* (1968), Tōru Takemitsu, *Rain Dreaming* (1986), and Michael Nyman, *The Convertibility of Lute Strings* (1992). A complete consideration of the twentieth-century harpsichord revival, however, lies beyond the scope of the present thesis.

²⁶ See Timothy Bainbridge, 'Wanda Landowska and her repertoire', *Early Music*, 3 (1975), 39-41.

during this period and additionally often appeared with the Orchestre féminin de Paris (with whom she was already associated as a composer) as both a soloist and a continuo player.²⁷

Landowska's style of performance also reveals one of the limitations of the early music revival of interwar France: a lack of concern for authentic performance. All of Landowska's post-World-War-One concertising, teaching and recordings were done on the harpsichord which Pleyel developed in collaboration with her for the 1912 Bach Festival in Breslau. This instrument was not intended to be a Baroque reproduction but an improved twentieth-century version, and incorporated an iron frame which held thick strings at high tension and an extremely complicated mechanical system, including an extra set of overhead dampers for the lowest pitched set of strings and a sophisticated fine-tuning system. The registers of the 1912 Pleyel/Landowska harpsichord were controlled by seven pedals which operated sixteen-foot, eight-foot, and four-foot stops on the lower manual, a coupler and the normal eight-foot stop, a lute stop, and a buff stop on the upper.²⁸

The design of this twentieth-century harpsichord (the touch depth and keyboard dimensions of which closely resemble a modern piano) allowed Landowska to utilise technological developments in a way which she felt allowed her to make the most out of the early repertoire which she preferred to interpret. It also clearly indicates that Landowska was not interested in attempting to recapture an authentic early sound by using a period instrument, or a reproduction closely modelled on Baroque specifications. That authentic performance practice was not a major concern for Landowska is further borne out by the criticisms which her playing received, even in the 1930s, for a perceived excess of *rubato* in slow movements, overuse of the

²⁷ See Chapter 3 'On the Conductor's Podium: Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris'.

²⁸ See Howard Schott, 'The Harpsichord Revival', *Early Music*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1979), 91.

sixteen-foot stop, and rearrangement of the movements contained within Baroque suites in order to achieve greater contrast.²⁹ Moreover, Landowska's annotated scores demonstrate that early methods of fingering played no part in her performances.³⁰

It would be easy to find Landowska's harpsichord style bizarre when compared to later-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century conventions and fashions in early music studies, when the desire to replicate a (perhaps false) sense of authentic early music performance has led to the popularity of period and reproduction instruments, and many practitioners seeking to eradicate anachronistic conventions of interpretation, such as *rubato*, from their playing. It is important to remember that, despite some contemporary criticisms of Landowska's liberal use of *rubato* and the registral resources of her 1912 harpsichord, musicians of the interwar years were generally neither as concerned with, nor as aware of, issues of authenticity in early music as performers of today are. Flagrant disregard of concerns over authenticity is also present in Nadia Boulanger's historic 1937 recording of Monteverdi madrigals.

Nadia Boulanger formed a vocal ensemble, under her own direction, in 1936 and this group, like Evrard's Orchestre féminin de Paris, presented an eclectic repertoire which ranged from sixteenth-century French *chansons* to works by contemporary composers.³¹ In 1937 Nadia Boulanger's ensemble recorded a set of madrigals by Monteverdi which, at the time, represented the most comprehensive survey of his music then available.³² This recording features Nadia Boulanger accompanying her ensemble at the piano, not the harpsichord; thereby further

²⁹ Timothy Bainbridge, 'Wanda Landowska and her repertoire', 41.

³⁰ Ruth Dyson, 'Bend the Finger at all Three Joints', *Early Music*, 3 (1975), 241.

³¹ For a discussion of Jane Evrard and the Orchestre Féminin de Paris's contribution to the interwar early music revival see chapter 3: 'On the Conductor's Podium: Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris'.

³² Nadia Boulanger's vocal ensemble had already presented a lot of Monteverdi at Parisian concerts, particularly at the Cercle de l'union interalliée; see Alan Kendall, *The Tender Tyrant Nadia Boulanger A Life Devoted to Music* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1976), 41-2.

indicating that the *musiciennes* of the interwar period were not overly troubled by issues of authentic performance practice. Arguably one of the greatest achievements of the interwar early music specialists, such as Landowska, Evrard, and Nadia Boulanger, was, not the degree of historically-informed authenticity which they brought to their interpretations, but that they made a greater amount of early music known to a larger public than hitherto.

Women musicians' contributions to the early music revival, moreover, were not limited to performance. Germaine Tailleferre's engagement with early music provides a constructive example of how women composers were also involved with this interwar musical movement. Tailleferre used her admiration of Baroque music as a source of inspiration within her own compositions, significant examples of which include her piano suite for children *Fleurs de France* (1930) and Concerto pour deux pianos, voix et orchestre (1933-4).³³ In so doing, Tailleferre was fitting within a wider trend of twentieth-century French composers using the works of their Baroque compatriots as compositional models, significant examples of which include *Pour le piano* (1896-1901) by Debussy, *Le Tombeau de Couperin* (1919) by Ravel, and *Concert champêtre* (1929) by Poulenc. Tailleferre also used her expertise in early music to edit a series of modern editions of early songs (for the publisher Heugel) during the 1920s (see Table 6:2).

³³ See Chapter 4: 'L'Une des Six : The Case of Germaine Tailleferre' for a discussion of the Baroque influence on *Fleurs de France*.

Table 6:2 – Modern Editions of Early Songs by Germaine Tailleferre (Published by Heugel)

Date	Title	Composers Respresented
1924	<i>Les Maîtres du chant : airs de Lully</i>	Lully
1925	<i>Les Maîtres du chant : airs italiens, VI</i>	Scarlatti, Mancini, d.Astora, Vivaldi, Pergolesi, Leo, Latilla, Hasse
1925	<i>Les Maîtres du chant : airs français, VI</i>	Guedron, Boesset, Moulinie, Mace, Michel, Mollier, Chancy, Lambert, Anonymes, Dumont, de Cambefort, Charpentier
1925	<i>Les Maîtres du chant : airs italiens, VII</i>	Monteverdi, Caccini, Brunetti, d'India, de Negri, Kapsperger, Mazocchi, Angelo Rossi, Luigi Rossi
1927	<i>Les Maîtres du chant : airs français du XVIIIe siècle, VII</i>	Campra, Destouches, Clerambault, Monteclair, Mouret, Matho, Mondonville, Philidor
1927	<i>Les Maîtres du chant : airs italiens, VIII</i>	Carissimi, L. Rossi, Cesti, Bononcini, Bassani, Ballarini, A. Scarlatti, Lanciani

For these modern editions, Tailleferre transcribed the extant song manuscripts for modern clefs and realised the prescribed figured bass notations, in order to provide piano accompaniments.³⁴ Example 6:1 reproduces the opening bars of one of the works which Tailleferre edited for *Les Maîtres du chant: airs italiens, VI* (1925), *In Questo Core* by Emanuel d' Astorga (1681-1736). This aria originates from d' Astorga's Cantata *In Questo Core*; Tailleferre's transcription faithfully reproduces the early eighteenth-century Italian vocal style.

³⁴ Tailleferre's modern editions of early songs involved a similar process of transcription and realisation of figured bass as employed by Arthur Hoérée who transcribed and arranged early works for the Orchestre féminin de Paris (see Chapter 3 'On the Conductor's Podium: Jane Evrard and the Orchestre féminin de Paris'.)

Example 6:1 – Emanuel d’Astorga, *In Questo Core*, edited by Germaine

Tailleferre (bars 1-12)³⁵

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the voice line starting on a whole rest and the piano accompaniment beginning with a mezzo-forte (mf) dynamic. The second system starts at bar 7, where the voice line begins with the lyrics "In Questo - to co - re piu va cre - scen - do". The piano accompaniment continues with a steady rhythmic pattern.

Moreover, Heugel’s publication of these modern editions of early songs (suitable for use by amateurs or professionals) during the 1920s reveals how popular and widespread interest in early repertoire was at this time.

Furthermore, Tailleferre also used Baroque techniques of composition as a direct model for her own work when she produced a pastiche of seventeenth-century music as incidental music for Jean Sarment’s play *Madame Quinze* in 1935, which was produced by the Comédie-Française. Sarment’s play, modelled on a Classical French drama of the seventeenth century, was written in three acts and ten tableaux. For her incidental music, Tailleferre responded to Sarment’s seventeenth-century modelling by composing a Baroque pastiche for chamber orchestra and harpsichord. Reviewing the play in *Le Ménestrel*, Jane Catulle-Mendès wrote that ‘Mlle Tailleferre

³⁵ Reproduced from Germaine Tailleferre, *Les Maîtres du chant* (Paris: Heugel, 1925), 15.

has reconstructed, with as much science as taste, a brilliant pastiche'.³⁶ Moreover, her choice to include the harpsichord within her score represents her contribution to the early instrument revival. Tailleferre's engagement with early music (through both arrangement and composition) situates her within a wider interwar trend to use early music as a model and an inspiration for contemporary composition and to revive the actual instruments of the past.

Female Musical Pedagogy

Music teaching has been a respectable and socially-acceptable profession for women in France since at least the seventeenth century.³⁷ The music Conservatoires established all over Western Europe throughout the nineteenth century specifically catered to the needs of young, middle-class women desirous of receiving a training which would enable them to support themselves in later life as music teachers.³⁸ This tradition of women earning their livings through music tuition continued throughout the interwar period. Even eminent female musicians, such as Jane Evrard and Germaine Tailleferre, occasionally relied upon teaching as a fixed source of steady income, whilst some of the most prestigious female pedagogues, notably Nadia Boulanger and Marguerite Long, first turned to teaching through economic necessity. In addition to the high numbers of professional female music teachers, who worked mainly with children or amateurs and (usually) with people who did not intend to

³⁶ « Mlle Tailleferre a reconstitué, avec autant science que de goût, une brillante musique d'époque. » Jane Catulle-Mendès, 'Madame Quinze', *Le Ménestrel* (1 March 1935). Following the success of the play, Tailleferre composed a *Divertissement dans le style Louis XV* (based upon her incidental music).

³⁷ For a discussion of female pedagogy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France see Julie Anne Sadie, 'Musiciennes of the Ancien Régime', in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, eds. Judith Bowers and Jane Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 191-223.

³⁸ For a discussion of the development of women's access to conservatoire education throughout the nineteenth century see Nancy B. Reich, 'European Composers and Musicians, CA. 1800-1890', in *Women & Music: A History*, Second Edition, ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 147-74.

make music their profession, interwar France was also marked by a number of high-profile female instrumental teachers, such as Yvonne Lefébure and Wanda Landowska, who worked mainly with highly talented, aspiring professionals.

High-profile composers and performers have traditionally taught gifted students, both as a means of guaranteeing financial sustenance and to pass on their unique skills to individuals deemed worthy enough of studying with them. Furthermore, it has been considered acceptable for male students to study with exceptionally gifted women musicians since at least the nineteenth century, as is illustrated by the high number of male students instructed by Clara Wieck-Schumann. Aspiring young concert pianists of both sexes flocked to study with her wherever she was based in Germany, including Leipzig, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Berlin, Frankfurt, Baden-Baden, and even on summer vacations in Austria and Switzerland.³⁹ The tradition of famous female pianists simultaneously working as piano teachers to exceptionally talented students whilst they also maintained international concert careers was very much in evidence in interwar France, especially through the teaching activities of Marguerite Long and Yvonne Lefébure.

Long commenced her pedagogical career for pecuniary reasons at the age of fifteen, after she had left the Conservatoire and was forced to give piano lessons in order to support herself. Her talent and vocation for teaching first became apparent, however, when she took advanced tuition with Antonin Marmontel and he instructed her to teach his less developed students. Under his guidance and supervision her own aptitude, ability, and confidence in teaching developed rapidly. Long's teaching skills were officially recognised in 1906 when she was appointed to the staff of the Paris Conservatoire as the teacher of a preparatory piano class. That same year she

³⁹ See Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, Revised Edition (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001); especially Chapter 13 'Clara Schumann as Student and Teacher', 279-288.

established her own piano school, the *École Marguerite Long*, which was to become one of the largest private musical concerns in interwar Paris.

The *École Marguerite Long* was situated at 18 rue Fourcroy, in the seventeenth arrondissement. In the school's infancy Long gave lessons in her own apartment on the third floor; however, she quickly acquired an extensive space on the first floor, where she had room for a large classroom with two grand pianos and a practice room. Long attracted such high numbers of students that it was impossible for her personally to teach all of them, and she delegated much of the teaching to her assistants (*répétrices*). In general, lessons were given by the *répétrices* to groups of three or four students, and supervised by Long once a month. The school catered for all levels, from the youngest beginners to those preparing for the Conservatoire's competitive entrance auditions⁴⁰. In effect, the *École Marguerite Long* may be considered as having been an important training institution for children hoping to study later at the Paris Conservatoire. For those who were ultimately unsuccessful at the Conservatoire, Long's school provided a commendable teaching diploma.

In 1920, Long received a prestigious promotion at the Paris Conservatoire when she was appointed to direct one of the advanced piano classes. Thus, she became the first woman to teach an advanced performance class at the Paris Conservatoire, and the first to accept male students onto her course, as all Conservatoire classes remained co-educational after the war.⁴¹ This appointment reflects the high regard in which Long was held by her musical contemporaries, as it

⁴⁰ See Cecilia Dunoyer, *Marguerite Long: A Life in French Music*, 108-9.

⁴¹ Louise Farrenc had been the first woman to teach piano at the Conservatoire during the nineteenth century; however, during her years there the distinction of 'preparatory' and 'advanced' class had not existed and her teaching duties had been confined to female students. For information on Louise Farrenc see Bea Friedland, 'Louise Farrenc (1804-1875): Composer, Performer, Scholar', *The Music Quarterly*, IX (1974), 2570274.

is an acknowledged truth that only the most eminent of musicians teach the advanced performance classes at the Paris Conservatoire.

Throughout the interwar years, Long supplemented her official pedagogical duties at the Paris Conservatoire and her own school by organising regular student recitals, public master classes, and lectures at the Salle Gaveau and Salle Erard. Through organising these Long was addressing a real deficiency in the Conservatoire's curriculum by providing additional performance opportunities. At the Conservatoire, students only attended classes and competed for the annual, end-of-year competitions. Long's student recitals were open to pupils from both her advanced Conservatoire class and the *École Marguerite Long*, and were designed to enable her students to increase both their performance experience and their confidence at playing in public. From 1926 onwards, Long additionally organised a series of public master classes each year in February and March, devoting each class to a different composer and preceding the class by a lecture.⁴²

Long must be ranked as one of the most sought-after and influential piano teachers of the twentieth-century, her distinguished students included Jacques Février, Gaby Casadesus, Samson François, and Thérèse Dussaut. In her teaching, Long always placed an important emphasis on clarity in playing and instructed her students to pay great attention to scales, arpeggios, and technical studies (frequently assigning Clementi, Czerny, Hanon, Stamaty, Pischna, and Philipp).⁴³ Long had a formidable, even severe, reputation; for example, the pianist and former student of Long, Philippe Entremont, recalled that:

Madame Long was a very impressive figure [...] she was a very strict, very didactic teacher – it had to be her way and nobody else's. This kind of teaching was partly a reflection of the times [...] it could be a humbling experience to work with some monsters of that old school!

⁴² See Cecilia Dunoyer, *Marguerite Long: A Life in French Music*, 112-3.

⁴³ Long later formulised her ideas about piano pedagogy when she wrote her *La petite méthode de piano* (Paris: Salabert, 1963).

You arrived for a lesson and were made to wait awhile; then you started to sweat, your hands became cold, and finally sheer terror set in!⁴⁴

Long's occasionally fearful reputation as a teacher was also apparent in her mistreatment of the women whom she chose as her *répétrices*, which reveals a less pleasant side of her personality.⁴⁵ Long delegated a large amount of her teaching responsibilities to her *répétrices*, from whom she commanded an unlimited time commitment; when a student performed before Long, the assigned *répétrice* was expected to be present. When students prepared contemporary pieces, the *répétrices* had to accompany them to the composers' homes for coaching. The *répétrices*, however, were forbidden from becoming close to the students under their supervision, on pain of dismissal. When Long's students were invited to perform at the *salons* of her upper-class friends, the *répétrices* were never allowed to accompany them there.⁴⁶ Long was also, however, an extraordinarily generous teacher; often teaching poor, but highly-gifted, students for very little or for nothing at all. She took great lengths, moreover, to support and further the careers of her students and to ensure that they had adequate exposure within the contemporary musical milieu. This she achieved through her critically-acclaimed student recitals and by inviting her advanced students to play at her public lectures on specific composers, in order to illustrate the various musical points which she wished to make.

Just as Long was joined by Yvonne Lefébure on the Parisian concert stage during the interwar period; Lefébure, like the older woman, also became well-known, and much sought after, as a piano teacher during these years. In 1924, Alfred Cortot,

⁴⁴ Cited from Charles Timbrell, *French Pianism: A Historical Perspective*, Second Edition (London: Kahn & Averill, 1999), 96.

⁴⁵ The women who Long engaged as her *répétrices* were often former students of her advanced class at the Conservatoire who had won the Premier Prix. Several of the most famous of her *répétrices* include Lucie Léon, Rose Aye Lejour, Hélène François, and Lucette Descaves. Jacques Février also taught large numbers of Long's students; however, being male, he cannot strictly be considered as one her *répétrices*.

⁴⁶ See Cecilia Dunoyer, *Marguerite Long: A Life in French Music*, 110.

Lefébure's former teacher and mentor, engaged her as a piano teacher at his École Normale de Musique, and she retained this post until 1939.⁴⁷ The French pianist

Evelyne Crochet has described Lefébure's main teaching interests thus:

Style and phrasing were among her great concerns, and the architectural aspects of a piece were always discussed [...] She talked about sound a lot, and also about very precise pedalling and the need to find the right finger for the right sound [...] And textures: how to play a chord and control each note of it, even if it has eight notes, to get a special quality. Absolutely nothing was haphazard with her. Everything was thought out and completely understood, with musicianship of the highest level.⁴⁸

Lefébure's prominent students include Catherine Collard, Imogen Cooper, Dinu Lipatti, and Françoise Thinat. In her maturity she wrote of her teaching ethos in a manner which reflects her pseudo-maternal concerns for her students. She described her belief that, whilst hard work, musical knowledge, and a thorough technique were essential, it was also important for musicians to cultivate well-rounded personalities:

As I do not have children, I have wanted to pass on what I had learned. It is a sort of inheritance which I hand down [...] In a class, I explain the meaning, the form, the construction, the rhythm, the melody, the technique of the music. We can talk of music on three levels: the instrumental level, the musical level (that is to say the scientific knowledge of the music) and finally the aesthetic level. This last is the most important to my eyes and also the most difficult to explain [...] My students have a great importance in my life [...] Work is essential, and I never intervene [...] except perhaps in order to moderate their enthusiasm, because some become real workaholics! It is not necessary to play to the point of stiffness and exhaustion [...] A musician must not only be riveted to his notes, he must read, reflect, interest himself in life. Technique without intelligence is nothing.⁴⁹

Long's position at the Conservatoire and Lefébure's post at the École Normale de Musique, did not represent the only prestigious teaching appointments women

⁴⁷ The École Normale de Musique was founded in 1919 by Alfred Cortot and Auguste Mangeot with the intention of providing a fuller musical education than was currently available at the Paris Conservatoire, whose training was largely of a vocational nature, mainly concentrated on the perfection of an instrument or composition.

⁴⁸ Charles Timbrell, *French Pianism: A Historical Perspective*, 142.

⁴⁹ « Comme je n'ai pas d'enfant, j'ai eu envie de transmettre ce que j'avais appris. C'est une sorte d'héritage que je lègue [...] Dans un cours, j'explique le sens, la forme, la construction, le rythme, la mélodie, la technique de la musique. On peut parler de la musique sur trois plans : le plan instrumental, le plan musical (c'est-à-dire la connaissance scientifique de la musique) et enfin le plan esthétique. Ce dernier est le plus important à mes yeux et aussi le plus difficile à expliquer [...] Mes élèves ont une grande importance dans ma vie [...] Le travail est essentiel, et je n'interviens jamais [...] sauf peut-être pour modérer leur ardeur, car certains deviennent de vrais bourreaux de travail ! Il ne faut pas jouer jusqu'à la raideur et l'épuisement [...] Un musicien ne doit pas seulement être rivé à ses notes, il doit lire, réfléchir, s'intéresser à la vie. La technique sans l'intelligence n'est rien. » Yvonne Lefébure cited from Yvette Carbou, *La leçon de musique d'Yvonne Lefébure*, 1; based on interviews with Lefébure on the subject of teaching by Bernard Dussol (July 1977) and Xavier Lacavalerie (December 1979). (Carbou based her book on Lefébure on an examination of documents relating to the composer held in the Fonds Yvonne Lefébure-Fred Goldbeck, MMM.)

obtained during the interwar period. From very early in her teaching career, Nadia Boulanger also actively sought work in prominent musical establishments. She had been forced to start teaching at a very young age in order to support herself, her mother, and her younger sister Lili Boulanger (whose poor health often necessitated expensive medical bills). Nadia Boulanger's first official pedagogical post came in 1907, when she was appointed as a teacher of piano and piano accompaniment at the Conservatoire Femina-Musica in Paris. This newly-established, private music institution (elegantly housed at 90, avenue des Champs-Élysées) mainly provided lessons for affluent young ladies, and derived its name from the periodicals *Femina* and *Musica* which both provided sponsorship. In 1909, she additionally secured the position of assistant to Henri Dallery's harmony class at the Paris Conservatoire.⁵⁰

During the interwar years, Nadia Boulanger joined her female colleague Lefébure on the staff of the École Normale de Music. Nadia Boulanger was appointed to the faculty at the new conservatory at the time of its inauguration in the autumn of 1919. Her initial appointment to teach harmony expanded, within a few years, to embrace counterpoint, music history, analysis, organ, and composition, reflecting her diverse musical talents.⁵¹ Cortot's decision to engage Nadia Boulanger as a composition tutor reflects the high esteem in which he must have held her as a musician as, with this position, she became the first woman ever to teach composition at a Parisian conservatory. In 1921, Nadia Boulanger became one of the founder members of the American Conservatoire at Fontainebleau; thus, her lifelong association with American musicians commenced.⁵² It is possible to assert that Nadia Boulanger's formidable reputation mainly rests on her teaching activities as she

⁵⁰ Léonie Rosentiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 64.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵² The American Conservatory at Fontainebleau was an annual summer school which allowed American musicians to receive a period of intense study with prominent French musicians.

became one of the most important composition teachers of the twentieth century, despite the fact that she ceased composing herself in the early 1920s.⁵³ In addition to her official posts at the École Normale de Musique and the American Conservatoire, Nadia Boulanger, similarly to Marguerite Long, also managed her own flourishing private musical practice from her apartment in the rue Ballu in the ninth arrondissement.

Nadia Boulanger is often remembered as a disciplinarian, who was both very strict and very demanding. Her teaching often took an analytical and historically chronological approach with students progressing through the study of set works by Palestrina, Monteverdi, Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms, Ravel, and Stravinsky (who was always at the heart of her teaching on modern music). Nadia Boulanger drew on an immense repertoire whilst teaching, which she routinely played on the piano from memory.⁵⁴ She always emphasised clarity of musical structure and spiritual depth, although she never attempted to impose a specific style on her composition students. This merit of her teaching is reflected by the wide range of composers who passed through her hands, including many of the most renowned musical names of the twentieth century, notably Lennox Berkeley, Leonard Bernstein, Elliot Carter, Aaron Copland, George Gershwin, Philip Glass, Thea Musgrave, Robert Sherlaw Johnson, and Virgil Thomson.⁵⁵

As Nadia Boulanger did not attempt to preach a specific style of composition, she never perfected her own unique and rigid personal teaching method either.

⁵³ Nadia Boulanger's output had been in decline since the death of Raoul Pugno, in 1914. She composed her final works (settings of texts by Camille Mauclair and François de Bourguignon) in 1922. See Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 25.

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Professor Anthony Powers of Cardiff University for sharing with me his recollections of his own studies with Nadia Boulanger in Paris in the late 1960s.

⁵⁵ Nadia Boulanger always attracted large numbers of Anglophone students (especially British and American) through her work at the American Conservatoire, impeccable English, willingness to accept foreign students, and the fact that she passed the duration of World War Two in the US. (In fact she trained many more British and American than French composers.)

Despite this, she always stressed certain elements as being essential to a thorough musical training, and of premier importance amongst these was the cultivation of a good musical ear. To this end, she often instructed her students to work through basic exercises in harmonic structure at the keyboard (building up chords and singing the various parts). Related to this training of the ear, French *solfège* remained fundamental to her teaching. Nadia Boulanger always encouraged her students to sing as much as possible, and involved them in ensemble singing. She held regular Wednesday afternoon analysis classes at her apartment which, after the study of modern scores, concluded with the singing of Renaissance madrigals. Her pedagogical activities, however, were not restricted to working with aspiring composers and singers, Nadia Boulanger also frequently coached instrumentalists, especially pianists.⁵⁶

Critics' Reactions to *Musiciennes*

Despite the gender-specific problems which female performers continued to experience into the interwar period (discussed in chapter 2), a number of the most influential French critics of the interwar period, notably Émile Vuillermoz and Paul Le Flem, were supportive of the activities of *musiciennes* and regularly praised their efforts through their reviews.⁵⁷ Vuillermoz signalled his bemused curiosity in the fortunes of women musicians as early as 1912, when he wrote his article 'The Pink Peril' for *Musica*. He followed this article with a second a year later, 'Fighting in

⁵⁶ For two engaging discussions of Nadia Boulanger's teaching methods see Alan Kendall, *The Tender Tyrant: Nadia Boulanger, A Life Dedicated to Music* (London: Macdonald & Jane, 1976), especially Chapter 4 'The Teacher', 46-64, and Chapter 7 'The Basis of Nadia Boulanger's Teaching', 92-108; and Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), especially Chapter 5 'Nadia Boulanger as Teacher', 127-47.

⁵⁷ For a discussion of the gendered language used in critics' reviews of female performers during the interwar period, see Chapter 2 'Women Musicians and Gender: Contexts and Limitation'.

Frills', which praised the ease with which Lili Boulanger had just won the 1913

Premier Grand Prix de Rome:

A few months ago, in this same journal, I warned musicians about the imminence of the 'pink peril'; events have not been slow to prove me right. A young suffragette, Mlle Lili Boulanger, has just triumphed, in the last Prix de Rome competition, over all her masculine competitors and has won, on her first attempt, the Premier Grand Prix, with an authority, a rapidity and an ease to seriously worry those candidates who, for long years, sweat blood and tears to laboriously approach that goal.⁵⁸

Vuillermoz continued his support of *musiciennes* in 1930 when he encouraged Jane Evrard to form the Orchestre féminin de Paris. In *L'Excelsior*, the 1 December 1930, Vuillermoz described the grace of Jane Evrard and the style of the Orchestre féminin de Paris thus: 'her ideal is a nobility which borders on severity. Her orchestra, so graciously composed, posses a style of irreproachable classicism'.⁵⁹

Moreover, Vuillermoz was not the only influential critic to commend the efforts of *musiciennes*; Paul Le Flem's reviews of them are also often marked by their warm praise. Throughout the interwar years, Paul Le Flem regularly contributed reviews to *Comœdia* and in his capacity as critic for this journal he reviewed most of Germaine Tailleferre's most important large-scale compositions during this period, including her Violin Sonata (1922), Piano Concerto No. 1 (1925), *Pavane*, *Nocturne*, *Finale* (1929), *Six chansons françaises* (orchestral version, 1930), Concerto pour deux pianos, voix et orchestre (1934), and Violin Concerto (1936).⁶⁰ All of Le Flem's

⁵⁸ « Il y a quelques mois, à cette même place, je dénonçais aux musiciens l'imminence du « péril rose » ; les événements n'ont pas tardé à me donner raison. Une jeune suffragette, Mlle Lili Boulanger, vient triompher, au dernier concours de Rome, de tous ses concurrents masculins et a enlevé, dès la première épreuve, le premier premier-grand-prix, avec une autorité, une rapidité et une aisance à inquiéter sérieusement les candidats qui, depuis de longues années, suent sang et eau pour se rapprocher laborieusement de ce but. » Émile Vuillermoz, 'La Guerre en dentelles', *Musica*, 12 (1913), 153. This article by Vuillermoz is the inspiration for Annegret Fauser's title "'Fighting in Frills" Women and the *Prix de Rome* in French Cultural Politics' in *Women's Voices across Musical Worlds*, ed. Jane A. Bernstein (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 60-86; I have retained Fauser's translation of Vuillermoz's title 'La Guerre en dentelles' as 'Fighting in Frills'.

⁵⁹ « Son idéal est d'une noblesse qui frise la sévérité. Son orchestre, si gracieusement composé, possède un style d'un classicisme inattaquable. » Émile Vuillermoz, *L'Excelsior*, 1^{er} Décembre 1930; press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁶⁰ The dates given in brackets here refer to the dates that Le Flem's reviews appeared in *Comœdia* rather than the dates of composition.

reviews of Tailleferre's compositions are positive and marked by his admiration for her musicality and her technical prowess. In 1930, for example, he wrote the following of her *Six chansons françaises*:

...Mme Tailleferre offered us a series of *Six chansons françaises* that Mme Ritter-Ciampi sang with authority and true feeling. Mme Tailleferre is not the enemy of the voice, far from it. She gives it only lines designed with clarity, having melodic priority within the polyphonic interplay. Her melodies have grace, a grace which is distinguished and warm and does not suffer abuse through corrosive harmonies and is not drained of colour by any orchestral excesses. They are clear, spiritual, with some moments of a charming tenderness. 'Mon mari m'a diffamée' ('My Husband has Slandered me') seemed to me the most successful of the six pieces, in its turn alert and caustic.⁶¹

Conclusion

The objective critical praise which accompanied the activities of women musicians in interwar France is indicative of a musical environment which tolerated, nurtured, and respected female professionals. It suggests that interwar France presented a climate in which *musiciennes* could flourish. This hypothesis is further supported by the visibility of women composers and performers in contemporary Parisian concert life and by the number of distinguished female pedagogues active in France during these years. On the basis of this evidence, of the prominence and eminence of women musicians in interwar France, it is possible to argue that it is necessary to look beyond their contemporary context, of the 1920s and 1930s, to suggest why the activities of French women musicians during this period are currently so obscure. Chapter seven aims to provide a reassessment of the French women musicians of the interwar years by examining their posthumous receptions, and the possible musicological reasons why they have been virtually forgotten.

⁶¹ « ...Mme Tailleferre nous offrait une série de *Six chansons françaises* que Mme Ritter-Ciampi chanta avec autorité et dans un sentiment fort juste. Mme Tailleferre n'est pas l'ennemie de la voix, loin de là. Elle ne lui confie que des lignes dessinées avec netteté, ayant droit de priorité sur les recherches polyphoniques. Son chant a de la grâce, une grâce distinguée et souriante dont n'abuse aucune harmonie corrosive, que ne ternit aucun éclat d'orchestre excessif. C'est clair, spirituel, avec par moments une charmante pointe de tendresse. 'Mon mari m'a diffamée' m'a semblé la plus réussie de ces six pièces, pour son tour alerte et mordant. » Paul Le Flem, 'À l'Orchestre Symphonique de Paris', *Comœdia*, 12 Mai 1930. For further examples of Le Flem's reviews of Tailleferre's compositions see Chapter 4 'L'une des Six: The Case of Germaine Tailleferre'.

Unjustly Neglected or Justifiable Obscurity?

Nowadays women have become the equals of men in nearly all activities, especially in music (who would dream of contesting women access to the domain of instrumental virtuosity, or to be admitted to the circle of composers?) (Jane Evrard)¹

It is evident that women were very visible within interwar French musical life, as composers, conductors, performers, and teachers. Their comparative successes, moreover, may be seen as part of a wider contemporary trend that encouraged female participation within the arts as is reflected by the prominence of the painters Marie Laurencin, Hélène Perdriat, Sonia Delaunay, and Tamara de Lempicka and the photographer Dora Maar.² The majority of *musiciennes*, however, who were active during the interwar years have now become neglected figures. This chapter briefly explores the later careers and reception of the *musiciennes* considered within this thesis and suggests a number of possible reasons as to why these women are not currently very well known. The reception and status of each is judged by considering how much scholarly attention she has received, how many commercial recordings of her work or performances were made, and how much of her work is published. Additional criteria include activity to promote their reputations, such as the formation of societies to advance their music, projects to facilitate further publications, performances, or recordings, and official recognition from the French state.

¹ « La femme est devenue de nos jours l'égale de l'homme dans presque toutes les activités, en musique plus particulièrement (qui songerait à contester aux femmes l'accès au domaine de la virtuosité instrumentale, ou d'être admise dans le cercle des compositeurs ?). » Jane Evrard, *Regards sur mon passé* (June 1975), 3.

² Like women musicians, women artists, such as the Impressionist Berthe Morisot, had been active in France prior to the interwar period.

The Career of Jane Evrard after World War Two

Jane Evrard resumed her career as a conductor after World War Two but, despite moderate success, she never recovered the fame or prestige which she had enjoyed whilst working with the Orchestre féminin de Paris. Following the war, Evrard was independently engaged to direct several masculine ensembles of regional and national status. Throughout the late 1940s, moreover, she directed the Moroccan Radio Orchestra (hereafter Radio-Maroc) on a number of occasions. Evrard generally conducted Radio-Maroc in public concerts in Casablanca or Rabat. In December 1949, the following rapturous review appeared in *Le Maroc*, by Marie Plazanet, after Evrard had conducted the Moroccan première of Roussel's *Sinfonietta*:

Jane Evrard reserved for us the Casablancon première of *Sinfonietta*, a work for chamber string orchestra which Albert Roussel has dedicated to her. We followed, bedazzled, the play of Jane Evrard's hands, which dominated the musical waves of a sea of sound, of which the luminous crests of waves rose towards her, supreme...³

Concurrently, Evrard was working with the dancer and choreographer Janine Solane (1912-2006) who was well known within the Parisian dance world of the late 1940s for the choreographies which she devised for absolute and symphonic music, including Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony and Bach's Passacaglia and Fugue in D Minor for organ. Solane approached Evrard to conduct the orchestra for her gala ballets, which in Paris were produced at the Théâtre de Chaillot. Critics reacted with enthusiasm to Solane's idea of choreographing classical works, and to Evrard's conducting:

Janine Solane and her mastery of dance have the rare merit to bring to life some pages from the classics and to make them less austere [...] Thus, J. S. Bach's choral *Rejoice, My Soul* and *Placed in the Tomb* take on a new but always ardent expression. The orchestra of Jane Evrard,

³ « Jane Evrard nous réservait en première audition à Casablanca, « Sinfonietta », œuvre écrite pour petit orchestre à cordes que lui dédia Albert Roussel. On suivit, ébloui, le jeu des mains de Jane Evrard, qui dominaient les ondes musicales d'une mer sonore dont les vagues aux crêtes lumineuses s'élevaient vers elle, souveraine... » Marie Plazanet, 'Le premier concert de Radio-Maroc', *Le Maroc* (8 December 1949); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

directed with an exceptional authority by that delicious artist with elegant gestures, play in the pit, alone, or to accompany...⁴

Solane also took her dance company on tours of the French provinces, with Evrard always serving as orchestral conductor. Significantly, it was during these regional tours that Evrard encountered some of her rare brushes with male chauvinism from male orchestral players. It was customary for the ballet company to work with the local orchestra in each town which they visited, and it was during the rehearsals for these performances that Evrard occasionally experienced hostilities from provincial male musicians, including a particularly unpleasant incident with a double-bass player in Marseilles who did not wish to co-operate with a female conductor.⁵ Evrard's conducting abilities, however, were greeted with as warm praise in the provinces as she was accustomed to receive in Paris, as is exemplified by the following review from a 1947 performance in Nice:

Jane Evrard, famous conductor of that all-woman orchestra that all Paris acclaims, directed the Nice Symphony Orchestra in this choreographic gala where she demonstrated her musicality, her authority and a passion which galvanised her musicians.⁶

Despite these independent conducting engagements in the late 1940s, it is irrefutable that the heyday of Evrard's conducting career occurred during the 1930s. The Orchestre féminin de Paris never reformed after World War Two, and Evrard's career after the war is marked by a gradual withdrawal from French musical life, although she did not officially retire until Christmas 1965.⁷

⁴ « Janine Solane et sa maîtrise de danse ont le rare mérite d'animer des pages classiques et de les rendre moins austères [...] Le choral de J.-S. Bach : *Réjouis-toi, mon âme* et la *Mise au tombeau* prennent ainsi une expression nouvelle mais toujours ardente. L'orchestre de Jane Evrard, dirigé avec une autorité exceptionnelle par cette délicieuse artiste aux gestes élégantes, joue dans la fosse, seul, ou pour accompagner... » W. L. Landowski, 'La Musique', *Le Parisien* (3 July 1948); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁵ Appendix 1 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

⁶ « Jane Evrard, chef célèbre de cet orchestre féminin que tout Paris acclame, dirigeait l'Orchestre symphonique de Nice dans ce gala chorégraphie où elle témoigna de toute sa musicalité, de son autorité et d'une flamme qui galvanisait ses musiciens. » Maurice Rivoire, 'La Soirée Niçoise', *Le Patriote* (24 February 1947); press clipping, Evrard-Poulet Archives.

⁷ Appendix 1 'Interview with Manuel Poulet'.

The Reception of Jane Evrard

Jane Evrard has been largely ignored, and effectively forgotten by scholars working both within France and in the international academic community. Published literature on her (beyond the newspaper reviews which she received during her lifetime) is, as yet, non-existent, and she is not even represented in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. All efforts to ensure her reputation as one of the first professional female conductors in France are solely due to her family, especially her son, Manuel Poulet. Thanks to the work of Monsieur Poulet a CD of digitally-restored works conducted by Jane Evrard and Gaston Poulet is now available, featuring Jane Evrard directing the *Orchestre féminin de Paris* performing Lully, Couperin, Dalayrac, and Roussel, and Gaston Poulet conducting the *Orchestre du Festival de Besançon* in works by Albeniz, Granados, and Ravel.⁸ Monsieur Poulet has, moreover, petitioned the City of Paris to officially recognise the musical talents of his mother and, in consequence, the square situated between the rue de Passy, Paul Doumer, and the rue de la Pompe in the sixteenth arrondissement of Paris, was re-named Place Jane Evrard in 2003 (see Figure 7:1).

Figure 7:1 – Place Jane Evrard



⁸ Gaston Poulet et Jane Evrard. *Albeniz, Granados, Ravel, Lully, Couperin, Dalayrac, Roussel*. Gaston Poulet et l'Orchestre du Festival Besançon et Jane Evrard et l'Orchestre féminin de Paris. 2003. Compact Disc. CDRG 182.

The Career of Germaine Tailleferre after World War Two

Germaine Tailleferre returned to the liberated France, from the US, in the spring of 1946, and recommenced her compositional career.⁹ She continued to compose until the end of her life, although she never regained the same level of attention which she had received during the glory days which accompanied the creation of Les Six in the early 1920s. Following her return to France, Tailleferre focused on large-scale works. Her ballet *Paris-Magie* was favourably produced by the Opéra-Comique in 1949, though her opera *Il était un petit Navire* caused a public uproar and scandal when it was given by the Opéra-Comique in 1951. The same year she completed a second Piano Concerto, for her daughter Françoise who hoped to become a concert pianist, and in 1953 the harpist Nicanor Zabaleta commissioned her for a *Sonate pour harpe*. In 1955, Tailleferre finally regained her independence through her divorce from her second husband, Jean Legeat. She used her meagre settlement to buy a small property in St. Tropez, close to her erstwhile friend and fellow member of Les Six, Louis Durey.

In St. Tropez, Tailleferre once again lacked financial security. Fortunately, Radio-France was able to provide her with plentiful work in the form of commissions (such as the set of four, twenty-minute opéra-bouffes *Du style galant au style méchant* after librettos by her niece Denise Centore of 1955) and also through employment as a pianist and piano accompanist.¹⁰ This patronage from Radio-France, moreover, ensured her continued exposure in her own country. Tailleferre was also able to support herself through composing numerous film scores. Furthermore, throughout the 1950s, Tailleferre undertook frequent concert tours with the baritone Bernard

⁹ For a detailed account of Tailleferre's career following the Second World War see Germaine Tailleferre, 'Mémoires à l'emporte-pièce', recueillies et annotés par Frédéric Robert, *La Revue internationale de la musique française*, No. 19 (February 1986), 72-8.

¹⁰ Robert Shapiro, *Germaine Tailleferre: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994), 22.

Lefort (who later became the director of the Paris Opera).¹¹ Tailleferre composed her *Concerto des vaines paroles* for Lefort in 1956. This work is essentially a transcription of her earlier *Concerto pour deux pianos, voix et orchestre* (1933-4). Potter has commented that ‘perhaps because of time pressure, self-borrowing of this type was to become characteristic of Tailleferre from this period until the end of her career’.¹²

In her maturity, Tailleferre increasingly relied upon self-borrowing to generate new musical material. Her opera *La Petite Sirène* (1957), which was the result of her collaboration with the surrealist poet Philippe Soupault, served as a source for many other compositions. However, 1957 was yet another year of personal crisis for Tailleferre as she became estranged from her daughter Françoise. In the early 1960s, when Françoise and her first husband Jean-Luc de Rudder divorced, Tailleferre, although now in her seventies, assumed the responsibility of raising her granddaughter, Elvire, thereby, placing additional financial pressure upon herself.¹³

Tailleferre returned to Paris in 1970, to take up a post teaching counterpoint at the Schola Cantorum. In 1973, Lemoine offered to publish all her new works and served as her primary representative during her final years. In her old age Tailleferre had little financial security, she did not keep track of royalties owed to her, or to whom she lent her manuscripts.¹⁴ She accepted any commissions which were offered to her but did not deliberately seek them. In 1982, she described how:

It is very difficult to write music if one does not have some sort of goal. I have really gotten the better of interviewers who ask me, “Why do you write music?” “For money!” I say. It has

¹¹ Lefort helped Tailleferre in later years to receive commissions and to have her works published or reissued. In the formation of this piano-baritone duo, Tailleferre and Lefort were hoping to imitate the successful formula concurrently being followed by Francis Poulenc and Pierre Bernac.

¹² Caroline Potter, ‘Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983)’, in *New Historical Anthology of Music by Women*, ed. James R. Briscoe (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 318.

¹³ Robert Shapiro, *Germaine Tailleferre: A Bio-Bibliography*, 25.

¹⁴ Consequently, many works are incomplete or lost.

always been that way. Each time I received a commission, whatever it was, I was glad to have earned a little bit more money. What do you want? One has to live.¹⁵

Tailleferre began working part-time at the *École Alsacienne* (a private preparatory school) in 1975; her job was to accompany the children, aged between five and eight, in their classes of 'psychometrics', a type of rhythmic dancing.¹⁶ She became a close friend of the director of the school, Georges Hacquard, and his wife, Juliette, and the couple promoted the composer's recent music by presenting concerts at their school. That same year she met Désiré Dondeyne, who was the conductor of the *Orchestre d'harmonie des gardiens de la paix de la préfecture de Paris*, a prestigious concert band, and also the director of the *Conservatoire d'Issy-les-Moulineaux*. She developed a new interest in composing for windband under the influence of Dondeyne, who became her orchestrator when she could only write out piano scores (in old age Tailleferre suffered from debilitating rheumatism).¹⁷ On the 4 March 1982, Tailleferre was honoured by a performance of her *Concerto de la Fidélité* for high voice and orchestra (which she had completed the year before) at the Paris Opéra.¹⁸ Tailleferre died on 7 November 1983, aged ninety-one.

The Reception of Germaine Tailleferre

Germaine Tailleferre is arguably the most famous French woman composer of the interwar period, and it is possible to conjecture that it was her association with Les Six which has guaranteed her musical reputation and reception. Since Henri Collet first coined the name 'Les Six' in 1920 it has proven to be one of the most long-lasting labels within twentieth-century French music, regardless of its appropriateness.

¹⁵ Laura Mitgang, interview with Tailleferre, 15 January 1982; Laura Mitgang, 'Germaine Tailleferre: Before, During, and After Les Six' in *The Musical Woman: An International Perspective*, Judith Lang Zaimont (Editor-in-Chief), Catherine Overhauser and Jane Gottlieb (Associate Editors) (New York, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1987), 206. (Mitgang's translation.)

¹⁶ Georges Hacquard, *Germaine Tailleferre: La Dame des Six* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), 216-7.

¹⁷ Robert Shapiro, *Germaine Tailleferre: A Bio-Bibliography*, 28.

¹⁸ Lefort was influential in organising this concert which paid tribute to her and also André Jolivet.

The six names of Georges Auric, Louis Durey, Arthur Honegger, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, and Germaine Tailleferre have remained firmly bound together, and are frequently to be found united on both music syllabuses and textbooks dedicated to twentieth-century music, and within combined publications, recordings and concerts.

The strong presence of Les Six within the received historiography of twentieth-century French music has ensured that Tailleferre's name has remained prominent.

This awareness of Tailleferre as a composer is reflected in the number of publications dedicated to her, which although still not high compared to other members of Les Six (especially Milhaud, Poulenc, and Honegger) is considerably higher than any other twentieth-century French woman composer, with the notable exceptions of Lili and Nadia Boulanger. There are currently two books devoted to Tailleferre's life and works, Georges Hacquard's French biography *Germaine Tailleferre: La Dame des Six* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998) and Robert Shapiro's English-language Bio-Bibliography, *Germaine Tailleferre: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994). There are, moreover, an essay and an article which constitute significant considerations of the composer written by Laura Mitgang and Caroline Potter.¹⁹

Tailleferre's elevated status amongst French women composers, as being the only female member of Les Six, is also reflected in the number of commercial recordings of her work. Significant, among the more readily available recordings of Tailleferre's work, are those made by the pianist Cristina Ariagno, the conductor

¹⁹ See Laura Mitgang, 'Germaine Tailleferre: Before, During, and After Les Six', in *The Musical Woman An International Perspective*, Vol. 2, editor-in-chief Judith Lang Zaimont, associate editors, Catherine Overhauser and Jane Gottlieb (New York, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1987), 177-221 and Caroline Potter, 'Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983): A Centenary Appraisal', *Muziek & Wetenschap*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 1992), 109-128.

Nicole A. Paiement, and the Clinton-Narboni (two-piano) Duo.²⁰ These recordings offer a tantalising suggestion of works which would otherwise be completely unavailable.²¹

Several efforts have been made during the last thirty years to promote Tailleferre's music, and to acknowledge her artistic achievements and contributions. In 1977, an Association Germaine-Tailleferre was founded with the intention of advancing the music of the then octogenarian composer. The Association Germaine-Tailleferre was based in the school in which she had recently taken up the post of piano accompanist, the *École Alsacienne*, and endeavoured to increase awareness of Tailleferre's music both in France and abroad through concerts, recordings, and lectures. The Association Germaine-Tailleferre continued its work after Tailleferre's death in 1983, and often worked in conjunction with musicologists and performers over the production of publications and recordings. Unfortunately, the Association Germaine-Tailleferre was forced to disband in 2003, following a number of disputes with the Tailleferre estate.²²

During the last decade, the Paris-based music publisher Musik Fabrik has worked closely with the Tailleferre family to issue a significant number of previously unpublished works. For example, the piano album *Receuil de 14 pièces pour Piano* presents fourteen previously unavailable piano works (*Hommage à Debussy, Pas Trop Vite, Très Vite, Chant Chinois, Chiens, Barbizon, Sonata alla Scarlatti, Menuet en SiB, Singeries, Escarpolette, Pas de Deux, Fugue du Parapluie, Pastorale Inca*, and

²⁰ See for example Germaine Tailleferre. *Œuvres pour piano*. Cristina Ariagno. 2003. Compact disc. Timpani 1C1074. Germaine Tailleferre. *The Music of Germaine Tailleferre*. Nicole A. Paiement. 1996. Compact Disc. HE 1008. Germaine Tailleferre. *Music for two pianos and piano 4-hands*. Clinton-Narboni Duo. 1997. CD 82278.

²¹ See the 'Preface and Acknowledgements' for a discussion of the current complications relating to Tailleferre's manuscripts.

²² I am grateful to M. Georges Hacquard for information regarding the Association Germaine-Tailleferre.

Pastourelle).²³ Furthermore, the American composer and co-director of Musik Fabrik, Paul Wehage, has reconstructed a number of Tailleferre's missing orchestral scores. The two-piano short score of Tailleferre's 1929 ballet *La Nouvelle Cythère*, previously believed to have been lost, has recently been discovered and orchestrated for concert band by Wehage, who has also reconstructed Tailleferre's *Trois Études pour Piano et Orchestre*, using the two-piano version.²⁴

The French postal service (La Poste) has also rendered homage to Tailleferre by issuing a commemorative stamp, reproduced in Figure 7:2. Designed by René Dessirier, the stamp was released 13 April 1992 to mark the centenary of Tailleferre's birth.²⁵ This marks a significant honour as usually only the most distinguished of creative artists are recognised on French national stamps.

Figure 7:2 – Commemorative Stamp Issued by La Poste to Mark the Centenary of Tailleferre's Birth



Tailleferre was also honoured by France during her lifetime, through the large amount of official awards which she received. In 1961, the Grand Médaille d'Argent de la Ville de Paris was awarded to all of Les Six. She also received the Grand Prix

²³ Germaine Tailleferre, *Recueil de 14 pièces pour Piano* (Paris: Musik Fabrik, 1998).

²⁴ For more information see <www.classicalmusicnow.com/Tailleferrebiography.htm>. I am grateful to Mr Paul Wehage for meeting with me and for explaining his work and association with Germaine Tailleferre and her heirs (November 2006).

²⁵ I am grateful to the Musée de La Poste for this information and for sending me a copy of the commemorative stamp which was issued to mark the centenary of Tailleferre's birth.

Musical from the Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1973, the Grand Croix de l'Ordre du Mérite in 1976, the Grand Prix Musical de la Vile de Paris in 1978, and the Prix Montaigne in 1979. These prestigious awards suggest that she was valued and recognised as being one of France's most eminent composers during her lifetime.

Careers of the *Compositrices* of Interwar France after World War Two

Of the *compositrices* considered in chapter five, only Claude Arrieu, Elsa Barraine, Yvonne Desportes, Jeanne Leleu, and Marcelle de Manziarly pursued careers in composition after World War Two. Marguerite Canal, Claire Delbos-Messiaen, and Armande de Polignac were all too ill after the war to compose.²⁶ The later careers of Leleu, Barraine, Desportes (and Canal) will be considered in relation to how winning the Prix de Rome impacted upon them, attention shall first be focussed on the post-World-War-Two careers of Claude Arrieu and Marcelle de Manziarly.

Claude Arrieu became one of the most prolific composers working in France during the second half of the twentieth century. She became one of the first to experiment with *musique concrète* when she collaborated over *La Coquille à Planète* (1943-4) with Pierre Schaeffer in occupied Paris. Arrieu, however, did not pursue electronic music and ultimately rejected it within her concert works; *Fantastique lyrique* (1959) for Ondes Martenot represents her only significant contribution to this genre. She worked in the media for many decades, composing at least thirty film scores and completing more than forty commissions from Radio-France. Her great

²⁶ The composer Marguerite Røsgen-Champion, who was associated with the Orchestre féminin de Paris, has become such an obscure figure that it is unclear whether her career survived the Second World War. The only bibliographical information currently available about her is the short entry included in Aaron I. Cohen's *International Encyclopaedia of Women Composers* (New York and London: R. R. Bowker Company, 1981). She is not, as yet, represented in either *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* or *The Grove Dictionary of Women Composers*.

facility as a radio composer was officially recognised in 1949, when she received the Prix Italia for her score for the radio drama *Frédéric Mistral*.²⁷

In addition to her extensive screen and radio commissions, Arrieu also completed concert works in nearly every genre. Her literary and theatrical interests prompted over a hundred song settings and a number of operas, including *La Princesse de Babylone* (1953-5), *La Cabine téléphonique* (1958), *Cymbeline* (1958-63), and *Comédie italienne* (1966). She also completed the oratorio *Mystère de Noël* (1951), symphonic music, such as *Tarantelle* (1956), *Suite funambulesque* (1959), and *Les Jongleurs* (1960), chamber music like *Quintette en ut* (1952) and *Suite en quatre* (1980), and a quantity of pedagogic piano works for her students, including *Lectures pour piano* (1968), *Petit récit – La Poupée cassée* (1976), and *Prélude pastoral – L'Enfant sage* (1976).²⁸ Altogether Arrieu completed over four-hundred works, and composed within nearly every genre, revealing the versatility of her talents and her fecundity as a composer.

Unlike Arrieu, whose primary musical occupation was always composition, de Manziarly was also professionally active as a conductor, pianist, and teacher. She returned to France from the US directly after the Liberation, but continued to divide her career between the two countries for the rest of her life. Throughout the Second World War, de Manziarly had concentrated on perfecting her piano technique with Isabelle Vengérova in New York, and this extra tuition enabled her to appear internationally as a pianist in the ensuing decades, beginning soon after her return to

²⁷ See Cécile Rémy, 'Claude Arrieu', in *Compositrices Françaises au XXème Siècle*, Association Femmes et Musique (Paris: Éditions Delatour, 2007), 35-40.

²⁸ See France-Yvonne Bril, *Claude Arrieu: Catalogue des œuvres* (Paris: Gérard Billaudot Éditeur, 1997).

France when she performed her *Sonate pour deux pianos* with Monique Haas for a Radio-France broadcast.²⁹

After World War Two, de Manziarly's talents as a composer were officially recognised by the high number of diverse commissions which she received. For example, the Ojai Festival (California) requested *Musique pour orchestre* in 1950, Radio-France commissioned the chamber opera *La Femme en flèche* in 1954, *Trilogie* for low flute, viola da gamba, and harpsichord was completed for Radio Genève in 1957, and *Trilogie* for violin, cello, and piano was written for the Xestern Arts Trio of Wyoming University in 1977. From the 1950s onwards, the majority of de Manziarly's compositions were self published by the composer.³⁰

Reception of Claude Arrieu and Marcelle de Manziarly

Despite the apparent productivity and relatively successful careers which both Claude Arrieu and Marcelle de Manziarly achieved during their lifetimes neither composer has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. Beyond the newspaper reviews and articles which were written about them during their lifetime, little published information on either musician exists as yet, in French, English, or any other language.

The Career of the Female Winners of the Interwar Prix de Rome Competition after World War Two: Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes

The four women who won the Prix de Rome in musical composition during the interwar years benefited from the attendant publicity in the years immediately following winning the prize, which, in each case, were marked by a steady production

²⁹ Michèle Friang, 'Marcelle de Manziarly', in *Compositrices Françaises au XXème Siècle*, 165.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 166-7.

of works, performances, and publications.³¹ Their careers after World War Two followed quite different paths, however, with Canal and Leleu both quickly falling into obscurity, whilst Barraine and Desportes became two of the most prolific composers working in France in the second half of the twentieth century.

Canal's career had already begun to falter throughout the 1930s, chiefly due to personal difficulties caused by her divorce.³² Her deteriorating health curtailed her musical activities after the Second World War, and she ceased to compose, although she did not die until 1978. Leleu concentrated upon ballet during World War Two, and the years directly following. In 1940, she developed her *Suite d'orchestre pour un jour d'été* (1939) into a ballet, after a scenario by Simon Gantillon; this was produced by the Opéra-Comique in May 1940, with choreography by Tcherkass and scenery by Marie Laurencin. After World War Two, Leleu's three-act ballet *Nautéos*, after a scenario by René Dumesnil, was given at Monte Carlo (26 April 1947) with choreography by Serge Lifar, and directed by Henri Tomasi.³³ The same year, Leleu was appointed to the staff of the Paris Conservatoire as a professor of sight-reading, and in 1954 she became a professor of harmony.³⁴ Leleu continued to compose throughout the 1950s, writing mainly for the piano (*Un peu de tout, Par les rues éclatantes, Pochades* and *En Italie*).³⁵ Present research on the composer, however, suggests that she stopped writing in the early 1960s, although she did not die until 1979.

Barraine was too distressed by the manifestations of inhumanity during World War Two to compose; however, she was active from 1940 onwards within the French

³¹ For a discussion of the careers of Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes during the interwar years see Chapter 5 'Compositrices in Interwar France and Women and the Prix de Rome'.

³² See Chapter 5 'Compositrices in Interwar France and Women and the Prix de Rome'.

³³ The work was so warmly received that the Opéra de Paris decided to present the work in 1954.

³⁴ David Cox 'Jeanne Leleu', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Second Edition, Volume 14 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 536

³⁵ Dates unknown.

struggle against the Nazi Occupation.³⁶ In 1940, she co-founded the Front national des musiciens pour la liberté et l'indépendance de la France with Roger Désormière and Louis Durey.³⁷ Throughout World War Two, she continued to work at Radio-France, and after the war she became a sound mixer (she left Radio-France in 1948). From 1944 to 1947 she also acted as Musical Director for the recording firm Chant du Monde. In 1952, she was made a professor of sight-reading at the Conservatoire and in 1969 she succeeded Messiaen as professor of analysis, a post which she retained until 1974. Barraine also resumed her compositional activities after World War Two.

The years directly following the war were particularly fecund for Barraine, from a compositional point of view, and the subjects which she chose for musical commentary once again reveal her sensitive and Humanistic concerns. In 1944, she produced her Cantata *Avis* after a poem by Paul Eluard with the dedication « À la mémoire de Georges Dudach, fusillé par les allemands ». In 1945, she produced *Song Koï ou le fleuve rouge*, orchestral variations inspired by the Vietnamese struggle for independence from the French. Barraine returned to the Cantata (the genre which had first brought her musical prestige when she won the Prix de Rome in 1929) and completed several works in this genre between 1950 and 1960, notably *Les Cinq plaies*, *La cantate du Vendredi Saint*, *Christine*, and *Les Paysans*. Her position on the faculty at the Paris Conservatoire inspired a number of works, such as the *Suite juive* for violin and piano (1951), and *La boîte de Pandore* for piano (1954-5), which were written for the use of her students. She was also an accomplished composer for the screen, and collaborated on several French films during the period directly following World War Two, notably with the filmmaker Jean Grémillon; for example, *Le Printemps de la liberté* (1948) and *Pattes Blanches* (1951).

³⁶ See Raffi Ourgandjian, 'Elsa Barraine', *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle*, 41-6.

³⁷ Frédéric Joliot-Curie served as the president of this organisation and Pierre Villon represented them at the Conseil National de la Résistance.

Similar to Barraine, Desportes also managed to combine an official teaching appointment at the Paris Conservatoire with an active compositional profile. Moreover Desportes, unlike Barraine, succeed in balancing these professional commitments with family life. A short article which appeared in *Information musicale* in 1942, charmingly evokes Desportes, within a domestic setting, displaying her ability to multi-task by combining her occupations as mother and composer: ‘Yvonne Desportes, whilst watching the games of three children – and her vegetables growing – works at a new score.’³⁸ In an interview given ten years later, Desportes once again highlighted the important part which her family played in her life when responding to a journalist’s assertion that they had not forgotten any aspect of her career (having discussed her compositions and her teaching) with ‘yes, the part which relates to my two sons: eleven and thirteen years old. And to my older daughter: seventeen years old’.³⁹

Following her return to France from Rome, Desportes pursued an active parallel career as both a productive composer, and a dedicated teacher. Desportes was appointed to the faculty of the Paris Conservatoire in 1943, as a teacher of solfège, and became a professor of counterpoint and fugue in 1959, remaining in this post until her retirement in 1978.⁴⁰ She wrote a number of educational books, mainly relating to harmony and solfège. Desportes’s pedagogical works became standard textbooks for generations of French music students, in writing them she always strove to bring her personal teaching experiences to bear on the didactic methods which she described. She noted in the ‘Introduction’ to her *Comment Former l’Oreille Musical* of 1970:

³⁸ « Yvonne Desportes, tout en surveillant les jeux de ses trois enfants – et la pousse de ses légumes – travaille à quelque nouvelle partition. » Armand Machabey, ‘Yvonne Desportes’, *Information musicale* (1942); press cutting, Fonds Yvonne Desportes, MMM.

³⁹ « Si. Celles qui se rapportent à mes deux fils : onze et treize ans. Et à ma grande jeune fille : dix-sept ans... » G. Bender, ‘Un entretien avec Yvonne Desportes’ ; unmarked press cutting, Fonds Yvonne Desportes, MMM.

⁴⁰ Marcel-Jean Vilcosqui, ‘Yvonne Desportes’, *Compositrices Françaises au XXème siècle*, 101.

Having been a professor of solfège at the Conservatoire National Supérieure de Musique de Paris for sixteen years, and my being particularly preoccupied the problem of the education of the musical ear, I thought that it could be useful to note down the result of my experiences and that has driven me to write this handbook with the hope that it will be of service to those who have difficulties in always being able to identify the musical sounds which they hear.⁴¹

Desportes was an exceptionally prolific composer, and completed over five-hundred works, including a requiem mass, three symphonies, and eight operas. She wrote a number of works for her eldest son, the percussionist Vincent Gemignani, including the *Concerto pour percussion et orchestre* (1963). In doing this, she became one of the first composers to write a concerto for percussion, and contributed to its elevation to solo status. She also experimented with writing for the new percussion instrument which he invented: la bronté. She incorporated it into a number of works, including *Vision comique* from piano and bronté (1963), *Vents et orages* for bronté and Wind Quintette (1972), and *Variations atmosphériques* for solo bronté (1977).⁴²

The Receptions of Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes

Neither Canal, Leleu, Barraine, nor Desportes, are currently well known.

Although each woman is represented by a short article in both *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *The Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* practically no other published information, beyond press reviews, yet exists regarding their lives or music. The recently published French study, *Compositrices françaises au XXème siècle*, commissioned by the Association Femmes et Musique (2007),

⁴¹ « Ayant assumé pendant 16 ans la charge de professeur d'une classe de Solfège au Conservatoire Nationale Supérieur de Musique de Paris, et m'étant tout particulièrement penchée sur le problème de l'éducation de l'oreille musicale, j'ai pensé qu'il pourrait être utile de noter le résultat de mes expériences et cela m'a conduit à écrire ce précis en espérant qu'il pourra rendre service à ceux qui n'arrivent pas toujours à identifier les sons musicaux qu'ils entendent. » Yvonne Desportes, 'Introduction', *Comment Former l'Oreille Musicale* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1970), 1.

⁴² The bronté consists of a cone-shaped resonator in the shape of a Phrygian bonnet suspended on a tripod. To the bottom of the cone are fixed keyboards with steel keys of irregular length and to the top a zither. The bronté is played by hitting the keyboards or the zither with beaters. It is capable of producing both traditional and more unusual sounds, including third and quarter tones. See Dominique Fauré, 'Yvonne Desportes', *Le Revue internationale de musique française*, No. 9 (November 1982), 84-5.

which includes short articles on Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes, marks a significant advancement in the scholarship of each woman.⁴³ Furthermore, commercial recordings of the works of Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes are extremely rare, and many works by each composer remain unpublished.

As in the case of Jane Evrard, Yvonne Desportes's posthumous reception is actively promoted by her surviving family, especially by her youngest son Michel Gemignani. He has recently collaborated over the private publication of a catalogue of his mother's works with Jacques Casterede, Marcel Landowski, Jean Podromides, Olivier Roux, and Valentine Roux-Cœurdevey.⁴⁴ Unfortunately Canal, Leleu, and Barraine are unable to benefit from such attentions, as each woman died childless.

Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes did not receive the types of national honours or awards which Tailleferre did, although Leleu was awarded the Prix Georges Bizet, and Desportes was made a Chevalier de l'Ordre du Mérite. This would suggest that none of these was recognised, to the same extent as Tailleferre, as a composer of national significance.

Reception of Female Performers and Teachers

The most eminent female performers and music teachers of interwar France have tended to fare better, in terms of reception history, than the composers.

Performers such as Marguerite Long, Yvonne Lefébure, Lily Laskine, Wanda Landowska, Isabelle Nef, and Monique Haas became such well-known musical names

⁴³ This book serves as a Francophone dictionary of twenty-six French women composers of the twentieth century, represented are Isabelle Aboulker, Claude Arrieu, Elsa Barraine, Nadia Boulanger, Lili Boulanger, Thérèse Brenet, Marguerite Canal, Edith Canat de Chizy, Monic Cecconi-Botella, Adrienne Clostre, Christiane Colleney, Yvonne Desportes, Rolande Falcinelli, Graciane Finzi, Monique Gabus, Suzanne Giraud, Christine Groult, Betsy Jolas, Edith Lejet, Jeanne Leleu, Marcelle de Manziarly, Florentine Mulsant, Armande de Polignac, Henriette Puig-Roget, Michèle Reverdy, and Germaine Tailleferre.

⁴⁴ Michel Gemignani, Jacques Casterede, Marcel Landowski, Jean Podromides, Olivier Roux, Valentine Roux-Cœurdevey, *Yvonne Desportes: Catalogue des Œuvres* (Plaquette réalisée à titre privé, Gemignani: 1995).

during their lifetimes, amongst both music professionals and musical connoisseurs, that their reputations and personalities appear to have permeated into the common musical consciousness; thus, securing their places in performing history. Their prominent positions amongst the greatest performers of the twentieth century have been further strengthened by both their recording legacies, and their pedagogical activities. The extant recordings by these performers have ensured that their distinctive playing styles and techniques are retained for posterity. The recordings of interwar artists who worked closely with the composers, moreover, help to authenticate their performances, and to make their recordings valuable as possible indicators of the composers' intentions. For example, Long's recordings of Ravel, Debussy, and Fauré may be of interest to pianists, as it is well known that she worked closely with each of these composers, and was instrumental in promoting their piano works.

The extensive teaching practices of the majority of the most celebrated female performers of the interwar period has additionally assisted in bolstering their receptions by the dissemination of the styles, techniques, and (possibly some of) their musical tastes through their many students. It is also probable that their own teaching methods may have influenced the subsequent pedagogical careers of their former students. Furthermore, gifted students who themselves attained professional performance careers secure the reputations of their teachers through association. There are still a number of pianists alive who can claim to have studied with the great female performers of the interwar period, such as Lefébure's renowned students Françoise Thinat and Imogen Cooper.

Dissemination via, and close association with, illustrious students is arguably also one of the principal mechanisms which has secured the prominent reception of

Nadia Boulanger. She taught an impressive number of leading twentieth-century composers, and her name has become inextricably connected with these. Thus, ensuring her place as one of the best-known musical pedagogues, and that her own name remains in the public consciousness through her association with these composers. Nadia Boulanger also made recordings during her lifetime, thus an aural legacy of her conducting career still survives. Furthermore, she has also benefited from the efforts which she herself made throughout her lifetime to promote her sister Lili Boulanger, and to ensure that her music was not forgotten.

In 1939, Nadia Boulanger inaugurated the Lili Boulanger Memorial Fund in order to perpetuate the memory and music of her sister, and to assist talented composers. She established an annual award from the proceeds of a Benefit Concert which she directed at the Boston Symphony Hall on 6 March 1939.⁴⁵ In 1965, the Association des amis de Lili Boulanger was founded in association with the Lili Boulanger Memorial Fund in order to propagate her music, and to award scholarships to outstanding young musicians of all nationalities. After Nadia Boulanger's death this society was renamed the Association des amis de Nadia et Lili Boulanger in order to incorporate the names of both sisters. In 1983, a group of Nadia Boulanger's close friends (Annette Dieudonné, Cécile Armagnac, Doda Conrad, and François Dujarric de la Rivière) created the Fondation internationale Nadia et Lili Boulanger in order to reflect Nadia Boulanger's wish that Lili Boulanger's memory was kept alive. The Fondation internationale Nadia et Lili Boulanger continues to award scholarships to young musicians to enable them to study in France, and also organises the biennial Concours international de Chant-Piano for young singers and piano accompanists. The Fondation internationale Nadia et Lili Boulanger undertakes vital work in

⁴⁵ See Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 308-9.

guaranteeing that Nadia Boulanger is not forgotten, and also in helping to support young musicians.⁴⁶

The efforts undertaken by Nadia Boulanger during her lifetime to ensure that the music of her sister was not forgotten has also resulted in her own compositions being amongst the better-known works by women composers (perhaps ironically considering that she gave up composing in her mid-thirties). Commercial recordings of Lili Boulanger's music also regularly include works by Nadia Boulanger.⁴⁷ She has also attracted a higher amount of scholarly attention than any other woman musician who was active in France during the interwar years. Publications dedicated to her include the three substantial monographs by Alan Kendall, *The Tender Tyrant: Nadia Boulanger, A Life Devoted to Music* (London: Macdonald & Jane's, 1976), Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1982), and Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Possible Reasons for the Current Obscurity of French Women Composers and Conductors of the Interwar Period

With the exceptions of Germaine Tailleferre and Nadia Boulanger, the women composers and conductors examined within the main body of the present thesis have all become neglected figures within both Francophone and Anglophone musicology. It is difficult to offer a complete evaluation as to whether this obscurity is justifiable or the result of unjust neglect at the present moment due to the difficulties currently surrounding access to materials. A full assessment of these women's careers, achievements, and aesthetic and technical developments cannot be offered until a

⁴⁶ For detailed information regarding the activities and history of the Fondation internationale Nadia et Lili Boulanger see their website <www.fondation-boulanger.com>.

⁴⁷ See for example *In Memoriam Lili Boulanger: Works by Lili and Nadia Boulanger and Emile Naoumoff*. Emile Naoumoff. 1993. Compact Disc. 8.223636.

comprehensive study has been undertaken of all their manuscripts and papers, but this documentation is not presently available in full, with a large amount of material (particularly relating to Desportes and Evrard) remaining in private or familial collections. The lack of published scores and recordings further compounds this problem of assessing their contributions, and the reassessments offered throughout this thesis are of an admittedly provisional nature until further research is made possible by the availability of a greater amount of materials.

In examining the marginalisation of these women, recourse to the gender-specific conditions (identified in chapter 2) which effected *musiciennes* of the interwar period, developed from Citron's theory regarding the marginalisation of women composers is helpful.⁴⁸ Citron's theorises that, in order to become a professional composer, certain pre-requisite conditions are essential, and that women have been historically excluded from these. Her four prerequisite conditions may be summarised as access to adequate musical education and training, publication, opportunities for performances, and the attraction of critical attention.⁴⁹ However, during their lifetimes, each of these women ironically fulfilled each of Citron's pre-requisite conditions.

Tailleferre, Evrard, Arrieu, Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes all studied at the Paris Conservatoire where their efforts and talents were rewarded, in each case, with an impressive roster of coveted Premier Prix. (De Manziarly received a thorough musical education from Nadia Boulanger, Félix Weingartener, and Isabelle Vengérova.) The seven composers (Tailleferre, Arrieu, de Manziarly, Canal, Leleu,

⁴⁸ See chapter 2 'Women Musicians and Gender: Contexts and Limitations' for a discussion of the gender-specific conditions which effected *musiciennes* during the interwar years (especially publication, critics' reactions, and choice of instruments for performers). See also Marcia J. Citron, 'Gender, Professionalism and the Musical Canon', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Winter, 1990), 102-117 and Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

⁴⁹ See Marcia Citron, 'Gender, Professionalism and the Musical Canon', 102-17.

Barraine, and Desportes) all published a significant proportion of their major works, albeit that a number of these works are now out of print, and taking into account the fact that none of these women published every single one of her compositions. (Also notwithstanding Canal's comments, published in *La Française* in 1934, and discussed in chapter 2, that women composers experienced discrimination from male publishers.⁵⁰) As composers, Tailleferre, Arrieu, de Manziarly, Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes all secured frequent performances of their works, and the conductor Evrard directed regular performances. All eight of these *musiciennes* attracted critical attention which was, furthermore, on the whole of an acclamatory and supportive vein.

From the fact that they all attained, and maintained, professional careers during their lifetimes one may infer that they did not personally face institutional or culturally-engrained sexism on a large enough scale to have prevented them working as professional musicians. It is, therefore, necessary to look beyond Citron's four prerequisites for professionalism to suggest why the reputations and receptions of these women (with the notable exception of Tailleferre) are currently obscure. What follows is a discussion of several identified reasons why these women are not currently well known. These include firstly, the fact that winning the Prix de Rome is not an immediate guarantee of future success; secondly, the immense aesthetic shift in French music after World War Two which tended to favour the music of Pierre Boulez, Olivier Messiaen, and their circle, to the detriment of other composers; and thirdly, the decline of the all-woman orchestra after World War Two. Furthermore, there are the commercial realities to consider that the music of women composers is just not as popular in the concert halls, or record charts, as that of their masculine

⁵⁰ See Chapter 2 'Women Musicians and Gender: Contexts and Limitations'.

counterparts. Also, that, despite the success of many women in the past, the writing of history has tended to be male dominated.

From its inauguration in 1803, until its discontinuation in 1968, the Prix de Rome was a benchmark of attainment in musical composition in France. A number of celebrated French composers have won the Premier Grand Prix de Rome, including Hector Berlioz, Charles Gounod, Georges Bizet, Jules Massenet, Claude Debussy, Gustave Charpentier, Florent Schmitt, Lili Boulanger, Marcel Dupré, and Henri Dutilleux. The list of former laureates, however, also includes names which have sunk into total oblivion, and winning the Prix de Rome was never, in itself, a guarantor of musical success, and professionalism. As David Gilbert comments, 'the ability to construct a correct fugue and to obey mechanically the rules of counterpoint and harmony are not sure signs of a creative musical talent'.⁵¹

The fact that Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes all won the Prix de Rome, whilst demonstrating a high level of musical achievement, creative potential, and skill (especially in the areas of formal techniques of composition, orchestration, and text-setting), does not in itself prove that they are worthy of being ranked amongst the premier league of French composers of the interwar years. The careers of Canal and Leleu do in fact fit the pattern of numerous former winners of the Prix de Rome who benefited from the status and prestige of being Premier Grand Prix in the immediate aftermath of their competition success, but whose subsequent careers reveal a decline in activity. Barraine and Desportes, on the contrary, both maintained prolific compositional careers until the end of their lives and were considered as being amongst the most important composers of mid-twentieth-century France during their lifetimes.

⁵¹ David Gilbert, 'Prix de Rome', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Second Edition, Volume 20 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 386

It is possible to postulate that the current obscurity of Barraine and Desportes may be related to the wider trend within mid-twentieth-century French music which tended to favour Boulez and Messiaen to the detriment of many other composers, both female and male. Other examples include, Jean-Yves Daniel-Lesur, Louis Durey, Georges Auric, Maurice Ohana, André Jolivet, Claude Delvincourt, Henri Tomasi, Louis Aubert, Jean Rivier, and Henri Dutilleux. The fervent cultivation of new forms of musical Modernism in France after World War Two, including Total Serialism, *musique concrète*, and interest in the music of Messiaen, may be said to have amounted to an aesthetic and technical paradigm shift which rejected the musical values and Neoclassical writings which had been *en vogue* during the interwar years.

Although not himself a proponent of Serial technique, Messiaen functioned as an important focal point around which a young generation of French composers, including Boulez, Serge Nigg, and Jean-Louis Martinet, could rally in the immediate post-war context.⁵² These young composers rejected pre-war aesthetics, especially Neoclassicism, believing these to represent misdirection within twentieth-century music. They were united by their interest in Serialism and faith in its ability to facilitate an aesthetic and technical renewal of French music.⁵³ Boulez's position as the leader of the young Parisian Serialists was firmly established by 1948, the year in which he completed his Second Piano Sonata and the first version of *Le soleil des eaux*. The same year, Boulez launched his career as an ascetic aesthetic commentator by publishing two articles in the new journal *Polyphonie*. In the first of these, 'Incidences actuelles de Berg', he attacked the Romanticism and the attachment to tradition which he perceived in several of the works of Alban Berg.⁵⁴ He also

⁵² Several of these young composers (including Boulez, Nigg, and Martinet) also studied Serial technique with René Leibowitz.

⁵³ Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music: The Avant Garde Since 1945* (London: Dent, 1981), 21.

⁵⁴ Pierre Boulez, 'Incidences actuelles de Berg', *Polyphonie*, 2 (1948), 104-8.

criticised the contemporary tendency to praise Berg at the expense of Schoenberg and Webern, as the composer who presented a more generally accessible form of Serialism. In the second article, 'Propositions', Boulez expounded his thoughts on musical advancement.⁵⁵ He briefly surveyed the contributions of several twentieth-century composers, including: Stravinsky, for manipulating rhythmic cells; Bartók, for introducing complex metres and syncopations; Jolivet, for allowing irrational values; and Messiaen, for transforming rhythmic units by augmentation, diminution and extension. Boulez, however, criticised all of these for a lack of cohesion between the elaboration of the polyphony and the rhythm.

When Schoenberg died in Los Angeles in 1951, Boulez first published his notorious obituary 'Schoenberg is dead'.⁵⁶ In this article he suggested enlarging the field of Serial composition to include other intervals, particularly micro-intervals, irregular intervals, and complex sounds. He also urged the application of the principal of note-rows to all five elements of sound: pitch, duration, tone-production, intensity, and timbre. Thus, laying an important aesthetic ground stone on which the technical principles of Total Serialism could be built. Also in 1951, he produced his now infamous article 'Eventuellement' in which he asserted that 'any musician who has not experienced – I do not say understood, but experienced – the necessity of the dodecaphonic language is USELESS'.⁵⁷ This article was written for a special issue of *La Revue musicale* which came out in conjunction with a Parisian festival of contemporary music, 'L'œuvre du XXe siècle'. Viewed in this light, Boulez's vitriolic attack on all non-Serial composers must be seen as very damning condemnation. Total

⁵⁵ Pierre Boulez, 'Propositions', *Polyphonie*, 2 (1948), 65-72.

⁵⁶ Pierre Boulez, 'Schoenberg is Dead', *The Score*, 6 (1948), 18-22.

⁵⁷ Pierre Boulez, 'Eventuellement'; cited from Pierre Boulez, *Stocktakings from an Apprenticeship*, Collected and Presented by Paul Thévenin, translated from the French by Stephen Walsh, with an Introduction by Robert Piencikowski (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 113.

Serialism, moreover, became the most pressing necessity for Boulez's generation at the Darmstadt International Summer Festival during the 1950s.⁵⁸

In 1955, the journal *Die Reihe* was founded to publish articles by, and about, the composers involved in the emerging musical avant garde (including Boulez, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Luciano Berio, Henri Pousseur, Mauricio Kagel, and Bruno Maderna). Festivals and radio stations provided their music with a performance forum, as *Die Reihe* did for their aesthetic writings. The compositions of these composers frequently appeared in print throughout the 1950s, usually from Universal Edition, and also increasingly on record. Furthermore, Boulez founded the *Domaine Musical* concert series in Paris in 1954 to present his music and that of his peers.⁵⁹

Whilst Boulez's *Domaine musical* concerts did much to promote the avant garde, including Total Serialism and other music which he found interesting and innovative (especially the post-war works of Messiaen), they also actively excluded and marginalised the efforts of other composers, now stigmatised by Boulez's enduring denigration of 'useless'! Claude Arrieu, Marcelle de Manziarly, Elsa Barraine and Yvonne Desportes (and also to a certain extent Germaine Tailleferre) may be considered as fitting within the group of mid-twentieth-century French whose reputations suffered from the quasi-autocratic avant garde aesthetic promulgated by Boulez and his disciples.

It is possible to conjecture that it was in response to this growing climate of interest in Serial composition that Tailleferre and Barraine wrote their only efforts in that musical language. In 1955, Hélène Jourdan-Morhange claimed that Tailleferre had lately told her of her interests in Serial technique and *musique concrète*, and

⁵⁸ See Elliott Schwartz and Daniel Godfrey, *Music Since 1945: Issues, Materials, and Literature* (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1993), 45.

⁵⁹ Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music: The Avant Garde Since 1945*, 77.

expressed her frustrations at not being able to imitate the younger generation by writing in these new styles:

My music no longer interests me, she told me, and Dodecaphonic and Concrete Music, which attract me, represent such a task that I do not have the strength to undertake. It is a little as though I wanted to express myself in Chinese! It is a little late to learn!⁶⁰

Tailleferre's Sonata for Clarinet Solo, which she completed in 1957 (see Example 7:1), represents her only extant attempt at the Serial technique which fascinated her in the mid-1950s.

Example 7:1 – Germaine Tailleferre, *Sonata for Clarinet Solo* (1957), bars 1-14⁶¹

For Henri Dionet

Duration: 4:25 minutes

S O N A T A
For Clarinet Solo

Germaine Tailleferre
(1957)

Allegro tranquillo (♩=84) (♩=♩) throughout

The musical score consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with a forte (f) dynamic and a quarter note. The second staff starts with a piano (p) dynamic and a quarter note. The third staff includes an acceleration (accel.) marking and a triplet of eighth notes. The fourth staff ends with a forte (f) dynamic and a quarter note. The score is marked 'Allegro tranquillo' with a tempo of quarter note = 84 beats per minute.

Barraine's slightly later serial *Musique rituelle* for grand organ and percussion (xylophone, gong, and tam-tam), was inspired by the seventeenth-century Tibetan

⁶⁰ « Ma musique ne m'intéresse plus, me dit-elle, et la musique dodécaphonique et concrète qui m'attire, représente un tel travail que je n'ai pas la force de l'entreprendre. C'est un peu comme si je voulais m'exprimer en chinois ! C'est un peu tard pour apprendre » Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, *Mes Amis Musiciens* (Paris: Les Éditeurs Réunis, 1955), 157.

⁶¹ Reproduced from Germaine Tailleferre, *Sonata for Clarinet Solo* (New York: Rongwen Music, 1959), 1.

Book of the Dead (*Bardo Thödol*) and composed in 1966-7. Beyond these two works, however, neither composer continued her experimentations with Serial technique.

It was not only French musical techniques and aesthetics which changed after World War Two, but also musical institutions themselves, and this may be seen as part of a wider Western European and North American need for renewal after the conflict. One of the musical institutions which had proved very popular during the interwar years, but which did not re-emerge after the war was the all-woman orchestra, and this had a negative impact for the *Orchestre féminin de Paris* and their leader Jane Evrard. The advent of World War Two, and military conscription, facilitated the acceptance of female instrumentalists into the professional male orchestras. Ironically, this proved to have a negative consequence for the female directors of the all-women orchestras, who had been gaining musical credibility as conductors, mainly through their work with these women's ensembles, since the later nineteenth century.⁶² The vast majority of the all-women orchestras, which had flourished during the interwar period, did not survive World War Two, and the *Orchestre féminin de Paris* was no exception to this general rule. The loss of the *Orchestre féminin de Paris* had an irreversibly detrimental effect on the conducting career of Jane Evrard.

Furthermore, a comparison with Evrard's illustrious contemporary woman conductor Nadia Boulanger may prove productive towards explaining why the posthumous reception of Boulanger has been so successful, whilst Evrard has been virtually forgotten. Boulanger came from a well-known musical family, and was also extremely well-connected within the contemporary Parisian musical milieu. Evrard, however, was also very well-connected; she had been married to Gaston Poulet, a

⁶² See Chapter 3 'On the Conductor's Podium: Jane Evrard and the *Orchestre féminin de Paris*'.

violinist and conductor of international reputation, and interacted with many of her leading musical contemporaries, corresponding with such distinguished persons as Colette, Debussy, Ravel, Fauré and Bartók. Boulanger, however, unlike Evrard, was not associated with any one specific ensemble; she concentrated on building a career as an independent conductor. Her success in this capacity, along with her ability to speak fluent English, enabled her to build a truly international career. In contrast, the majority of Evrard's work was done with the *Orchestre féminin de Paris*. Evrard, possibly inhibited by her inability to speak any language besides her native French, did not forge for herself an international career. Moreover, Boulanger had a very wide-ranging career; in addition to her international conducting activities she was also an extremely influential teacher. It is highly probable that Boulanger's formidable reputation, both during her lifetime and posthumously, has bolstered her reception as a conductor.

The changes to French musical life, and its institutions, and the far-reaching consequences of the identified paradigm shift in French musical aesthetics after World War Two explain to a significant extent the current obscurity of Tailleferre, Evrard, Arrieu, de Manziarly, Canal, Leleu, Barraine, and Desportes. To these reasons, however, must be added a number of gender-specific considerations which affect women musicians but do not affect men. Of paramount importance amongst these is the effect which marriage and having a family causes to a woman's career, not least because child bearing and child rearing are physically inextricably connected to a woman's life.

The careers of both Tailleferre and Canal were badly affected by their disastrous marriages as they decreased the amount of time which each woman was able to dedicate to composition. (Tailleferre, during both of her marriages, as her

husbands were jealous of her music talents and actively attempted to discourage her from working and Canal, after her marriage, as the financial implications of her divorce prevented her from composing as much as she had previously been able to.) Desportes was very occupied by the care of her children during the 1940s and 1950s, and these familial considerations and pressures must have detracted from the amount of time which she was able to dedicate to composition. To this it must be counterbalanced, however, that Arrieu, de Manziarly, Leleu, and Barraine never married so their careers were not affected by the conflicting demands of husbands and children. Whilst Evrard, on the other hand, seems to have found in her divorce from Gaston Poulet the impetus to step out from his imposing musical shadow and take up musical direction (his profession) herself.

There is, moreover, the commercial reality to be considered that the music of women composers is not as readily available as that of their male counterparts. Performances of works by women composers constitute a very small proportion of the programmes routinely offered in concert halls, and this is reflected by the scarcity of broadcasts of music by women composers on classical music radio stations. Commercial recordings of the works of women composers are often exceptionally difficult to find, and not routinely available in the average classical music record shop. Likewise scores of music by women composers are also extremely difficult to obtain.

In an interview in 1982 (which appeared in a special edition of *Action musicale* dedicated to contemporary women composers) Arrieu spoke out against what she perceived of as a conspiracy of silence within the music industry which effectively marginalised the work of women. She asserted that she had never encountered problems on account of her gender from her male colleagues, with whom she had always experienced good relations. Arrieu openly opposed attributing a

special status to women composers or to judging their music by different aesthetic or critical criteria, believing that talent should only be the value judgement. Moreover, she stressed that *compositrices* were not a twentieth-century phenomenon but had always existed. She believed, however, that women were, and historically always had been, marginalised by a conspiracy of silence. She blamed this on the business mechanisms of the music industry: publishers not fulfilling their obligations to properly disseminate and promote the music of women composers; recording companies being too constrained by financial considerations to actively want to make a large number of recordings of music by women; broadcasters no longer being interested in contemporary music; and concert halls and theatres refusing to put on works which had already been played by rivals.⁶³ Arrieu's concerns about the problems that women composers faced dealing with the business side of the music industry strengthens the supposition that the virtual invisibility of *compositrices* is largely accountable to the economics and marketing of the musical profession. It is possible to assert that the pervasive commercial belief that the music of women is less saleable than that of men represents one of the gravest obstacles facing professional female composers.

Further to this commercial exclusion of women composers, they have also (until the later twentieth century) suffered from institutional, academic marginalisation. The tendency of music scholars to produce male-dominated histories, until the advent of feminist musicology in the 1980s and 90s, effectively wrote the achievements of women composers out of music history.⁶⁴ The recent awareness of gender as a specialised category of historical investigation, as discussed by Joan W.

⁶³ 'Claude Arrieu', *Action musicale*, No. 18-19 (Autumn 1983), 44-6; anonymous journal clipping, Fonds Claude Arrieu, MMM.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 2 'Women Musicians and Gender: Contexts and Limitation' for a discussion of the development of feminist musicology.

Scott, has opened the way for gender-sensitive scholarship which adds the experience of women into recorded history, whilst taking account of the specific gender-specific conditions which have impacted upon their lives, careers, and reception.⁶⁵

Conclusion

During the interwar years, French *musiciennes* contributed to every aspect of contemporary musical life, as performers, composers, conductors, and teacher. In the 1920s and 1930s, women could study at the Paris Conservatoire on an equal status with male students, and were regularly awarded with the most prestigious prizes. The acceptance of female students at the Paris Conservatoire was further strengthened by the recognition of the talents of several women candidates for the Prix de Rome. Their success in the competitions of the interwar years was especially marked by the Premier Grand Prix of Marguerite Canal (1920), Jeanne Leleu (1923), Elsa Barraine (1929), and Yvonne Desportes (1932). The achievements of these women represented the official acceptance of *compositrices* by the Académie des Beaux-Arts, the official face of the artistic establishment in France.

It was not only the Paris Conservatoire and the Académie des Beaux-Arts which accepted women composers during the interwar years, but also the musical avant garde, and the wider artistic community, as represented by Germaine Tailleferre's inclusion, and acceptance, within Les Six and the wider activities of such *compositrices* as Armande de Polignac, Claude Arrieu, and Marcelle de Manziarly. Moreover, a number of the most eminent concert artists working in France during this period were women, including Marguerite Long, Yvonne Lefébure, Wanda Landowska, Ginette Neveu, and Lily Laskine. The prominence of women on the

⁶⁵ See Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 5 (Dec., 1986), 1053-1075.

concert stage as performing artists was strengthened by the presence and success of the Orchestre féminin de Paris, and their celebrated leader Jane Evrard, who was joined on the conductor's podium by her formidable compatriot Nadia Boulanger. The careers of women musicians in interwar France were often multifaceted and many of the most famous performers, such as Marguerite Long, Wanda Landowska, and Nadia Boulanger, were also ranked amongst the most distinguished of teachers.

Musiciennes were not only accepted by their male colleagues, but also by the contemporary music critics who were (generally) supportive of their efforts. Several of the most eminent critics of the interwar years, particularly Émile Vuillermoz and Paul Le Flem, actively encouraged, praised, and supported women musicians. This acceptance suggests that their presence within the musical profession had reached such a high level of normality in France by the 1920s and 1930s, that it could even withstand the French government's conservative policies of those years, designed to restrict women within the domestic sphere.

Despite success during their lifetimes, many French *musiciennes* of the interwar years, especially the composers and Evrard, are now largely forgotten. It is the assertion of this thesis that the current obscurity of these women is due to a number of complex reasons, significantly the post-Second-World-War paradigm shift in French musical aesthetics which favoured the group centred around Boulez and Messiaen to the detriment of other composers, the contemporary decline of the all-woman orchestra, and the current commercial discrimination facing the promotion of women's music.

There has been a marked musicological trend within the last decade towards re-evaluating French music of the mid-twentieth century, and especially to look beyond the type of music propagated by Boulez's circle. It is to be hoped that

Tailleferre, Barraine, Desportes, Arrieu, and de Manziarly shall benefit from the type of re-assessments and re-evaluations which are currently being applied to their contemporaries such as André Jolivet, Jean-Yves Daniel-Lesur, Maurice Ohana, Henri Dutilleux, Marius Constant and many others.⁶⁶

In addition to these re-assessments of mid-twentieth-century French composers, it is to be hoped that French *musiciennes* of the interwar years shall also benefit from the musicological changes of the last twenty years which have seen the rise of gender-sensitive feminist musicology. This has been accompanied by an upsurge of scholarly activity into the lives and music of women composers and musicians, which has born fruit in the form of new publications (books and articles), editions, and recordings. Once vital initial research into the French women musicians of the interwar years has been completed, in order that their contributions to the musical life of this period and culture are understood, these findings can allow the *musiciennes* to take their rightful place within mainstream music history.

⁶⁶ Such publications as Caroline Potter, *Henri Dutilleux: His Life and Works* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997) and Caroline Rae, *The Music of Maurice Ohana* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) represent the start of important work on composition in mid-twentieth French beyond the type of work promoted by Boulez.

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Appendix 1

Transcription of Interview with Manuel Poulet

(Jane Evrard's Son)

Saturday 24 February 2007¹

1.

Why and when did Jeanne Chevallier-Poulet decide to adopt the name Jane Evrard?

During the 1920s, separated from her husband, she started to work in the cinema. It was necessary to find a stage name and as, when she a little girl she had lived in the town of Evrard, she took the name Jane Evrard: JANE (English spelling) and Evrard. When she became a conductor she kept the name.

2.

How often did she play in the Quatuor Poulet?

Sometimes the second violin (Victor Ocutil) had to be replaced and in 1917 she found herself replacing him to play the Debussy String Quartet, at Debussy's house, and for Debussy.

Debussy remained silent throughout the three movements but at the end he said: 'Do not change a thing, from now on that is how it must be played!'

The next day he [Debussy] sent a note to Gaston Poulet to ask him if he wanted to play with him as he had composed a Sonata for Violin and Piano. They played together at the Gaveau [Salle Gaveau], but, unfortunately, Debussy was at the end of his days and he was dead within a few months.

¹ Original interview conducted in French; transcript of French version available on request.

3.

During the 1920s, did she participate in the Concerts Poulet?

Not at all, she never participated in the Concerts Poulet.

4.

Why did Jane Evrard decide to create a women's orchestra?

She was very pushed by the critic called Émile Vuillermoz. In the late 20s, she was involved in chamber music; she spent her time bringing people together to make chamber music for amateurs. Vuillermoz asked her why she didn't do it professionally. He knew her and thought that she was very talented and, therefore, he pushed her to direct her first concert and after that to form an all-woman orchestra.

However, there was only one double bass player because, at that time, it was very difficult to find a woman who played the double bass. The Sinfonietta of Albert Roussel [written for the Orchestre féminin de Paris in 1934] has a second movement where the bass is very important and he wrote to Jane Evrard 'you will have to engage a man and give him a wig and a dress to play the double bass!' (They never did it.)

5.

Was there a feminist aesthetic?

She wanted to direct her own orchestra but in those days it was difficult for a woman to pursue a career; for example, it wasn't considered normal for a woman to be a doctor or a lawyer. The same was true for a woman who wanted to be a conductor but she was determined to succeed.

6.

Did she seek to promote the music of women composers, if so who?

No, but one very talented female composer who wrote a lot for the orchestra was Marguerite Ræsgen-Champion. She also often played the harpsichord with the orchestra. However, the orchestra played the music of women and men; she didn't only want to play the music of women composers.

7.

Who were the women in the Orchestre féminin de Paris?

They were all Premier Prix winners from the Paris Conservatoire.

8.

Why did they present early music?

In those days people didn't really play early music. She [Jane Evrard] was a specialist and she sought out early works and researched, with Arthur Hoérée; works which weren't even published.

9.

Why did they present contemporary music?

She also wanted to play very modern music and to present works by living composers.

10.

Did they ask composers to write for the orchestra, or did the composers approach her?

No, she never asked composers to write works, it was the composers who expressed their desire to write for the orchestra after they had heard them playing.

11.

Which soloists worked with the orchestra?

All the most famous soloists of the day and sometimes the orchestral players themselves performed solos. Sometimes, when they wanted to play early music with wind instruments – like the flute and the oboe – it was difficult to find women, because in those days it wasn't normal for women to play wind instruments. So, occasionally she had to engage male musicians but this was exceptional.

12.

Were there ever any gender tensions arising from a male composer or soloist working with a woman conductor or an all-female ensemble?

No, there were never any tensions because an orchestra always has to work like a team.

13.

During the 1930s, where did they give concerts? (Both in France and abroad)

Lots of towns in France and the foreign tours were to Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Holland.

14.

Where the orchestra's reviews objective or concentrated on the fact that it was an all-woman orchestra?

Yes, absolutely, the critics were often men but, on the whole, they were very objective.

15.

Which other orchestras was she appointed to direct?

The orchestras for the ballets of Janine Solane. Jane Evrard was a conductor independent to her orchestra and she was appointed to direct several orchestras in the French provinces, notable in Biarritz, and later in Morocco [for the radio].

16.

Were there problems when she, as a female conductor, was called upon to direct a male ensemble?

There were problems when she directed the ballets of Janine Solane. She was a fabulous choreographer who mounted ballets for Le Martyre de Saint Sebastien [Debussy] and Beethoven's Pastorale Symphony and she asked Jane Evrard to direct the orchestras. In Paris – with a Parisian orchestra – there weren't any problems but when they toured the provinces they always worked with the town orchestra and each time it was necessary to rehearse and she experienced some problems because she was a woman conducting men. Onetime, in Marseille, things with the double bass player became very complicated. However, this was very rare.

17.

When and why did the Orchestre féminin de Paris disband?

It was never really disbanded but the war came and it became increasingly complicated to present concerts. However, she gave a number of concerts for young people in youth centres but that was more for the education of young people.

18.

What did she do after the war?

The reality is that the heyday of her career was during the 1920s. After the war the orchestra no longer existed but she did give a number of concerts nevertheless.

Appendix 2

Chronological Work List of Germaine Tailleferre's Compositions, 1909-1943¹

Tailleferre's manuscripts are currently unavailable for performance, academic study or consultation and a significant number of discrepancies exist between the extant catalogues of her work. Without access to the manuscripts it is impossible to verify the compositional details for her unpublished works and for her many published works which are now out of print. The work list presented here is based on a comparative study of the various catalogues, published scores, and reviews. The four most complete existing catalogues of Tailleferre's compositions are: Robert Orledge, 'A Chronological Catalogue of the Compositions of Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983)', *Muziek & Wetenschap*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 1992), 129-52; Robert Shapiro, 'Works and Performances' in *Germaine Tailleferre: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994), 31-104; Georges Hacquard, 'Catalogue des œuvres de Germaine Tailleferre', in *Germaine Tailleferre: La Dame des Six* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), 251-80; and Robert Wehage, *Comparative Catalogue of the Works of Germaine Tailleferre* (unpublished).²

It is highly probable that a number of works appear in the various catalogues under different titles; Tailleferre sometimes referred to the same work by different titles and some appear to have been attributed to works by people other than the composer. It is acknowledged that the following work list may contain some errors

¹ This list encompasses only the works written between 1909-1943 as the compositions which date from 1946-1982 lie beyond the scope of the present study.

² I am grateful to Paul Wehage for giving me a copy of his recent *Comparative Catalogue of the Works of Germaine Tailleferre* which he prepared under the auspices of the Tailleferre estate. Wehage's catalogue is based upon a comparative study of those of Orledge, Shapiro, Hacquard, the SACEM catalogue of Tailleferre's compositions and the work list supplied in Janelle Gelfand's doctoral thesis *Germaine Tailleferre (1892-1983): Piano and Chamber Works* (PhD dissertation, University of Cincinnati College Conservatory of Music, 1999).

which cannot be eradicated without access to the manuscripts. (Major discrepancies between the various sources are indicated.)

- 1909 ***Impromptu***³
Music: piano piece
Ded: à Mme Maurice Marquer
Pub: Jobert, 1911
- 1910 or
1911 ***Premières Prouesses***
(1. Pas trop vite; 2. Moderato; 3. Allegretto; 4. Allegro non troppo;
5. A poco lento; 6. Con moto)
Music: 6 easy pieces for piano duet (4 hands)
Ded: à Mesdemoiselles Marie et Thérèse de Kerveguen
Pub: Jobert, 1912; Lemoine, 1955
- 1910 ***Morceau de Lecture***
Music: piece for harp written for a competition organised by
Tailleferre's harp teacher, Mme Tardieu-Luigini
Pub: Musik Fabrik (in *18 études pour harpe*)
- Nov 1912 ***Fantasia pour quatuor à cordes avec partie de piano sur thème
donné de Georges Cassade***
Music: movement for piano quintet
Pub: unpublished
- 1913 ***Berceuse***
Music: piece for violin and piano
Ded: à mon Maître et Ami Monsieur H. Dallier
Pub: *Le Monde musical* (supplement), 1913; Eschig, 1924
- 1913
Rev Oct
1924 ***Romance***
Music: piece for piano
Ded: à Germaine Tassart
Pub: *Le Monde musical* (supplement), 15 May 1913; Eschig, 1924
- c1913-
1914 **12 Études pour harpe**⁴
(1. 'Lecture à vue' [1 March 1913]; 2. 'Morceau de lecture à vue'
[November 1913]; 3. 'Modéré' [2 November 1913]; 4. Untitled [14
November 1913]; 5. 'Lent' [c.1914-14]; 6. Untitled [March 1913 ?]; 7.
'Morceau de lecture à vue' [30 December 1913]; 8. 'Pas trop lent' [8
January 1914]; 9. Untitled [February 1914]; 10. 'Pas trop vite' [14
March 1914]; 11. 'Lent' [1914?]; 12. 'Pas trop vite' [March 1914])
Music: 12 pieces for harp
Pub: Musik Fabrik (in *18 études pour harpe*)

³ Orledge states c.1912 and Shapiro indicates 1912 but Wehage predates the work to 1909 (with the additional comment 'depot SACEM 1909').

⁴ Hacquard and Shapiro state 12; Wehage claims there to be 18 in the manuscript.

- June 1916-
March 1917 ***Trio***
(1. Assez animé; 2. Calme sans lenteur; 3. Très animé)
Music : chamber work for violin, cello, and piano
Prem: 11 December 1917, 'Musique d'Avant-garde' with Hélène Jourdan-Morhange (violin), Juliette Méerovitch (cello), and Félix Delgrange (piano) at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier
Pub: unpublished
- 1917 ***Jeux de Plein Air***
(1. 'La Tirelitanine' – June 1917; 2. 'Cache-cache Mitoula' – December 1917)
Music: 2 pieces for 2 pianos
Ded: 1. pour Marcelle Meyer; 2. pour Juliette Meerovitch
Pub: Durand, 1919
Prem: 15 January 1918 by Germaine Tailleferre and Marcelle Meyer, Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier
- 1924 ***Jeux de Plein Air – Orchestral Version***
(1. 'La Tirelitanine'; 2. 'Cache-cache Mitoula')
Music: orchestration of earlier work for 2 pianos
Prem: 5 March 1926 by Boston Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Sergey Koussevitzky, Symphony Hall, Boston
(Manuscript lost)
- 1917-
1919 ***Sonatine à cordes, later Quatuor à cordes***
Music: 2 dance-like movements (1. Modéré; 2. Intermède') for string quartet (1917) to which a finale ('Vif') was added to form the *Quatuor* of 1919
Ded: à Arthur Rubinstein (complete Quartet)
Pub: Durand, 1921
Prem: (as *Sonatine*) 15 January 1918 at Nouveaux Jeunes concert at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier by Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, Fernande Capelle (violins), Marguerite Lutz (viola), and Adèle Clément (cello); as *Quatuor à cordes*, 24 January 1924 at the Salle Gaveau by the Quatuor Capelle.
- 1917 ***Calme et Sans Lenteur***
Music: piano trio
Pub: Musik Fabrik
(Possibly second movement of *Trio*)
- Nov 1918 ***Image pour huit instruments (originally Pastoralle)***
Music: movement for flute, clarinet, celesta, piano, string quartet
Ded: à Mme José-Maria Sert
Prem: 5 April 1919 at a 'Peinture et musique', Concerts Huyghens, with Pierre Bertin, Ricardo Vines, Fernand Capelle, Germaine Dill, Marguerite Lutz, De Carné, Duquès, and Pigassou
Pub: Chester, 1921

- 1918 ***Image***
 Music: Reduction of *Image pour huit instruments* for piano duet (4 hands)
 Pub: Chester, 1921
- 4 Sept 1919 ***Pastorale***
 Music: piece for piano
 Ded: pour Darius Milhaud
 Pub: No. 6 of *L'Album des Six*, Demets, 1920 (after pieces by Auric, Durey, Honegger, Milhaud, and Poulenc); *L'Album des Six*, Eschig, c1948
- Aug 1920 ***Morceau symphonique (later Ballade)***
 Music: movement for piano and orchestra (Modéré – Un peu plus animé – Lent)
 Ded: à Ricardo Vines
 Pub: Chester
- Sept 1920 ***Fandango***
 Music: piece for piano
 Ded: à Marianne Singer
 Pub: unpublished
- 1920 ***Fandango***
 Music: two pianos
 Pub: Musik Fabrik
- Oct 1920 ***Très Vite***
 Music: piece for piano
 Ded: pour Madame Jane Mortier
 Pub: Musik Fabrik, 1998
- 2 Oct 1920 ***Hommage à Debussy***
 Music: piece for piano
 Pub: Musik Fabrik, 1998
- Dec 1920-
 1922 ***Ballade pour piano et orchestre***
 Music: reworking of *Morceau symphonique* for piano and orchestra
 Ded: à Ricardo Vines
 Prem: 3 February 1923 by Ricardo Vines, Concerts Padeloup, conducted by Rhené-Baton
 Pub: Chester, 1923
- Late 1920-
 Oct 1921 ***Ballade***
 Reduction of *Ballade pour piano et orchestre* for 2 pianos
 Pub: Chester, 1925

- Late 1920-
Oct 1921 ***Première Sonate pour violon et piano***
(1. Modéré sans lenteur; 2. Scherzo ; 3. Pas très vite et sans rigueur;
4. Assez lent – Final: Très vite)
Music: 4-movement sonata for violin and piano
Ded: à Jacques Thibaud
Pub: Durand, 1923
Prem: June 1922 by Jacques Thibaud (violin) and Alfred Cortot
(piano) at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier
- 1921 ***Cinq chants***
Music: violin and orchestra
Pub: unpublished
- Feb – June
1921 ***Les mariés de la Tour Eiffel***
(‘Quadrille’; ‘Valse de Dépêches’)
Text: scenario for surrealist ballet in 1 act by Jean Cocteau
Music: movements 6 and 8 from collaboration by *Les Six* (minus
Durey). *Valse de Dépêches* written at last moment when Durey backed
out; composed by Tailleferre and orchestrated by Darius Milhaud.
Prem: 18 June 1921 by Ballets Suédois conducted by Désiré-Emile
Inghelbrecht, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées as ‘choreographic farce’,
with scenery by Irène Lagut, costumes by Jean Hugo, choreography by
Jean Borlin.
Pub: Salabert, 1962
- 1921 ***Berceuse***
Music: piece for piano
Prem: 31 January 1922 by Marcelle Meyer, Salle de La Ville l’Evêque
Pub: unpublished
- 1921 ***Sonatine pour piano***
Music: piece for piano
Pub: unpublished
- April – May
1923 ***Le Marchand d’Oiseaux***
(1. Ouverture; 2. Valse; 3. Allegretto; 4. Jardinières; 5. Pavanne; 6.
Final)
Text: scenario for a ballet in 1 act by Hélène Perdriat
Com: Rolf de Maré on behalf of the Ballet Suédois, March 1923
Music: 1-act ballet scored for orchestra
Ded: à Marguerite di Pietro
Prem: 25 May 1923 by Ballets Suédois, conducted by Désiré-Emile
Inghelbrecht, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, with choreography by
Jean Borlin and Tailleferre, costumes and scenery by Hélène Perdriat.
Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1923
- 1923 ***Le Marchand d’Oiseaux***
Music: Reduction of *Le Marchand d’Oiseaux* for piano duet (4 hands)
Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1923

- April - May 1923 ***Concerto pour Piano et orchestre (No. 1)***
 (1. Allegro; 2. Adagio; 3. Final: Allegro non troppo)
 Music: 3-movement Concerto for piano and small orchestra (Flute, oboe, bassoon, 2 horns, trumpet, timpani, and strings)
 Com: La Princesse Edmond de Polignac
 Ded: à la Princesse Edmond de Polignac
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1924
- 1923 ***Concerto pour Piano et orchestre (No. 1)***
 Music: reduction of *Concerto pour piano et orchestre* for 2 pianos
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1925
- 1924 ***Adagio***
 Music: reduction of the Adagio movement of *Concerto pour Piano et orchestre* (No. 1) for piano and violin
 Prem: 6 November 1924 by Claude Levy (violin) and Tailleferre (piano)
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1925
- 1924? ***Le Sacre du Printemps (Stravinsky)***
 Music: 2-Piano arrangement of *Le Sacre du Printemps* (Stravinsky)
 Pub: unpublished
- 1924 ***Les Maîtres du Chant: Airs de Lully***
 Music: transcriptions and realisation of figured-bass of 12 settings by Lully for voice and piano
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1924
- Nov 1925 ***Berceuse du petit éléphant***
 Music: short piece for voice, choir, and horns in F
 Pub: unpublished
- Nov 1925 ***Ban'da***
 Music: short piece based on African themes for wordless choir and orchestra (to be played twice)
 Pub: unpublished
- 1925 ***Mon Cousin de Cayenne***
 Music: incidental music for orchestra for a 3-act comedy by Jean Blanchon
 Pub: unpublished
- 1925 ***Les Maîtres du Chant: Airs Italiens, VI***
 Music: transcriptions and realisation of figured-bass of songs by Scarlatti, Mancini, E. d' Astora, Vivaldi, Pergolesi, Leo, Latilla, and Hasse for voice and piano
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1925

- 1925 ***Les Maîtres du Chant: Airs Française, VI***
 Music: transcriptions and realisation of figured-bass of songs by Pierre Guedron, Antoine Boesset, Estienne Mouline, Denis Mace, Guillaume Michel, Louis de Mollier, Chancy, Michel Lambert, Anonymous, Henry Dumont, Jean de Cambefort, and Charpentier, for voice and piano
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1925
- 1925 ***Les Maîtres du Chant (Airs Italiens)***
 Music: transcriptions and realisation of figured-bass of songs by Monteverdi, Caccini, Brunetti, Sigismondo d'India, S. Pietro de Negri, Kapsperger, Domenico Mazocchi, Michel-Angel Rossi, and Luigi Rossi for voice and piano
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1925
- 1926-
 June 1927 ***Concertino pour harpe et orchestre***
 (1. Allegretto; 2. Lento; 3. Rondo)
 Music: 3-movement Concertino for harp and orchestra
 Ded: à Ralph Barton
 Prem: 3 March 1927 by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Sergey Koussevitzky, Symphony Hall, Boston
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1928
- 1927 ***Concertino***
 (1. Allegretto; 2. Lento; 3. Rondo)
 Music: arrangement of *Concertino pour harpe et orchestre* for harp and piano
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1828
- 1927 ***Les Maîtres du Chant: Airs Français du 18^{ème} siècle, VII***
 Music: transcriptions and realisation of figured-bass of songs by Campra, Destouches, Clerambault, Monteclair, Mouret, Matho, Mondonville, and Philidor for voice and piano
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1927
- 1927 ***Les Maîtres du Chant (Airs Italiens)***
 Music: transcriptions and realisation of figured-bass of songs by Carissimi, Luigi Rossi, Cesti, Bononcini, Bassani, Ballarini, A. Scarlatti, and Lanciani for voice and piano
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1927

- 1927 ***Sous le rempart d'Athènes***
 Text: play by Paul Claudel, commissioned by Philippe Berthelot as centenary tribute to his father, the chemist and philosopher Marcellin Berthelot (1827-1907)
 Music: incidental music for orchestra
 Prem: 24 October 1927 (only performance) at Elysée Palace, orchestra conducted by Désiré-Emile Inghelbrecht, with cast head by M. Balpêtré of the Comédie-Française
 Pub: Musik Fabrik
- 1927 ***Sous le Rempart d'Athènes***
 Music: piano reduction of *Sous le rempart d'Athènes*
 Pub: Musik Fabrik
- 1928 ***Nocturno/Fox***
 Music: 2 songs for 2 baritones and instrumental ensemble
 Pub: Billaudot
 Prem: 27 April 1959 on Radio-France
- 1928 ***Pavane, Nocturne, Final***
 Music: 3 pieces for orchestra
 Prem: 8 December 1929 at Concerts Poulet, conducted by Vladimir Golschmann
 Pub: unpublished
- Sept 1928 ***Deux Valses pour deux pianos***
 (1. 'Valse Lente'; 2. 'Valse Brillante')
 Music: 2 pieces for 2 pianos
 Ded: 1. à Henri Sauguet; 2. à Vittorio Rietti
 Pub: Lemoine, 1928
- 1928? ***Vocalise-étude pour voix élevées***
 Music: study for voice with piano accompaniment
 Pub: Leduc, 1929 in *Répertoire moderne de vocalises-études*, No. 90
- 7 Dec 1928 ***Sicilienne pour piano***
 Music: piece for piano
 Ded: à Ralph Barton
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1928
- Dec 1928 ***Pastorale en La bémol***
 Music: piece for piano
 Ded: à Ralph Barton
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1929
- 1928 ***Nocturno***
 Music: orchestra
 Pub: Sofirad

- July-Aug
1929 ***Six chansons françaises***
(1. 'Non, la fidélité'; 2. 'Souvent un air de vérité'; 3. 'Mon mari m'a diffamé'; 4. 'Vrai Dieu, qui m'y confortera?'; 5. 'On a dit mal de mon ami'; 6. 'Les trois présents')
Texts: poems by Lataignant, Voltaire, Sarasin, and anonymous
Music: 6 settings for voice and piano or orchestra
Ded: 1. à Denise Bourdet; 2. à Charlie [Charlotte] Tailleferre;
3. à Delfina Boutet de Monvel; 4. à Marie-Blanche de Polignac;
5. à Marianne Singer; 6. à Suzanne Peignot
Prem: 6 May 1930 by Mme Ritter-Ciampi and the Orchestre
Symphonique de Paris, conducted by Pierre Monteux
Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1930
- Sept 1929 ***Pastorale en Ut***
Music: piece for piano
Ded: à Alfred Cortot
Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1930
- 1929 ***La Nouvelle Cythère***
Music: commission by Diaghilev for an opera based on the *Voyage autour du monde* (1771) by Louis-Antoine de Bougainville. (After Diaghilev's death the project was dropped.)
- 1929 ***La Nouvelle Cythère***
Music: 2-piano short score for *La Nouvelle Cythère* (the music for which was believed to have been lost for many years)
Pub: Musik Fabrik⁵
- 1929 ***Pastorale Inca***
Music: piano
Pub: Musik Fabrik
- 1929 ***Pastorale Inca***
Music: incidental music for film
Pub: Musik Fabrik
- 1929 ***Amazone***
Music: piano
Pub: unpublished
- 1929 ***Galop, Bucolique, Sarabande***
Music: 3 pieces for orchestra
Pub: unpublished
- 1930 ***Le Fou sensé***
Music: opéra-comique for which the author of the text remains unknown. No known music.⁶

⁵ The 2-piano short score (as the only surviving music for *La Nouvelle Cythère*) has been found and published recently by Musik Fabrik. Two concert bands versions also exist, by Désiré Dondeyne and Paul Wehage.

- 1930 ***Fleurs de France***
 (1. 'Jasmin de Provence'; 2. 'Coquelicot de Guyenne'; 3. 'Rose d'Anjou'; 4. 'Tournesol du Languedoc'; 5. 'Anthémise du Roussillon'; 6. 'Lavandin de Haute-Provence'; 7. 'Volubilis du Béarn'; 8. 'Bleuet de Picardie')
 Music: album of 8 easy pieces for piano (orchestrated as *Fleurs de France, suite à danser*)
 Pub: Lemoine, 1962; *Fleurs de France, suite à danser*, Lemoine, 1980
- 1930 ***Sonate pour flute et cordes***
 Music: arrangement of an Alessandro Scarlatti sonata for flute, harp, violin, viola, and cello by Tailleferre
 Pub: unpublished
- 1930-1 ***Zoulaina***
 Text: libretto for opéra-comique in 3 acts by Charles-Henry Hirsch
 Music: score for voices and orchestra
 Pub: unpublished⁷
- 1932 ***Ouverture***
 Music piece for orchestra
 Com: Princesse Édmond de Polignac; originally composed for *Zoulaina*
 Ded: à la Princesse Edmond de Polignac
 Prem: 25 December 1932 by Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, conducted by Pierre Monteux at the Salle Pleyel
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc), 1934
- 1933 ***La Croisière jaune***
 Music: incidental music for short documentary film by Léon Poirer
 Pub: unpublished
- June 1933-
 March 1934 ***Concerto pour deux pianos, voix et orchestre***
 (1. Allegro; 2. Larghetto; 3. Final)
 Music: 3-movement Concerto for 2 Pianos, saxophone quartet, 2 mixed vocal quartets (wordless), and orchestra
 Ded: à Pierre Monteux
 Prem: 3 May 1934 by François Lang and Tailleferre (pianos) with the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, conducted by Pierre Monteux
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc)

⁶ Wehage believes that it was possibly an alternative or sub-title for *Zoulaina*.

⁷ In an interview with Odette Pannetier (*Candide*, 19 November 1931), Tailleferre said that she was currently working on Act 3 of an opéra-comique intended for a first performance in Brussels. It is therefore likely that the opera was completed but never performed, except for its *Ouverture* which achieved success as an independent concert item in 1932. (See Robert Orlegde, 'A Chronological Catalogue of the Compositions of Germaine Tailleferre [1892-1983]', *Muziek & Wetenschap*, Vol. 2, No. 2 [Summer 1992], 136.)

- 1934 **Concerto Grosso**
 Music: reduction of *Concerto pour deux pianos, voix et orchestre* for 2 pianos
 Prem: 14 December 1934, 'Concerts Servais'
 Pub: Heugel (Leduc)
- 1934 **Largo**
 Music: movement for violin and piano; extracted from *Concerto pour violon et orchestre*
 Pub: Durand, 1934
- 1934 **La Chasse à l'enfant**
 Text: poem by Jacques Prévert
 Music: song for voice and piano
 Ded: à Margo Lyon
 Pub: unpublished
 (Used in the film *Hotel du libre exchange*)
- 1934 **Le Chanson de l'éléphant**
 Music: song for voice and piano
 Pub: Soc Muciné
- 1934 **Deux Sonnets de Lord Byron**
 Text: 2 poems by Lord Byron
 Music: 2 songs for voice and piano
 Prem: 14 December 1934, 'Concerts Servais' by Anita Réal (soprano)
 Pub: Musik Fabrik
- 1935 **Madame Quinze**
 Music: incidental music for chamber orchestra and harpsichord to accompany a play by Jean Sarment mounted by the Comédie-Française
 Pub: unpublished
 (Extracts of this were used to compile the *Divertissement dans le style Louis XV*)
- 1935
 Rev 1950 **Divertissement dans le style Louis XV**
 Music: chamber orchestra and harpsichord (after *Madame Quinze*)
 Pub: unpublished
- 1935 **Les Souliers**
 Music: incidental music for short film written for Imperia-Film in collaboration with Paul Devred; includes *Chanson de Firmin*
 Pub: Soc. Coda
- 1935 **Chanson de Firmin**
 Text: Henri Jeanson
 Music: song for voice and piano
 Pub: Soc. Coda
 (Extract from *Les Souliers*)

- 1935-6 ***Terre d'amour et de liberté***
 Music: score for a short documentary film directed by Maurice Cloche
 Pub: unpublished
- 1936-1940 ***Cadences pour le Concerto en Mib pour piano de Mozart***
 Music: piano cadenzi for first and third movements of Mozart's Piano Concerto, K. 482
 Pub: Musik Fabrik
- 1936 ***Berceuse***
 Music: piece for piano
 Ded: François Lang
 Pub: Musik Fabrik, 2007
- 1936 ***Cadences pour le Concerto pour piano No. 15 de Haydn***
 Music: piano cadenzi for first and third movements of Haydn's Piano Concerto No. 11
 Pub: Musik Fabrik
- 1937 ***Concerto pour violon et orchestre***
 (1. Allegro non troppo; 2. Adagio; 3. Allegro)
 Music: 3-movement Concerto for violin and orchestra
 Prem: 22 November 1936 by Yvonne Astruc (violin) and the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, conducted by Pierre Monteux
 Ded: à Yvonne Astruc
 Pub: Durand
 (Adagio was orchestrated by Igor Markevitch, summer 1936)
- Spring 1937 ***Le Marin de Bolivar***
 Text: opéra-bouffe to a libretto by Henri Jeanson
 Music: 1-act opéra-bouffe for voices and orchestra; reuses the Overture to *Zoulaina* (1930)
 Prem: Paris Exhibition, summer 1937
 Pub: unpublished
- May-June 1937 ***Au Pavillon d'Alsace***
 Music: the final piano piece in a collection of 'Illustrations musicales', entitled *À l'Exposition*.
 Com: *Exposition Universelle*, 1937
 Ded: à Mme Marguerite Long
 Prem: Paris Exhibition, summer 1937, by Marguerite Long
 Pub: Deiss (Salabert), 1937
- 1937 ***Provincia***
 Music: score for a short documentary film directed by Maurice Cloche
 Pub: unpublished
- 1937 ***Symphonie graphique***
 Music: score for a short film by Maurice Cloche for Atlantic Films
 Pub: Ste Echo

- 1937 ***Sur les routes d'acier***
 Music: score for a short documentary film by Boris Peskine
 Pub: unpublished
- 1937 ***Le Jura ou Terre d'effort et de liberté***
 Music: score for a short film directed by Maurice Cloche
 Pub: Ste Bourcier
- 1937 ***Les Dames aux chapeaux verts***
 Music: score for a full-length film directed by Maurice Cloche
 Pub: Ste Bourcier
- 1938 ***Le petit chose***
 Music: score for a full-length film directed by Maurice Cloche
 Pub: Choudens, 1939 (piano reduction)
- 1938 ***Cantate de Narcisse***
 Text: Paul Valéry
 Music: 'mélodrame' in 7 scenes for Narcisse (baryton-marint); La Nymphé (soprano); semi-chorus of 3 nymphs (soprano, mezzo-soprano, countertenor); Un Echo; orchestra (strings, timpani, cymbals)
 Prem: Marseille, 1942, Orchestre de la Radio; (Paris première: 14 January 1943 by the Orchestre de la Société du Conservatoire, conducted by Alfred Cortot)
 Pub: unpublished
- 1939 ***Prélude et fugue***
 Music: organ, two trumpets in C, and two trombones
 Ded: à François Lang
 Pub: Musik Fabrik
- 1940 ***Bretagne***
 (1. 'Bretagne'; 2. 'Plages'; 3. 'Jeux'; 4. 'Bateaux'; 5. 'Cathédrales'; 6. 'Marché'; 7. 'Pardon'; 8. 'Port'; 9. 'Evocations'; 10. 'Postlude')
 Music: score for a short documentary film directed by Jean Epstein
 Pub: Salabert (piano reduction), 1940
- 1941 ***Les Deux Timides***
 (1. 'Générique'; 2. 'Les Bouquets'; 3. 'Dauphin se déshabille'; 4. 'Dauphin s'en dort'; 5. 'Le Duel'; 6. 'Histoire de Charpin'; 7. 'Marche du brassier'; 8. '1er scène de l'escalier'; 9. '1er recherche de l'épée'; 10. 'Quadrille'; 11. 'Quadrille – avant deux'; 12. 'Quadrille – La Poule'; 13. 'Scène de la fenêtre'; 14. 'Second duel'; 15. 'Scène des rosier'; 16. 'Scène de la voiture'; 17. 'Scène des manchettes')
 Music: score for a full-length film directed by Yves Allégret
 Pub: Ste Magali

- 1942 *Trois études pour piano et orchestre*
Music: 3 pieces for piano and orchestra
Ded: à Marguerite Long
Pub: Musik Fabrik (orchestrated by Paul Wehage)⁸
- 1942 *Pastorale pour flute et piano*
Music: short piece for flute and piano (also arranged for violin and piano)
Pub: Elkan-Vogel, Philadelphia, 1946
- 1942 *Ave Maria*
Text: Mme Igor Markevitch
Music: short choral piece written in New York for University use
Pub: unpublished
(Manuscript now lost)
- 1943 *Deux danses du Marin de Bolivar*
Music: 2 piano pieces
Ded: Vera Franeschi
Pub: unpublished

⁸ Tailleferre left only sketches of this work.

Appendix 3

Transcription of Interview with Michel Gemignani

(Yvonne Desportes's Son)

Tuesday 3 July 2007¹

Her Parents

1.

During her childhood, was she inspired to become a composer by her father, the composer Émile Desportes?

She had a very thorough grounding in all the arts. She and her brother didn't go to school but they received a very open education, directed by their parents. She was also very gifted for the plastic arts and she mounted an exhibition of her paintings at the age of nine.

2.

Did she receive her early musical training from her father?

Certainly but she entered the Conservatoire very quickly and very young.

3.

Was her mother, the painter Bertha Troriep, an influence for her when she [Yvonne Desportes] decided to become a professional composer, because she also had an exceptional career for a woman?

¹ Original interview conducted in French; transcript of French version available on request.

She [Yvonne Desportes] wanted to study painting but her mother thought that the École des Beaux-Arts was not a place for a young girl. That art school had a very free reputation so her mother preferred the Conservatoire.

Concerning her Childhood and her Brother

She was, with her brother, brought up in a very artistic milieu. They lived on a farm at Saint Etienne la Thillaye (near to Deauville) in Normandy. Her brother, Camille Desportes, was very gifted at music, the plastic arts, and also illustration. He was also passionate about animals and, at the age of nine, he wrote an animal encyclopaedia. He became a doctor and, after, a researcher and teacher at the Faculté de Médecine de Paris in the study of parasites ('parasitologie'). He played the trumpet in his free time and replaced the first trumpeter of the Orchestre de l'Opéra de Paris whilst he was following his medical studies. He died at the age of thirty-three during an expedition to Africa for his research.

The Prix de Rome

4.

Yvonne Desportes competed in the Prix de Rome competition in 1929 (first round), 1930 (Deuxième Second Grand Prix de Rome), 1931 (Premier Second Prix de Rome), and 1932 (Premier Grand Prix de Rome). Was winning the Premier Grand Prix de Rome a big ambition for her?

For her, the Grand Prix de Rome represented two things: firstly, it was the end of the musical training of a composer; also, it was the means by which to accede to the professional world, because it was open to everyone.

5.

In 1932, Desportes became the fifth woman to win the Premier Grand Prix de Rome in musical composition (after Lili Boulanger in 1913, Marguerite Canal in 1920, Jeanne Leleu in 1923, and Elsa Barraine in 1929). Was she encouraged to compete by the fact that four women had already won the Premier Grand Prix de Rome?

It was very difficult for a woman but she was obstinate because the Prix de Rome was the assurance of acceptance, all the professors of compositions at the Conservatoire had won. She was encouraged by the other women who had won in her desire to persevere.

6.

Yvonne Desportes met her husband, the sculptor Ulysse Gemignani (who was also a laureate of the Grand Prix de Rome) at the Villa Médicis in Rome. Were there any problems with the Institut de France when they decided to get married in 1933?

She was already married and divorced with a daughter when she arrived at the Villa Médicis in Rome where she met her second husband, the sculptor Ulysse Gemignani.

Her Music

7.

It is often said that Yvonne Desportes was influenced by the music of the Russian Five (Balakirev, Borodin, Cui, Mussorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov). Do you think that she had other musical influences?

The Five (especially at the beginning) but she had, nevertheless, a Baroque influence, there is often a Baroque form in her music but there is also a mixture of genres. She was also influenced by her son [the percussionist Vincent Gemignani] who invented a

number of instruments. She mixed all the genres in order to enrich her compositional palette. She was also influenced by her teachers: Dukas and the Gallons and also by Florent Schmitt and Ravel but it is true that she liked the Russians a lot.

8.

Did the musical trend after World War Two for electronic music inspire Yvonne Desportes to experiment with that genre?

She was a teacher so she had to know all the musical genres (she went to a concert every night). Furthermore, she was technically experimental.

9.

I believe that Yvonne Desportes liked the theatrical genres, were her operas produced during her lifetime?

Le Forgeur Merveilles

Was produced by the Radio, 30 June 1967

Maître Cornélius

Was produced by the Radio in January 1950

So there were two. She loved the theatre but she never had the opportunity to see her operas produced for the stage.

Her Career as a Teacher

10.

She worked at the Conservatoire as a professor of solfège (from 1943 to 1959) and then as a professor of counterpoint and fugue (from 1959 to 1978) but was she also a teacher of composition?

No, but she gave the taste for musical passion, enthusiasm, and encouragement to a lot of people.

Her Reception

11.

Was her music often performed during her lifetime?

Yes, she was often performed until the 1980s and a lot more often in the other European countries (especially Germany) than in France at the end of her life.²

Yvonne Desportes as a Composer

12.

Did she sometimes feel that her career had been affected by the fact that she was a woman?

It was more difficult for a woman than a man.

13.

Did she have any relationships or interactions with other women composer of her generation?

She was often in touch with the other musicians of her generation, for example Henri Dutilleux. She gave receptions at her home for other artists (from all the artistic genres) to reproduce the ambiance of the Villa Médicis in Rome since her return to France. She was very open with all the composers of her generation who were also her friends.

² It is noteworthy that Desportes's mother (Bertha Troriep) was German and she (Desportes) was born in Germany.

14.

Was she interested in feminism?

She wasn't militant.

Appendix 4

Competitors for the Prix de Rome Competition, 1919-1939

The following appendix was compiled from consulting the documentation regarding the competitors for the Prix de Rome competition held at the Archives of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, the Institut de France, Paris (June 2007). Lists of the candidates for rounds one and two were sent to the *Secrétaire perpétuel* of the Académie des Beaux-Arts by the Minister of Public Instruction each year, prior to each round of the competition taking place. The lists of candidates from years 1919 to 1939 are housed in a series of boxes at the Archives of the Institut de France, which also hold all the other documents regarding the Prix de Rome competition in each discipline for those years. Unfortunately, the lists for each round of the competition for every year have either not survived or have not been archived with the other documents regarding the Prix de Rome competition.¹ Very little scholarly attention has been directed towards the Prix de Rome during the interwar years (in any discipline) and the boxes for these years are consequentially extremely disorganised.² The following appendix represents as clear a picture of who competed for the Prix de Rome competition in musical composition during the interwar years as is currently possible. In each case the information is presented as followed:

Year;

list of candidates for round one (where known);

list of candidates for round two (where known).

¹ No list of candidates for rounds one or two could be found for 1933 or 1935; information regarding the award winners of these years was compiled through consulting the *procès verbaux* for the competitions.

² The present author had only limited access to the Archives of the Institut de France in June 2007.

1919

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Georges Becker	Paul Vidal	20 May 1892	Male
Mlle. Soulage	Vidal	12 December 1894	Female
Mlle. Guyard	Félix Fourdrain	25 April 1894	Female
Mlle. Emilie Semama	Vidal	4 July 1889	Female
M. Pierre Menu	Widor	9 July 1896	Male
M. Jacques Ibert	Vidal	15 August 1890	Male
M. Marcel Tremois	Charles-Marie Widor	28 February 1981	Male
M. Georges	Widor	27 February 1891	Male
M. Marc Delmas	Vidal	28 March 1885	Male
M. Henri Vasseur	Widor	29 December 1886	Male
M. Pierre Saunier	Widor	16 September 1891	Male
M. Robert Siohan	Widor	27 February 1894	Male
Mlle. Madeleine Dedieu (Peters)	Widor	12 July 1889	Female
M. Pierre Saint-Aulaire	Widor	29 April 1886	Male
M. Raymond de Pezzer	Widor	21 November 1885	Male
M. Marcel Lecacheur	Widor	13 August 1894	Male
M. Jean Dere	Widor	23 June 1886	Male
Mlle. Renée Sol de Marquein	Widor	13 September 1891	Female
M. Charles Bousquet	Widor	9 September 1890	Male
Mlle. Marie Canal	Vidal	29 January 1890	Male
M. Aimé Steck	Widor	24 November 1892	Male
M. Paul Fievet	Widor	11 December 1892	Male
M. Paul Levi	Widor	10 May 1890	Male
M. Robert Breard	Widor	18 January 1894	Male
M. François Dussant	Widor	19 September 1896	Male

Candidates for Round Two

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France

1920

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
Mlle. Marthe Guyard	Charles Koechlin	25 April 1894	Female
M. Ernest Manas	Vidal	28 March 1897	Male
Mlle. Emilie Semama, called Savenay	Vidal	4 July 1889	Female
M. Marcel Lecacheur	Widor	13 August 1894	Male
M. Marcel Gennaro	Widor	6 June 1888	Male
Mlle. Marcelle Soulage	Vidal	12 December 1894	Female
M. Robert Breard	Widor	18 January 1894	Male
M. Marie Bertin	Vidal	1 January 1894	Male
M. Pierre Saunier	Widor	16 September 1891	Male
M. Robert Siohan	Widor	27 February 1894	Male
M. Marcel Carpentier	Widor	17 October 1892	Male
M. Charles Bousquet	Widor	9 September 1890	Male
M. Georges Migot	Widor	24 February 1891	Male
M. Guillaume de Sauville de La Presle	Vidal	5 July 1898	Male
M. Paul Fiévet	Widor	11 December 1892	Male
M. Jean Déré	Widor	23 June 1886	Male
Mlle. Annette Dieudonné	Vidal	7 December 1896	Female
Mlle. Geneviève Gerard	Widor	15 February 1896	Female
M. Marcel Tremois	Widor	28 February 1891	Male
M. Georges Becker	Vidal	20 May 1892	Male
M. Aimé Steck	Widor	24 November 1892	Male
M. Henri Vasseur	Widor	29 December 1886	Male
M. Léon Haret	Vidal	10 June 1888	Male
M. Louis Fourestier	Vidal	31 May 1892	Male
Mlle. Madeleine Dedieu (Peters)	Widor	12 July 1889	Female
M. Paul Levi	Widor	10 May 1893	Male
M. François Dussaut	Widor	19 September 1896	Male
M. Maxime Dumoulin	Vidal	2 March 1893	Male
Mlle. Marcelle Manziarly	Nadia Boulanger	13 October 1899	Female
Mlle. Marguerite Canal	Vidal	29 January 1890	Female

Candidates for Round Two

M. Fiévet
M. Dussaut
Mlle. Canal
M. de la Presle
M. Siohan
M. Déré

1921

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Maurice Bertin	Vidal	1 January 1894	Male
M. Charles Bousquet	Widor	9 September 1890	Male
M. Robert Bréard	Widor	18 January 1894	Male
M. Marcel Cariven	Vidal	18 April 1894	Male
M. Marcel Carpentier	Widor	17 October 1892	Male
Mlle. Madeleine Dedieu (Peters)	Widor	12 July 1889	Female
Mlle. Suzanne Demarquez	Vidal	5 July 1891	Female
Mlle. Annette Dieudonne	Vidal	7 December 1896	Female
M. Maxime Dumoulin	Vidal	2 March 1893	Male
M. Robert Dussaut	Widor	19 September 1896	Male
Mlle. Geneviève Gerard	Widor	15 February 1898	Female
Mlle. Marie Guyard	Trémisot	25 April 1894	Female
Mlle. Marie Huble	Vidal	24 December 1889	Female
M. Marcel Lecacheur	Widor	13 August 1894	Male
Mlle. Yvonne Lefebure	Widor	29 June 1898	Female
Mlle. Jeanne Leleu	Widor	29 December 1898	Female
M. Paul Levi	Widor	10 May 1890	Male
M. Roger Manas	Vidal	28 March 1897	Male
Mlle. Marcelle de Manziarly	Mlle Nadia Boulanger	13 October 1899	Female
M. Henri Martelli	Widor	25 February 1895	Male
M. Pierre Saunier	Widor	16 September 1891	Male
M. Henri Sauveplane	Vidal	5 November 1892	Male
M. Guillaume de la Presle	Vidal	5 July 1888	Male
Mlle. Emilie Semama (called	Vidal	4 July 1889	

Savenay)			
Mlle. Marcelle Soulage	Vidal	12 December 1894	
M. Aimé Steck	Widor	24 November 1892	

Candidates for Round Two

M. Cariven
Mlle. Leleu
M. Bousquet
M. Bréard
M. Dussaut
M. de la Presle

1922

Candidates for Round One

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France

Candidates for Round Two

Mlle. Jeanne Leleu
M. Francis Bousquet
M. Aimé Steck
M. Marcel Cariven
M. Robert Bréard

1923

Candidates for Round One

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France

Candidates for Round Two

Mlle. Jeanne Leleu
M. Yves de la Casinière
M. Charles Bouquet
M. Robert Bréard,
M. Louis Fourestier
M. Robert Dussaut

1924

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. René Guillou	Widor	5 October 1903	Male
M. Auguste Schirlé	Widor	5 April 1895	Male
M. Robert Bréard	Widor	18 January 1894	Male
M. Yves de la Casinière	Max d'Ollone	11 February 1897	Male
M. Henri Tomasi	Vidal	17 August 1901	Male

M. André Santerre (called André Roubaud)	Widor	25 February 1901	Male
M. Louis Fourestier	Vidal	31 May 1892	Male
M. Maurice Franck	Vidal	20 April 1897	Male
M. Raymond Loucheur	Vidal	1 January 1899	Male
M. Jean Clergue	Vidal	15 July 1896	Male
M. Edmond Gaujac	Vidal	10 February 1895	Male
M. Marie Antoine Bertin	Vidal	1 January 1894	Male
Mlle. Jeanne Melka	Vidal, Gedalge and Raoul Laparra	26 October 1897	Female
M. Robert Dussaut	Widor	19 September 1896	Male

Candidates for Round Two

M. de la Casinière
M. Dussaut
M. Gaujac
M. Guillou
M. Bréard

1925

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Louis Félix André Fourestier	Vidal	31 May 1892	Male
M. Edmond Gaujac	Vidal	19 February 1895	Male
M. René Alfred Octave Guillou	Widor	8 October 1903	Male
M. Maurice Franck	Vidal	20 April 1897	Male
M. Henri Tomasi	Vidal and Caussade	17 August 1901	Male
M. Marcel Fargues	Paul Lacombe	25 September 1899	Male
M. Yves de la Casinière	Max d'Ollone and Nadia Boulanger	11 February 1897	Male
M. Raymond Loucheur	Vidal	1 January 1899	Male

Candidates for Round Two

M. Guillou
M. Tomasi
M. de la Casinière
M. Gaujac
M. Franck
M. Fourestier

1926

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Louis Félix André Fourestier	Vidal	31 May 1892	Male
M. Edmond Gaujac	Vidal	19 February 1895	Male
M. René Alfred Octave Guillou	Widor	8 October 1903	Male
M. Maurice Franck	Vidal	20 April 1897	Male
M. Henri Tomasi	Vidal et Caussade	17 August 1901	Male
M. Marcel Fargues	Paul Lacombe	25 September 1899	Male
M. Yves de la Casinière	Max d'Ollone and Nadia Boulanger	11 February 1897	Male
M. Raymond Loucheur	Vidal	1 January 1899	Male

Candidates for Round Two

M. Guillou
M. Tomasi
M. de la Casinière
M. Gaujac
M. Franck
M. Fourestier

1927

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Georges Favre	Widor	26 July 1905	Male
M. Raymond Loucheur	Vidal and d'Ollone	1 January 1899	Male
M. Edmond Gaujac	Vidal	10 February 1895	Male
M. Henri Tomasi	Vidal and Caussade	17 August 1901	Male
M. Maurice Franck	Vidal	20 April 1897	Male
M. Marc Vaubourgoin	Widor	19 March 1907	Male
M. Jean Cartan	Widor	1 December 1906	Male

Candidates for Round Two

M. Loucheur
M. Gaujac
M. Tomasi
M. Franck
M. Vaubourgoin

1928

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Henri Tomasi	Vidal et Caussade	17 August 1901	Male
M. Marc Vaubourgoin	Widor and Dukas	19 March 1907	Male
M. Georges Favre	Widor and Dukas	26 July 1905	Male
Mlle. Louise Simon (called Arrieu)	Dukas	30 November 1903	Female
M. Raymond Loucheur	Vidal and d'Ollone	1 January 1899	Male
M. Maurice Franck	Vidal	20 April 1897	Male
M. Francis Revel	Dukas	21 August 1901	Male
M. René Corniot	Dukas	23 March 1901	Male
M. Jacques Dupont	Vidal	7 August 1906	Male
Mlle. Jacqueline Barraine	Dukas	13 February 1910	Female

Candidates for Round Two

M. Tomasi
M. Franck
M. Loucheur
M. Vaubourgoin
M. Favre
Mlle. Barraine

1929

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Georges Favre	Dukas and d'Ollone	26 July 1905	Male
Mlle. Jacqueline Barraine	Dukas and Büsser	13 February 1910	Female
M. Jean Marie Dupont	Vidal and Noël Gallon	7 August 1906	Male
Mlle. Yvonne Desportes	Dukas and Noël Gallon	18 July 1907	Female
M. Tony Aubin	Dukas and Noël Gallon	8 December 1907	Male
M. Marc Vaubourgoin	Vidal, Dukas and Gallon	19 March 1907	Male
Mlle. Simon (called Claude Arrieu)	Dukas	30 November 1903	Female
M. Sylver Caffot	Vidal	1 December 1903	Male

Candidates for Round Two

M. Aubin
 Mlle. Barraine
 M. Vaubourgoin
 M. Favre
 M. Dupont
 M. Caffot

1930

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Emile Marcel Lucas (called Marcelin)	Vidal and Gallon	12 December 1906	Male
M. Georges Favre	Dukas and d'Ollone	26 July 1905	Male
Mlle. Yvonne Desportes	Dukas and N. Gallon	18 July 1907	Female
M. Marc Vaubourgoin	Widor and Dukas	19 March 1907	Male
M. Henri Pierre Maillard	Büsser and Faucher	20 May 1906	Male
M. Olivier Messiaen	Dukas, Noël Gallon, Caussade and Jean Gallon	10 December 1908	Male
M. Tony Aubin	Dukas and N. Gallon	8 December 1907	Male
M. Jacques Dupont	Vidal and N. Gallon	7 August 1906	Male
M. Jean Paul Vuillermoz	Vidal and N. Gallon	29 December 1906	Male

Candidates for Round Two

Mlle. Desportes
 M. Aubin
 M. Vaubourgoin
 M. Favre
 M. Dupont
 M. Vuillermoz

1931

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
Mlle. Henriette Roget	Vidal and Büsser	9 January 1910	Female
M. Olivier Messiaen	Dukas and N. Gallon	10 December 1908	Male
M. Georges Favre	Dukas	26 July 1905	Male

M. René Lucien Marcel Dautremer	Dukas and N. Gallon	11 June 1906	Male
Mlle. Yvonne Desportes	Dukas and N. Gallon	18 July 1907	Female
M. Lucas Marcelin (called Emile Marcel)	Vidal, Büsser and Gallon	12 December 1906	Male
M. Marc Vaubourgoin	Widor and Dukas	19 March 1907	Male
M. René Louis Jean Challan	Vidal, Büsser and N. Gallon	12 December 1910	Male
M. Henri Edmond Emile Challan	Vidal, Büsser and N. Gallon	12 December 1910	Male
M. Marcel Jean Mirouse	Vidal and Büsser	24 September 1906	Male
M. Jacques Dupont	Vidal, Büsser and N. Gallon	7 August 1906	Male
M. Jean Paul Vuillermoz	Vidal, Büsser and N. Gallon	29 December 1906	Male

Candidates for Round Two

Mlle. Roget
M. Challan
M. Dupont
M. Messiaen
M. Marcelin
Mlle. Desportes

1932

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Robert Planel	Büsser	22 January 1908	Male
M. Marc Berthomieu	Büsser	9 December 1906	Male
M. René	N. Gallon and Büsser	12 December 1910	Male
M. Henri Challan	N. Gallon and Büsser	12 December 1910	Male
M. Jean Vuillermoz	N. Gallon and Büsser	29 December 1906	Male
M. Marc Vaubourgoin	Widor and Dukas	19 March 1907	Male
M. Emile Marcelin	N. Gallon, J. Gallon and Büsser	12 December 1906	Male
Mlle. Henriette Roget	Büsser	9 January 1910	Female
M. Marcel Mirouse	Büsser	24 September 1906	Male
M. Marcel Dautremer	Dukas	11 June 1906	Male

Mlle. Yvonne Desportes	Dukas and N. Gallon	18 July 1907	Female
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Candidates for Round Two

Mlle. Desportes
M. Berthomieu
M. Marcelin
Mlle. Roget
M. Vuillermoz
M. Vaubourgoin

1933

Candidates for Round One

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France.

Candidates for Round Two

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France.

1934

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Marcel Stern	André-Bloch, Georges Caussade and Henri Büsser	4 November 1909	Male
M. Pierre Lantier	André-Bloch, Georges Caussade and Henri Büsser	30 April 1910	Male
M. Eugène Bozza	Henri Büsser and N. Gallon	5 April 1905	Male
M. Gaston Litaize	Büsser and Caussade	11 August 1909	Male
M. Pierre Auclert	N. Gallon and Dukas	15 February 1905	Male
M. René Challan	Büsser, J. Gallon and N. Gallon	12 December 1910	Male
M. Henri Challan	Büsser, J. Gallon and N. Gallon	12 December 1910	Male
Mlle. Lucienne Pauly	Büsser, J. Gallon and N. Gallon	23 April 1909	Female
M. Jean Hubeau	Dukas and N. Gallon	22 June 1917	Male
Mlle. Henriette Roget	Büsser and N. Gallon	9 January 1910	Female
M. Victor Serventi	Büsser, J. Gallon and N. Gallon	23 June 1907	Male

M. Marcel Mirouze	Büsser	24 September 1906	Male
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Candidates for Round Two

M. H. Challan
Mlle. Roget
M. Auclert
M. Bozza
M. Hubeau
M. R. Challan

1935

Candidates for Round One

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France.

Candidates for Round Two

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France.

1936

Candidates for Round One

Name	Composition Teacher	Date of Birth	Sex
M. Marcel Stern	Büsser, André-Bloch and Caussade	4 November 1906	Male
M. Félicien Wolff	Dukas, Emmanuel, Noël Gallon and Dupré	21 July 1913	Male
M. Georges Friboulet	Büsser, Pech, Caussade and Emmanuel	26 July 1910	Male
M. Pierre Lantier	Büsser, Caussade, Emmanuel and Gaubert	30 April 1910	Male
M. Gaston Litaize	Büsser	11 August 1909	Male
M. Victor Serventi	Büsser	23 June 1907	Male
M. Marie Gabriel	Büsser and Caussade	11 November 1907	Male
Mlle. Paule Maurice	Büsser	29 September 1910	Female
M. Marcel Mirouze	Büsser	24 September 1906	Male
M. Henri Challan	Büsser	12 December 1910	Male
Mlle. Lucienne Pauly	Büsser	23 April 1909	Female
M. Pierre Maillard (called Maillard-Verger)	Dukas	5 December 1910	Male

Candidates for Round Two

M. Wolff
M. Maillard-Verger
M. Lantier
M. Challan
M. Litzaire
M. Stern

1937**Candidates for Round One**

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France.

Candidates for Round Two

M. Henri Dutilleux
M. Pierre Lantier
M. Jean Hubeau
M. André Lavagne
M. Victor Serventi

1938**Candidates for Round One**

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France.

Candidates for Round Two

M. Albert Desenclos
M. Henri Dutilleux
M. Raymond Gallois-Montbrun
M. André Lavagne
M. Gaston Litaize
Mlle. Eliane Pradelle

1939**Candidates for Round One**

Unknown: list missing from the Archives of the Institut de France.

Candidates for Round Two

M. Jean Jacques Charles Grunenwald
M. Pierre Sancen
M. Robert Lannoy
M. Albert Desenclos
M. Pierre Maillard-Verger
M. Raymond Gallois-Montburn