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From Patron to Publisher

Louise Dyer and Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1927-1940

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From Patron to Publisher:
Louise Dyer and
Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1927-1940

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Music
Faculty of Arts & Humanities



2021

Covid Statement

The global COVID 19 pandemic lockdowns throughout 2020 and 2021, which began in London on 26 March 2020, impacted my ability to undertake planned archival research within the United Kingdom, France and Australia. The inability to gain access to these resources meant reviewing and ultimately changing the structure of my thesis. My planned chapters on Dyer's publication and recording of John Blow's *Venus & Adonis* and on the recordings that she made with Thurston Dart were replaced by an extended discussion about her transition from patron-organiser to music publisher, and a new chapter on *Pipeaux Mélodies* (1934). While these chapters are based on primary and secondary materials collected earlier in my research programme I had, before COVID 19, decided not to include them in my thesis.

Abstract

The music publishing house Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre was established in Paris in 1931 by an Australian, Louise Dyer (1884-1962), later Hanson-Dyer. Through her firm she challenged pre-existing norms from the start with the timely and acclaimed publication of the complete works of François Couperin, 'le Grand'. This thesis reconsiders Dyer's contribution to French musical culture in the interwar period and shows how she identified and resolved key issues, often earlier than other leading experts within the musical circles that she mixed in. As a woman, non-French and thus in all respects an outsider, her entry into the realm of music publishing confronted gendered and nationalistic conventions, was contested by some and supported by other leading members of the French political and musical elite. Scholarly work has previously recognised Dyer as an Australian woman of significance in the realm of music patronage, however recent published scholarship on musical culture in interwar France and on early music has largely ignored the extent of her contribution. I show that Dyer made notable contributions to interwar French musical culture, and that examining her activities offers a broader perspective on the critical, even if not central, role she played. My approach draws from a range of scholarly disciplines including women's studies, life-writing and cultural history and on recently accessibly archive materials. Through four case studies I explore Dyer's transition from patron-organiser into a cultural producer and examine the significant role she played in the ongoing construction of French musical culture in the interwar period. I particularly emphasise her role in the revival of early music and its association with neoclassicism and folk music, and in making this music more widely available to the general public. By addressing these broader aspects of her contribution my research adds to the body of knowledge on Dyer and her activities and to the study of French music in society and culture throughout the 1930s.

**FROM PATRON TO PUBLISHER:
LOUISE DYER AND
LES ÉDITIONS DE L'OISEAU-LYRE, 1927-1940**

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Acknowledgements

When I met the composer and music critic Peggy Glanville-Hicks at her home in Paddington, Sydney, Australia, in 1979 my aim was to learn more about her operas. I was not disappointed. Glanville-Hicks, a gifted raconteur, regaled me with anecdotes from of her rich and colourful, though at times incredibly difficult, international musical life. One account concerned her gratitude for the crucial support provided in the early stages of her career by another Australian, Louise Dyer. Who is Louise Dyer? Glanville-Hicks raised her eyebrows and following a short pause she explained that Louise Dyer had left Melbourne in 1927 and settled in Paris, where she established the music publishing house Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre in 1931. She then recalled how Dyer had published, recorded and released her *Choral Symphony* to coincide with its world première at the International Society for Contemporary Composers concert in London, in June 1938. Glanville-Hicks's own story was compelling enough, yet Dyer's story was equally enthralling.

My own international peripatetic existence meant any academic examination of her life and work would have to wait. It is said that 'timing is everything' and in 2017, one year after Dyer's Personal and Business Archive became readily accessible to scholars, my journey began.

In the first instance I am deeply indebted to Emeritus Professor David Gramit (University of Alberta) and Emeritus Professor Geoffrey Kiel (The University of Queensland), both of whom enthusiastically supported my PhD application, despite a two-decade break from formal academic studies. This thesis combines my passions for musicology and business, disciplines they represent respectively.

I would like to thank the staff and librarians of the various archives and institutions that facilitated my research: The British Library; King's College London Archive; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Bibliothèque Nationale de la Musique,

the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, and at the Département des Arts du Spectacle; the Archives à la Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques-Doucet; the King's College Archives, University of Cambridge; Oriel College Archives, University of Oxford; St George's Chapel Archives, Windsor; the State Library of Victoria and the State Library of New South Wales, Australia; and the BBC Written Archives Centre. Special thanks go to Heidi Zimmerman from The Paul Sacher Foundation and to Paul Civitelli from the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Yale University Library who assisted via email.

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My French is far from perfect, and I will be forever grateful for the French classes taken over three years at King's College London which were enormously helpful. I am also indebted to my French neighbour, Anne-Marie, who has willingly reviewed some of the trickier translations offering valuable suggestions when necessary. All translations are mine.

I am deeply grateful to Davitt Moroney, Emeritus Professor, University of California, Berkeley, and former editor and Director (until 2001) of Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre. Davitt enthusiastically answered my questions while simultaneously challenging my thinking and offering helpful advice and introductions.

I believe in serendipity. One day I received an email about a collection of papers relating to the production of Dyer's catalogues of the music of Gustav Holst and Edward Elgar. Publishing and recording companies are bought and sold on a regular basis and little thought is usually given to archival material. This small collection of papers was rescued from a 'bonfire of the archives' by a young employee who recognised the name on the box and thought it should be saved: for this act Dyer scholarship can be grateful.

Professor Kerry Murphy and Dr Jennifer Hill, Curator Rare Music, both from the University of Melbourne where the personal and business archive of Louise Dyer and Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre is located, are Dyer enthusiasts. It has been a pleasure to get to know them during my research visits, and their encouragement and thoughtful questions have helped shape my thinking.

The Music Department at King's College London has made more of an impact on this project than they will ever know. Over the past four years I have had the opportunity to share ideas, doubts and laughter with fellow research students and staff members. I am particularly indebted to those who sat through my conference presentations, and who read, commented on, and discussed portions of this work as my ideas evolved and drafts multiplied. My fellow students, Roberta Collingwood, Helen Richardson, Giles Masters, Cydonie Banting, Alasdair Cameron, Christopher Terepin, Sophia Sakellaridis Mangoura, Caroline Gleeson-Mercier, Robin Shooter and Rhys Sparey are inspirational. And the members of staff, especially Flora Willson, Roger Parker, Michael Fend, Ditlev Rindom, Katherine Butler-Schofield, Matthew Head, and Andy Fry (also my second supervisor), have been inspiring.

During my intensive weeks of research in Melbourne I benefitted immensely from the generous hospitality of my friend Assistant Professor Neryl Jeanneret (University of Melbourne): a wonderful sounding board no matter how far apart we live.

My deepest gratitude is for my supervisor Heather Wiebe, whose wisdom, encouragement, constructive criticism and remarkable patience knows no bounds. The transition from full-time Chief Executive within the cultural sector to that of author-student was not an easy one and I am very grateful to Heather for her advice throughout my project and her example of scholarship. This has been an incredible journey, and I am most appreciative of your guidance.

During the long hours of writing our wonderful cats Gigi and Louis have kept me company. But my deepest thanks go to my husband Simon who not only read every draft providing feedback and support when needed, but who also made sure that I was well nourished!

London, November 2021

Susan M. Daniels

Dedication

In memory of my parents.

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Key Dates Timeline for Louise Dyer (later, Hanson-Dyer)

- 1884 19 July, Louise Berta Mosson Smith, born, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1886 The Smiths travel to England for the Indian and Colonial Exhibition.
- 1887 17 April, Louise's brother Louis Lionel Smith, born.
- 1888 Louise's portrait painted by the Australian artist Tom Roberts.
- 1890 25 July, Louise's brother Harold Gengoult Smith, born.
- 1892 15 October, Louise's sister Gladys Marion Grace Sherrard Smith, born.
- 1891-98 Louise attends Presbyterian Ladies College (PCL), Melbourne.
- 1899 The Smiths travel to England. On this voyage Louise meets Mr and Mrs James Dyer, a wealthy Melbourne couple.
- 1902 7 January, Louise's sister Gladys dies in an accident, aged 10.
The Smiths visit the Orient.
- 1905 Louise studies piano with Eduard Scharf achieving Licentiate status.
- 1906 The Smiths travel to the Christchurch Exhibition, New Zealand.
- 1907 Louise accompanies her brother Louis to the United Kingdom. Louise studies piano with Philip E. Halsted in Glasgow.
- 1908 September, Louise and Louis visit Ireland and France.
- 1909 Louise and Louis return to Melbourne.
- 1910 8 July, Louis Lawrence Smith (Louise's father) dies, aged 80.
Louise is re-introduced to James Dyer (b. 1853, Scotland), now a widower.
- 1911 27 December, Louise marries James Dyer.
- 1912 2 January, the Dyers travel to Egypt.
Louise joins the committees of the Alliance Française Melbourne (AF) and the PLC Old Collegians Association (OCA).
- 1913 Louise becomes president of the Alliance Française, Melbourne.
- 1914 Louise experiences complications during pregnancy, resulting in a termination and a hysterectomy.
- 1914 April, the Dyers travel to Europe. They attend performances of the Ballets Russes and Feodor (Fyodor) Chaliapin.
- 1917 March-April, the Dyers travel to New Zealand.
Louise supports war effort through volunteer activities.
2 April, Louis (Louise's brother) killed in action at Noreuil, France.
- 1919 Louise becomes president of the PLC OCA (1919-1921).
The Dyers meet General Pau and his French delegation in Melbourne.
- 1920 The Dyers travel to England and the Continent.
- 1921 The Dyers return to Australia.

- Louise accepts second term as president of the AF, Melbourne.
27 June, Louise's mother, Marion Jane Smith, dies aged 68.
Louise and James establish a British Music Society (BMS) branch in Melbourne.
11 November, the Dyers host their first event in support of the BMS.
- 1922 Louise organises a celebration of the tercentenary of Molière for the AF.
- 1923 William Gillies Whittaker, on behalf of the Associated Boards of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM), visits Australia as an examiner. He is invited to stay with the Dyers.
- 1924 8 January, the Dyers travel to England and Europe.
Louise accepts a second term as president of the PLC OCA (1924-1926).
The Dyers attend the BMS conference in Liverpool, and the International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM) festival in Prague, where Louise encounters Henry Prunières.
The Dyers meet Arnold Dolmetsch in Haslemere, England.
- 1925 New Year's Eve, the Dyers arrive in Melbourne.
1 May, Louise produces the first M. D. Calvocoressi lecture.
15 May, Louise delivers a lecture, 'Music in the School', at PLC.
Bastille Day Ball hosted by the Dyers is attended by Chaliapin.
2 December, Louise arranges the first orchestral performance of Holst's *The Planets* in Sydney, Australia.
- 1926 June, the Dyers visit New Caledonia and the New Hebrides.
30 September, Louise produces Holst's opera *Savitri*, to raise an endowment fund for the BMS.
James Dyer places £10,000 in a Trust toward the establishment of a permanent orchestra in Melbourne.
Louise's portrait painted by the Australian artist W.B. McInnes.
- 1927 The Dyers entertain the French Naval diplomatic mission.
Louise presents an illustrated-lecture on French music in Melbourne (using gramophone recordings).
6 April, the Dyers leave Australia to make a new home in the Northern Hemisphere.
June, the Dyers attend the ISCM festival in Frankfurt-am-Main.
Louise and James re-introduced to Henry Prunières.
Louise writes articles for *The Herald*, Melbourne.
- 1928 The Dyers purchase a penthouse apartment in Paris, they travel to the Aegean and Syria, and attend the ISCM festival, Sienna.
Louise begins work on her Music Lending Library project.
November, the Dyers spend four months in Rome over the winter.
- 1929 Louise meets Benito Mussolini, Prime Minister of Italy.
Spring, the Dyers visit London with Henry and Camille Prunières.
April, the Dyers attend the ISCM festival, Geneva.
June, Louise accepted into the Société Française de Musicologie (SFM).
2 August, Dyer, Prunières and Stainer & Bell sign a contract re subscription sales to Anglophone countries.

- 20 October, Louise organises Paris premiere of Holst's *Egdon Heath*.
 29 October, Wall Street Crash.
 9 November, the Dyers host their housewarming party in Paris.
- 1930
 30 April, Louise agrees to fund Prunières's Lully project.
 June, *La Revue musicale* 10th Anniversary dinner.
 27 October, the Dyers host a soirée in honour of Arthur Honegger.
- 1931
 April, Louise founds Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre (EOL), in Paris.
 24-26 June, the Dyers attend ISCM festival, Oxford.
 9 October, Louise assumes the role of Lady Mayoress, Melbourne, to support her unmarried brother Harold who was elected Lord Mayor.
 December, the Dyers travel to Melbourne, Australia.
- 1932
 11 January, the Dyers arrive in Melbourne.
 5 March, Louise produces an event celebrating Lully's tercentenary.
 8 May, the Dyers return to Paris.
 June, the Dyers attend the ISCM festival, Vienna.
 Louise visits the musicologist Albert Smijers, in Amsterdam.
 August, review copies of *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*, Volume VI, *Musique pour orgue* are distributed to music critics.
 Joseph ('Joe', later 'Jeff') Birch Hanson (b. 29 May 1908) arrives in Paris from Melbourne.
 30 November, Louise holds soirée for Amitiés Internationales.
- 1933
 BMS London closes. However, over 25 branches in England and Ireland, five in New Zealand and one in Sydney and another in Melbourne, continue operations.
 April, Louise meets French President, Albert Lebrun.
 29 May, the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*, is launched in Paris.
 Joseph Hanson is introduced to the Dyers.
 June, the Dyers attend the ISCM Conference, Amsterdam.
 Louise's portrait painted by Max Ernst.
- 1934
 Joseph Hanson works on a range of small tasks on behalf of EOL.
 April, Louise and Rose Adler, visit Florence, Italy.
 26 June, Louise made Chevalier of the Légion d'honneur.
 Louise publishes *Pipeaux Mélodies* (1934).
 October, the City of Melbourne Centenary celebrations begin.
 November, the Dyers travel to Melbourne.
- 1935
 St Andrew's Day, November. James Dyer, as Vice-President of the Caledonian Society, Paris, presides over the banquet for the Duke and Duchess of York at the Hôtel d'Orsay, Paris.
- 1936
 October, the Dyers travel to North America, to promote EOL publications.
 James Dyer's health deteriorates.
- 1937
 25 May-25 November, EOL participates in the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie Moderne (1937 Paris International Exposition).
 Louise attends the ISCM festival, Paris.

- Autumn, Louise launches the recording arm of EOL.
 Jeff Hanson supports the distribution activities of EOL in London.
- 1938 6 January, James Dyer dies aged 78.
 15 Feb, Louise arrives in Australia (a short, three-week trip).
 Summer, Louise travels to Yugoslavia with Jeff Hanson.
 27 September, under the threat of war Louise flees Paris for London.
 October, Louise returns to Paris.
 Louise gifts her portrait by Ernst to Hanson.
- 1939 18 February, Louise produces a concert at the Salle Gaveau.
 6 April, Louise marries Hanson in Amersham, England.
 May, the Hanson-Dyers conduct a promotional tour of North America.
- 1940-1945 May, the Hanson-Dyers leave Paris for Oxford, England.
- 1945 September, the Hanson-Dyers return to Paris.
- 1948 EOL headquarters move to the Principality of Monaco.
- 1957 Louise made Officier de Légion d'honneur.
- 1962 9 November, Louise Hanson-Dyer dies aged 78.
 Louise bequeathed her Australian Estate, valued at c.£240,000, to the University of Melbourne. Her European assets were gifted to her husband Jeff Hanson.

Introduction



**Figure 1: Portrait of Louise Dyer by Giovanni Costetti (1929).
Image reproduced courtesy of a Private Collection, Paris, France (2021).**

The music publishing house Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre challenged pre-existing norms from the start. The firm was founded by an Australian, Louise Dyer (later Hanson-Dyer) in Paris in April 1931: she was forty-seven years old and had been living in the city for three years. Its first publication was the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin* (1932-1933), a twelve-volume edition which included all his works then known to exist, issued in commemoration of the bicentenary of his death.¹ This publication was swiftly followed by others and, in 1937, Dyer launched the recording arm of her business.

Before the fall of France in 1940, her firm had issued over one hundred publications and a similar number of 78-rpm recordings had been released: French music from the

¹ Before the complete edition was issued in 1933, Dyer issued Volume VI, *Pièces d'orgue*, ed. Paul Brunold in late summer 1932.

twelfth to the twentieth century constituted more than seventy-five per cent of the content of both the publications and the recordings.² Although her enterprise remained small—there were never more than three employees—and was launched and operated against a backdrop of political, financial and social turmoil in the last decade of the Third Republic, its output and its support of French musical culture was considerable showing that Dyer achieved her initial ambition of traversing time and space to illuminate significant aspects of the evolution of French musical expression.³

The success of Dyer’s enterprise during this period was in part due to the niche that she had carved for it—concentrating on previously unpublished music, both old and new—and to the application of her social and economic capital, understood in broad Bourdieuan terms.⁴ In addition, the firm’s output was held in high esteem by scholars, performers and music lovers at the time, drawing significant symbolic capital to the L’Oiseau-Lyre brand and to Dyer herself. This is demonstrated by the number of prominent composers who dedicated musical works to her, by the musicologists and performers that chose to work with her, and by the nickname bestowed on her by her close friends including the artisan bookbinder Rose Adler and the composer Darius Milhaud: the Australian fairy godmother.⁵ Moreover, her contribution to championing

² For a list of the firm’s publications and recordings issued between 1931 and 1940 see Appendices 1 and 2.

³ Louise Dyer, ‘Note de l’Éditeur’, *Œuvres Complètes de François Couperin*, 1 (Paris, Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1933), 1: ‘Et ainsi, sans lui assigner aucune limite, je veux espérer que sans encombre “l’Oiseau-Lyre” pourra étendre son vol à travers le temps et l’espace, et que des vents propices lui permettront de se poser partout où il reconnaît sa terre natale: la MUSIQUE?’.

⁴ The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu asserted that the most powerful members of society have an abundance of four forms of capital—economic, social, cultural and symbolic—which they use to maintain and extend their reach in society. In the main, he was referring to men. Furthermore, he believed intellectuals—specialised producers and transmitters of culture—play key roles in shaping cultural objects, systems and institutions, and their hierarchies. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (Oxford: Polity Press, 2017). For an excellent interpretation of Bourdieu’s work see David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

⁵ Rose Adler, *Journal 1927-1959*, ed. Hélène Leroy, pref. François Chapon (Paris: Éditions des Cendres, 2014), 62: ‘Ce 2 avril. Lettre de Louise Dyer, “la fée australienne”’; and Darius

French cultural heritage was recognised by the President, Albert Lebrun, who personally conferred on her the Chevalier de Légion d'honneur on 26 June 1934.⁶ Yet the legacy of this remarkable woman, especially from the firm's first decade of operation in Paris in the 1930s, remains under-acknowledged by music scholars despite recognition of her importance at the time.

This thesis explores Dyer's transition from a patron-organiser, a role she had assiduously carved out for herself in Melbourne following her marriage to James Dyer in 1911, into a renowned music publisher (of printed and recorded material) who played a significant role in the ongoing construction of French musical culture during the last decade of the Third Republic, especially the revival of early music.⁷ This evolution is revealed through a series of case studies related to specific publishing and recording activities undertaken by Dyer between her establishment in Paris in 1928 and her departure in May 1940, days before the invasion of France. Case studies provide a way of considering her contribution through the musical work that she undertook, the issues that she aimed to address, and the challenges that she encountered during the process as a woman, and a non-French woman, and the strategies that she used to negotiate these. On the one hand, her entry into the realm of music publishing confronted gendered

Milhaud, 'Mrs Dyer, une Australienne, est la bonne fée de la musique française', *Ce Soir*, 24 February 1939, 7. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k7636424b/f7.item>.

⁶ It is most likely the French government recognised Dyer's earlier work in Australia with the Alliance Française, as the patrons Princesse de Polignac and Elizabeth Sprague-Coolidge, and the pedagogue Nadia Boulanger were inducted in 1931 and 1932 respectively. They had all actively supported France's musical culture for a longer period than Dyer. Her induction was announced in *Le Figaro*, 'Legion d'Honneur', *Le Figaro*, 11 July 1934, 4: 'La président de la République a réunis les insignes de chevalier de la Légion d'honneur à Mme Dyer, originaire d'Australie, qui a fait éditer les œuvres de Couperin': 4. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k297750c/f4.item>. Dyer was promoted to *Officier* in January 1956.

⁷ Myriam Chimènes described Comtesse Greffulhe, among others, as transcending the private sphere of the mansion to try a hand at public performances. This is an apt description of Dyer's activities in Melbourne. Myriam Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens: du salon au concert à Paris sous la III^e République* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), 609: 'Il s'évade de l'espace privé que constitue son hôtel particulier, pour s'improviser à sa manière organisateur de manifestations publiques'.

conventions and was challenged by some of her close friends as well as some key members of the musical elite in France. Yet on the other, her privileged status enabled her to make choices and to take risks that others could not. Furthermore, as Dyer was neither a scholar nor a performer, but rather a publisher, her work must be considered in relation to that of others. While she might have been considered a ‘fairy godmother’, she did not simply grant wishes. Rather, Dyer made important contributions to interwar French musical culture, and offers an intriguingly decentred perspective on its developments, casting light on the cosmopolitan and colonial identities at work in the construction of national heritage, and on its place in a complex international network of exchange. Before describing my approach in more detail, I provide some context, beginning with a brief biography of Louise Dyer up to the year she launched her music publishing house in Paris, followed by an overview of the new socio-political context in which she found herself operating.

Louise Berta Mosson Dyer (later Hanson-Dyer)

Born in Melbourne, Australia on 19 July 1884, Louise Berta Mosson Smith was the daughter of the medical practitioner and Victorian parliamentarian Louis Lawrence Smith and Marion Jane Higgins.⁸ Louise grew up in a privileged environment, experiencing four overseas trips before the age of fifteen, often in connection with her father’s parliamentary work which focused on trade and investment.⁹ Notwithstanding Smith’s role in the community, the ‘Establishment’ represented by the State Governor,

⁸ The landmark biography of Louise Dyer is by Jim Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising: Louise Hanson-Dyer of l’Oiseau-Lyre 1884-1962* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994). Marion Jane Higgins was L.L. Smith’s second wife. Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 12.-21.

⁹ The c13,000 nautical mile journey took four to six weeks by ocean liner.

the diplomatic community, business leaders and their wives still considered the Smiths as *nouveau riche*.¹⁰

The community with which the Smiths associated was Eurocentric, denizens of an empire and then a commonwealth whose centre lay on the other side of the globe. In Melbourne imported hierarchies of class remained a fundamental link with the home country, as the city retained the seat of the newly formed Commonwealth of Australia's (1901) government before it was moved to the purpose-built capital of Canberra in 1927.¹¹ Melbourne was also home to the Australian National Defence Forces (until 1961), and its port regularly welcomed French naval vessels *en route* from or to France's South Pacific territories and was the gateway for their official delegations. The city thus held longstanding links with France and French culture.¹²

Louise came to adulthood in an era when Australian society, particularly Melbourne society, still emphasised female conviviality at the expense of intellectuality and participation in public life.¹³ The historian Beverley Kingston notes that, within

¹⁰ On Smith's respectability see Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 21.

¹¹ Importantly, Melbourne remained the centre of the Commonwealth Public Services and the location of the High Court of Australia until 1948 and 1980 respectively. See <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/historical-population/latest-release>. (Accessed 10 December 2020). Also see Simon Sleight, 'Reading the *British Australasian* Community in London, 1884-1924', in *Australians in Britain: The Twentieth-Century Experience*, ed. Simon Sleight, Carl Bridge, Robert Crawford and David Dunstan (Melbourne: Monash University ePress), 7:1. <http://books.publishing.monash.edu/apps/bookworm/view/Australians+in+Britain%3A+The+Twentieth-Century+Experience/137/xhtml/chapter07.html>.

¹² For instance, between 1918 and 1919 General Pau, a member of the French Supreme War Council, led a diplomatic tour of Australia and New Zealand, which began in Melbourne. Its purpose was to draw attention to the strong bond developing between the 'new' world, Australia, and the 'old'. The Dyers were involved in entertaining the visiting dignitaries. The Australian armed forces were admired by the French for their perseverance and bravery. Louis Smith, Dyer's brother, was killed at Bapaume, during the Franco-British offensive, Battle of the Somme in 1918. Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 52, 77-78. Over a period of forty-three days, there were 23,000 casualties, of whom 6,800 died. <https://uk.embassy.gov.au/lhllh/battle-of-the-somme.html>.

¹³ Norma Grieve and Ailsa Burns, introduction to *Australian Women: New Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Norma Grieve and Ailsa Burns (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1987), 3. It is worth noting that women in Australia were granted the right to vote in Federal and then State elections earlier than many other nations. Women over the age of 21 years were granted the right to vote

Australia, a 'lady' was one who exhibited a particular demeanour and behaviours including restraint, repression and an air of superiority.¹⁴ Ladies were the custodians and transmitters of genteel European culture; women like Louise were performing and therefore reinforcing British superiority.¹⁵ Though this ultra-respectability may have advanced a women's domestic status, it was a constraining culture.¹⁶

The standard for such behaviours, Kingston suggests, could be achieved 'given the right environment, adequate financial resources, and a careful attention to education and associates'.¹⁷ It was for these reasons that Louise was sent to Presbyterian Ladies College (PLC), a leading private school for young ladies in Melbourne where, despite its academic aspirations, the founders believed that the majority of those who attended would become the wives of the next generation of professional, political and business leaders, and thus a firm part of the Establishment.¹⁸ At PLC Louise demonstrated a talent for music and, through external studies with the Alliance Française, for French language and culture.¹⁹ Despite not matriculating from PLC, Louise pursued her piano

in Federal elections in 1902, and in State elections as follows: South Australia and Northern Territory in 1894, Royal assent granted in 1895; Western Australia, 1899; New South Wales, 1902; Tasmania, 1903; and Queensland in 1905. The State of Victoria was the last to grant women the right to vote in State elections (1908).

¹⁴ Beverley Kingston, 'The Lady and the Australian Girl: Some Thoughts on Nationalism and Class', in Grieve and Burns, *Australian Women*, 31.

¹⁵ In the Australian colonies being 'white' meant claiming British ancestry. By the *fin-de-siècle* whiteness was re-created as a national type. During the 1930s this 'might suggest a typical bodily constitution or temperament; a cultural legacy and thought style; a virility or femininity'. See Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Density in Australia* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 2.

¹⁶ Grieve and Burns, *Australian Women*, 3.

¹⁷ Kingston, 'The Lady', in Grieve and Burns, *Australian Women* 31.

¹⁸ There were exceptions. Kingston names other PLC alumnae including Constance Ellis who became the first Victorian woman to receive the degree of Doctor of Medicine; Flos Greig, the first woman to be admitted to the Victorian Bar; Vida Goldstein, the first woman to stand for election to federal parliament; and Ellen Mitchell, later known as Dame Nellie Melba. See Kingston, 'The Lady', in Grieve and Burns, *Australian Women*, 39.

¹⁹ Many leaders of Australia's music institutions known to Dyer (including Fritz Hart, director of the Melbourne Conservatorium) had been students of Charles Stanford at the Royal College of Music (RCM), an institution considered the flagship of English nationalism where their

studies at the Albert Street Conservatorium (1905), winning a Royal College of Music Gold Medal.²⁰

Louise's first trip abroad as an adult began in mid-1907 when she accompanied her younger brother Louis to Edinburgh, where he would begin his medical studies. Once settled in Edinburgh, Louise continued her piano studies under Philip E. Halstead in Glasgow in 1908.²¹ During their time away Louise and Louis visited Paris, attending musical performances of works by Claude Debussy and Vincent d'Indy's revival of Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie* at the Opéra.²²

When Louise returned to Australia in 1909, she realised that a career as a performer or music teacher was not for her. Instead, she reintegrated herself into the social scene. Not long after her return, her father fell ill and died, leaving the family in reduced financial circumstances and Louise, at the age of twenty-six, an unmarried woman keen to establish herself.²³

It was during this time in Melbourne that Louise was reintroduced to James Dyer, twenty-five years her senior, whom she had previously met when her family travelled to the Greater Britain Exhibition in London in 1899, when she was fifteen years old.²⁴

programmes aimed to challenge the creative dominance by Italy, France and above all Germany. The RCM promoted the use of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM). From the age of eight, Louise studied French at the Alliance Française, Melbourne. See, Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 175.

²⁰ Until the 1930s Melbourne had three conservatoriums: the Conservatorium at the University of Melbourne; the New Conservatorium in Spring Street, near Parliament House; and the Albert Street Conservatorium, a private institution established in 1901 by George William Louis Marshall-Hall.

²¹ Halstead, Philip (1866-1940). Pianist from the north of England. Studied at Leipzig Conservatorium where he won the Mozart Scholarship. From Leipzig he moved to Paris before settling in Glasgow, as professor at the Athenaeum School of Music, which became the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama.

²² The performance was held at the Paris Opéra on 13 May 1908.

²³ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 34, 41 and 472. Also see Ros Pesman, *Duty Free: Australian Women Abroad* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), 69 and 82.

²⁴ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 43. In February 1899, James signed Dyer's autograph book with the following couplet: 'Her hair sae fair, her ee'n sae blue | Her wee bit mou sweet and bonnie'.

Dyer, a Scot, was recently widowed. He was also a highly respected businessman (one of Melbourne's richest) who represented Michael Nairn & Co, the manufacturers of linoleum, in Australia and then led a consortium which transformed the operations of the Federal Woollen Mills, Melbourne. Importantly, James was a generous supporter of the Presbyterian Church and the arts, a founder of the Melbourne Scots club, a talented tenor who sang with the Victorian Liedertafel and a keen art collector.²⁵ Louise and James were married in late December 1911.²⁶ It was James's wealth and his connections that enabled the young Mrs. Dyer to move 'effortlessly into Melbourne's high society' and to travel extensively.²⁷ Over the next fifteen years the Dyers became leading patrons of the arts and of French culture more broadly through the Melbourne branch of the Alliance Française.²⁸

After the Great War, they travelled twice to England and the Continent, in 1920 and 1924. These trips would be important for Dyer's future evolution from patron to publisher, for she established relationships with members of both the British and French musical elites which would enable her to identify new ways of sharing her love of France and her knowledge of the arts.²⁹ As these relationships strengthened so did her reputation as patron-organiser. In 1920, the Dyers visited the headquarters of the British Music Society (BMS) meeting Dr. Eaglefield Hull, founder of the BMS, and

²⁵ For a list of works in James Dyer's art collection see *Catalogue of the James Dyer Art Collection: To Be Auctioned at the New Gallery at 12 O'clock Noon, on 2nd March, by Mr. C. McClelland, of Decoration Pty. Ltd.* (Melbourne: D.W. Paterson, 1927). <http://digital.slv.vic.gov.au>.

²⁶ Louise was twenty-seven years old, and James was fifty-two years of age.

²⁷ According to Davidson, James's Will, dated 20 May 1936, confirms that "'many years ago' he had transferred the bulk of his estate to his wife, Louise". Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 300 as cited in n35, 356. When Louise's mother died (1921) Louise inherited a substantial property in the city of Melbourne which she sold in the mid 1930s.

²⁸ Eileen Chanin and Steven Miller, *Awakening: Four Lives in Art* (Mile End, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2015), 58.

²⁹ For a detailed description of Dyer's activities between 1921 and 1929 see Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 104-113 and 152-168.

Edward J. Dent, a member of the management committee and Vice-President of the BMS, during which it was suggested that the Dyers establish a branch of that organisation in Melbourne.³⁰ From its establishment in 1918 the ambition of the BMS was to spread knowledge of British music, particularly contemporary music, ‘throughout the world’, by establishing branches with music libraries especially within former territories of the British Empire.³¹

Since her first meeting with Dent, Dyer remained alert to his growing international influence within the developing fields of musicology and contemporary music, recognised by his appointments as Chair of the newly founded International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM) in 1922 and as Professor of Music at Cambridge in 1926.³²

Dyer’s own engagement with the BMS and the ISCM played a crucial role in shaping her cosmopolitan outlook and developing her international network of musical contacts, as well as her own knowledge of contemporary music. It was through these organisations that she encountered a Who’s Who of the English and French music worlds, including Sir Edmund Fellowes, Gustav Holst, William Gillies Whittaker, Bela

³⁰ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 91-94, 150. A BMS branch had operated in Sydney from 1919. The BMS was founded in 1918 and incorporated in 1919. Dyer became a Vice-President of the Society in 1928. For a complete list of V-Ps at this time see Basil Maine, ed., *The Music Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (1928): 2. Financial difficulties caused many of the branches to fold in 1933, including the London. However, 25 branches in England and Ireland, five in New Zealand and one branch in Sydney and the Melbourne branches continued operations.

³¹ *The Music Bulletin* 6, no. 1 (1924): 1.

³² Dent held the presidency of the ISCM twice: between 1922 and 1938, and again between 1945 and 1947. Dyer represented Australia at the ISCM festivals up to 1938. The central office of the ISCM was located in London within the BMS offices. For more on Dent and the ISCM see Karen Arrandale, *Edward J. Dent: A life of Music and Words* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017); Giles Masters, ‘New-Music Internationalism: The ISCM Festival, 1922-1939’, (PhD Thesis, King’s College London, 2021). https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/files/156634738/2021_Masters_Giles_1101346_thesis.pdf. See also, Annegret Fauser, ‘The Scholar Behind the Medal: Edward J. Dent (1876-1957) and the Politics of Music History’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 139, no. 2 (2014): 235-260. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43303374>.

Bartók (who was living in France at the time), d'Indy, Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi and Henry Prunières, among many others. In 1924, at Dyer's invitation, both d'Indy and Calvocoressi agreed to provide lectures concerning French music to be delivered in Melbourne throughout 1925.³³ These lectures were important as they highlighted the values of French music being espoused at the time and played a crucial role in the continued development of Dyer's own understanding and experience of French music.³⁴

During these overseas trips the Dyers maintained relations with Alliance Française contacts who had returned to France. Through them they were introduced to leading members of French society including Raymond Poincaré, the former President of France (1913-1920) and an advisor to the Princesse Edmond de Polignac (Winnaretta Singer); the then Director General of the Beaux-Arts, Paul Léon; and the composer Albert Roussel, whose music she already knew well.³⁵ All remained lifelong contacts and supporters of her future projects.

In Melbourne, Dyer developed and exhibited a talent for identifying potential projects and persuading people of influence to deliver them, and a flair for the progressive and modern.³⁶ Australian and visiting international artists were often

³³ Calvocoressi's lecture series entitled *Les Grandes Etapes de la Musique Française* began on 1 May 1925 and ended in November. Though the lectures are no longer extant reviews suggest that they emphasised the French musical past, the importance of Lully and Couperin within the French musical canon, and contemporary music especially that of *Les Six*. Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 82-84, and 'The Atmosphere was French', *The Herald* (Vic.), 2 May 1925, 14. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/243765116?>

³⁴ D'Indy claimed Debussy and Ravel recovered the French aesthetic qualities of clarity, logic and proportion, which had been imbued in French operas and keyboard music from the eighteenth century, but that the 'young ones, Les Six' were 'badly instructed' and their art was 'based on a fashion' and that 'one well knows how ephemeral the reign of fashion is in France'. Vincent d'Indy, Letter to Louise Dyer, 10 November 1924, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 5. See also Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 173.

³⁵ On the Dyers visit to France, see Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 172. For Poincaré's advisory role to the Princesse de Polignac see Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 140, 258, 268.

³⁶ Dyer worked with the Australian artist Thea Proctor, a champion of modern art practice, and arranged the publication of Shaw Neilson, a young poet. Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 38, 81, 102.

engaged for her Melbourne soirées, and professional performers regularly worked with talented amateurs. Her programming juxtaposed contemporary Australian musical works with those from the European past and present. Sometimes these were interspersed with other art forms. She effortlessly straddled the traditional notion of private and public spaces, using her home as well as public buildings for events and encouraging the press to attend. Through this broad range of activities, Dyer, with her husband James, fostered an appreciation of British and French music.³⁷ In so doing, as Eileen Chanin and Steven Miller observed, she became ‘one of the most forceful and practical promoters of musical professionalism in Australia, raising standards through performances, programming, educational activities and patronage’.³⁸

Being a ‘lady’ in Melbourne was a high-stakes game—ladies could be snubbed or ridiculed if their behaviour was perceived to be unacceptable to the select inner circle which comprised the Governor’s wife and her friends. These ‘real ladies’ dictated the standards of success for the Australian-born women.³⁹ Dyer’s flair and taste for the avant-garde were met with a subtle degree of censure from the select inner circle of Melbourne’s ‘Establishment’. Her efforts were frustrated in other ways too, for instance when the professional symphony orchestra that the Dyers envisioned for Melbourne failed to materialise, despite their significant financial support.⁴⁰ These frustrations, combined with James’s retirement from business, encouraged them to leave Australia.

³⁷ For a detailed description of the event Dyer produced on behalf of the Alliance Française Melbourne, to celebrate the tercentenary of the birth of Molière (1622-1673), see Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 78-81.

³⁸ Chanin and Miller, *Awakening*, 59 and 69.

³⁹ In the 1880s colonial governors were appointed for their wealth and status, and knighthoods were regularly offered for services rendered. Their wives were highly visible, either because of their ex-officio role as patrons and leaders in charitable organisations or because of their position as leaders of fashion. See Grieve and Burns, *Australian Women*, 32, and Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 134.

⁴⁰ The Dyers campaigned for a permanent orchestra in Melbourne for several years and James Dyer provided a significant donation of £10,000 that was placed in a Trust for this purpose. For a complete description of their plan see Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 123-131. Barbara Lemon provides

Upon settling in Paris in 1928, Dyer became another female émigré who refused to be confined by either gender expectations or national boundaries. She recognised the valuable role that ‘aristocratic’ and bourgeois *salonnières*, such as the Princesse de Polignac and Jeanne Dubost, performed within the Parisian cultural milieu. At the same time, Dyer herself was seeking a different role within cultural production.⁴¹ While establishing her role in Paris, Dyer also sought to maintain her influence in Melbourne, through writing a series of articles for the Australian press, where she cast herself as an observer of and a participant in European cultural life⁴². But perhaps the most important aspect of her flirtation with journalism was the press card, which gave her access to people and places previously unattainable despite her wealth and connections. In addition to her writing activities, her desire for greater involvement and responsibility led to her participation in Prunières’s monumental publishing project, the complete works of J-B. Lully. Unfortunately, insurmountable problems associated with this project forced Dyer to recognise that achieving her ambition of staking a claim within

more detail about the parties involved in attempting to create a permanent orchestra for Melbourne: the Dyers, the Myers, and the Brooks among others. Barbara Lemon, ‘In Her Gift: Activism and Altruism in Australian Women’s Philanthropy 1800-2005’, (PhD thesis, Arts-School of Historical Studies, The University of Melbourne, 2008), 5 and pages 80-83. <http://hdl.handle.net/11343/37732>.

⁴¹ For more on the Princesse de Polignac’s activities see Kahan, *Music’s Modern Muse*, and for the activities of Jeanne Dubost see Chimènes, *Mécènes et Musiciens*, 266-67, 535-537.

⁴² Between 1932 and 1933 Dyer wrote over forty articles for Keith Murdoch’s flagship newspaper, *The Herald* (Vic.). Several articles were syndicated to other papers throughout Australia. More than half the articles were written in 1933 and they range in length from 900 to c.2,000 words. Murdoch suggested to Dyer that each article should ‘cover four or five subjects concerning life and movement in France, the broader lines of politics, interesting events and people in the commercial, literary, music and dramatic world’. Keith Murdoch, Letter to Louise Dyer, 1 April 1932, EOLA Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035. Unit 27. Dyer’s articles may not possess the sparkle and wit of those by Janet Flanner, but they provide an insight into her own interests as well as what she thought might appeal to others. See, Janet Flanner, *Paris was Yesterday 1925-1939*, ed. Irving Drutman, foreword James Campbell (London: Virago, 2003). Many of Dyer’s articles can be found on the National Archive of Australia database. See <https://trove.nla.gov.au>. In signing these articles Dyer used several versions of her name—Mrs James Dyer, Louise Dyer, Louise B.M. Dyer for example—suggesting she was creating a new image for herself.

the realm of music in her newly adopted country would require a new and grand gesture realised through the establishment of her own publishing house.⁴³

1931-1940: Launching a Press in the Twilight Years of the Third Republic

Dyer founded her publishing house, Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, in 1931. This was a bold decision for it coincided with a period of economic depression and political uncertainty within France as well as growing nationalist trends across Europe.⁴⁴ She had also entered a society where women remained disenfranchised and where conservative attitudes towards their role in society prevailed, fundamentally shaping their lives and employment opportunities.⁴⁵

The reverberations of the Wall Street Crash drew attention to the global interdependencies (trade and other alliances) between nations and added urgency to the development of alternatives to international capitalism—communism on the one side,

⁴³ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 174-86. The Lully project is discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis. See also Pascal Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes de l'édition Lully-Prunières', in *Henry Prunières (1886-1942): Un musicologue engagé dans la vie musicale de l'entre-deux guerres*, ed. Myriam Chimènes, Florence Gétreau and Catherine Massip (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2015), 263-94.

⁴⁴ Hitler's election as Reichskanzler of Germany, on 24 March 1933, and his ambition to advance the National Socialist agenda, forced France to re-assess the rising power of its neighbour. See P. M. H. Bell, *France and Britain 1900-1940: Entente & Estrangement* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1996), 171. There are many accounts of Europe and France in particular during this interwar period. Some valuable texts in English include: Jonathan Haslam, *The Spectre of War: International Communism and the Origins of World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021); Mark Hewitson and Matthew D'Auria, eds. *Europe In Crisis: Intellectuals and the European Idea 1917-1957* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015); Zara Steiner, *The Triumph of the Dark: European International History 1933-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Robert J. Young, *France and the Origins of the Second World War* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1996); Philippe Bernard and Henri Dubief, *The Decline of the Third Republic 1914-1938*, trans. Thony Foster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁴⁵ For details on government policies supportive of women in the workforce see Philippe and Dubief, *The Decline*, 231-265, and Siân Reynolds, *France Between the Wars: Gender and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1996). See also Laura Levine Frader, *Breadwinners and Citizens: Gender in the Making of the French Social Model* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008) claims that the male as breadwinner ideal was stronger in France than previous scholars recognised, which impacted women's claims to citizenship. On women in music in France during the interwar years see, Laura Hamer, *Female Composers, Conductors, Performers: Musiciennes of Interwar France, 1919-1939* (London: Routledge, 2018).

fascism on the other. When the Great Depression combined with France's own internal long-term financial troubles and partisan political tensions, the country's fragile social and political problems were brought into sharp relief. The failure of successive French governments to solve these tensions increased anti-parliamentary feeling and led eventually to even greater instability: there were eleven changes in government between 1932 and 1935.⁴⁶ The Popular Front, led by the socialist intellectual Léon Blum, gained power in June 1936.⁴⁷ However, it collapsed the following year due to a combination of factors: the weak coalition, overambitious economic measures, the devaluation of the French franc, and raw-material shortages which limited industrial production.

The final two years of the decade saw France attempting to solidify international relationships with Russia, Britain and the United States, and even with Germany. Germany's invasion of Poland on 1 September forced the French Prime Minister, Édouard Daladier—still mindful of the enormous toll the Great War had inflicted on the country—along with his British counterpart, Neville Chamberlain, to declare war jointly on Germany two days later in accordance with their guarantee to protect Polish sovereignty. Despite its alliance with Britain, France was in a weak position diplomatically and strategically when Germany invaded on 10 May 1940. Within six weeks France had capitulated—the surrender of France occurred on 22 June 1940. This was the external environment into which Dyer launched her publishing house in 1931 and her niche recording label in 1937.

The decade saw successive governments and the church struggle to find a balance between the 'new woman' who wanted or needed to work and the traditionalist model which emphasised female domesticity, the duty to reproduce—to address the low birth-

⁴⁶ Three changes of government occurred in 1932, four in 1933, two in 1934, and two in 1935.

⁴⁷ The watershed study concerning the era of the Popular Front is by Pascal Ory, *La belle illusion: Culture et politique sous le signe du Front Populaire* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1994).

rate—and a man’s rights in both public and private domains. For those women who desired to work, the interwar years provided unique opportunities, though such liberation required either financial independence or access to sufficient financial resources. Thus, most business and professional opportunities were restricted to members of the *élite* classes.

When Dyer acquired her Paris apartment in 1928, she was entering a patriarchal society in which the status of women was deceptive, both socially and politically. As upholders of society’s morals and nurturers of future generations, their authority was secure at home and at church. In real political, professional, economic, and legal-power terms, however, a French woman was overlooked, although women from *élite* classes, had greater economic freedom and enjoyed a less restrictive existence. As such, women’s role in French society during the 1930s was constantly contested by institutions and those who led them.⁴⁸

A number of enterprising women used their knowledge and skills to build successful multifaceted international businesses and/or careers; Dyer knew some of them well. In Paris, she associated with Valentine Hugo (née Gross) and Nadia Boulanger, Rose Adler, Marie Laurencin and Madeline (Mady) Lavergne (née Humbert): these last three became Dyer’s *peloton des femmes*.⁴⁹ Boulanger extended her extraordinary

⁴⁸ In general, women in France have always been engaged in business, though usually with their husbands. When the law did not allow it, they operated small enterprises from their homes. For a deeper understanding of women in business, see Béatrice Craig, *Behind the Discursive Veil in Nineteenth-Century Northern France* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017); and Beatrice Moring and Richard Wall, eds., *Widows in European Economy and Society, 1600-1920* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017). For other countries associated with Dyer see, Jennifer Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century England: Engagement in the Urban Economy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); and Catherine Bishop, *Minding Her Own Business: Colonial Businesswomen in Sydney* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2015).

⁴⁹ I have adapted François Chapon’s phrase ‘au peloton de tête féminin’, which he used to describe Rose Adler’s close female friends and supporters, of which Dyer was one. François Chapon, ‘Souvenir de Rose Adler’, in Adler, *Journal*, xxviii. Mady Lavergne’s first marriage ended in 1933, at which time she married Pierre Sauvegeot. Lavergne’s friendship with Dyer and Adler, can be found in various entries of Adler, *Journal*, and Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 245.

pedagogical skills into the traditional male domains of criticism, conducting and lecturing.⁵⁰ Adler was a celebrated bookbinder who also made *objets d'art* (including jewellery), provided advice to bibliophiles such as Albert Malle and Madame Solvay and other collectors, and applied her talents to interior design.⁵¹ As an established artist specialising in portraiture, Laurencin offered art classes at her atelier, and designed consumer products (for Helena Rubenstein), interior décors (for both Dyer and Jeanne Dubost, among others) as well as theatre sets and costumes.⁵² Meanwhile Hugo honed her expertise in theatre design, and Lavergne was a renowned ethnomusicologist whose expertise in folk music was highly sought after.⁵³

Other women, such as Coco Chanel, Jeanne Lanvin and Helena Rubinstein—whose first salon was a two-minute walk from Dyer's parents' home in Melbourne—used their social and cultural associations as tastemakers to build successful careers in industries requiring special insight into femininity such as haute couture and beauty.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ See Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future Between the Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), and Jeanice Brooks and Kimberly Francis, ed. and trans., *Nadia Boulanger: Thoughts on Music* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2020).

⁵¹ See Adler, *Journal*, and Alice Caillé, 'Au seuil du livre: les reliures de Rose Adler, 1922-1959' (MA, Sorbonne, École des chartes, 2014).

⁵² See Flora Groult, *Marie Laurencin* (Paris, Mercure de France, 1987), and Christopher Green, *Art in France 1900-1940* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2003), 65-70. For how Laurencin challenged the feminine in modern art see Bridget Elliott, 'The "Strength of the Weak" as Portrayed by Marie Laurencin', in *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History After Postmodernism*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 277-300.

⁵³ For Hugo's work and influence as an illustrator with *Gazette du Bon Ton* and scenery designer see Mary E. Davis, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion, and Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). Mady Lavergne, with Phillipe Stern, produced 184 78-rpm recordings of music and speech from the French colonies for the 1931 International Colonial Exposition, in Paris, a project financed by the L'Institut de phonétique et le musée de la Parole et du Geste de l'université de Paris and Pathé. Pascal Cordereix, 'Les enregistrements du musée de la Parole et du Geste à l'Exposition coloniale: Entre science, propagande et commerce', *Vingtième Siècle Revue d'histoire* 4, no. 92 (2006): 47-59. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-vingtieme-siecle-revue-d-histoire-2006-4>. In 1933 Dyer issued a limited edition of Lavergne's *Onzes colindes et cinq chants populaires roumains*.

⁵⁴ Helena Rubinstein began her skin care business in Australia. An outstanding biography is Michèle Fitoussi, *Helena Rubinstein: The Woman Who Invented Beauty*, trans. Kate Bignold and

While on the one hand the activities undertaken by these women and the institutions and products that they developed supported normative assumptions about femininity, on the other they opened spaces that enabled them to imagine and perform a set of new identities.⁵⁵ Yet women like Dyer, who aspired to lead businesses outside of the feminine sphere, were often considered transgressors, whose very presence threatened those anxious to preserve their power, as she was soon to discover.⁵⁶

While there were several female literary publishers in Paris—such as Sylvia Beach, Adrienne Monnier and Nancy Cunard—only two music-publishing houses were founded by women.⁵⁷ Odette Lautier's bookshop Librairie Bonaparte specialised in theatre and dance and some music. Most notably she planned an edition of the complete works of Dufay, with Guillaume de Van as editor, but this was not until the late 1930s.⁵⁸ The closest equivalent to Dyer's press was that of Eugénie Droz. Droz founded her eponymously named specialist bookshop and publishing house in 1924

Lakshmi Ramakrishnan Iyer (London: Gallic Books, 2012). Laurencin painted five portraits of Rubinstein and made a range of containers and gift boxes for Rubinstein's products.

⁵⁵ Frances Maule, *She Strives to Conquer: Business Behaviour, Opportunities and Job Requirements for Women* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1934), 248. Maule was an early advocate for encouraging women to work and a prolific writer at the time about women and work. While her books originated in the United States of America they were disseminated internationally.

⁵⁶ For a summary of the challenges facing women within the realm of music in France during the interwar period see Hamer, *Female Composers*. For a description of three female led companies in North America that emerged in 1930s and the strategies these women used to address any challenges that they faced, see Edith Sparks, *Boss Lady* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

⁵⁷ The watershed literary history exploring how women—American, English and French—helped shape literary production in the early twentieth century in Paris remains that of Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris 1900-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986). In music, Alma Morgenthau Wertheim established The Cos Cob Press in New York in 1929. Initially her press was a vehicle for promoting the works of Aaron Copland; and other contemporary American composers of his circle. The press was subsumed by the co-operatively led and operated Arrow Music Press in 1938, which in 1956 was itself absorbed into Boosey and Hawkes. Carol J. Oja, 'Cos Cob Press and the American Composer', *Notes* 45, no. 2 (1988): 247-248. DOI.10.2307.941344; and Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 208-09.

⁵⁸ A copy of Lautier's prospectus for the complete works of Dufay edited by Guillaume de Van, was found in EOLA, Musicians Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 8.

initially as a means for disseminating her own academic output on the literature of the sixteenth century.⁵⁹ Droz's own interests drove her to extend her publishing activities to the leading French music editors and musicologists including Henry Expert and Yvonne Rokseth, and to develop a longstanding partnership with the Société Française de Musicologie (SFM): the organisation whose membership constituted the musical leaders of France and beyond, such as Dyer's friend and francophile William Gillies Whittaker.⁶⁰

It was against this backdrop that Dyer took the opportunity to fulfil her ambition of pro-actively participating in the cultural life of her new country. Her wealth, internationalist/cosmopolitan attitude and her networks allowed her access to such opportunities, even if her gender and newcomer status sometimes worked against her.

My research in this thesis adds to two broad areas of scholarship. The first is the growing body of knowledge on Dyer and her work. The second is the study of French music in society and culture during the 1930s, with an emphasis on the revival of the music of the French Baroque and its association with neoclassicism and folk music. My aim is to offer a new way of considering Dyer's contribution to French musical heritage in the interwar period.

My approach has been influenced by several areas of scholarship which are connected and interwoven throughout the thesis as each thread offers a different way of reflecting on Dyer's choices and actions. My work borrows approaches from the academic disciplines of women's studies, life-writing, sociology and cultural history. These disciplines, collectively, offer ways of thinking about Dyer as a cosmopolitan figure who used her economic, social and intellectual resources to launch her career in

⁵⁹ Henri Meylan, nécrologie, 'Eugénie Droz', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 123 (1977): 169-172. <https://jstor.org/stable/24294535>.

⁶⁰ Catherine Deutsch, 'Un siècle de rapports de genre en musicologie. Les femmes musicologues à la Société française de musicologie et dans sa revue', *Revue de musicologie* 104, nos.1-2, (2018): 773-796.

music publishing. Recent work on music and material culture has encouraged me to attend to Dyer's publications as material objects, used to differentiate the output of her firm from that of others. Scholarship on the early music revival and French musical culture in the 1930s has provided contexts for understanding how Dyer negotiated her way through the interrelated worlds of music and music publishing to enable her accomplishments in support of French musical heritage.

My thesis uses a wide range of primary and secondary source materials. In the first instance, Dyer's business and personal archive and her own libraries, which were catalogued and made accessible in 2016, have proven to be an invaluable resource. There are significant gaps within Dyer's archive as she destroyed files relating to her involvement in Prunières's monumental publishing project, the complete works of Lully, and her office was ransacked during the occupation in the Second World War.⁶¹ But the archival material that survives has been enriched by previously unseen correspondence between Dyer and Novello & Co which only came to light in 2020, and which I had the privilege to review. In addition, to shed light on Dyer's own views I have used her articles printed in Keith Murdoch's flagship Australian newspaper *The Herald* (Vic.), and her illustrated-lecture notes, written for promotional tours in the late 1930s. Taken alongside other primary and secondary source materials, these archives and documents help reveal Dyer's personal relationships, life events and socio-historical circumstances, and the way they shaped her choices and activities. Moreover, they provide a valuable lens on elite musical culture in France during this period.

⁶¹ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 349-350.

Women and Music: Life-Writing and Cultural History

The decade of the 1930s was a formative and productive period for Dyer's firm, during which her support of French musical culture was recognised by the State and by her colleagues. Still, following the war, her role as music publisher during these important years faded from recognition, even though well into the 1980s some scholars still considered the Couperin edition a model of presentation and editorial scholarship, and the performances on the early recordings as refreshingly modern.⁶² Was Dyer's relegation simply an example of what Germaine Greer referred to in the 1970s as the 'phenomenon of the transience of female literary fame'?⁶³ Greer's contention was that there had always been good women writers, in every area and era, and that they always disappear from scholarship.⁶⁴ The feminist scholar Toril Moi reminds us, in patriarchal cultures a woman's position constitutes itself through gestures of exclusion.⁶⁵ In response to this dilemma the historical project of recovering female pasts and making women visible in history became vital work, a task in which musicologists also participated.⁶⁶

⁶² When reviewing the revised edition of the Couperin, Richard Langham Smith considered Dyer's 1932-1933 edition as pioneering. Richard Langham Smith, 'Leçons de Ténèbres, Élévations et Motets Divers, *Musique Vocale* V. II, by François Couperin, ed. Paul Brunold and revised by Kenneth Gilbert and Davitt Moroney', *Early Music* 14, no. 2 (1986): 284. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3127374>. Robert Philip admired several of Dyer's early recordings. Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 211.

⁶³ Germaine Greer, 'Women in Literature II: Flying Pigs and Double Standards', *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 July 1974, 784-85: GALE | EX1200399279.

⁶⁴ In support of her claim Greer cited the restoration poet and author Aphra Behn among others. It has long been assumed that Behn wrote the libretto for John Blow's opera *Venus & Adonis*. Recent research suggests that the author was Anne Finch, née Kingsmill, see Bruce Wood, *Venus & Adonis: Critical Edition* (London: Purcell Society, 2008). In 1937, Dyer published the first modern edition of Blow's *Venus & Adonis* (Paris, 1938), edited by Anthony Lewis, with lithograph illustrations by Marie Laurencin. Dyer recorded the opera with Lewis in 1948.

⁶⁵ Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 166.

⁶⁶ For more on the broad scope of this 'reinserting women' project see Judith Bennet, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); and Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (Oxford: Oxford

Twenty years after Greer's comments, women's stories remained understated or untold. In her analysis of women and culture in Australia, the historian Maryanne Dever proposed that women are often cast as mere participants in a 'cultural drama' which has since been 'defined and dominated by their male counterparts'.⁶⁷ Writing in the same year, 1994, the musicologists Ralph Locke and Cyrilla Barr suggested that the marginalisation of women's role in music scholarship reflected feminist truisms. These held that 'any work which is socially undervalued...will be assigned to women and that, conversely, any work that women do will be socially undervalued...and, in the historical record, rendered to some extent invisible'.⁶⁸ These exclusionary gestures have occurred throughout the centuries and span the spectrum of forms from the obvious to more subtle—from political and legal regulations to using rhetoric to seed doubt, encourage subordination of ambition, or to simply ignore—and as such they conceal considerable accomplishments.⁶⁹ To resolve this Locke and Barr suggested reconsidering the language musicologists used to describe women's patronage—such as 'activist', 'volunteer', or 'worker'—as this would enable new questions to be posed and new

University Press, 1979). For specifically music related works see Judith Lang Zaimont, Catherine Overhauser, Jane Gottlieb, Joanne Polk and Michael J. Rogan, *The Musical Women: An International Perspective* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, eds. *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1987), and Ellen Koskoff, ed. *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1987). More recent studies of women's musical activities—as patrons, composers, muses and musicians—include: Cyrilla Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge: American Patron of Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998); Anna Beer, *Sounds and Sweet Airs: The Forgotten Women of Classical Music* (London: Oneworld Publishing, 2016); and Kahan's *Music's Modern Muse* and Hamer's, *Female Composer*. The collection edited by Rhiannon Mathias entitled *The Routledge Handbook of Women's Work in Music* (London: Routledge, forthcoming) continues this line of research.

⁶⁷ Maryanne Dever, introduction to *Wallflowers and Witches: Women and Culture in Australia 1910-1945*, ed. Maryanne Dever (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1994), ix.

⁶⁸ Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr, 'Introduction: Music Patronage as a 'Female-Centred Cultural Process'', in *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860*, ed. Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 3. See also Ralph P. Locke, 'Paradoxes of the Woman Music Patron in America', *The Musical Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (1994): 801. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/7452510>.

⁶⁹ Locke, 'Paradoxes', 800.

perspectives on women's work in music to emerge: both actions would enrich music history and potentially change the way scholars understand the contribution of women to Western musical culture.⁷⁰

In America, women's exclusion from the world of musicology from its inception in the 1930s highlights the power relations and cultural politics embedded within it, as Suzanne Cusick has argued.⁷¹ The founders of American musicology, keen to legitimise their new discipline on par with serious scientific study, excluded women, a problematic move which not only had wider implications for the study of musicology, but also for women like Dyer who were involved in musicology through major editorial projects.

In France, though women were disenfranchised across many areas of political and social life in the early twentieth century, they were actively engaged in the realm of musicology, in musical production and in patronage. That said, these women were mainly drawn from the upper echelons of French society, their relative privilege giving them access not granted to others.⁷² Cécile Davy-Rigaux's analysis of reviews of music editions within the SFM's journal, *Revue de musicologie*, shows that women were not excluded from the organisation as either members or active participants and that their

⁷⁰ Locke and Barr, 'Introduction', 6. Kimberly Francis offered the descriptor 'cultural agent' as a means of better understanding and incorporating women's work from less-conventional fields of musical endeavour into the historical record. Kimberly Francis, 'Her-Storiography: Pierre Bourdieu, Cultural Capital, and Changing the Narrative Paradigm', *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 19 (2015):169-177. DOI.org/10.1353/wam.2015.0010. In support of her claim Francis cites Jeanice Brooks's observation of Boulanger's role as 'seemingly central, yet stubbornly elusive', Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger*, 7.

⁷¹ Ruth Crawford's exclusion from the founding of the New York Musicological Society in 1930, is an example of such exclusion. Suzanne Cusick offers this anecdote as a way of understanding the relationship between gender and musicology, and the challenges posed by feminist musicology and scholarship. Suzanne Cusick, 'Gender, Musicology, and Feminism', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁷² Catherine Deutsch's analysis of women involved in the SFM is particularly noteworthy as she compares France with other countries, including Germany, North America and England. Deutsch, 'Un siècle de rapports', 773-802.

work, including their editorial efforts, was well regarded and often praised.⁷³ Myriam Chimènes's impressive social history of patronage in the Third Republic includes salon hosting, concert organisation, social networking and private commissioning as activities which continued to define France's musical landscape during the interwar years, thus showing how women played a central role.⁷⁴ Yet like their counterparts in America, the work of patrons in support of the realm of music was sometimes undervalued, and exclusionary gestures were common, even among some recipients of a patron's largesse, as Louis K. Epstein has shown.⁷⁵

When Dyer moved to the Northern Hemisphere she did not consider herself to be either a patron or a philanthropist, as I will show. Instead, she entered the field of music publishing: itself a microcosm of the wider publishing world which was dominated by men.⁷⁶ What attending to Dyer's work reveals is how women of wealth involved in the world of music in the interwar years were considered and how Dyer negotiated this treatment.

Dyer's life and the output from Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre in its first decade of operation are central to my narrative. But they are so entwined that the traditional

⁷³ Cécile Davy-Rigaux, 'Musicologie et édition musicale. Les recensions des éditions de musique dans la *Revue de musicologie* (1921-2016)', *Revue de musicologie* 103, no. 2 (2017):451-484.

⁷⁴ See, Chimènes, *Mécènes et Musiciens*.

⁷⁵ See, Louis K. Epstein, 'Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918-1939 (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2013), <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/toward-theory-patronage-funding-music-composition/docview/1417072609/se-2?accountid=11862>. In his later work, Epstein proposes using the term 'creative labour' to describe the work of patrons as a means of addressing the problem articulated by Locke and Barr, and by Francis, and situating the work of patrons as an integral part of the creative process. See Louis K. Epstein, *The Creative Labour of Music Patronage in Interwar France* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, forthcoming).

⁷⁶ Historians of the book have long recognised the networks involved in the creation and production of printed texts. Among others see: Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Marin, *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1958), trans. David Gerard as *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London: NLB, 1976); John Sutherland, *Victorian Novelists and Publishers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); John Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers* (1995; repr., New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

binaries of public and private which have often shaped the writing of women's lives in music in the past are elided: Dyer built her new identity through her firm and its activities and history formed an essential element of her story. It is this elision that is in part responsible for Dyer's under-recognition, as if she conducted her work purely for the social status that it conferred. However, the open-ended and interdisciplinary nature of life-writing is helpful as it prompts questions about both Dyer and her firm, the choices that she made, the relationships between her and those with whom she worked, and the interconnectedness of the international and the French musical *milieux* within which she operated.⁷⁷

The traditional form of life-writing is the biography and Dyer's comprehensive biography, *Lyrebird Rising: Louise Hanson-Dyer of l'Oiseau-Lyre 1884-1962*, by the Australian historian and biographer Jim Davidson, published in 1994, did much to broaden understanding of the breadth of Dyer's work and achievements.⁷⁸ What we gain from Davidson is the image of Dyer as a woman of incredible energy and determination, who moved across the globe to reinvent herself. On establishing her own enterprise, she demonstrates a gift for identifying lacunae in music publishing and recording, and for attracting talented people with whom to work. Furthermore, her strong musical tastes combined with the personal connections she had formed within the international music community enabled her to harness their support of her activities. At times Davidson

⁷⁷ The term life-writing was first used by Virginia Woolf to describe a range of writing about lives or parts of lives. For a sample of approaches to life-writing see Zachary Leader, ed., *On Life-Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Life-writing also embraces objects and corporate histories. See Janet Hoskins, 'Agency, Biography and Objects', in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Michael Rowlands and Patricia Spyer, 74-84 (London: Sage Publications, 2006). And Agnes Delahaye, Charles Booth, Peter Clark, Stephen Procter and Michael Rowlinson, 'The Genre of Corporate History', *Journal of Organisational Change Management* 22, no. 1 (2009): 27-48. DOI.10.1108/09534810910933898. More recently, life writing has been extended to the lives lived within and around as well as stories told about houses, see Kate Kennedy and Hermione Lee eds., *Lives of Houses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020).

⁷⁸ Davidson, *Lyrebird*.

seems to suggest that Dyer was a society woman whose excessive promotion of cultural activities demonstrated an insensitivity towards the social and political challenges faced by others. Yet it is highly probable that Dyer saw her activities quite differently. For her cultural activities were a necessary element of a civilised society and learning and participating in such activities should be encouraged. More importantly, her role as patron-producer suggests that Dyer wanted her work to be taken seriously.

Davidson's biography, currently out of print, became the 'bible' for Australian scholars interested in Dyer's role in the history of Australian women, such as Susanna de Vries, or in the history of Australian music collections, such as the librarian Daniela Kaleva.⁷⁹ Cultural historians Eileen Chanin and Steven Miller considered her activities within the context of three other Australian women they judged pioneers in their chosen fields, though Dyer's field remained that of 'patron'.⁸⁰ Though all these authors acknowledge the importance of her firm's publishing and recording output, they reinforce the image of Dyer primarily as a benefactor of the arts, and of music in particular.⁸¹ Moreover, none of these authors are music historians, nor are they particularly concerned with what Dyer can tell us about French musical culture or the early music revival: this is what sets my work apart.

Since 2016, when Dyer's archive became more readily accessible, scholars, and especially music scholars, have begun the process of reassessing her activities: when combined with an interdisciplinary approach this has resulted in a richer understanding of her life and work. The musicologist Elina G. Hamilton's examination of

⁷⁹ See Susanna De Vries, *Great Australian Women Volume II: from Pioneering Days to the Present* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 2002); and Daniela Kaleva, 'The Gustav Holst and British Music Society of Victoria Collections at the State Library of Victoria', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 55, no. 1 (2008): 170-79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23512419>.

⁸⁰ Chanin and Miller, *Awakening*, 47-87.

⁸¹ Lemon, 'In Her Gift', 241. Lemon describes Dyer and others as 'energetic and pragmatic' women involved with 'philanthropic causes'.

correspondence between Dyer and the Head of Music at the United States Library of Congress led to her bold claim that Dyer ‘ignored geographic barriers, gender stereotypes, cultural misunderstandings, and societal restrictions to provide informed, scholarly editions and recordings to an international community of scholars and enthusiasts’.⁸² Similar insights were presented at a two-day symposium entitled ‘Louise Dyer and Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre: The Establishment of a Music Press’, jointly hosted by the University of Melbourne’s Library and the Melbourne Conservatorium of Music.⁸³ At the event, Dyer’s life and work were re-evaluated by scholars, and terms such as activist, mobiliser, energiser, modernist and networker, and the concepts of international and transnational exchange and cultural transfer, were applied. Though this interdisciplinary method has provided helpful new portrayals of Dyer, in many ways they continue to present her efforts as by-products of larger external forces.

In considering my method, the work of the dance historian Lynn Garafola and the musicologists Tamara Levitz and Jeanice Brooks have provided models, as each scholar examines a subject who played a significant role in shaping the musical and wider cultural history of interwar France.⁸⁴ In some ways the approaches taken by Garafola and Levitz blur the boundary between writing cultural history and life-writing: Garafola studies the life of a ballet company—corporate history being a form of life

⁸² Elina G. Hamilton, ‘The Unique Patroness: Louise Hanson-Dyer’s Letters to the Library of Congress, 1936-1952’, *Notes* 74, no. 4 (2017): 657. DOI.10.1353/not.2017.0035. See also Elina G. Hamilton, ‘Louise Hanson-Dyer (1884-1962): Patroness of Early Music Publishing’, in *The Routledge Handbook on Women’s Work in Music*, ed. Rhiannon Matthias (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

⁸³ Prof. Kerry Murphy and Dr. Jennifer Hill (EOLA archivist) are editing a book containing a few chapters based on papers presented at this symposium. The book is due to be issued in late 2022.

⁸⁴ Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998); Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger*.

writing—and Levitz considers the conception, development and final delivery of a new production.

In showing how the Ballets Russes transformed the notion of ballet, Garafola acknowledges the vital role played by the ballet troupe's 'impresario *extraordinaire*' Serge Diaghilev. However, her compelling narrative of this vast theatrical enterprise emphasises that the artistic revolution incited by the dance troupe was the result of an extraordinary range of collaborative efforts, not just Diaghilev's promotional savviness. These collaborations helped shape and give life to the enterprise and its endeavours. In addition, the resulting musical aesthetic informed performance practices which shaped the musical landscape of the 1920s.

Levitz's micro-historical analysis of the première of Ida Rubinstein's ballet *Perséphone* in 1933 explores the transnational collaborative forces involved in the creation of a new production, by examining the opening night as a 'performed historical event'. Her extraordinary monograph resulted in a revisionary account of neoclassical modernism and its relationship with Stravinsky in the first half of the twentieth century.⁸⁵ Levitz's insights into how others viewed Rubinstein herself and her work, and her competition with the Ballets Russes, offers additional insights into how a wealthy woman artist, non-French and Jewish, negotiated these relationships.

The different approaches taken by each scholar suggest alternative ways of considering Dyer's work. They show how these cultural producers were viewed by others, and that their success crucially relied on the interplay between private and professional relationships in the development of a company and its aesthetic, and the production of a musical work. As a music publisher, Dyer relied totally on identifying

⁸⁵ Levitz, introduction to *Modernist Mysteries*, 21.

the right people with whom to work, and in this way her networks were of vital importance.

Unlike previous studies of Nadia Boulanger which focus on her pedagogical and advisory work with distinguished contemporary composers, Brooks concentrates on Boulanger's own musical work through performance, which she construes in its broadest sense 'as anything that involves making music for a listening public', from teaching and lecturing to conducting and recording.⁸⁶ Brooks's work on Boulanger offered a model for examining a woman's role in interwar French music, and her analysis of Boulanger's approach to the performance of early music suggested a way of considering Dyer's own views, and those of Roger Désormière, on early music performance practice and the recordings produced by her firm from 1937.

I am interested in developing a more nuanced understanding of how the choices Dyer made came to play an important role in support of the creative output of her adopted country. In the first instance, an essential element of Dyer's success was her ability to nurture her influential international network of private and professional individuals who advised on and supported her activities: a process she began in the 1920s. Thus, by the time she had settled in Paris in 1929, she had connections which would prove helpful in developing her knowledge regarding the editing of early music. Yet when considering Dyer's many collaborators and supporters, several questions are raised: how her world view developed, how she identified the people with whom she

⁸⁶ Brooks, 'Introduction: The Works that Stand for the Time', to *The Musical Work*, 11. The term 'performance' for Brooks is based on Christopher Small's assertion that music is not a thing, but rather an activity, that encompasses all musical activities, see Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998). See also muse.jhu.edu/book/1837.

worked, what they brought to her firm, and how they perceived working with her as a woman and an outsider.⁸⁷

Cosmopolitanism and Networks

In describing Dyer as an Australian at the outset of this introduction, my aim was to position her geographically and culturally. She was born into a community where ‘Britishness’ remained a key component of national identity as members considered themselves strongly a part of the transnational peoples of the British empire.⁸⁸ Though this attitude shaped her upbringing, throughout the 1920s her outlook broadened considerably, so much so that the parochial cultural arena of Melbourne, indeed of Australia, no longer satisfied her needs, as her move to the northern hemisphere testifies. Certainly, her ideological stance was cosmopolitan, for she believed that all individuals are, or could be, members of a single community.⁸⁹

The term cosmopolitanism, though, carries significant historical baggage. Since the nineteenth century the word has been not only been used as a synonym for ‘international’ or ‘widely travelled’, but also pejoratively to describe people with an absence of roots.⁹⁰ Though musicologists Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley suggest the

⁸⁷ Dyer described herself as a ‘newcomer’, and as someone from the ‘new’ world. Louise Dyer, Typed-Illustrated Lecture, (c.1939). EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

⁸⁸ An important collection of essays on this topic can be found in Desley Deacon, Penny Russell and Angela Woollacott, eds., *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700-Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

⁸⁹ For an overview of the political roots of the term and its use across history, see Leon Botstein, ‘On the Uses of the Concept of Cosmopolitan’, *The Musical Quarterly* 99, no. 2 (2016): 135-135, DOI.10.1093/musqtl/gdx007. Also see Dana Gooley, introduction to ‘Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism 1848-1924’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 2 (2013): 523-529; Ryan Minor, ‘Beyond Heroism: Music, Ethics, and Everyday Cosmopolitanism’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 2 (2013): 529-535; and Jann Pasler, ‘Camille Saint-Saëns and Stoic Cosmopolitanism: Patriotic, Moral, Cultural, and Political’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, no. 2 (2013): 539-545. All, DOI.10.1525/jams.2013.66.2.523.

⁹⁰ Gooley, introduction to ‘Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism 1848-1914’: 523. DOI.10.1525/jams2013.66.2.523.

term as a useful alternative to the national frameworks currently in vogue for interrogating and revising music-historical narratives, they are wary of the wider applications of the term's usage.⁹¹ They propose a narrower interpretation of cosmopolitanism from a philosophical, ethical and political standpoint, in which belonging to a 'larger' world is valued.⁹² In this way cosmopolitanism 'emerges in conscious relationality, as a reaction to the appearance of narrow or limited interests'.⁹³

Dyer's engagement with the ISCM played a crucial role in developing her international network of musical contacts and her own knowledge of contemporary music. It was through this organisation that she began to reconsider what role she could play in the realm of musical culture. As Christine Sibille has observed, the members of this organisation were 'the experts who provide the knowledge about music and produce influential narratives about its meaning and value'.⁹⁴ These festivals then created an environment for the exchange of ideas between prominent music historians, musicologists and composers, and provided a multi-layered form of transfer and an understanding of the political role music played in international diplomacy. Dyer's involvement with the ISCM gave her access to the leading actors from within the international as well as the Parisian musical scenes.

On moving to Paris, Dyer took time to consider what role she could gainfully play within the musical scene of her new country, in an age and a culture that proved to be very different to the quiescent and late Victorian environment in which she grew up. Her newcomer status confirmed some advantages, in ways articulated by Georg Simmel

⁹¹ Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities', *The Music Quarterly* 99, no. 2 (2016): 139. DOI.10.1093/musqtl/gdx006.

⁹² Collins and Gooley, 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism', 142.

⁹³ Collins and Gooley, 'Music and the New Cosmopolitanism', 160.

⁹⁴ Christiane Sibille, 'The Politics of Music in International Organisations in the First Half of the Twentieth Century', *New Global Studies* 10, no. 3 (2016): 255. DOI.10.1515/ngs-2016-0019.

as early as 1908. Simmel, a German sociologist and philosopher, observed that ‘Strangers’ often found themselves in a position where they felt emancipated because they were not bound by one set of rules or expectations, and as such they were able to be themselves and they could bring something new to society, for they could see outside the frame.⁹⁵ While Dyer may have misread some ‘French codes’, I argue that she embraced her status as it emboldened her to explore new ideas and to take risks.

Throughout this thesis I examine how Dyer negotiated her sense of belonging to France, and probe what cultural issues she addressed and how. I do this by tracing some of her international connections and tracking how she identified and worked with individuals to navigate her place within the Parisian cultural scene. As suggested by Sangeev Khagram and Peggy Levitt, by describing the linkages and interactions among actors it is possible to identify ‘what circulates...[and] why certain ideas and practices take root while others are ignored’.⁹⁶ I show how her reinvention of herself was, on the one hand, tempered by some individuals who held conservative views about a woman’s role in French society, and on the other, welcomed and supported by those who admired her work.

The international cultivated élite, a fluid category of well-informed, educated individuals, intellectuals (musicians, artists, writers), politicians and civil servants with whom Dyer engaged also operated within national and international hierarchies. In the realm of music, organisations such as the ISCM and later the International Musicological Society, saw participants sharing complex patterns of musical identity

⁹⁵ Georg Simmel, ‘The Stranger’, in *Georg Simmel on Individuality and Social Forms*, ed. and intro. Donald N. Levine. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 108. For a discussion on Simmel’s ‘qualitative’, or ‘sociomusicology’, approach to music scholarship, see Michel Duchesneau, ‘Music Scholarship and Disciplinarity’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Intellectual Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Paul Watt, Sarah Collins and Michael Allis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 507-529.

⁹⁶ Sanjeev Khagram and Peggy Levitt, introduction to *The Transnational Studies Reader*, ed. Sanjeev Khagram and Peggy Levitt (New York: Routledge, 2008), 5.

politics, which ‘set nationalist concerns into productive tension with internationalist ideals’ as observed by Annegret Fauser in her work on Dent.⁹⁷ How Dyer navigated this tension is a major concern of this thesis.

Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of the ‘field’ (*champ*) of cultural production offers a productive way of considering Dyer’s work within the worlds of music and publishing. Bourdieu uses the term ‘field’ to describe a structured space which is occupied by individuals and organisations whose own positions, and the power that they hold, depends on the type and quality of capital, or resources—economic, social, cultural, and symbolic—that they possess.⁹⁸ The British sociologist, John B. Thompson, applied Bourdieu’s framework first to the realm of academic publishing, then to the wider publishing industry, which he described as a ‘plurality of fields comprising different types of publishers’.⁹⁹ He observed that the position any publishing house holds within the field depends on the relative quantities of each form of capital possessed.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, he claims that for book projects, economic and symbolic capital can be understood as value.¹⁰¹ A book’s sales potential provides economic capital, and its quality provides symbolic capital, bestowed by others in the form of positive criticism, awards and other accolades that accumulate over time as prestige and status for the publisher. The network of individuals involved in a publishing project provide not just

⁹⁷ Fauser, ‘The Scholar behind the Medal’, 236.

⁹⁸ Randal Johnson, ‘Introduction: Pierre Bourdieu on Art, Literature and Culture’, *The Field of Cultural Production*, Pierre Bourdieu (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 5-9. My use of the notion of the word ‘world’ draws on Howard S. Becker’s comprehensive sociological analysis of an artwork as the result of complex interactions among a vast network of people. See, Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds*, 25th Anniversary rev. ed. (1982, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

⁹⁹ See John B. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Business in the Twenty-First Century*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012); and John B. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age: The Transformation of Academic and Higher Education Publishing in Britain and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).

¹⁰⁰ Thompson, *Merchants*, 4.

¹⁰¹ Thompson, 10.

the required skills and expertise, but also social capital in the form of relationships that have been developed over time. Some individuals also add prestige which is a valuable form of symbolic capital. Intellectual property rights and contracts add further weight to a firm's economic and symbolic capital, although they can be problematic. Bourdieu's framework combined with Thompson's analysis offers a way of considering how Dyer used and developed her own resources to navigate the terrain of music publishing in France during the interwar years.

From a different perspective, the musicologist Kimberly Francis employed Bourdieu's theory of cultural production to demonstrate how women and other actors, who played an essential role in the facilitation, transmission, and exchange of culture but who still 'occupied tangential roles in musicological work', could be repositioned.¹⁰² Using Nadia Boulanger as a model, Francis described her a 'cultural agent'. She explained how Boulanger used not only her 'feel for the game', but also her musical interests and connections to become a powerful participant in the field of musical modernism.¹⁰³ Francis's approach is not necessarily applicable to the specific tensions Dyer and her venture confronted in the realm of music publishing. Whereas Boulanger arguably worked within and through the gender constraints of the time—namely teaching, lecturing and performing, which led to conducting—Dyer pushed against accepted traditions. In becoming an international publisher Dyer exposed the tensions between social compliance and a woman's ambition in fascinating ways that I explore throughout my thesis.

¹⁰² Francis, 'Her-Storiography': 176-77.

¹⁰³ The 'feel for the game' (*sens pratique*) is, for Bourdieu, describes a behaviour which is largely an unconscious way of interacting that draws on experiences from a young age which have become second nature. See, Johnson, 'Introduction', 5-6; and Francis, 'Her-Storiography', 171-172.

Dyer: Interwar French Musical Culture

Dyer's involvement with the revival of early music and specifically the music of France during the last decade of the Third Republic was significant. Yet she does not fit easily into the discourse on either early music or material culture—despite musicologist's interest in print and recorded music as prime mediums of cultural transmission—or French musical culture in the 1930s.¹⁰⁴

Much early music scholarship has either bypassed her altogether or represented her activities as secondary to those of other actors: not uncommon as shown above. For instance, one of the first general histories concerning the revival of early music was Harry Haskell's 1988 monograph *The Early Music Revival: A History*. Haskell portrays Dyer as 'an Australian amateur musician and patron of the arts', yet he describes Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre as 'one of the foremost purveyors of early music' which produced records that accompanied 'its highly regarded publications'.¹⁰⁵ In using the words 'amateur' and 'patron' Haskell reduces Dyer's role to that of a supporter with little professional input, rather than someone in the role of decision maker or producer. Yet he applauds the firm's publications, and later the recordings, as being primary transmitters of early music with a significant role in its revival. Haskell misses Dyer's key role in the direction and organisation of l'Oiseau-Lyre's many successes.

Another possible reason for this inattention is offered by Howard Mayer Brown who proposed that, by the 1930s, the early music revival became dominated by personalities associated with scholarly and/or practical performance matters.¹⁰⁶ He

¹⁰⁴ Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 2007); Tilley et al eds, *Handbook of Material Culture*; and Antoine Hennion, *The Passion for Music: A Sociology of Mediation* trans. Margaret Rigaud and Peter Collier (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).

¹⁰⁵ Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 119.

¹⁰⁶ Howard Mayer Brown, 'Pedantry or Liberation? A Sketch of the Historical Performance Movement', in *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 46. Mayer Brown offers a well-rounded overview of the history of early music performance. He mentions the recordings Anthony Lewis made with Dyer's label in the 1950s.

named Arnold Dolmetsch and Wanda Landowska, to which we can add figures such as Fellowes in England, and Expert, Guillaume de Van, Rokseth and Boulanger in France, among others. Dyer knew all of them well, apart from Dolmetsch, whom she met only a few times. Dyer, however, was neither a scholar nor a performer; rather, she facilitated and produced the work of others, in ways that perhaps allowed her own contribution to be overlooked.

In studies of interwar French music, too, Dyer does not fit easily into standard narratives; and yet, she raises important questions about the roles women in particular played in constructing French musical heritage. Scholars of French musical culture—Michel Duchesneau, Myriam Chimènes, Danielle Pistone, Jann Pasler, Jane F. Fulcher, Jeanice Brooks and Barbara L. Kelly among others—have begun to fill the gap by examining how individuals, public and private (salons) and eventually state institutions became vehicles for the production and performance of musical activities with varied and complex interwar political affiliations, and how composers and critics either aligned themselves with or against such affiliations.¹⁰⁷

It is plausible that musicologists have been overwhelmed by the rich cast of characters and have found other figures—composers, critics and performers (often one and the same)—more straightforward subjects than teasing out how Dyer fits the narrative of French musical culture. Yet, as Barbara Kelly has observed, at this time ‘the issue of national identity was of pressing concern to all’.¹⁰⁸ Dyer’s work coincides with a

¹⁰⁷ See Michel Duchesneau, *L’avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 1997); Chimènes, *Mécènes et Musiciens*; Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Barbara L. Kelly, ed. *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870-1939* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008); Danièle Pistone, ed. *Musiques et musiciens à Paris dans les années trente* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000); and Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁸ Kelly, ‘Introduction: The Roles of Music and Culture in National Identity Formation’, in Kelly, *French Music, Culture*, 7.

number of important areas of study in interwar French music and the early music revival more broadly.

By choosing to publish the first complete edition of Couperin's known works as her first publication, Dyer was continuing a tradition, begun in the 1850s, where monumental edition projects in France aimed to present *patrimoine* by demonstrating compositional lineage, tracing historical heritage, and redefining musical *Frenchness* in positive terms.¹⁰⁹ These projects played an essential role in the nation building activities during the nineteenth century; as Alexander Rehding and others have observed they formed a connection between a country's musical past and its national politics and in so doing, they 'recast music history along strict national boundaries'.¹¹⁰

Katharine Ellis's extensive study of early music in France throughout the long nineteenth century shows that even though there was an established tradition of performing and writing about early music, France was slow to memorialise its composers through publication compared to Britain and Germany.¹¹¹ In terms of early music, Ellis recounts how Couperin, like his contemporary Rameau, became a unifying figure in French music during the *fin-de-siècle* period.¹¹² Yet only recently has Dyer's

¹⁰⁹ Dyer's project followed two earlier projects commemorating French masters—the 'complete' works of Jean-Philippe Rameau, which had been abandoned in 1924 with eight operas still to be completed, and, by 1933, only ten of the anticipated 26 volumes of the complete works of Jean-Baptiste Lully had been issued.

¹¹⁰ Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), 11, 142. See also, Terry Eagleton, *Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 126. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger considered monumental editions an 'invented traditions', see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 14. Pierre Nora's study of cultural symbols that define a nation and tie it together is similar to that of Hobsbawm and Ranger's theory of cultural identity but, his 'nostalgic concept' of *lieux de mémoire* is born out of a sense of crisis in the present. Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*'. *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-25.

¹¹¹ Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 129.

¹¹² Also see Deborah Mawer, ed., *Historical Interplay in French Music and Culture 1860-1960* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018); Lacombe, 'Un nouveau mot'; Michael Strasser, 'The Société Nationale and Its Adversaries: The Musical Politics of *L'Invasion germanique* in the 1870s', *19th-Century Music* 24, no. 3 (2001): 225-251, DOI.10/1525/ncm.2001.24.3.225; Catrina Flint de

Couperin edition been acknowledged by French musicologists such as Henri Vanhulst and Thierry Favier as contributing to a broader understanding of the role music of the French baroque played in the development of musicology in France throughout the interwar years.¹¹³ That it was Dyer behind the Couperin edition offers a slightly different perspective on how and by whom French musical heritage was shaped in the 1930s.

Attention to Dyer’s work—specifically her publications of newly commissioned music for children and amateurs—can also contribute to our understanding of a broader interest in musical education in interwar France, and in related projects to revitalise and democratise French musical culture.¹¹⁴ Throughout the Third Republic the French state assumed a role by instituting a compulsory standardised education aimed at improving every French citizen’s understanding of their language, history and cultural heritage, and thereby forming French identity. Specifically, Jann Pasler describes how the singing of folk music and patriotic songs in schools was a means of instilling both local and national pride, a love of *patrie*, and thus forming a French national identity.¹¹⁵

Médicis, ‘Nationalism and Early Music at the French Fin de Siècle: Three Case Studies’, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 1, no. 2 (2004): 43-66. DOI.10.1017/S14794098000135X.

¹¹³ Henri Vanhulst, ‘La Musicologie’ in *Musiques et musiciens à Paris dans les années trente*, ed. Danièle Pistone (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000), 411-420 (especially page 417). The SFM produced a two-volume review celebrating one hundred years of musicology in France, see Thierry Favier, ‘Une guerre sans batailles. Le champ de la musique dite “Baroque” dans la *Revue de musicologie*’, *Revue de musicologie* 104, nos.1-2 (2018): 363-402, especially pages 370-374 and 377-380. Yves Balmer and Hervé Lacombe, ‘Écrire une histoire intellectuelle de la *Revue de musicologie*’ *Revue de musicologie* (2^e Partie)103, no. 2 (2017): 7-17, summarise the importance the SFM placed on the François Couperin’s music. For an exploration of how the word musicology was considered by the SFM, including see Hervé Lacombe, ‘Un nouveau mot pour une nouvelle discipline. Enquête sur le terme “musicologie” et les modalités de son invention’, *Revue de musicologie* 104, nos. 1-2 (2018): 21-51.

¹¹⁴ See, Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 319-324; and David Loosely, ‘Politics and Pleasure: Inventing Popular Culture in Contemporary France’, in *Imagining the Popular in Contemporary French Culture*, ed. Diana Holmes and David Looseley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 12-30.

¹¹⁵ Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 319-324. Indeed, the Société des Traditions Populaires (1886) was established to preserve and validate French cultural heritage and the singing of folk and/or patriotic songs which would form the repertoire of classroom music education: in this France modelled its approach on Britain’s use of folksong for the same purpose. Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 353.

Concentrating explicitly on the interwar years, Jane Fulcher suggests that the debates Pasler identified intensified as composers became fully aware that musical styles could convey political ideas and some even manipulated the musical meanings in their works to political ends.¹¹⁶ Yet music education struggled to be accepted as a serious subject, and the method of teaching and musical content changed little during the interwar years, as French educational historian François Madurell has shown.¹¹⁷ At the same time, folklore and music (traditional, reharmonised and even newly composed songs) became a way of refashioning and rearticulating French national identity during the troubled decade before the war and featured in the discourse of both Left and Right.¹¹⁸ They were also considered antidotes to the standardisation and mass culture of modernity, reflecting a nostalgic desire for an idealised, pre-industrial past, in which artisanal activities and culture were highly prized. In her examination of the ways composers used their music to respond to politics during the era of the Popular Front, Jane Fulcher associated compositional styles of ‘popular’, ‘simple’, ‘direct’ and ‘naïve’ with the Left, and ‘spiritual’, ‘elevated’, and ‘romantic’ styles with the Right.¹¹⁹ Christopher Moore argued that the ‘members of Les Six who were drawn to the Popular Front made modifications to their compositional aesthetic’, and described this style as ‘populist

¹¹⁶ See Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual*. See also, Christopher L. Moore, ‘Music in France and the Popular Front (1934-1938): Politics, Aesthetics and Reception’ (PhD Dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 2006), <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/41887316.pdf>. For a detailed account of this period see Ory, *La belle illusion*.

¹¹⁷ François Madurell, ‘France: An Uncertain and Unequal Combat’, in *The Origins and Foundations of Music Education; International Perspectives*, ed. Gordon Cox and Robin Stevens (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 21.

¹¹⁸ During the 1930s, a broad social and political consensus emerged around creating a balance between modernity (continual industrial progress and urbanisation) and folk traditions and artisanal ways of life, the images of which were polysemic. In this way the folklore policies cannot be construed solely as an acceptance by the French Left as a ‘discourse of True France’ imposed by the Right, see Shanny Peer, *France on Display: Peasants, Provincials, and Folklore in the 1937 Paris World’s Fair* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1988), 3-7.

¹¹⁹ Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual*, 8.

modernism’, as it drew on both folk and revolutionary music.¹²⁰ Examining Dyer’s pedagogical project adds to our understanding of how the music of certain French composers in 1934 reflected the ideas of national identity and intersected with interest in folk music and music for massed events, as explored by both Fulcher and Moore. It also offers a means of exploring Chimènes’s and Epstein’s claim that understanding the sounds and meanings of French music during this period depends on recognising that patron-composer relationships are often predicated on already shared interests and tastes.¹²¹

Dyer made seminal contributions to the recording of early music, but her work has been granted little importance in histories of recording, such as that by Timothy Day.¹²² Day, like Haskell, does rightly identify that by the time of her death in 1962, Dyer had built an important specialist label associated with leading artists and unusual repertory: a brand purchased by Decca in 1970 to fulfil a niche and available to this day. But Dyer herself seems to have had little agency in his account. He asks, ‘why did this larger-than-life Australian *grande dame* then begin to publish records in 1938?’.¹²³ He goes

¹²⁰ See also, Moore, ‘Music in France’.

¹²¹ Chimènes, *Mécènes et Musiciens*, 483; and Epstein, ‘Toward a Theory of Patronage’.

¹²² Dyer was profoundly influenced by innovation, particularly in music, as evidenced by her articles which appeared in *The Herald* (Vic.) for instance see Louise M. Dyer, ‘Music from the Ether’, *The Herald* (Vic.), 17 September, 1932, 18, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/243040588?>

Women played a significant role in electronic music. Yet, as Johann Merrich has identified the stories of these ‘heroines’ of contemporary sound—the inventor, composer, performer, teacher—can easily become one of “the first woman to...” leading to their exclusion from and disconnection with the broader picture’. Johann Merrich, *A Short History of Electronic Music and Its Women Protagonists*, trans. Barbara Beatrice Lavitola and Mattia Brundo (Rome: Arcana, 2021), 1. See Frances Morgan, ‘Pioneer Spirits: New Media Representations of Women in Electronic Music History’, *Organised Sound* 22, no. 2 (2017): 238-249, n.2. DOI.10.1017/S1355771817000140. Also see the feature documentary by Lisa Rovner, *Sisters with Transistors: Electronic Music’s Unsung Heroines*, 2021, <https://sisterswithtransistors.com>.

¹²³ Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 83.

on to suggest that as old music was in vogue Dyer was simply tapping into the zeitgeist of the time.¹²⁴

For Dyer recordings were an important complement to her publishing project. They were a useful tool and, though not a replacement for listening to a live musical performance or performing music oneself, still the perfect medium for bringing the musical text to life making the music itself more widely available.¹²⁵ In the late twentieth century scholars demonstrated that early sound recordings were not only significant historical documents which reflected and shaped music history, but also enabled a deeper understanding of music as performance and of the performing fashions of the time.¹²⁶ An examination of the recordings Dyer produced with Roger Désormière between 1937 and 1940, one of the leading conductors of the neoclassicist composers during the interwar period, will contribute to this area of study. His conducting experiences directly connect him with an ‘objective style’ of performance which emphasised a lightness of texture and rhythmic drive and affected the performance of

¹²⁴ Dyer’s firm and a few of the recordings are discussed briefly in Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 205 and 210. Note, Dyer established the firm in Autumn 1937, and the first record was issued in 1938. There is no mention of Dyer or the firm’s recordings in: Richard Taruskin, *Text & Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); John Butt, *Playing with History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Sophie Maisonneuve, *L’invention du disque 1877-1949: Genèse de l’usage des médias musicaux contemporains* (Paris: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines, 2009); or Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹²⁵ Louise Dyer, Typewritten Illustrated-Lecture, n.d. (c.1939). EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

¹²⁶ For overview on the history of recording industry and its impacts, see Nicolas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and John Rink, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Michael Chanan, *Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and its Effects on Music* (London: Verso, 1995); Pekka Gronow and Ilpo Saunio, *An International History of the Recording Industry*, trans. Christopher Moseley (London: Cassell, 1988); Day, *A Century*; and Sophie Maisonneuve, ‘Between History and Commodity: The Production of a Musical Patrimony Through the Record in the 1920s-1930s’, *Poetics* 29 (2001). DOI.10.1016/S0304-422X(01)00029-8. See also the Arts and Humanities Research Council Research Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music (CHARM) project, directed by Nicholas Cook, www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/index.html.

European classical music following the Great War.¹²⁷ This austere aesthetic shaped musicians' attitudes towards the performance of new and early music throughout the interwar period and went on to dominate post-war performance practice.¹²⁸

Thesis Structure

This thesis comprises four chapters, each one exploring a different aspect of Dyer's activities in chronological order, followed by a concluding discussion. The Appendices provide relevant supporting information on the publications and recordings produced by Dyer between 1931 and 1940.

Chapter One describes how Dyer's association with both the British Music Society and the ISCM enabled her to develop a network of agents within the international music community that would be useful for her future endeavours. In this chapter I reflect on the constraints that Dyer wanted to leave behind, her ambitions for the future, and the strategies she employed during these early years to realise her aims. One of these strategies was her involvement with Henry Prunières's monumental publication project, the complete works of Lully. Though her engagement in this project was short-lived, the strategies Dyer employed during these early years reveal much about how women attempted to transform their patronage activities into more powerful forms of cultural leadership.

¹²⁷ Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Early Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 475. See also Robert Fink, "'Rigorous (♩ = 126)": "The Rite of Spring" and the Forging of a Modernist Performing Style', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (1999): 309-311. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/832000>; and Richard Taruskin, 'The Pastness of the Present and the Present of the Past', in Kenyon, *Authenticity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 137-207.

¹²⁸ For an overview of previous contributions to this debate see Nicholas Kenyon ed., *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Nicholas Cook, 'Music as Performance', in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012), 184-89.

In Chapter Two I show how Dyer's failure to see the Lully project through to completion combined with her ambition to participate meaningfully in the musical life of her adopted country led her to launch her own publishing house, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, in 1931. I argue that Dyer had the advantage of a different perspective, one that enabled her to see 'outside the frame'. To do this I examine the publication and launch of the firm's first edition, the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin* (1932-1933). I describe how in Couperin, she recognised a composer of stature who deserved to be memorialised with a monumental edition and how, as a publisher, and as such the principal risk-taker, her not insignificant wealth (economic capital) enabled her to invest in projects prohibitive to others. I show how she used her privileged social position and networks to garner support for her project which helped to create her reputation as a publisher (symbolic capital), for her aim was to build a distinctive brand, through a blend of careful scholarship and publication quality, that would be recognised and respected by musicologists and performers throughout the world. I also trace how she responded to challenges from those who held authority by engaging her networks to support her work and to achieve her goal of making a significant contribution to French musical culture.

By 1934, Dyer believed there was an impending 'crisis of [musical] culture', associating this with a decline in concert attendance, particularly of contemporary music, the growth of passive listening and the limited performance of contemporary music within schools.¹²⁹ Her ideas about accessibility and education were caught up in French cultural politics, and French understandings of the relationship between popular and

¹²⁹ Louise M. Dyer, 'Bringing Music to a Million Homes', *The Herald* (Vic.), 26 March 1932, 12. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242816726>.

elite culture.¹³⁰ Dyer's response was the publication of a number of musical works for bamboo pipe, including a collection of pedagogical works, *Pipeaux Mélodies* (1934), by seven distinguished French composers: Georges Auric, Pierre-Octave Ferroud, Jacques Ibert, Milhaud, Henri Martelli, Francis Poulenc and Roussel. In Chapter Three, I use this collection to examine Dyer's pedagogical concerns, and explore the connection between early and traditional (folk) music made by these composers, whose compositional techniques relied heavily on revising and transforming traditional musical materials and alluding to the past in new and rich ways.¹³¹ This collection was originally intended for children, Dyer's audience of the future. For most of the composers contributing, it was their first foray into composing either educational music for children or pipe music. While the origins of this project lay in Australia, I show how these pieces supported the objectives of the progressive education and the piping movement; and anticipated the compositional aesthetic of populist modernism.¹³²

Chapter Four considers the establishment of Dyer's recording label, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, in late 1937. In this chapter I examine how the label was initially created as a complement to the firm's print music catalogue, which aimed to make early music more widely available as part of the broader musical culture both in France and internationally. I scrutinise Dyer's and Désormière's views regarding the performance of early music and explore what their choices can tell us about the performance fashion of early music in France in the interwar years. I show how the distinguished conductor Désormière used the prism of contemporary French musical practice to encourage a

¹³⁰ The term 'populaire' had traditionally referred to the lower classes: peasants, urban industrial workers—the popular masses' (masses populaires). See Loosely, 'Politics and Pleasure', in Holmes and Loosely, *Imagining the Popular*, 19.

¹³¹ Joseph N. Straus, 'The "Anxiety of Influence" in Twentieth-Century Music', *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 4 (1991): 431. DOI.10.2307/763870.

¹³² Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual*, and Christopher Moore, 'Socialist Realism and the Music of the French Popular Front', *The Journal of Musicology* 25, no. 4 (2008): 274-502. DOI.10.1525/jm.2008.25.4.473. Also see Moore, 'Music in France', x.

greater understanding of the musical works from the French Baroque that they recorded, and that the underlying logic of their decisions was that all music is part of the world of music and should be treated on the same plane as contemporary music.

The thesis concludes by considering how Dyer's ambitions were fulfilled during this turbulent decade, while her future plans were abruptly severed by the outbreak of war and her enforced move to Britain in May 1940. Before leaving for England, Dyer's firm had presented a concert in Paris, had participated in the French pavilion at the 1939 World's Fair in New York, and had also undertaken an extensive promotional tour across northern USA. These activities combined can be read as not only serving as a promotional platform for the products of Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, but also as supporting the state's efforts in the 'marketing of Marianne'—to borrow Robert J. Young's phrase—during the final year of the Third Republic.¹³³ Yet, the outbreak of war permanently ruptured the continuum between these activities prior to 1940 and those when Dyer returned to France in September 1945.

This thesis sets out to gain a better understanding of Dyer's progression from patron-organiser to fully fledged publisher from the time of her arrival in the Northern hemisphere (1927) to when she fled France in 1940. This was a period in which the musical culture in France was profoundly influenced by the prevailing political climate and the need to reaffirm French national identity. Through these case studies I examine how Dyer used her networks to negotiate a way through the changing socio-political landscape so that she could participate productively in the ongoing construction of French musical culture during this period. These case studies reveal how her actions were perceived by others—from the patronising attitudes of some to the overwhelming support of others—which reflect wider patterns on women's work in music in interwar

¹³³ Robert J. Young, *Marketing Marianne: French Propaganda in America, 1900-1940* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

France. Nonetheless, all the gains she had made during this decade were put on hold by the outbreak in Europe of the Second World War. The thesis aims to provide a more nuanced understanding of Dyer's publishing and recording activities during the final decade of the Third Republic, which will add to the rich and growing body of scholarship on Dyer and on interwar French musical culture.

1. 1927-1931: Patron-Organiser, Patron-Publisher

I am an Australian, but all my life I was drawn to France and to Paris. ...I wanted to enjoy to the full, and at leisure, the treasures Paris offers to anyone who loves music and any form of artistic expression. Music in particular has always been my study and pleasure. It seems that Western Europe in particular is the breeding ground of creative artists. It is doubtful however, just where anyone coming from the new world can take part usefully in the vast creative effort of the old. ...The newcomer from outside feels simply a spectator.¹

This was how Dyer framed her reasons for wanting to live in Paris. Her narrative highlights a long-held admiration for France and its musical culture and her desire to play a role within it. It is also evident that she recognised, at least retrospectively, her liminal position as a newcomer, an outsider, and that from such a position she first must observe activities before taking part. For Dyer, who had achieved prominence as a patron-organiser and champion for the arts and French culture in Melbourne, and who had an established international cohort of friends and acquaintances within the realm of music, the feeling of not being in control—of being ‘betwixt and between’—would most likely have been unsettling. Yet the opportunity to reinvent herself, though a seemingly daunting prospect, was alluring.

Dyer’s activities as a patron-organiser have been thoroughly documented by her biographer, Jim Davidson, and further explored by Daniela Kaleva, Eileen Chanin and Steven Miller, and Barbara Lemon among others.² These writers share an interest in

¹ Louise Dyer, *Typed-Illustrated Lecture*, (c.1939). EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

² Jim Davison, *Lyrebird Rising: Louise Hanson-Dyer of l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1884-1962* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1994); Daniela Kaleva, ‘Patronage through Dissemination: Louise Hanson-Dyer’s Patronage of Gustav Holst’, *Context: Journal of Music Research* 37 (2012): 77-91, <https://contextjournal.music.unimelb.edu.au/no-37/>; Daniela Kaleva, ‘Treasured Ephemera:

Dyer's arts patronage as enabled by her wealth, her love of music, and her considerable organisational abilities. However, while they explore in detail many areas of her activities, they do not consider the musicological aspects.

In this chapter I examine the strategies Dyer employed to transform herself from patron-organiser to a music publisher specialising in early music by way of her international and interconnected musical network comprising composers, critics, historians and institutions. New archival materials, containing communications between Dyer and the British music publishing house Novello & Co, support my claims that Dyer left Australia to find an alternative means of engaging in musical culture, one that involved greater leadership, that she had no desire to be a patron/philanthropist, and that her first major project was thwarted due to the impact of the Great Depression.³ For Dyer, as a woman with formal musical training who chose not to perform or teach, the alternatives for engaging with the wider realm of music were only limited by her knowledge and experiences and her financial resources, and by institutional and gendered assumptions regarding the role of women that were prevalent at the time.

Nevertheless, when Dyer left Australia in 1927, the conditions for starting her new life in the northern hemisphere were propitious. She was unusual for an Australian woman of her time. She was a seasoned traveller with a cosmopolitan outlook, a reasonable French speaker, married without children and financially secure, culturally

Chronicles of the Early History of Professional Chamber Music in Melbourne', *La Trobe Journal* 84 (Dec. 2009): 92–103, <http://latrobejournal.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-84/index.html>; Daniela Kaleva, 'The Gustav Holst and British Music Society of Victoria Collections at the State Library of Victoria', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 55, no. 1 (2008):170-79, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23512419>; Eileen Chanin and Steven Miller, *Awakening: Four Lives in Art* (South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2015), 47-88. Barbara Lemon, 'In Her Gift: Activism and Altruism in Australian Women's Philanthropy 1800-2005' (PhD thesis, Arts- School of Historical Studies, The University of Melbourne, 2008), 104-106. <http://hdl.handle.net/11343/37732>.

³ Novello & Co. Correspondence with Louise Dyer. Correspondence, Contracts and Papers (N&Co CCP), Private Collection, London.

inquisitive and resolute of character. Moreover, when she decided to settle in Paris in 1928, she was a ‘newcomer’ able to begin her life anew: she had no wish to repeat the frustrations she had experienced in Melbourne.

I begin by considering Dyer’s arrival in Europe and her decision to live in Paris. I then examine how she used a combination of publishing and patron-organising activities to maintain her connections with Australia and Britain and to begin cultivating her Parisian persona. Not all these activities were as successful as she had hoped, but they played a formative role in her future. Her interest in the revival of early music was stimulated by her belief that to understand contemporary music, one needed to understand the music of the past.⁴ It was through her international connections that she began fully to understand how monumental publishing projects of early music were being used as a means of upholding the cultural heritage of a nation. This led her to identify projects that would encourage the creative activity of the new world and support that of the old world. Interwoven throughout this chapter is an examination of the strategies that she employed across all these activities, as they reveal much about how she built her knowledge and understanding of early music editing and publishing, enabling her to assume a more powerful form of cultural leadership in the early twentieth century.

Firstly, I examine how Dyer wished to maintain her connection with Australia by establishing a music lending library in Melbourne. Her aim was that the library would eventually contain British music from Byrd to Sir William Walton, but she began with two contemporary composers whom she had encountered through her association with the British Music Society (BMS): Gustav Holst and Sir Edward Elgar.⁵ As will be

⁴ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 227.

⁵ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 207. Dyer held celebrations for the tercentenaries of the composers William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons in 1923 and 1925 respectively. Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 95.

shown, this ambitious project also aimed to solve the myriad problems musicians faced because of the ‘tyranny of distance’: Australia lay c.13,000 miles away from Britain.⁶

Secondly, I show how once settled in Paris, Dyer reverted to patron-organiser activities as a means of inserting herself into the Parisian salon scene. Her entry into this milieu was eased by Henry Prunières, with whom she shared several interests, from bibliographic collecting to making early and contemporary French music more widely known. A desire to play a more active role within French musical culture would lead to her participation in his monumental publishing project, the complete works of Jean-Baptiste Lully. As I will show, Dyer appears to have misread the deeply engrained gendered conventions to which he adhered, and this misunderstanding, combined with editorial problems and financial challenges associated with the project, eventually led their collaboration to fail. Despite this, the failure provided the spark that she required to realise fully her ambition of playing a greater role in French musical culture.

A Newcomer from the ‘New’ World

When the Dyers left Melbourne in April 1927, Dyer was following a path already taken by many Australian women and men seeking to progress their intellectual and cultural ambitions. During the interwar years this meant accepting the centripetal pull of London, or Continental Europe.⁷ Dyer believed that Europe was the source of musical culture and was a more enlightened environment in which she could live and use her expertise in the interests of musical culture at a different level. Determined to make her

⁶ The phrase comes from the title of Geoffrey Blainey’s seminal cultural history of Australia, which was first published in 1966 and frequently revised. See Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia’s History*, rev. ed. (1966; Melbourne: MacMillan, 2001).

⁷ The Dyers travelled on the Orient Line steamship *Oransay* (I), arriving in England in mid-May. Berlin, Leipzig and Paris were other cities attractive to Australians seeking intellectual and artistic stimulation. See Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4.

move to the northern hemisphere a positive experience, on her arrival she delighted in reconnecting with acquaintances from the BMS in London, and in immediately attending the ISCM festival in Frankfurt, which proved to be a pivotal event for her.⁸

According to the historian Angela Woollacott, for many Australians London was seen as the ‘locus of inherited cultural memory, the site of ancestral connections and the setting of major historic episodes’, and a city large enough to provide access to a wide range and variety of cultural and intellectual opportunities.⁹ However, for some, including Dyer, London was a city where social class and status still mattered considerably. It was her *nouveau riche* status that had set her apart from some of Melbourne’s elite women who claimed either an aristocratic background, or superiority through position, education and wealth. Dyer could not compete with Janet, Lady Clarke, whose husband was a baronet; Lady Hennessy, wife of the Lord Mayor of Melbourne; and especially Ivy Brooks, née Deacon (eldest daughter of the second prime minister of Australia). Brooks was a year older than Dyer and not only was she a talented musician whose husband Herbert was a highly respected and wealthy businessman, but also her ‘at homes’ attracted those representing the intellectual cream of the city.¹⁰ Thus, having escaped the confines of Melbourne society, Dyer would have instinctively understood the challenges that a new arrival would face in London from both resident Australians, such as the wife of the High Commissioner, Lady Cook, and

⁸ In the same year Edward Dent, Guido Adler, Henry Prunières among others, reconstituted the International Gesellschaft Für Musikwissenschaft (IGMW)/Société Internationale de Musicologie (SIM) into the ISM. To French and Italian speaking musicians the society was known as the Société Internationale pour la Musique Contemporaine or Società Internazionale di Musica Contemporanea (both abbreviated as SIMC), and in Germany the organisation was referred to as Internationale Gessellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM). Dorothea Baumann and Dinko Fabris, preface to *The History of the IMS: 1927-2017* (Basel: Bärenreiter, 2017), 1.

⁹ Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, 4.

¹⁰ See Lemon, ‘In Her Gift’, 79-81.

the British upper-class in general.¹¹ Within a week of their arrival in England, the Dyers had presented themselves at both the Government Office of Victoria and at Australia House—a required pilgrimage for Australian visitors for making their way in the ‘home’ country.¹² Still, she was in Europe for reasons other than social.

In her pursuit of musical culture and as a way for her to meet many distinguished actors within the field, Dyer attended the ISCM festival, held between 29 June and 4 July 1927, in Frankfurt, as a delegate. She also reported on the festival for the Melbourne newspaper *The Herald*, for which she wrote regularly.¹³ International festivals such as this played an essential role in creating an environment for interaction with like-minded individuals and the exchange of ideas. At this forum she re-connected with Prunières (whom she had met at the 1924 ISCM festival), a respected Lully scholar and founder and director of the influential journal dedicated to musical modernism, *La Revue musicale* (Paris, 1920).¹⁴ She also reconnected with Edward Dent, William Gillies Whittaker and Henry C. Colles, *The Times* critic and editor of *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (3rd edition, 1927), among others.

A significant element of the ISCM programme was the showcasing of important national and local cultural organisations and venues. In Frankfurt, delegates were invited by Paul Hirsch, a member of the conference organising committee, to view his music

¹¹ Between 1921 and 1927, Lady Cook made Australia House as well as the High Commissioner’s residence a gateway to London’s social and political networks. She regularly invited visiting Australians, and others, to her weekly ‘At Home’ events that always featured performances by young Australian artists. Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune*, 4-10.

¹² ‘Mr and Mrs James Dyer called at the Government Office of Victoria’, *The British Australian & New Zealander* 49, no. 2226 (May 26, 1927): 17. They then presented themselves at Australia House in early June 1927. *The British Australian & New Zealander* 49, no. 2228 (June 9, 1927): 12.

¹³ Louise B. Dyer, ‘Frankfurt Feast of Music’, *The Herald* (Vic.), 27 August 1927, 27. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article244192481>. Note, some of Dyer’s articles were syndicated to other newspapers across Australia.

¹⁴ Prunières’s life, work and interactions are presented in the edited collection by Myriam Chimènes, Florence Gétreau and Catherine Massip, eds., *Henry Prunières (1886-1942): Un musicologue engagé dans la vie musicale de l’entre-deux guerres* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2015).

library, which contained more than 20,000 items including first editions, manuscripts, theoretical writings, and forty operas by Lully.¹⁵ In her article for the *Herald*, Dyer described her visit to the Hirsch collection, which not only stimulated her interest in the beauty of the historic music manuscripts, but also planted the idea of creating her own library of prints of rare music; Frau Hirsch's collection of bookbindings further captivated her imagination, emphasising that music books could be beautiful objects in their own right.¹⁶ The visit would also have provided Dyer and Prunières, a noted music bibliophile himself, the opportunity to discuss the library's contents, especially the works of Lully, and the art of fine music-book publishing.¹⁷ He would later advise Dyer on acquisitions for her music library, and prove a useful ally in introducing her to the Paris salon world.¹⁸ They shared several other interests, specifically a passion for both early and contemporary music and a belief in the importance of making this music more accessible through publication, performance and debate.

Following the festival, the Dyers travelled through Europe. Given Louise's fascination with French culture and music, she was drawn to Paris as a cosmopolitan centre. Paris for her was 'the mecca of musicians', where she believed 'you cannot

¹⁵ In 1936 Hirsch decided for political and safety reasons to move his family and the entire collection to Cambridge University. The move was facilitated by Edward J. Dent. Following World War II the British Museum acquired the collection, now a special collection within the British Library. See Alec Hyatt King, 'Paul Hirsch and His Music Library', <https://www.bl.uk/eblj/1981/articles/article1.html>.

¹⁶ Dyer, 'Frankfurt Feast of Music'.

¹⁷ For details of Prunières's collection see Rémi Jacobs, 'Deux amis collectionneurs: Alfred Cortot et Henry Prunières', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières (1862-1942)*, 349-354; and Catherine Massip, 'La Collection Prunières vue par Alfred Cortot', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 349-354.

¹⁸ According to Denis Herlin, Dyer's library purchases were not always coherent, yet she amassed a collection containing a range of manuscripts, theoretical writings, and several first or early editions. Herlin considers Dyer's library to be rare for the period, as the collections of Alfred Cortot, André Meyer and Geneviève Thibault have all been dispersed. See Denis Herlin, introduction to *Catalogue of the Hanson-Dyer Music Collection, The University of Melbourne* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 2006), xxii. And Jacobs, 'Deux amis collectionneurs', 341-348; and Massip, 'La Collection Prunières', 349-354.

live...without feeling the vitality which is everywhere'.¹⁹ From the *fin de siècle* the city had led an artistic revolution and was alive with the critical mass of accoutrements necessary for success: salons, patrons, intellectuals (artists, writers and composers), musicians, a vast array of music journals, stimulating cultural events and a wide range of performing venues. In 1928 the Dyers purchased and renovated a penthouse apartment in the fashionable 16th arrondissement on 17 rue Franklin (later rue Scheffer), and by 1929 they were fully established in their new home.²⁰ It was here that Dyer would identify her future path.

A Patron-Organiser in Paris Amidst a Changing Salon Culture

Dyer had grown up in an environment where French culture was highly regarded. She had learned the language from childhood with the Alliance Française and had visited France on several occasions as an adult.²¹ Having savoured Parisian life during her visits to France in 1921 and 1924—a period in which some of the most intriguing cultural developments emerged in part from the shock of the war and in response to the fast pace and growth of technology associated with modernity—Dyer regarded the city as the cultural capital of the world.²² The Paris that Dyer remembered from her earlier

¹⁹ Louise Dyer, 'Trend of Modern Music, The Work of New and Old French Composers', *The Herald* (Vic.) 14 Jan. 1932, 4. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242897431>.

²⁰ As James (Dyer) did not speak French, the area was most likely selected for its large British and American expatriate community and its proximity to the Scots Kirk, which the Dyers attended every Sunday and which James supported financially. Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 297.

²¹ The Alliance Française opened its branch in Melbourne in 1890. Dyer assumed the role of president of the association in 1921, following Lady Hennessy who had held the position since 1906. The Alliance (1884) was an initiative of the diplomat Paul Cambon, supported by Ferdinand de Lesseps, Louis Pasteur, Ernest Renan, Jules Verne and Armand Colin. Its aim was to promote the French language in the colonies and abroad and to improve French cultural development. The Melbourne branch was launched four years after the first Alliances were opened in Barcelona, Senegal, Mauritius and Mexico. The Sydney Alliance was established in 1899. See Ivan Barco, 'The Foundation and Early History of the Alliance Française of Sydney', *Explorations*, no. 26 (1999): 5-6. <https://www.isfar.org.au/category/explorations/no-26/>.

²² Dyer, 'Trend of Modern Music'.

visits had changed, though. From the mid-1920s onwards, dysfunction within state governance, combined with Germany's inability to pay war reparations, exacerbated political and social tensions. The Great Depression forced many expatriate Americans to leave the city as the dollar collapsed in value, and although France did not suffer the full consequences until 1931, the country took longer to recover. On settling in Paris, Dyer became reliant on her international network and her acquaintance with several members of the Parisian political and musical élite as she sought to insert herself within the milieu of the Parisian salon—an established institution of French intellectual and artistic life, and a field where women had traditionally been leaders—by starting one herself.²³ In this way, salon culture would serve as a key gateway for her entry into the Parisian music scene.

Traditionally salons had tended to function independently, even though those leading them mingled in the same circles, as did the artists they supported. As mass culture and consumerism began to take hold, the salon landscape itself became more complex. In a bid to retain existing clients and encourage new ones, commercial institutions, including musical-instrument manufacturers and publishers such as Pleyel and Durand and later Prunières's magazine *La Revue musicale*, began holding regular salons of their own.²⁴ The role patrons and their salons played in encouraging the exchange of ideas through the intermingling of talent and intellect became the norm,

²³ The ground-breaking study of salon culture within the Third Republic is Myriam Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens: du salon au concert à Paris sous la III^e République* (Paris: Fayard, 2004). For a history of the salon world see Antoine Lilti, *The World of the Salons: Sociability and Worldliness in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). See also James Ross, 'Music in the French Salon', in *French Music Since Berlioz*, ed. Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter (London: Routledge, 2006).

²⁴ *La Revue musicale* salons began in 1920 as a means of providing a benefit to existing subscribers and attracting new ones.

and sometimes led to the creation of musical works which became milestones in the history of music.²⁵

The new economic reality of the late 1920s and early 1930s left leading patrons such as the Princesse de Polignac, Jeanne Dubost and the American Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge—who sponsored a European festival programme in the summer months—with reduced funds, requiring them to review their patronage activities with care so as not to jeopardise existing commitments.²⁶ They prioritised the support of fledgling ensembles and new institutions which aimed to encourage concert culture, leveraged additional financial assistance from their friends to achieve their goals, and also assisted a broad range of non-musical activities.²⁷

With the successive governments in turmoil there were limited public funds available to sustain coherent national arts policies and institutions.²⁸ In addition, established semi-public institutions such as the Société Nationale de Musique (SNM: 1871-1939) and its rival the Société Musicale Indépendante (SMI: 1909-1935) were

²⁵ See Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*. The salons of Princess de Polignac, Étienne and Édith de Beaumont, Charles and Marie Laurie de Noailles and Jeanne Dubost were important.

²⁶ Roger Nichols describes ‘the fierce inflation’ that ‘forced some *salonnières* (or rather their husbands) to draw in their horns’. Roger Nichols, *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris 1917-1929* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 197.

²⁷ Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing the Past and Future Between the Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1. Both Dubost and de Polignac supported health and welfare activities. For de Polignac’s support of the Salvation Army and other organisations, see Sylvia Kahan, *Music’s Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 271. Dubost’s activities included advocating for infant health and welfare for instance see Jean Piot, ‘Comment, grâce à l’“Œuvre”, trente enfants orphelins ont trouvé une famille’, *L’Œuvre*, 25 May 1926, 1. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4612938p/f1.image>.

²⁸ For a discussion on the role of the state in funding musical culture in France, see Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 485-513; and Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 33-35, who considers how the role of the state in supporting composers changed during the 1930s and specifically in era of the Popular Front. Also see Christopher L. Moore, ‘Music in France and the Popular Front (1934-1938): Politics, Aesthetics and Reception’ (PhD Dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 2006), <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/41887316.pdf>; and the important study concerning the era of the Popular Front by Pascal Ory, *La belle illusion: Culture et politique sous le signe du Front populaire* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1994).

challenged by new composer- and performer-led societies such as Yvonne de Casa Fuerte's (née Giraud) concert society *La Sérénade* (1931) and *Triton*, launched by Pierre-Octave Ferroud in 1932.²⁹ These institutions—funded by membership subscriptions, some government subvention through broadcasting rights, and ticket sales—overlapped with the traditionally private institution of the salon. Thus, between the wars the institution of the salon became enmeshed in an intricate web of relationships. This was the challenging and changing salon scene that Dyer entered.

The salon of Dubost is of particular interest, for Dyer may have used her as a model for her 'new' Parisian identity, and as an entrée to the Parisian musical world in which she was keen to participate. There are several striking resemblances between the two salons, from their modern interior décor and their association with influential Parisian music institutions, to the salon attendees themselves.³⁰

It is most likely that the two women met through their mutual friend, Prunières. Prunières had known Dubost and had attended her salons prior to the Great War. Following the war, she became a founder member of his journal *La Revue musicale* (1920) along with de Polignac, the Belgian financier and philanthropist Henry Le Bœuf (a close friend of Dubost's husband, René) and Coolidge.³¹ Dubost's Wednesday salons attracted a mix of national and international writers, artists, composers, intellectuals and politicians which inspired the cross-pollination of ideas and collaboration. According to

²⁹ The landmark study is by Michel Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 1977). See also, Ross, 'Music in the French Salon', 94; and Michael Strasser, 'The Société Nationale and Its Adversaries: The Musical Politics of *L'Invasion germanique* in the 1870s', *19th-Century Music* 24, no. 3 (2001): 225-251. DOI.10.1525/ncm.2001.24.3.225.

³⁰ Dyer's apartment is described by Isabel Ramsay, 'An Australian Woman and Her Modern Paris Flat', *Home: An Australian Quarterly* 2, no. 5 (1 May 1930), 5: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-388146450>. A description of Dubost's salon can be found in Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 267.

³¹ Malou Haine, 'Une amitié franco-belge: Henry Le Bœuf, Henry Prunières et la naissance de *La Revue musicale*', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 388, n.16; Cyrilla Barr, 'The Musicological Legacy of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge', *The Journal of Musicology* 11, no. 2 (1993): 264-5, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/764031>.

Henry Sauguet, she ‘affected libertarian socialist opinions and among her friends were politicians’.³² Regular attendees included Prunières, Maurice Ravel, the members of Les Six, Erik Satie’s young disciples Roger Désormière and Sauguet, and the composers Roussel and Jacques Ibert. Artists included Marie Laurencin and Rose Adler, among others. All became members of Dyer’s circle.

The vibrancy of France’s music scene was evidently important to Dubost and she found ways to help secure the financial stability of several institutions through membership, such as the SFM, or acting as the lead fundraiser, as in the case of L’Orchestre Symphonique de Paris (OSP), both of which she did in 1928.³³ An avid supporter of the decorative arts, including bookbinding, she was a member of Les Cent-Une (Société des Femmes Bibliophiles), another organisation Dyer would later join.³⁴

Since the early 1920s Dyer had been drawn to the music of Ravel and Roussel and the members of Les Six, for they shared with her a fascination with early French music and Stravinsky’s neoclassicism. Dyer had long been captivated by their music, but their existing renown limited the ways in which she could support their creative output. She

³² Henri Sauguet, *La Musique, ma vie* (Paris: Librairie Séguier, 1990), 272-273: ‘Elle affectait des opinions socialistes presque libertaires (sinon libertines) et avait des politiciens parmi ses amis (Paul-Boncour, Briand Painlevé). Son salon différait de tous les autres par l’abondance des goûters et la diversité des publics’. Also cited in Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 267.

³³ Dubost became a member of the SFM on 27 February 1928 (sixteen months before Dyer). She was nominated by Théodore Reinach and seconded by André Tessier. See ‘Séances de la Société Française de Musicologie: Séance du Lundi 27 Février 1928’, *Revue de musicologie* 9, no. 26 (May, 1928):126. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/925997>. The artistic directors of the OSP were Ernest Ansermet, Alfred Cortot and Louis Fourestier. For more detail on the OSP see Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 532-541. Dubost supported La Sérénade, and La Jeune France (see Duchesneau, *L’Avant-garde musicale*, 123-131). The initial founders of La Sérénade were; Comtesse Anne-Jules de Noailles, de la Comtesse Jean de Polignac, Jeanne and René Dubost, Madame G. Imann-Gigandet, d’Oriane de la Panouse, Vicomte de Noailles and David David Weill. Several months later they were joined by the Princesse de Polignac, Comtesse Jean de Murat, Comtesse G. Potocka, Comte Étienne de Beaumont, Gabrielle Chanel, Pierre Bouvet and Paul Goldschmidt.

³⁴ The Society still operates today: for more information see <http://www.lescentune.com>. In 1927, Adler’s design for Giraudoux’s *Suzanne et la Pacifique* became the Society’s first publication. Renée de Brimont, the French poet and writer, was president of the Society. Natalie Barney and Marie Laurencin frequented de Brimont’s salon, and they both knew Dyer well. See Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 380 and 529.

later resolved this dilemma through perhaps her most conspicuous emulation of Dubost, which involved two musical works: the children's ballet *L'Éventail de Jeanne* (1927), a collective work dedicated to Dubost, and Dyer's pedagogical collection of seven musical pieces for children to perform, *Pipeaux Mélodies* (1934) (see Chapter 3).³⁵ Désormière conducted the première of *L'Éventail*, at Dubost's salon and the subsequent run of twenty-two performances at the Paris Opéra in 1929. He would later play a crucial role in the establishment of Dyer's recording label (see Chapter 4).³⁶

Roger Nichols suggests Dubost merely hosted important names of the day. In support of his claim, he quotes Madeleine Milhaud's description of Dubost as 'a charming, elegant, whimsical woman who liked to surround herself with artists and writers'.³⁷ Mme Milhaud's patronising description of Dubost and her activities is an example of the attitude some salon attendees held towards their host and/or patron.³⁸ Indeed, Dyer would face similarly dismissive treatment, as will be seen. The lack of scrutiny of Mme Milhaud's comment is also perplexing as it perpetuates the stereotypes Ralph Locke identified as being problematic when writing about women and patronage

³⁵ Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 269. Jacques Ibert, Georges Auric, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, Maurice Ravel, Alexis Roland-Manuel, Pierre-Octave Ferroud, Marcel Delannoy, Florent Schmitt and Albert Roussel composed pieces for *L'Éventail de Jeanne*. Marie Laurencin designed the costumes and would later provide lithographs for Dyer's publication of John Blow's opera, *Venus & Adonis*. Of these ten composers Auric, Ferroud, Ibert, Milhaud, Poulenc and Roussel were involved in Dyer's *Pipeaux* project.

³⁶ Dyer's recording label produced not only a vast array of early music, but also several significant contemporary wind trios, by Auric, Ibert and Milhaud—commissioned by Fernand Oubradous for his Trio d'Anches—and a recording of Sauguet's chamber cantata *La Voyante*.

³⁷ Nichols, *Harlequin Years*, 197.

³⁸ Louis K. Epstein provides numerous examples of the complex relationship composers had with their patrons, and how composers spoke about patrons between themselves. See Louis K. Epstein, 'Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918-1939', (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2013), <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/toward-theory-patronage-funding-music-composition/docview/1417072609/se-2?accountid=11862>; and his monograph, Louis K. Epstein, *The Creative Labour of Music Patronage in Interwar France* (Woodbridge, Surrey: The Boydell Press, forthcoming).

nearly a decade earlier.³⁹ In her trailblazing study of the French salon during the Third Republic, Myriam Chimènes presents a more positive image of Dubost, suggesting a greater involvement in the music scene than Mme Milhaud's description would have us believe.⁴⁰ Perhaps Dubost's support of institutions which sustained French, and especially Parisian, musical and artistic culture illustrates her own growth in maturity and interests. In any case, she was very much a model for Dyer.

Once installed in Paris, Dyer began the process of engaging with the city's musical activities.⁴¹ Three of her events are especially relevant, for they show how she used her international network to establish herself in her new country. The first occasion was an *après*-performance party held on 20 October 1929, in celebration of the Paris première of Holst's *Egdon Heath* (1927) by Pierre Monteaux and the OSP.⁴² This opportunity was engineered by Dyer possibly through the auspices of Dubost, who as president of the OSP was perfectly placed to expedite an introduction.⁴³ Dyer followed this one year later with an extravagant celebration for Arthur Honegger, a concert entitled 'Soirée Musicale Consacrée aux Œuvres d'Arthur Honegger', on 27 October 1930. The third event was her own equally splendid housewarming party held on 9 November 1930, at which guests admired the views of the Eiffel Tower and were treated to the première

³⁹ Ralph P. Locke, 'Paradoxes of the Woman Music Patron in America', *The Musical Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (1994): 798-800. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/7452510>.

⁴⁰ Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 621-640.

⁴¹ Dyer's apartment was within walking distance of the discerning salon of Princess de Polignac (avenue Henri-Martin), and those of Dubost (avenue d'Iena) and Charles and Marie-Laure de Noailles (place des États-Unis). For details about each of these salons see Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 84-114, 621-640, 535-537, and 639-646. For locations of artists' residences and salons see Arlen J. Hansen, *Expatriate Paris: A Cultural and Literary Guide to Paris of the 1920s* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1990), 250-260.

⁴² The performance was given in the Salle Pleyel, and was not well received, nor was its London première a year earlier. See also Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 169.

⁴³ Dubost's leadership and connections enabled her to garner an army of supporters for the OSP. Not everyone was keen on this form of support, notably the critic Léon Valles who complained that the Parisian elite were too influential in the field of cultural activity. See Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens*, 537.

performance of Holst's song cycle, *Twelve Humbert Wolfe Songs*, op. 48 (1929)—dedicated to Dyer—performed by Dorothy Silk and accompanied by Holst himself. The guests for these events encompassed a high profile international artistic, literary, intellectual and political elite who would be key acquaintances for her future activities.⁴⁴ So, within a year of settling in Paris, Dyer had marked her own position within the Paris salon scene.⁴⁵

Still, Dyer was only too aware that her salon would be modest in comparison with those of the Princesse de Polignac and Dubost, and that commissioning musical works, though an admirable activity, was not the legacy that she was seeking. She would increasingly find these opportunities in the area of music publishing. Here she could leverage her international connections to contribute to projects of national importance.

Patron-Publisher: 'The Dyer Collection'

Even before settling in Paris, Dyer was actively engaged with two publishing projects between 1927 and May 1931. The more important of these to her was Prunières's monumental edition of Lully's complete works, which demonstrated her desire to support the musical heritage of her place of residence. But even before this, Dyer had begun another music publishing project. While *en route* to London, she planned to make the musical scores of contemporary British composers more widely available to musicians in Australia through the creation of a music lending library in Melbourne,

⁴⁴ See 'Visitors Book', EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0025, Unit 31. For instance, the sculptor Ossip Zadkine and his wife the painter Valentine Prax, Dyer's friends Laurencin and Adler, James Joyce and Ezra Pound (who both shared a passion for early music with Dyer), Nadia Boulanger and Camille and Henry Prunières. An Australian contingent was present, as was a small group of French and British diplomats and senior civil servants and Alliance Française functionaries.

⁴⁵ For a detailed description of these events see Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 261-301.

which became known as ‘The Dyer Collection’.⁴⁶ It is possible that Dyer ‘borrowed’ the idea from her engagement with the British Music Society (BMS), as one of the organisation’s aims was to establish libraries of British music ‘throughout the world’ (see Introduction). The first step of her project involved the publication of a catalogue of the entire musical output of her friend, Holst, which was immediately followed by one for Elgar.⁴⁷ The second step involved determining where the lending library would be housed and how it would be managed. New archival correspondence between Dyer and the publishing house Novello & Co. reveals the complexities of organising this project. Over eighteen months, she drafted the catalogues, arranged for their publication and oversaw the preparation of the legal arrangements for the scheme. Meanwhile, Novello liaised with a suite of publishers, collected and collated the published music, organised for the copying of any works in manuscript form—a task of some magnitude—and arranged the shipment of the music to Australia.

In creating a music lending library, Dyer was addressing two issues. The first was the difficulty musicians in Australia faced in obtaining new music from England. This required protracted planning arrangements and substantial hire fees, and, when combined with the vagaries of shipping and the inevitable disappointment when scores landed with missing parts, caused much frustration and lost performance opportunities. Second, she believed that the Australian musical landscape was ‘arid’, where ‘music has

⁴⁶ ‘The Dyer Collection’ is housed at the State Library of Victoria, see Daniela Kaleva, ‘The Gustav Holst and British Music Society of Victoria Collections at the State Library of Victoria’, *Fontes Artis Musicae* 55, no.1 (Jan.-March 2008): 170-179. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23512419>.

⁴⁷ In the mid-1920s, Dyer had gained Holst’s trust and friendship enabling her to produce the Australian premieres of his opera *Savitri: An Episode from the Mahābhārata*, op.25 (1908-09) in Melbourne on 30 September 1926, as well as *The Planets*, op.32 (1914) in Melbourne in 1925, and in Sydney in 1926. See Daniela Kaleva, ‘The Australian Premiere of Gustav Holst’s Opera *Savitri*: Louise Dyer’s farewell “gesture” to the British Music Society in Melbourne’, *The La Trobe Journal* 102, (2018): 63-75: <https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/stories/la-trobe-journal/la-trobe-journal-no-102-september-2018>.

to fight its way', and where 'we already have a shrine of sport but a shrine to music has not yet appeared'.⁴⁸

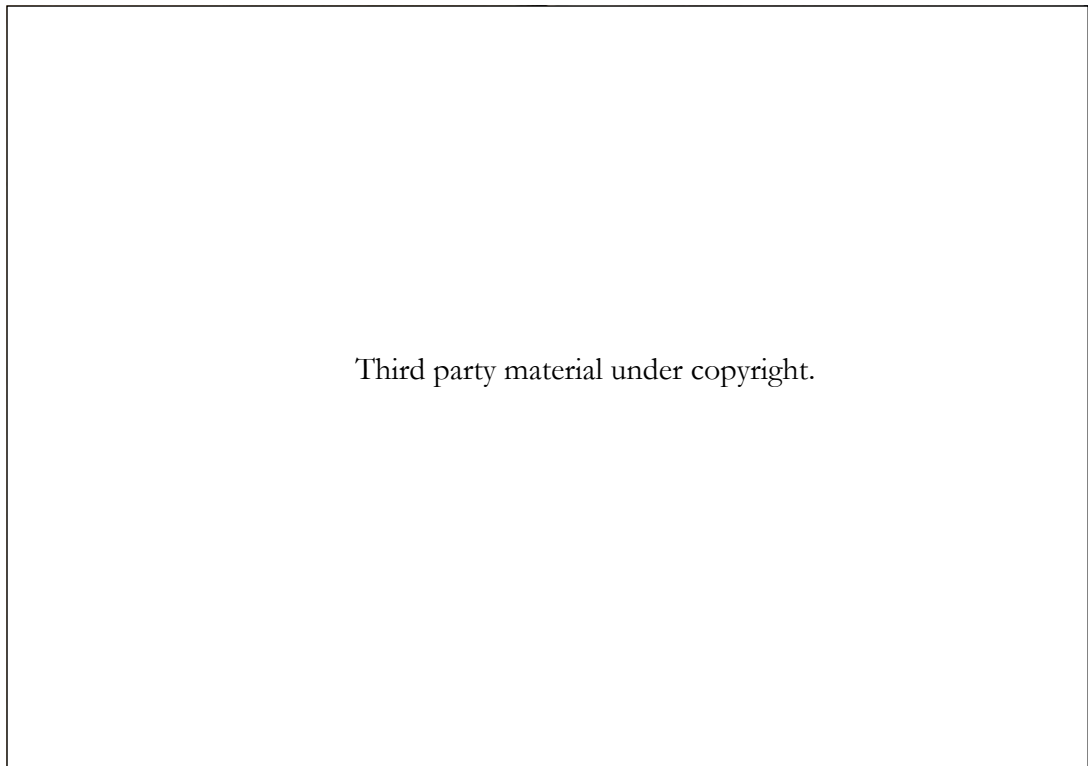
The purpose of the catalogues was to provide music directors and scholars with an easy means of reviewing a composer's *œuvre*. Correspondence between Dyer and Novello suggests that catalogues organised by composer—rather than ones based on repertoire category—were selected as a means of simplifying the project's management and of limiting the effort required to update the catalogues in the future. Within each catalogue, musical works were presented by category—orchestra, military bands, opera, choir and orchestra, shorter choral works, solo songs, piano works and edited works—and additional information such as the instrumentation required and the number of parts available was presented beside each work.

The choice of composer-led catalogues implies that she was an advocate of particular composers' musical work: in the first instance, Holst and Elgar. Yet her plan was to include a range of composers from William Byrd and Henry Purcell to William Walton in her library, reflecting her belief that knowledge of early music is essential to understanding contemporary music, and her desire to build 'the most complete set of British scores of all the cities of the Empire with the exception of London'.⁴⁹ Dyer then arranged for Oxford University Press (OUP) to publish both the catalogues as a disinterested party: 'they have nothing to gain as they have not published any of Elgar's

⁴⁸ Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr Henry Clayton, 4 November 1928. N&Co CCP. Dyer's depiction was not quite true. In Melbourne, there were two musical societies which aimed to develop local music activity: the Musical Society of Victoria (MSV) and the British Music Society (BMS), which the Dyer's established. The MSV was democratic in its music-making pursuits focussing on amateur and professional musicians as well as supporting the development of Australian composers by promoting and performing their musical works. While the BMS began with democratic aims it became an elitist organisation concerned with the 'imported product as representative of the highest artistic standards' and reinforcing and retaining strong links with Britain. See. Monique Geitenbeek, "'Spread this Notion of the Music Club": Dynamics of Class and Patronage in Melbourne 1900-1940', *Context: Journal of Music Research* 8 (1994): 46-51: <https://contextjournal.music.unimelb.edu.au/no-8/>.

⁴⁹ Louise Dyer, as cited in Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 207.

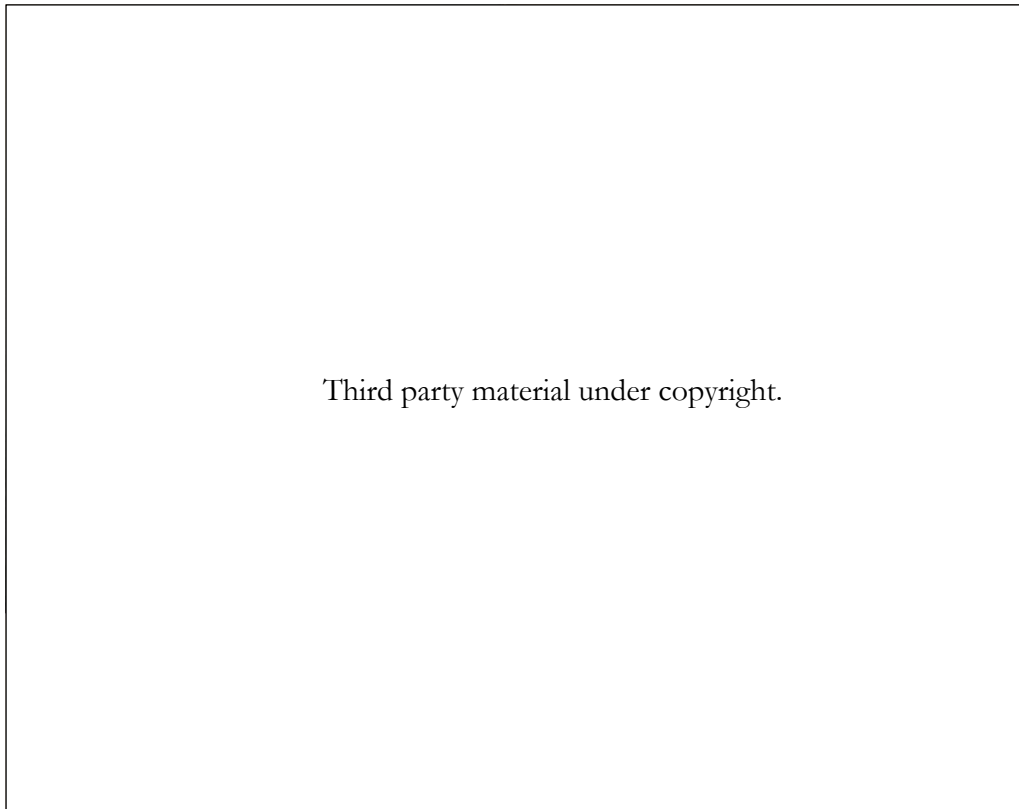
music'.⁵⁰ The catalogues were printed and circulated prior to the music being shipped. Furthermore, in the spirit of transnational exchange, or indeed a form of musical *entente cordiale*, Dyer sent catalogues to music leaders and institutions not only within Australia, but also throughout France (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).⁵¹



**Figure 1.1: The Holst Catalogue (front matter), comp. Louise B. M. Dyer.
(Novello & Co CCP, Private Collection.)**

⁵⁰ The Elgar catalogue was sent to press in April 1931, see Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr. Clayton, 26 April 1931, N&Co CCP. About Oxford University Press, see Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr. Clayton, 3 May 1931, N&Co CCP. See also Hubert Foss, Oxford University Press, Letter to Louise Dyer, 'Holst and Elgar Catalogues', 11 February 1930, EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 17. This letter discusses production details: print runs and others associated costs.

⁵¹ Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr. Clayton, Novello & Co., 31 May 1931. N&Co CCP. See also Dyer, Letter to Mr. Clayton, 3 May 1931. N&Co CCP.



**Figure 1.2: The Holst Catalogue (pp 2-3), comp. Louise B. M. Dyer.
(Novello & Co CCP, Private Collection.)**

The project was initially referred to as a ‘Scheme for Music in Australia’.⁵² When Dyer approached Novello, who were the main publishers of both Holst and Elgar’s music, they appear to have misunderstood her request. Novello had assumed publishers would be obliged to donate the music to her scheme. Her reply was firm: ‘I am perfectly aware that your business is to sell music, that though you may be idealists you can’t be expected to be philanthropists—I am not one myself!’⁵³ She then proceeded to explain why the scheme would be essential for the development of the Australian music scene, painting a vivid image of distance—‘Australia is 12,000 miles away from the centre of things’—delays, and a barren musical culture. Her tone then became persuasive as she suggested how, through her scheme, the situation could be improved but that ‘this will

⁵² Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr. Clayton, Novello & Co., 4 November 1928. N&Co CCP.

⁵³ Dyer, Letter to Clayton, 4 November 1928.

involve some sacrifice from you as publishers, from the composers themselves and also from myself for I am not a rich woman'.⁵⁴ (Dyer's aim was to purchase the music and give it to the library, which would then make the music available on loan.) As an incentive Dyer mentioned that the terms of her husband's orchestral fund included an irrevocable clause stating: 'one composition by a British composer must be performed at every concert'.⁵⁵ She then outlined the conditions:

- 1) 'All the parts of every composition and for every instrument and a copy for every member of the orchestra' must be provided: in later letters she suggests an orchestra comprising 70 musicians should be used as a guide.
- 2) The music would be held by a Trust, which would manage the lending arrangements including the payment of performing rights fees with the publishing agents (Novello's agent was based in Sydney).
- 3) The scheme is not for future composers, unless they wish to be involved: however, she reminded Novello that 'it does mean that the composers we have in the library will be known and their works will have some chance of performance otherwise they won't have much of a chance under present conditions'.⁵⁶

Dyer emphasised that her engagement was an act of goodwill, that she too was a 'disinterested person' since she no longer lived in Australia, having decided to make Paris her home, and as such she had nothing to gain from this activity. She requested that they inform her of their decision, including the fee payable by her, as soon as possible as she would be in Rome for four months: she stated that she had estimated

⁵⁴ Dyer, Letter to Clayton, 4 November 1928. Note, the distance between Melbourne and London is c13,000 nautical miles.

⁵⁵ Dyer, Letter to Clayton, 4 November 1928.

⁵⁶ Dyer, Letter to Clayton, 4 November 1928.

the fee for the procurement and copying of Holst's music at circa £300.⁵⁷ Within two weeks, Novello had replied positively prompting Dyer to boldly request that they meet with the other firms who had published Holst's music, and speculating that 'I don't suppose these firms will refuse to send out to Australia on the terms suggested, but one never knows'.⁵⁸

Novello agreed to these arrangements and wrote directly to Elgar describing how 'a new Music Reference and Lending Library' was being planned for Australia, and that the organiser was seeking the 'necessary music for the performance in Australia of the higher forms of the works of British Composers'.⁵⁹ Given Elgar's compositional output sustained Novello, his response was enthusiastic and somewhat cheeky, for he wrote that his 'less important compositions' were published by Boosey & Co, Breitkopf & Härtel and Schott & Co., among others.⁶⁰ His positive reply encouraged Novello to set about purchasing the music and arranging for any manuscripts to be copied, for which they were reimbursed by Dyer.

Meanwhile, Dyer continued planning the management of the library. Her first idea was that the BMS, Victorian Branch should oversee the operations. However, despite being well funded, they lacked the day-to-day resources to deliver such a service. Dyer then proposed that 'The Dyer Collection', as it was by then being referred to, be housed in and managed by the Public Library of Victoria. Correspondence between the Director of the library and Dyer, between June 1930 and January 1931, indicates that

⁵⁷ Dyer, Letter to Clayton, 4 November 1928. Note, Holst joined the Dyers in Rome for Christmas. Davidson claims that Sibyl Hull (later Hewett) the future secretary of the BMS, Victorian Branch, was also in Rome at this time and suggests that the scheme was discussed. See Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 166-67. However, this new evidence shows that the arrangement with Novello had been agreed in principle by Dyer well beforehand.

⁵⁸ Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr. Clayton Novello & Co., 20 November 1928. N&Co CCP.

⁵⁹ Novello & Co., Letter to Sir Edward Elgar, 13 February 1929. N&Co CCP.

⁶⁰ Edward Elgar, Letter to Novello & Co., 30 February 1929. N&Co CCP. Also see D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing* (New York: Norton, 1990), 120.

her idea was eventually accepted. Contracts were signed between Dyer and Novello & Co. on 30 June 1931 for collating the works of Gustav Holst, and between Novello & Co. and Stainer & Bell, a publisher of Elgar's music on 16 May 1931.⁶¹ The first consignment of music comprising Holst's scores was shipped in August.⁶²

Economic and political circumstances meant that Dyer's project was never fully realised. The effects of the Great Depression were being countered by the imposition of various taxes to protect the domestic Australian economy. One such tax was a levy of 10 per cent of the total value placed on sheet music and other printed matter. When the shipment arrived in Australia, the Library Trustees initially refused to pay the duty, some £40. Although the Deputy Comptroller-General of Customs eventually made an exemption for 'works of art' donated to public institutions, it was decreed that sheet music was not a work of art.⁶³ Dyer determined that because of the 'Great financial crisis in Australia', Elgar's music would be sent as complete scores only—no separate parts—so that 'a copy of all his compositions mentioned in my catalogue may be in the Library'.⁶⁴ In the end, Elgar's music appears never to have been sent at all. Like many others, Dyer's own financial situation had altered significantly, forcing her to modify her plans and discontinue the scheme, as outlined in her letter to Novello:

I wish to next send out the Elgar music and other composers when I have compiled the catalogues, but the ruinous exchange will make me have to modify my plans as I lose £32 in every £100 sent over—up to now I have

⁶¹ Contract between Novello & Co. Ltd. and Louise Dyer, 30 June, 1931, N&Co CCP; and Contract (copy) between Novello & Co. Ltd., and Stainer & Bell, 16 May, 1931, N&Co CCP. For additional information on the collections see Kaleva, 'The Gustav Holst', 177-78; and Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 207, 208 and 528.

⁶² Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr. Clayton, 13 August 1931. N&Co CCP. In this letter Dyer asks for the music to be dispatched immediately to the Trustees of the Public Library Museums and National Gallery, Victoria.

⁶³ See Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 208.

⁶⁴ Dyer, Letter to Novello & Co., 3 May 1931.

been selling my capital in English War loans to live. This cannot go on indefinitely. ... It is really disastrous to stop at the outset like this but it is getting so desperate the financial situation with me [sic] that however much I want to continue I shall have to stay my hand.⁶⁵

It is clear from this letter that Dyer did not wish to end the project but that she could see no alternative given the difficult financial circumstances that she was working within.⁶⁶ If fully realised, her scheme would have provided Australian musicians with a unique British music resource.⁶⁷ Dyer's idea of establishing a lending library was a generous act of patronage and an ingenious way of addressing the challenge Australian musicians and scholars faced in accessing music from overseas. The first tranche of her project was completed, and it would most likely have continued had it not been impeded by financial complications arising from the Great Depression. Yet the project served as an important learning opportunity. Through these publications Dyer established significant relationships with publishers and distributors, that would prove useful in later years, and became acutely aware of the challenges posed when shipping goods internationally. In addition, she had proved that she was able to steer an international publishing project from concept to completion. Though her efforts to increase musicians' and scholarly access to both contemporary and early British music through this scheme were thwarted, early music would become the focus of her next undertaking.

⁶⁵ Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr Clayton, Novello & Co., 13 August. 1931. N&Co CCP.

⁶⁶ See Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 208.

⁶⁷ Kaleva identified that the collection contains fourteen copyist scores of manuscripts that were originally held by Stainer & Bell between 1919 and 1921 some of which have since been lost: thus, these are now the earliest extant copies making them a significant resource for music scholarship. See Kaleva, 'Gustav Holst', 178.

Prunières and Early Music Publishing

Dyer's entry into the world of editing and publishing early music, though, came by way of Prunières and his plan for an edition of the complete works of J-B. Lully. Here, Dyer's connections with the world of British music publishing were again key. While it is unclear exactly when Dyer learnt of his monumental publishing plans—they appear to have been in regular contact since her arrival in Paris—in May 1929 the Dyers together with Henry and Camille Prunières travelled to London where they met with publishers and scholars.⁶⁸ In what appears to have been a reciprocal move on her part, Dyer introduced Prunières to Stainer & Bell and to Edmund Fellowes: Holst was unavailable.⁶⁹ By 2 August 1929, a contract had been signed between Prunières, Dyer and Stainer & Bell concerning subscription sales of the Lully edition within anglophone countries. Though Dyer and Prunières's publishing partnership was eventually unsuccessful, the experience would become the stimulus to pursue her own agenda.⁷⁰

Prunières was a prominent figure in the French music scene in both the revival of early music and the promotion of contemporary music. His journal, *La Revue musicale* (established in 1920) was one of two influential music journals in France, the other being *Revue de musicologie* (1922), the periodical produced by the SFM.⁷¹ As identified by

⁶⁸ Dr Edmund Fellowes, Letter to Louise Dyer, 21 May 1929. EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 3: 'I look forward to the pleasure of meeting M. Prunières'. Fellowes, along with Dolmetsch and Sir Richard Terry, played a pioneering role through editing in drawing attention to English musical heritage. Between 1913 and 1924 Fellowes produced 36 volumes of the *English Madrigal School* and was a member of the editorial board responsible for the ten-volume edition of *Tudor Church Music* (1923-1929), both published by Stainer & Bell.

⁶⁹ There are more than fifty letters between Gustav Holst and Louise Dyer. See EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit.4.

⁷⁰ Dyer destroyed most items concerning the Lully project, a small collection can be found in Legal Affairs-Lully Case, EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 2.

⁷¹ *La Revue musicale* attracted c.1,300 subscribers in its first year. For a history of the journal see Michel Duchesneau, 'La Revue musicale (1920-1940) and the Founding of Modern Music', in *Music's Intellectual History, Founders, Followers and Fads*, ed. Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie (New York: RILM International Centre, 2009), 745-47.

Michel Duchesneau, *La Revue musicale* gave equal attention to both early music and contemporary music, and considered questions of aesthetics, repertoire and performance: its content, provided by authoritative leaders within the music and literary communities, and their commentary often provoked and challenged readers.⁷² Prunières claimed the objectives of his publication were to make French music known abroad and to reflect on foreign music developments in France.⁷³ His internationalist agenda and his adoration of the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Lully, François Couperin and Jean-Philippe Rameau would have appealed to Dyer, as would the esteem with which his journal was held within the musical circles in which she moved.

The Lully project, however, would prove to be a difficult introduction into the complex world of early music editing and French musicology. To understand the problems Dyer encountered with this project, it is instructive to consider the larger context of French early music editing at this moment.

French Monumental Editions and Editorial Practice

From the mid-1800s the Germanic approach to music history and editorial scholarship influenced French methodology. However, despite France being late in taking the initiative to memorialise its national composers, the rediscovery of French musical heritage became a fundamental part of reinforcing France's cultural heritage.⁷⁴ As a committed music historian, Prunières would without doubt have been aware of the

⁷² The Revue's competitors were: *The Chesterian* (London, 1915-1940); *Revue Pleyel* (1923-1927); *Melos* (Berlin); *Musikblätter des Anbruch* (Vienna, 1919-1937). Barbara L. Kelly and Christopher Moore, 'Introduction: The Role of Criticism in Interwar Musical Culture', to *Music Criticism in France 1918-1939: Authority, Advocacy, Legacy*, ed. Barbara L. Kelly and Christopher Moore (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2018), 4-5.

⁷³ Barbara L. Kelly, 'L'Affaire Prunières-Vallas', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 311-328. See also Barbara L. Kelly, *Music and Ultra Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus 1913-1939* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2013), 18.

⁷⁴ Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in the Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 129.

French monumental music publishing projects, especially those with the specific aim of resurrecting the operas of the *ancien regime*, namely Théodore Michaëlis's collected edition of French stage music entitled *Chefs-d'œuvre classiques de l'Opéra français* (1877-84) and most importantly Durand's *Œuvres complètes Jean-Philippe Rameau* (1895-1924). He would also have been aware of the developments in musicology and music editing which occurred throughout the 1920s, especially through articles published in his journal, through his participation in the SFM, through his involvement in the establishment of the International Society for Musicology, and through his own music editing activities.⁷⁵

Michaëlis's collected edition was a turning point for monumental editions in France.⁷⁶ His project was political: it was enmeshed in a tightly woven interplay between heritage and nationalistic agendas. Crucially, he deplored the fact that 'Germany possessed splendid editions of all its classical musicians, England has magnificent volumes...in France...we know our great masters only by name'.⁷⁷ Despite extensive advertising, however, he failed to attract enough subscribers to make the project financially viable. In addition, the editors involved did not provide information on source materials used nor the choices they made. In this respect his project was not the major success he had hoped for, but as Katharine Ellis points out, the edition, despite

⁷⁵ For a description of the development of a new international society for musicology and Prunières's participation in this, see Annegret Fauser, 'French Entanglements in International Musicology during the Interwar Years', *Revue de musicologie* 103, no. 2 (2017): 499-527.

⁷⁶ Ellis provides a detailed account of Michaëlis's attempt, see Ellis, *Interpreting*, 127-134.

⁷⁷ Théodore Michaëlis, promotional letter to Rameau *Les Indes galantes*, in *Chefs-d'œuvre de l'opéra français*, ed. Charles Poisot (Paris: Michaëlis, 1880): 'L'Allemagne possède des Éditions splendides de tous ses Musiciens classiques; l'Angleterre a les magnifiques volumes...En France, malheureusement, nous ne connaissons encore nos Grands Maîtres anciens que de nom'. Ellis provides a detailed account of Michaëlis's project: Ellis, *Interpreting*, 124-134.

its flaws was still used as a vocal-score for stage works well into the twenty-first century.⁷⁸

For their overall influence on French editorial approaches, three later projects fared better, and they too would have been known by Prunières. First, Gregorian chant was restored through the painstaking forensic musicological work of the Benedictine monks at Solesmes and the Schola Cantorum.⁷⁹ Their work influenced Pierre Aubry's approach to his editions of secular monophonic music—*Les plus anciens monuments de la musique française* (1905). Also important are the editions and concertising activities of Henry Expert, which made him the leading figure in the reappraisal of French music from the Renaissance era.⁸⁰ Moreover, these projects occurred in parallel with the emergence in France of musicology as a discipline and a shift in the aims of early music editions: the needs of the performer and the needs of the scholar were diverging.

Dom André Mocquereau was the first editor to include photographic facsimiles of early chant manuscripts in his *Paléographie musicale* to substantiate his findings. His philological approach, based on the Karl Lachmann method used to examine medieval languages critically, illustrated that by classifying manuscripts and choosing the most authoritative readings it was possible to restore altered passages. Printed with lavish images and using a new form of typography modelled on thirteenth-century square notation, his edition became the model for future publications. Aubry, inspired by the monks of Solesmes, included a detailed preface concerning rhythmic interpretation of

⁷⁸ Ellis, *Interpreting*, 134.

⁷⁹ For a wonderful description of the revival of the Gregorian chant, see Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 92-142. This nostalgia for the Middle Ages and the concomitant Catholic chant revival was politicised: the advocates involved were interested in the restoration of the monarchy. See Lawrence Earp, 'Reception', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 343. The Schola Cantorum was established in 1896.

⁸⁰ Expert was librarian at the Paris Conservatoire between 1909 and 1933.

secular music from the Middle-Ages, and flawless facsimiles, as well as transcriptions of the music.⁸¹ In addition, he applied the term ‘musicologie’ to his work.

Expert’s editions were noted for their detailed descriptions of source materials, their inclusion of photographic facsimile pages, their use of modern notation, and the clarity of the music print. Yet these texts included an overabundance of performance indications, firmly suggesting the editor’s views on how the music should be performed.⁸²

It is the *Œuvres complètes Jean-Philippe Rameau*, published by A. Durand et Fils between 1895 and 1924, that is perhaps most significant for its likely influence on Prunières, for three reasons.⁸³ First, this project was the first monumental philological edition devoted to a French composer whom many, including the general editor of the edition Camille Saint-Saëns, considered a genius.⁸⁴ As such, this edition played a crucial role in the regeneration of French music from the eighteenth century. Following Rameau’s death his works had not been completely erased but were re-presented or

⁸¹ For a summary discussion on the process see John Haines, ‘The First Musical Edition of the Troubadours: On Applying Critical Method to Medieval Monophony’, *Music & Letters* 83, no. 3 (2002): 351-370. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3525986>.

⁸² To explore how to perform the music he was editing, Expert founded the ensemble, Société d’Études Musicales et de Concerts Historiques in 1903. His seminal anthology, *Les Maîtres musiciens de la Renaissance française*, began in 1894 but stalled at 23 volumes in 1908. Éditions Maurice Senart took on the publication, but changed the title to *Les Monuments de la musique française au temps de la renaissance*. To reduce his financial risk Senart sought financial assistance from Négib Surssock, an Alexandrian industrialist based in Paris and interested in music.

⁸³ For details on this project see Yves Gérard, ‘Saint-Saëns et l’édition monumentale des œuvres de Rameau (Durand: 1894-1824)’, in *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* 46 (2014): 10-19, <http://editions.bnf.fr/revue-de-la-bnf-n%C2%B0-46>. Also see William Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum: Eighteenth-Century Opera in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 153-62.

⁸⁴ Camille Saint-Saëns, in *Le Voltaire* (30 July 1879), as quoted in Ellis, *Interpreting*, 18 n55: ‘le plus grand génie musical que la France ait produit’. Also cited in Graham Sadler, ‘Saint-Saëns, d’Indy and the Rameau *Œuvres complètes*: New Light on the *Zoroastre* Editorial Project (1914)’, in *Historical Interplay in French Music and Culture 1860-1960*, ed. Deborah Mawer (London: Routledge, 2018), 64.

modified, appearing in song collections and piano transcriptions for a burgeoning domestic salon market.⁸⁵

Second, the editorial team comprised several distinguished composers—Vincent d’Indy, Claude Debussy and Paul Dukas—who were given the most famous stage works to edit. Their involvement lent authority to the edition with the aim of attracting subscribers to limit Durand’s financial risk.⁸⁶ Through their participation and their writings on Rameau’s music, these editors not only reinforced their own connection to the golden age of the past, but also claimed Rameau as a national spirit and a conveyer of French musical patrimony.⁸⁷ As such, Rameau became an ally in the struggle against the influence of German music prevalent at the time.⁸⁸ Thus, through this monumental edition the music of Rameau’s operas was readied for re-instatement within the French operatic canon.

Lastly, the edition followed the pattern of monumental editions of a composer’s *œuvre* initiated in Germany that cast a long shadow over French music at the time. The editorial approach espoused was one of authoritative research. Rameau’s works were presented in chronological order and by genre and included full scores when required. However, Graham Sadler, the musicologist and contemporary editor of some of Rameau’s works, confirmed that the editors were expected to provide piano reductions

⁸⁵ See Danièle Pistone, ‘Rameau à Paris au XIXe siècle’, in *Jean-Philippe Rameau. Colloque international organisé par la Société Rameau. Dijon 21-24 septembre, 1983*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce (Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 1987), 131-40.

⁸⁶ Camille Saint-Saëns’ editorial team comprised: himself (five volumes), Vincent d’Indy (three), Paul Dukas, Alexandre Guilmant and Reynaldo Hahn (two), Auguste Chapuis, Georges Marty, Claude Debussy and Henri Büsser (one each). Saint-Saëns edited the keyboard works himself. By 1914, Jacques Durand, who had taken over the business following the death of his father, was focussing his efforts on the *Édition Classique*, a budget priced collection of ‘early’ repertoire from Chambonnières to Chopin. See Sadler, ‘Saint-Saëns, d’Indy and Rameau’, in Mawer, *Historical Interplay*, 79-80.

⁸⁷ For a fascinating account of how Debussy used this association see Anya Suschitzky, ‘Debussy’s Rameau: French Music and Its Others’, *The Musical Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (2002): 398-448, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3600896>.

⁸⁸ See Gibbons, *Operatic Museum*, particularly chapters eight and nine.

and continuo realisations rather than ‘source-critical musicological work’.⁸⁹ This work was undertaken by Saint-Saëns and Charles Malherbe, historian and archivist with Paris Opéra, who wrote extensive critical commentaries for the first sixteen volumes, which included biographical information as well as detailed descriptions of musical and literary sources and performance history and contemporary critical reception. Malherbe portrayed the task of an editor as a constant negotiation, maintaining an objective distance from the material and resisting the temptation to invent—and in so doing, he appears to be an early advocate for positivist modernist editorial scholarship.⁹⁰ Yet Saint-Saëns described how some of the editors had complained that their ‘task was often difficult when it was a matter of retrieving the initial thoughts of the composer, too often disfigured by later interpolations, the fantasies of singers and copyists’ negligence’.⁹¹ To compensate, some editors completed missing viola parts and inner choral lines (which Malherbe believed restored the work to its original form), made selective choices between copy texts, and rewrote significant sections of the works, implanting their own expectations of how the work should be rather than considering only the evidence.⁹² Even though Saint-Saëns railed against such practices, and wrote about ‘parasitical [added] markings that disfigure the early music’—and his own volumes in the edition were remarkably free from unnecessary expression marks and other additions—the editing within the Rameau edition was inconsistent, as Sadler has

⁸⁹ Sadler, ‘Saint-Saëns, d’Indy and Rameau’, in Mawer, *Historical Interplay*, 65-66.

⁹⁰ Charles Malherbe, ‘Commentaire bibliographique’, *Jean-Philippe Rameau Œuvres complètes Platée*, 12, ed. Georges Marty (Paris: Durand, 1907).

⁹¹ Saint-Saëns, foreword to *Les Indes* (Paris: Durand, 1902), vii: ‘La tâche était donc parfois malaisée, quand il s’agissait de retrouver la pensée initiale du musicien, trop souvent défigurée par des interpolations successives, des fantaisies de chanteurs et des négligences de copistes’.

⁹² Charles Malherbe, ‘Re Ramisme’, *Le Courrier musical* 11, no.10 (1908): 310-12: ‘Rendus à leur forme d’origine, transcrits en leur intégrité, prennent un aspect nouveau’, 311. See also Sadler, ‘Saint-Saëns, d’Indy and Rameau’, 67. Sadler describes d’Indy’s practice of improving Rameau’s idiosyncratic orchestration and harmony and including countless performance indications.

observed.⁹³ Such blatant disregard of sources, the updating of inner parts, the addition of contemporary performance indications and the re-imagining of parts of Rameau's scores by the editors are all at odds with the forensic editorial approach championed at the same time by Saint-Saëns and Malherbe. Despite bearing the title of *Œuvres complete*, and allowing for the fact that Rameau's didactic works were never considered part of the project, the original project itself was never finished: the plan for thirty-three volumes stalled at volume eighteen in 1924.⁹⁴ While the Rameau edition was luxurious in its presentation, it is the inconsistent editorial approach that is of interest in considering Prunières's Lully project and Dyer's concerns about it, for it shows how French approaches to music editing were in flux at this time.

Yet by the time Prunières began work on his Lully edition, even though musicology was nascent in France, a balanced—though not pedantic—approach to music editing was considered as appropriate by several prominent members of the SFM including Lionel de La Laurencie, Julien Tiersot, André Tessier, Maurice Cauchie and Amédée Gastoué. This is demonstrated through the reviews of new editions, the purpose of which was to disseminate knowledge and encourage commercial publishers, written by these prominent members for society's official organ, *Revue de musicologie*, between 1924 and 1930, as Cécile Davy-Rigaux shows.⁹⁵

⁹³ Sadler, 'Saint-Saëns, d'Indy and Rameau', 67, taken from a letter by Saint-Saëns to Durand, (24 September 1917), as quoted in *Camille Saint-Saëns: Écrits sur la musique et les musiciens 1870-1921*, ed. Marie-Gabrielle Soret (Paris: Vrin, 2012), 74: 'Je vais écrire tout un à coté sur les indications parasites qui défigurent l'ancienne musique'. See also Gibbons, *Operatic Museum*, 158.

⁹⁴ For details on the initial Durand & Fils project see Gérard, 'Saint-Saëns et l'édition monumentale': 10-19; and Gibbons, *Building the Operatic Museum*, 153-62.

⁹⁵ Cécile Davy-Rigaux, 'Musicologie et édition musicale', in *Revue de musicologie* 103, no. 2 (2017): 451-484.

Davy-Rigaux claims that during this period music publishing became one of the privileged places for exercising musicology in France.⁹⁶ Furthermore, she contends that by the 1930s many French musicologists sought a compromise between the more rigorous, but sometimes overly zealous and pedantic methodology found in some German editions, and the interventionist style as practiced by some of the French music editors (described above).⁹⁷ The reviews take into consideration the editor's choices—of musical works themselves, their use of multiple sources, their placement of the musical work in its historical context (especially for those composers who practised in France such as Chambonnières), the quality of their transcriptions and their respect for the musical text—as important aspects of music editing. These criteria reflect those expressed by Saint-Saëns, as mentioned earlier. For instance, Tiersot's 1926 review of Prunières's edition of *Les maîtres du chant* claims that the collection of French and Italian arias made a valuable addition to the existing resources, but he describes the editing as clumsy (errors found in the source texts were copied), and the basso-continuo realisation undertaken by Germaine Tailleferre as fanciful.⁹⁸ Tiersot's comments suggest that he considered Prunières's approach to editorial practice was out of line with contemporary practice. In the same journal La Laurencie praised the thoroughness of Paul Brunold's and Tessier's scholarship in their recently published *Œuvres complètes de Jacques Champion de Chambonnières*:

[They] indicate with great precision the method they followed for establishing the text, a method from which transcribers should not deviate;

⁹⁶ Davy-Rigaux, 'Musicologie et édition musicale', 480: 'l'édition musicale soit devenue l'un des lieux d'exercice privilégié de la musicologie en France'.

⁹⁷ Davy-Rigaux, 'Musicologie et édition musicale', 475.

⁹⁸ Julien Tiersot, Review of 'Henry Prunières, *Les Maîtres du chant*, répertoire de musique vocale ancienne publiée d'après les textes originaux (réalisations par G. Tailleferre), vol.1, 3 & 4 (Paris: Heugel, n.d.)', in *Revue de musicologie* 7, no. 18 (1926): 107-108. DOI.10.2307/926881, also cited in Davy-Rigaux, 'Musicologie et édition musicale', 464-465.

it deals with barlines, omitted rests, the maintenance of certain somewhat imprecise rhythmic values and embellishments or ‘marks’, the way of presenting accidentals, key signatures, the question of repeats. All the pieces are transcribed with modern clefs, but the old clefs are kept at the head of each initial measure... This collection does great honour to our two colleagues.⁹⁹

Although these editions are not of opera or ballet scores, they demonstrate that from 1926 some French music scholars valued a more critical approach to music editing than others, and that overall, the French approach continued to be mixed.

Nonetheless, the reviewers admired the investment made by the German state in support of monumental projects of national importance: something that they acknowledged did not occur in France.¹⁰⁰ This lack of state sponsorship forced Prunières to seek financial backing for his project from elsewhere. This is how Dyer, who wished to assimilate herself into France’s musical life, became involved.

⁹⁹ Lionel de La Laurencie, Review of ‘Œuvres complètes de Chambonnières (*Les Maîtres français du clavecin*), ed. Paul Brunold and André Tessier (Paris: Éditions Maurice Senart, 1925)’, in *Revue de musicologie* 7, no 18 (1926):105-106. DOI.10.2307/926879. Also in Davy-Rigaux, ‘Musicologie et édition musicale’, 477: ‘indiquent avec une grande précision la méthode qu’ils ont suivie pour l’établissement du texte, méthode dont les transpositeurs ne devraient point s’écarter; elle porte sur les barres de mesure, les silences omis, le maintien de certaines valeurs rythmiques un peu imprécises, les agréments ou “marques”, la façon de présenter les accidents, les armures, la question de reprises... Ce recueil fait grand honneur à nos deux collègues’.

¹⁰⁰ Davy-Rigaux, ‘Musicologie et édition musicale’, 469 ‘quelques allusions au manque d’investissement de l’État pour la valorisation de la musique française, que ce soit au plan politique ou celui, connexe, des moyens. Cauchie rapporte ainsi qu’Henry Expert... “l’édition des trésors musicaux des siècles passés (véritables *monuments historiques*) se fait aux frais de l’État, en France le gouvernement s’est toujours complètement désintéressé de cette tâche, qui pourtant ne devrait incomber qu’à lui”’. Davy-Rigaux cites Maurice Cauchie, Review of ‘*Monuments de la musique française au temps de la Renaissance*, Vol. 1 *Claude le Jeune, Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde* (I-VIII), ed. Henry Expert, (Paris: Senart, 1924)’, in *Revue de musicologie* 6, no. 16 (1925): 189-190. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/926254?seq=1>.

The *Œuvres complètes Jean-Baptiste Lully* (1930-1942)

When Dyer left Australia, her ambition was to assume a more authoritative form of cultural leadership, and to create a tangible legacy. It was this aim that most likely emboldened her to participate in Prunières's monumental publishing project of Lully's complete musical works. Initially her role was to attract subscribers from anglophone countries. Prunières planned thirty-six volumes to be issued over a twelve-year period, which he estimated would require three-hundred subscribers and additional financial support from a patron to cover production costs.¹⁰¹ Despite his connections with several influential patrons, financial support was not forthcoming, even though his approaches were made before the financial crisis. Knowing Dyer's admiration for Lully, Prunières eventually approached her for financial support. As I will show, misunderstandings regarding their respective roles within this partnership reached a crisis when the project suffered financial difficulties, amidst universal criticism of the editorial scholarship of the first volume, *Cadmus et Hermione*.¹⁰² Although Dyer ended her engagement with the project, this was not before she had absorbed a substantial amount of information concerning early music editing from her friend Edmund Fellowes. Unfortunately for Prunières, his project, like the Rameau edition, would be incomplete too.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Pascal Denécheau, 'Les vicissitudes de l'édition Lully-Prunières', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 263.

¹⁰² On 26 June 1929, Prunières nominated Dyer as a corresponding member of the Société Française de Musicologie (SFM) seconded by André Tessier, who was involved in his Lully project. See Département de la Musique, Archives de la Société Française de Musicologie, VM Fonds 136, Boîte 2, Société Française de Musicologie: Statuts, Conseils d'administration, Assemblées générales, BNF.

¹⁰³ Only ten volumes were produced, of which the first four volumes were released during Dyer's involvement. See Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 183-185; Herbert Schneider, 'L'aventure de l'Édition Lully-Prunières', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 237-262; and also, Denécheau, 'Les vicissitudes', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 263-294.

For any publisher, producing a multi-volume monumental edition was going to be a financially risky enterprise. To defray this risk, attracting subscribers was essential, as was securing additional funds, a difficult task at any time, but one which was particularly acute in the late 1920s. In writing about this Lully project, the French musicologist Pascal Denécheau found that Prunières first sought advice on subscriber acquisition and associated costs from Eugenie Droz (founder of her eponymously named publishing house Librairie Droz which published the SFM journal), whom he knew well. In response to his request, dated 31 July 1929, she proposed to take a commission of forty-five percent of the proceeds of subscription sales from which she would then pass on twenty percent to any booksellers who came through her.¹⁰⁴ Earlier that same month, Prunières had written to Elizabeth Coolidge seeking her participation as patron and using his knowledge of her generous support of his friend Gian Francesco Malipiero's project, the complete works of Monteverdi, as a lever:

It seems to me...interesting and useful to revive certain dead works that reveal genius anew. It is for this that you have come to the aide of our friend, Malipiero, to revive my dear Monteverdi. I intend now a great work of the same nature, by publishing the complete works of Lully, the creator of French opera whose influence on the destiny of dramatic music in France and in all of Europe, has been considerable.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Eugenie Droz, Letter to Henry Prunières, 13 July 1929, as cited in Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 264: 'Vous me donnerez 45%, là-dessus je ferai 20% aux libraires qui s'adresseront à moi'.

¹⁰⁵ Henry Prunières, Letter to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, 6 July 1929: 'Il ne paraît en effet aussi intéressant et utile de ressusciter certains morts que de révéler de nouveaux génies. C'est ce que vous avez bien compris en aidant notre ami Malipiero à ressusciter mon cher Monteverdi. J'entreprends maintenant une grande œuvre du même genre en publiant l'œuvre complète de LULLY le créateur de l'opéra français, dont l'influence a été considérable sur les destinées de la musique dramatique en France e dans toute l'Europe', as cited in Barr, 'Musical Heritage': 264-5. Also see Cyrilla Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge: American Patron of Music*, (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998), 220-221.

Coolidge politely declined, citing financial constraints due to the impact of the Wall Street crash on her income. Instead, she requested a subscription for herself and two to be sent to nominated libraries and provided a cheque for USD 1,000 (approximately FF 25.500 at the time)—an amount significantly more than the cost of the three subscriptions.¹⁰⁶

When Prunières approached Dyer with the idea of participating in the Lully project, it is unclear whether she was aware of his initial requests to Droz or to Coolidge. As noted above, on 2 August 1929 a contract was signed between Prunières, Dyer and Stainer & Bell concerning subscription sales within anglophone countries only, for which Dyer would receive twenty-five percent on sales within America.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the contract stated that Stainer & Bell guaranteed to purchase a minimum of one hundred copies of each volume in the first four years, and eighty copies thereafter, for which they would pay forty percent of the French price.

Stainer & Bell immediately published a prospectus in English. The prospectus announced that the edition would be ‘Published under the patronage of The French Society of Musicology’ and that ‘Henry Prunières, Doctor of Letters....will have the cooperation of eminent musical specialists’, listing Expert, La Laurencie, Tessier, Félix Raugel and Cauchie.¹⁰⁸ The names of these men would have piqued Dyer’s interest, for they were highly respected music historians and editors who played an integral role in

¹⁰⁶ For more information see Barr, ‘Musical Heritage’: 264-66. One subscription was for Coolidge, and one each for Boston Public Library and Yale University. See Denécheau, ‘Les Vicissitudes’, in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 286-289: The exchange rate was USD 1 = FF 25.48 or GBP 0.21. <https://www.paper-dragon.com/1939/exchange.html>.

¹⁰⁷ Stainer & Bell, Copie de Contrat. 2 August 1929, EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 2.

¹⁰⁸ Stainer & Bell, ‘Prospectus, The Complete Works of J.B. Lully’, n.d. EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 2. Note the fee for the First Issue was £4.4.0. See also Denécheau, ‘Les vicissitudes’, in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières* 264-5; and Schneider, ‘L’aventure’, in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 237.

the development of French musical culture through the SFM, of which she had been a corresponding member since June 1929.¹⁰⁹

However, neither the SFM, La Laurencie, Expert or Cauchie were ever formally involved in the project. Only Tessier and Raugel were engaged. Furthermore, Matthys Vermeulen and Annette Dieudonné undertook the tasks of transcribing and the realising the figured bass for no remuneration, simply for ‘the honour of being involved’: they were recommended by Boulanger in response to a request from Prunières.¹¹⁰ When Tessier died unexpectedly at the age of forty-five in July 1931, Prunières assumed full editorial control of the project (Table.1.1).

Table 1.1: *Œuvres complètes de J.-B. Lully, Vols.1-4.*¹¹¹

| | Vol.1: Les Opéras 1673 | Vol. 2: Les Ballets 1654-1657 | Vol. 3: Les Motets 1664 | Vol. 4: Les Comédies-Ballets 1664-1665 |
|------------------------|---|--|--|---|
| | <i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> | <i>Ballet du Temps,</i> <i>Ballet des Plaisirs,</i> <i>Ballet d l'Amour</i> <i>malade</i> | <i>Miserere</i> | <i>Le Mariage Forcé,</i> <i>L'Amour médecin</i> |
| Editor in Chief | Henry Prunières | Henry Prunières | Felix Raugel | Henry Prunières |
| Editor | Henry Prunières | André Tessier | Felix Raugel | Henry Prunières |
| Realisation | Matthys Vermeulen | Annette Dieudonné | Felix Raugel | Geneviève Sazerac de Forge |
| Publication | 1930 | 1931 | 1931 | 1931 |
| Subscribers | <i>6 de luxe</i> 54 numbered | <i>6 de luxe</i> 88 numbered | <i>6 de luxe</i> 98 numbered | <i>6 de luxe</i> 98 numbered |

This was Dyer’s first entry into the commercial aspect of publishing. Through her participation she aligned herself with the leaders of French musical culture and

¹⁰⁹ See Département de la musique, Archives de la SFM, VM Fonds, 136, boîte 2, SFM : Statuts, Conseils d’administration, Assemblées générales, BNF. At the time foreigners could not be full members of the Society.

¹¹⁰ Alexandra Laederich, ‘Henry Prunières et Nadia Boulanger’, in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 147.

¹¹¹ Table 1.1 is adapted from Annexe 3, ‘Détail des volumes de l’édition Lully parus entre 1930- et 1939’, as cited in Denécheau, ‘Les vicissitudes’, in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 284-5.

demonstrated her belief in Lully's importance to France's musical heritage, and that a publication of his complete works was a valuable means of making his music more widely known. As the initial prospectus listed five well-known French music historians and editors, Dyer presumably assumed that the edition would be undertaken in a critical vein. However, she would discover this was not the case.

Just nine months later, Prunières approached Dyer to fund the entire project. She readily agreed, possibly believing her resources would be used wisely—he was after all an experienced publisher with a reputation as a noted Lully scholar—and her involvement in such a prestigious production would be recognised. A draft contract was drawn up on 17 April 1930, though never signed: their agreement remained verbal.¹¹² The agreement states that Dyer would provide FF 125.000 immediately with an additional FF 60.000 over four years, but that the total was not to exceed FF 185.000.¹¹³ Prunières would be responsible for overseeing the intellectual work and final production for which he would receive five percent of the total price of each edition sold, payable by cheque on 31 December each year. All subscription income would be paid into a bank account held by Dyer. Furthermore, she would hold the stock of published works or those in progress until the accounts were settled. Stainer & Bell remained responsible for the international subscription sales to Great Britain, Ireland and the United States of America. Universal Edition, Vienna, promoted subscription sales in Europe.¹¹⁴ There would be three-hundred standard sets and twenty-five deluxe editions produced.

¹¹² Copie du Contrat Mrs Dyer et Mr Prunières, 17 April 1930. EOLA. Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035. Unit 2.

¹¹³ This was not an extravagant sum. In 1913 Coco Chanel paid FF 200.000 to underwrite the production of Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* for the Ballets Russes, see Mary E Davis, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion, and Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 168. And in 1933 Kurt Weil received FF 20.000 from the Princesse de Polignac for this Second Symphony; see Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse*, 309.

¹¹⁴ Schneider, 'L'aventure', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 248: 'Le principal soutien de l'édition Lully en Allemagne fut Universal Édition à Vienna'.

When Dyer received her copy of the first volume, *Cadmus et Hermione*, on 28 April 1930, less than six months after signing the contract, she wrote to Prunières:

Thank you for the book that you gave me the other night [a copy of *Cadmus et Hermione*]. I was pleased to see the way it was presented (does credit to those who set it up). You will allow me all the same to be amazed at a process which perhaps seems quite natural to you, but which I cannot get used to: I cannot understand why you always wait until the last moment when the work appears to submit it to me. Remember, I have a responsibility towards my friends that I am happy to take on. It is therefore important that this task be made possible for me. So I will be very grateful in the future if you send me the proofs of Lully's works that you undertake. You obviously know the French public better than I do, but the Anglo-Saxon public, let me take care of it.¹¹⁵

Her comments suggest that she had identified inconsistencies within the editorial work and wanted to assert her authority as a business partner. Denécheau claims Dyer was disappointed that her name appeared within the volume as a mere 'Patron', rather than a 'real partner alongside Prunières': this was most certainly the case.¹¹⁶ He then suggests that her 'fanciful' requests, of seeing proof copies and checking the accounts, would

¹¹⁵ Louise Dyer, Letter to Henry Prunières, 28 avril 1930, Archives Prunières, Éditions Lully, boîte 1), as cited in Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 271: 'Je vous remercie du livre que vous m'avez remis l'autre soir. J'ai constaté avec satisfaction la façon dont il était présenté (fait honneur à ceux qui l'ont établi). Vous me permettez tout le même de m'étonner d'un procédé qui vous semble peut-être tout naturel, mais auquel je ne puis pas m'habituer: je ne parviens pas à comprendre pour quoi vous attendez toujours le dernier moment le moment où l'ouvrage paraît pour me le soumettre. J'ai, ne l'oubliez pas, vis-à-vis de mes amis une responsabilité que je suis heureuse d'assumer. Il importe donc que cette tâche me soit rendue possible. Je vous serai donc très reconnaissante à l'avenir de m'envoyer les épreuves des ouvrages de Lully que vous entreprenez. Vous connaissez le public français évidemment mieux que moi, mais le public anglo-saxon, laissez-moi m'en charger'.

¹¹⁶ Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 271: 'Louise Dyer été très vexée de voir apparaître son nom uniquement comme dédicataire du volume et non en qualité de véritable associée, aux côtés de Prunières'.

have jeopardised the arrangement negotiated with Stainer & Bell and with Universal Edition.¹¹⁷ But this position fails to acknowledge the contract signed by both Dyer and Prunières with Stainer & Bell, Prunières's and Dyer's own verbal contract, Dyer's own recent experience of working with British publishers, and the depth and breadth of her music project management expertise and her love of French music developed over many years in Australia: experience that was perhaps little known by members of the Parisian music scene at the time.¹¹⁸

Nonetheless, there is no doubt that Prunières considered Dyer as interfering. He was used to working with wealthy patrons such as Coolidge, who supported his projects but who did not intrude. Indeed, it was considered normal to treat wealthy patrons, both women and men, in this manner as Mdme Milhaud's condescending description of Dubost presented earlier has shown.¹¹⁹ Prunières, an exceptionally proud man, was doubtless frustrated. He wanted to produce the edition without foreign interference, but his need for financial support forced his hand to work with Dyer as shown. And, in response to Dyer's claim to know the English-speaking market, he may have side-lined Dyer in a masculinist and a patriotic defence of musicological territory.

Yet Dyer was not the only one to have misgivings about the *Cadmus et Hermione* volume. Emil Hertzka, Director of Universal Edition, Vienna, became so concerned that he offered Prunières the services of his firm's musicologist, Karl Geiringer, a former student of Guido Adler and Carl Sachs. In his letter, dated June 1930, Hertzka wrote, 'He [Geiringer] is well versed in the editing technique for older works, having

¹¹⁷ Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', 264: 'Ses demandes assez fantaisistes auraient mis en péril les négociations amorcées avec deux libraires choisis pour la diffusion de l'édition?'

¹¹⁸ Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', 264-5.

¹¹⁹ Louis Epstein provides several examples of the sometimes-fraught composer/patron relationship. See Epstein, 'Toward a Theory of Patronage' and his forthcoming monograph, *The Creative Labour of Music Patronage*.

collaborated with the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, for which he edited the 17th-century works'.¹²⁰ Hertzka was clearly seeking more editorial rigour which he found wanting in Prunières's edition, and his offer of assistance by an Austrian musicologist would have appalled Prunières. Indeed, the musicologist Herbert Schneider claims that Prunières refused Hertzka's offer, as he wanted to prove France could produce an edition of a composer's complete works without foreign collaboration: a form of musicological patriotism.¹²¹ That the project was funded by overseas subscribers and a foreigner now based in Paris seems to have been overlooked by Prunières, but he was correct in that the editors of the project thus far were French.

Dyer shared her doubts about the editing of this first volume with her friend and noted music editor Edmund Fellowes by sending him a copy to review himself. Philip Brett claims that Fellowes's work spanned the principal phases in the development of editorial practice: codifying and canonising; restoring texts from multiple sources; identifying and acknowledging the difference between scholarly and performer needs; and limiting the number of editorial interventions.¹²² Fellowes's analysis of Prunières's work reveals his own editorial style as illustrated in his response to Dyer on 19 September 1930:

¹²⁰ Emil Hertzka, Letter to Henry Prunières, 16 June 1930, Archives Prunières, as cited by Schneider, 'L'aventure', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 249: 'Il est parfaitement au courant de la technique d'édition pour les œuvres anciennes, ayant collaboré aux *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich* pour lesquels il a édité des œuvres du 17^e siècle...?'

¹²¹ Schneider, 'L'aventure', 249. 'Prunières refusa l'idée de confier un volume à Karl Geiringer, voulant ainsi prouver, qu'en France, ou dans les autres pays, on était en mesure de réaliser une édition complète sans collaborateurs étrangers'. For more on how patriotism manifested itself in music editing see Davy-Rigaux, 'Musicologie et édition musicale', 467.

¹²² Philip Brett, 'Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor', in *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 85-96. See also James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History Method, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1-28; and John Caldwell, *Editing Early Music*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

I have spent nearly three hours today carefully collating M. Prunières' edition of *Cadmus* with a M.S. there [at St. Michael's College, Tenbury], which is of good value as text: it dates from at least as early as 1700...But I am frankly dismayed [his emphasis] at the inaccuracies of Prunières and his want of scholarship—at least as judged by the standard of English musicology prevailing today. There is a show of scholarship, oddly displayed, which gives it away seriously. For instance, on p37 he gives a detailed footnote in reference to two ornaments which take the form of a cross (+)...why he makes such a fuss here is difficult to understand, considering the extreme laxity and variety of his treatment of 'les petites croix', page after page before this...

And what does he mean by 'le manuscrit'? It seems to me he has only used one M.S. instead of hunting up and collating all that were available and valuable as texts.¹²³

His four-page response shows that he examined Prunières's edition in some detail, observing that Prunières had inaccurately transcribed notes and that the figured bass had been realised to such an extent that would effectively overwhelm the vocal line: Tiersot made a similar observation about Prunières's work in 1926. Fellowes's detailed response suggests that he took this approach in part to educate Dyer on the English approach to editorial practice and some of the challenges editors of early music face. He concluded his letter by informing Dyer that under her existing contract, she was unable to either remove Prunières from his post or limit the edition in any way. A week later, Fellowes indicated that he considered Prunières's attitude and behaviour abominable, writing:

¹²³ Edmund Fellowes, Letter to Louise Dyer, 24 September 1930, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 3.

I am horrified firstly that there is no acknowledgement whatever of your splendid generosity in the Preface or anywhere else in the volume. And you have treated him with unprecedented generosity. Yet nothing will change such a man with his mean conceit, and that is where the position is so hopeless.¹²⁴

The main problem was that Prunières had used a printed keyboard reduction of the opera dated 1719—taken from his own personal collection—as the source for this edition, and the critical apparatus provided just a few examples of variants. Prunières knew that another variant existed in the Tenbury MSS, as Fellowes had given him a complete list when they met.¹²⁵ Fellowes believed that an editor cannot reject the printed edition *en bloc* or accept any single manuscript text *en bloc*. In this, he was emphasising the expectation that modern music editors should employ philological methods encompassing the listing and critical appraisal of all then known sources, including variants, should provide due consideration of technical matters such as the use of modern notation, and should present schemes indicating an editor's intervention, as well as a critical assessment of style.

Editing is not an exact science and as modern editorial scholarship developed alongside deepening understanding of repertoires and access to new sources, editors adjusted their views and critical perspectives. However, though French editorial techniques had been developing since the late 1800s tensions between the needs of a critical editions and those of performing editions which supported the wider dissemination of the music itself, and also within the approaches taken to editing critical editions themselves remained. Prunières, whose own editions had been challenged by

¹²⁴ Fellowes, Letter to Dyer, 24 September 1930.

¹²⁵ Edmund Fellowes, Letter to Louise Dyer, 12 April 1931, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 3: 'I sent a list of them to Prunières, having shown it to him previously...when we met at a hotel near the Marble Arch'.

reviewers during the mid 1920s, would have been aware of these debates and their influence on editorial practice. Furthermore, he would also have had access to source material (such as manuscripts and any print editions) through either libraries or his colleagues, as presented above.

Fellowes also observed that given the poor quality of editorial scholarship evinced in the first volume, the Royal College of Music might discontinue its subscription—an action that if followed by other institutions would undermine not only the project's finances but also the credibility of those involved.¹²⁶ As a way of ensuring the future of the project, Fellowes proposed to Dyer that a letter could be written and signed by musicologists, though not editors, of outstanding reputation calling for the edition to be stopped unless some assurance of scholarly input to the editing could be given.¹²⁷ He suggested that a number of prominent English and German musicologists—Edward Dent, William Henry Hadow, Sir Hugh Allen, Whittaker, Johannes Wolf, Alfred Einstein, Peter Wagner—and one French musicologist, André Pirro, might be approached. No evidence has been found to confirm if Dyer considered this a viable option to take or not, but Prunières's response to Herzska's suggestion, discussed above, indicates that he would have been appalled had Dyer approached any of these scholars.

Henry C. Colles's review of the *Cadmus et Hermione* volume appeared in *The Times* in October 1930, and Prunières's response, printed on 29 November 1930, together provide further insight into his editorial approach. Colles claims that what Prunières

¹²⁶ Fellowes, Letter to Louise Dyer, 7 October 1930. In the end the College continued its subscription. The RCM appear not to have purchased the *Cadmus et Hermione* volume, but they did subscribe to the next eight volumes published between 1931 and 1939, see Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 288.

¹²⁷ Edmund Fellowes, Letter to Louise Dyer, 7 October 1930. EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 3.

produced was not a critical edition: rather it was a single, select source edition. His main concern was that Prunières,

has not given his readers enough information to enable them to have enough confidence in his judgement. This vagueness of his statements and the meagreness of his information make us wonder whether he has undertaken that thorough collation of sources which it is the business of an editor of a monumental work such as this to do for the benefit of those who still use it without themselves being able to refer to the original sources.¹²⁸

In describing the *Cadmus et Hermione* preface as ‘vague’, the information regarding manuscript selection and their use as ‘meagre’ and noting that the methodology employed had not been appropriately described, Colles concluded that the edition fell short of modern scholarship. He was clearly shocked by the volume’s deficiencies especially given Prunières’s knowledge and expertise.¹²⁹ He ends his review thus:

In view of the importance of the collected Lully to the whole musical world we would beg M. Prunières to consider his methods before proceeding farther, and to bring them more into line with those acknowledged principles which declare an editor’s sense of public responsibility.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Henry Colles, ‘The Works of Lully: A Question of Editorship’, *The Times*, 11 October 1930, 10. *The Times Digital Archive*, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS168371019/TTDA?u=kings&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=8d800ba6>.

¹²⁹ In 1939, the French musicologist and early music advocate, Léon Vallas, in correspondence concerning the Lully project with Amedée Gastoué, claimed Anglophone scholars and critics found French musicology ‘light’ owing in part to the problems they found within Prunières’s *Cadmus et Hermione*, and in his later projects. Léon Vallas, Letter to Amédée Gastoué, 29 April 1939, as cited in Denécheau, ‘Les Vicissitudes’, in Chimènes, Gétreau, Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 277-278: ‘avec lui la musicologie française, déclarée légère’.

¹³⁰ Colles, ‘The Works of Lully’.

Prunières's well-constructed response to Colles's review would appear in *The Times* a month later.¹³¹ It was a litany of the innumerable challenges faced by all editors: incomplete or missing manuscripts, various printed editions often widely different in notation and scoring, and the absence of an authoritative text, particularly with reference to figured bass where scribes were used to complete the intermediate parts. Yet he failed to acknowledge any error of judgment on his part for limiting his choice of source material, nor did he take responsibility for the project overall. Instead, he offered subscribers an erratum along with a facsimile of the 'Overture' of *Cadmus* as a *douceur*.

Meanwhile in France, Tessier, possibly conflicted by his own involvement in the project, published an unusually lengthy review of the volume in the SFM's journal, *Revue de musicologie*.¹³² He begins his article with the words '*Quelle magnifique...!*' and continues with effusive praise for Prunières's enterprise, the material presentation of the volume, and its importance for French musical culture. He then observes:

M. Prunières prefaces the volume soberly, reporting the historical circumstances of *Cadmus*'s creation, exposing all the peculiarities of theatrical aesthetics and musical style, which in this opera, deserve the reader's attention. Finally, it lists the principles followed for the preparation and presentation of the text...which appear to be fully justified.¹³³

¹³¹ Henry Prunières, Letter to the Editor, 'The Works of Lully', *The Times*, 29 November 1930, 8. *The Times Digital Archive*, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS135603069/TTDA?u=kings&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=5386daaf>. This letter is also cited in Schneider, 'L'aventure', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 260-261.

¹³² André Tessier, revue 'Œuvres complètes publiées sous la direction de Henry Prunières by J.-B. Lully: *Les Opéras*, tome 1: *Cadmus et Hermione* by Henry Prunières, Matthys Vermeulen, J.-B. Lully', *Revue de Musicologie* 11, no. 36 (1930): 311-314. DOI.10.2307/926205.

¹³³ Tessier, 'Œuvres complètes', 314: 'M. Prunières préface le volume sobrement, rapportant les circonstances historiques de la création de *Cadmus*, exposant toutes les particularités d'esthétique théâtrale et de style musical qui, dans cet opéra, méritent l'attention du lecteur. Il énumère enfin les principes suivis pour l'établissement et la présentation du texte...et qui paraissent pleinement justifiés'.

However, Tessier then spends over a page questioning why particular agréments have been transcribed fully, rather than being left as marks ('les petites croix' referred to by Fellowes) and supplemented by explanations about their performance for the reader to discern. This was, he writes, an editorial error of judgement as there are multiple ways of interpreting such signs, their transcription misleads the reader rather than guides them.

Following Prunières's reply in *The Times* and Tessier's article in *Revue de musicologie*, Dyer received a letter from Tony Guéritte, a French engineer living in England.¹³⁴ Guéritte was the brother-in-law of the Parisian music critic and author Georges Jean-Aubry, editor of *The Chesterian*, in London. Guéritte described Prunières's letter to *The Times* as 'clever in its way' but reported that he was 'disgusted by Tessier, who ought to have been at greater pains to find out the truth and either defend P [Prunières] if he thought him right, or else not hesitating to point out the mistakes': Tessier's focus on the *agréments* was he believed, too simplistic.¹³⁵ He hoped that the volume of Ballets 'will be worked out more carefully, so that the criticism will have borne fruit', particularly 'now that P realizes (sic.) that he is and will be closely watched, greater care will be bestowed upon subsequent works'. He continued:

I have written to my brother-in-law, G. Jean-Aubry...[who] is very stern [in matters of this kind] and questions of friendship do not count for him. The same would apply to Nin [the composer Joaquin Nin (y Castellanos)], and I

¹³⁴ Tony. J. Guéritte, Letter to Louise Dyer, 30 November 1930. EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 2. Note, Guéritte subscribed to the Lully project, see subscriber list in Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', 292. Guéritte was a talented amateur pianist who had studied with Whittaker in Newcastle, and it is most likely through this connection that Dyer had met him. It was through Guéritte that Whittaker became an advocate for French contemporary music in England, and a corresponding member of the Société de Musicologie Française. See Mary Christine Borthwick, 'In the Swim: The Life and Musical Achievements of William Gillies Whittaker, 1876-1944' (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2007). <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/2212/>.

¹³⁵ Guéritte, Letter to Dyer, 30 November 1930.

think, if they are convinced that P has blundered, they will not be afraid of proclaiming it loudly so that he should mend his ways.¹³⁶

Guéritte concluded his letter with the observation that no other British papers had reviewed the edition. It is unclear whether anything arose from his approach to Aubry.

It seems Dyer was leaning towards the opinion that Prunières was not only unwilling to reconsider his editorial approach, but also perhaps a difficult character.¹³⁷ She raised her editorial concerns with him along with the financial issues presented by Stainer & Bell, who believed information regarding new international subscribers was not being forwarded to them as contractually agreed.¹³⁸ Not wanting the project to fail and recognising that Prunières was struggling with the edition, according to Davidson she provided additional funds for secretarial assistance as well as a financial *douceur* of FF 37.000.¹³⁹

Dyer's additional financial *douceur* following the appearance of the first volume failed to keep the agreed number of publications on track and by December 1932 only four of the six projected volumes had been issued. Prunières remained in absolute control of all input, but the editorial scholarship improved with assistance from Raugel.

¹³⁶ Guéritte, Letter to Dyer, 30 November 1930. Nin was an early supporter of the harpsichord and taught at the Schola Cantorum. In the early 1900s Jean-Aubry believed Nin and Landowska were the foremost performers on the instrument but their careers diverged. The reference to Nin suggests that Guéritte may have read Paul Guinard's review of Nin's edition of *Seize sonates anciennes d'auteurs espagnols* in *Revue de Musicologie*, in which he described Nin's technique as being an example to follow as it was perfectly balanced between arbitrary modernisation and 'coldly scholarly'. Paul Guinard, Review of 'Seize sonates anciennes d'auteurs espagnols, ed. Joaquin Nin, Paris: Eschig, n.d', in *Revue de musicologie* 7, 19 (1926):160-162. DOI.org/10.2307/926810. Also cited in Cécile Davy-Rigaux, 'Musicologie et édition musicale', 473.

¹³⁷ Barbara L. Kelly suggests that Prunières often went to great lengths to defend his position, valid or not. See Kelly, *Music and Ultra Modernism*, 32-37; and Barbara L. Kelly, 'L'Affaire Prunières-Vallas', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 311-328. Prunières's poor attitude toward those who challenged his views is also discussed by Fauser, 'French Entanglements': 499-528.

¹³⁸ Copie de la Lettre de M. Henry Prunières to Louise Dyer, 11 July 1932. EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 2.

¹³⁹ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 183.

By this time Stainer & Bell had suspended their contract, possibly due to a decline in interest from international buyers owing to financial pressures caused by the Global Depression. Prunières and Dyer's relationship was also strained. Denécheau shows that Prunières sought advice from Nadia Boulanger, who knew Dyer well, and from his long-time financial supporter Henry Le Bœuf, and from legal advisors.¹⁴⁰ In response to Prunières, Le Bœuf recommended that a select group of subscribers should be informed of Dyer's aim to remove Prunières from the project, and that their support should be gained to counter such an action.¹⁴¹ But as mentioned above, there is appears to be no evidence to suggest that Dyer intended to remove Prunières from the project. Indeed, this appears to be confirmed as in the letter that Le Bœuf eventually sent to subscribers, 19 March 1934 her name is not mentioned.¹⁴²

To Denécheau's account, I can add a letter that Dyer wrote to subscribers on 14 May 1934. In this letter, which uses clear and simple language, Dyer informs subscribers of the reasons for the dispute (artistic and commercial), the result of the Tribunal (subscriptions would be collected by judicial administrator), and of her knowledge of the circular that they had received (she does not name the author) asking them to confirm—by signing a petition—that they had subscribed to the edition because of his [Prunières's] name and reputation.¹⁴³ At the end of the letter she warns these subscribers that their participation in such an action could 'influence justice and cause confusion'.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 272.

¹⁴¹ Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 272.

¹⁴² Henry Le Bœuf, Letter to a Subscriber, 19 March 1934. State Library of Victoria (SLV), YMS 16269, Louise Hanson Dyer, Box 1. This was a form letter addressed Dear Sir.

¹⁴³ Louise B. M. Dyer, Letter to a subscriber, 14 May 1934. SLV, YMS 16269, Louise Hanson Dyer, Box1. Dyer also used a form letter. 'Des différends étant survenus, tant sur la question artistique que sur la question commerciale...les souscriptions et les fonds de l'Éditions seraient recueillis par un-administrateur-judicaire...des circulaires leur demandant d'attester qu'ils ont souscrit à l'édition uniquement à cause de con nom et de sa compétence'.

¹⁴⁴ Dyer, Letter to a subscriber, 14 May 1934: 'vous mettre en garde contre cette manœuvre qui paraît pour but d'influence la justice et qui tend d'autre part à créer une confusion'.

Dyer's action suggests that she wanted subscribers to be aware of the facts of the matter and to draw a line under her dispute with Prunières. But that was not to be the case.

By 1939, Dyer proposed a way for Prunières to access the last tranche of funding, a sum of FF 60.000.¹⁴⁵ Denécheau shows that in April the lawyers of both parties, developed an agreement, based on Dyer's suggestion that the SFM act as an intermediary, which they sent to the management committee of the SFM and to Prunières in late April.¹⁴⁶ But what prompted her to make such a proposal? A letter from Amédée Gastoué, the Society's then vice-president, to Dyer's secretary dated 3 May 1939 sheds light on this matter. It appears that Dyer was still under the impression that the SFM had supported the project (as suggested by the first prospectus published by Stainer & Bell), and though Prunières knew otherwise, he never disabused her of this assumption, and appears to have used it to his advantage.

Denécheau claims that Prunières had initially hoped that the SFM would be involved, as evidenced by a letter which he sent to the then president, Lionel de La Laurencie, in July 1929.¹⁴⁷ In this letter Prunières hints that his 'Patron', who was foreign, had opposed any suggestion of working with the SFM. Could Dyer have been the 'patron' referred to? This is impossible to verify, especially since nearly all Dyer's correspondence relating to the Lully edition is no longer extant. Moreover, the letter was written before Dyer and Prunières had signed an agreement with Stainer & Bell and before their later agreement of April 1930. It is difficult to imagine that Dyer would have totally refused any involvement by the SFM with the project, particularly as she was attempting to assimilate into and build her reputation within the French musical

¹⁴⁵ Prunières correspondence with Dyer reveals that he either didn't respond to her concerns or provided incomplete information.

¹⁴⁶ Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 276-77.

¹⁴⁷ Henry Prunières, Letter to Lionel de La Laurencie, 5 July, 1929, as cited in Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', 273-4.

establishment: being seen to be working with them would have elevated her status. However, it is possible that she could have objected to any application of the term 'patron' being applied to the SFM if they were supporting the project by association only, rather than financially.¹⁴⁸

Yet in 1939 the SFM appear uncertain how to respond to the letter describing Dyer's proposal. Denécheau presents correspondence between Prunières and the leaders of the SFM, Léon Vallas and Gastoué, which suggests there was some urgency to resolving Dyer's proposition.¹⁴⁹ Vallas, only too aware of the ongoing problems Prunières's editorial approach had caused for Prunières's own reputation and by implication for French scholarship, had no desire to repeat his own acrimonious encounter with Prunières, and left the decision to Gastoué.¹⁵⁰ Gastoué convened a meeting of the Council of Administration of the SFM (1 May 1939) to discuss the matter: they voted unanimously not to be involved citing that to do so would be contrary to the organisation's articles of association.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Denécheau also claims that Dyer made Prunières refuse FF 18.000 for advance subscriptions from the Beethoven Association, in Germany. He cites a letter Prunières sent to the Association, in which blames Dyer for his inability to accept the funds. But I suggest that Prunières overlooked the contracts for subscription sales that existed with Stainer & Bell and with Universal Editions and that his attention to proper accounting processes was lax. Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes' in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 272.

¹⁴⁹ Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', 277-279.

¹⁵⁰ Prunières and Vallas had a difficult relationship, as described in detail in Barbara L. Kelly, 'L'Affaire Prunières-Vallas', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 311-328. The Debussy incident is also discussed briefly in Marianne Wheeldon, 'Debussy's "Reputational Entrepreneurs": Vuillermoz, Koechlin, Laloy and Vallas', in Kelly and Moore, *Music Criticism in France, 1918-1939*, 219-244, especially pages 237-241. Kelly also describes how Prunières and Vallas had considerable ideological differences but that they were committed to promoting a common canon of French music from Couperin and Rameau to Ravel and Debussy, see Barbara L. Kelly, 'Common Canon, Conflicting Ideologies: Music Criticism in Performance in Interwar France', in *Music Criticism in France, 1918-1939: Authority, Advocacy, Legacy* ed. Barbara L. Kelly and Christopher Moore (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), 121-150. See also, Barbara L. Kelly, 'Remembering Debussy in Interwar France: Authority, Musicology, and Legacy', *Music & Letters* 93, no. 3 (2012):17-36.

¹⁵¹ Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', 279: 'Le Conseil d'Administration décide à l'unanimité qu'une telle opération est contraire aux Statuts, et répond par la négative'.

In his letter to Dyer's secretary of 1939, Gastoué wrote that, 'the Society has never [his emphasis] been involved in the Lully edition'.¹⁵² He then states that the Society cannot act as an intermediary and recommends that Dyer use a local Parisian notary instead. With the onset of war this was never followed up. By Prunières's death in 1942 only ten volumes of the proposed thirty-six volumes of the complete works of Lully had been published. Following the Second World War Camille Prunières attempted to continue publishing the remaining volumes.¹⁵³ For Dyer, the matter was closed in 1939. Nonetheless, the failed Lully edition remained an active concern throughout the 1930s, shadowing her other endeavours.

Dyer had left Australia to take on a more significant role in cultural leadership and production. Her first attempt, 'The Dyer Collection', began promisingly but adverse financial factors stymied its continuance. Though her own ambitions for the project remained unrealised, it was not abandoned for lack of interest on her part, nor was it a complete failure. Dyer understood that choices in business, sometimes difficult ones, had to be made. By not continuing with this project, she made a rational business decision, though no doubt this was a bitterly disappointing one.

Upon settling in Paris, she used her own connections alongside those of Prunières to continue to develop her influential network within French political, social and intellectual circles. Networks are crucial for 'newcomers' in their endeavour to assimilate into and to construct a role within their new place of residence. Initially she chose the traditional route of the salon as her means of entry. In so doing, she developed working

¹⁵² Amédée Gastoué, on behalf of the Société de Français Musicologie, Letter to Secretary, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 3 May 1939. EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 9.

¹⁵³ Denécheau, 'Les Vicissitudes', in Chimènes, Gétreau and Massip, *Henry Prunières*, 280.

relationships with a group of like-minded friends and intellectuals who would play important roles in several of her future projects in the 1930s.

There is no doubt that her participation in Prunières's Lully project was the most important step in her desire to reinvent herself as a cultural producer in France. This was a project that aimed to support French musical heritage and as such it provided Dyer with a powerful way sharing her admiration for Lully and demonstrating her respect for her new country and her ambition to play a serious role in its cultural life. She was quite likely drawn to the Lully project by Prunières's international renown, their shared interests in the music of the French Baroque, and the initial prospectus promoting a talented and highly influential editorial team. However, his approach to music editorial scholarship and poor financial management were problematic for her as they had the potential to stall the project and to taint the reputations of everyone involved. At the time, the French approach to editing music was attempting to balance the tension between two different methods: one rigorous and more scientific representative of a critical edition and the other more practical suitable for a performing edition targeted to wider dissemination to the musical public. The issue was that Dyer was expecting a critical edition, and Prunières's editorial methodology was more attuned to the legitimate approach for a performing edition.

Through working with Prunières and the critical feedback his volume had received, Dyer had learnt a great deal about monumental music publishing projects and the editing of early music, and about the expectations of women who supported such projects. She had observed that there were different approaches to modern editorial practice, and that navigating the complexities of these practices required expertise. Her expectations of what comprised a critical edition raised concerns regarding Prunières's approach but highlights the variability in editorial practice that existed in France at the time. Dyer also observed that in French music publishing there were still lacunae for

editions of a composer's complete works, and that there were several French musicologists who were not only capable, but also potentially interested in participating as editors for such projects. In addition, she gained a detailed understanding of the importance of proper financial and editorial controls, the need for attracting subscribers and for appropriate promotion—though her financial independence made this less of an issue for her than it had been for Prunières.

Dyer had also expected to be an active partner in the project, but Prunières's conduct towards her sheds light on how some wealthy women patrons were treated during the interwar period. While Dyer may have misunderstood Prunières and his expectations regarding the role of women patrons, his misinterpretation of her role and his casting of her later attempts to interfere as meddling must be considered when reflecting on what went wrong. Dyer and Prunières became entrenched in their respective positions which eventually led him to seek a legal solution (up to that point Dyer had only taken legal advice). Dyer stepped away from the project, but their relationship never recovered. Her involvement in this project was possibly viewed as a failure for Dyer—particularly within the Parisian music circles that she was trying to impress—but it precipitated her decision to launch her own press.

2. *Œuvres Complètes de François Couperin (1932-1933)*

Emboldened by her work with Novello and her determination to restore her name within musical circles in France, Dyer decided to establish a press of her own. In May 1931, she proudly announced her plans to establish a publishing house in correspondence with Henry Clayton, from Novello & Co:

I am starting a press here [in Paris] called The Lyre Bird Press and am first publishing the Complete Edition [her emphasis] of the works of Couperin—when my circulars are ready may I send you one or two? Anything that will help to make it known I shall be grateful for—my second effort will be some things [two sonatas] of Dr John Blow [*sic*] (Limited Edition of Couperin 300) [*sic*] Mr André Tessier is my Editor and Mr Alfred Cortot is doing the Concertos [for my edition].¹

The energy exuding from this short paragraph is palpable. She had identified her metier and outlined her first two projects and attracted two eminent French musicians to her new endeavour. Through the titles she listed—the complete works of François Couperin and two sonatas by John Blow—she was demonstrating her desire not only to champion the cultural heritage of her new country, but also to maintain her connection with Britain: a strategy which would serve her well in the early years of her enterprise.²

This chapter draws on and is a complement to work that I have presented at student and academic conferences over the past four years and that has already been published. The first article considered the Couperin edition in the context of the revival of François Couperin, see Susan Daniels, 'Louise Dyer's Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre and the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*', *Early Music* 48, no. 3 (2020): 347-358. DOI.10.1093/em/caaa052. The second publication is my forthcoming book chapter for Melbourne University Press, in which I examine how Dyer exploited aspects of femininity. The book, edited by Prof. Kerry Murphy and Dr Jennifer Hill (EOL Archivist), includes a few papers which were delivered at the 2018 symposium, 'Louise Dyer and Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre: The Establishment of a Music Press', jointly hosted by the University of Melbourne and Melbourne Conservatorium of Music.

¹ Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr Clayton, 3 May 1931. Novello & Co. Correspondence, Contracts and Papers (N&Co CCP), Private Collection.

² Dyer, Letter to Mr Clayton, 3 May 1931. N&Co CCP.

By the end of the decade Dyer framed the founding of her press in ways that offer additional insight into her thought process:

It seemed to me that the new world might make it its business to guard and renew the wealth of the old. I was particularly surprised to find, as late as 1930, that the complete works of that master musician, François Couperin the Great, had never been published.... 1933 would be Couperin's centenary[sic.]. I decided that an authentic and scholarly edition of his complete works would be published for that date. I had about eighteen months. I will only say that it was a busy eighteen months.³

Her narrative highlights her long-held admiration for France and its musical culture, and her desire to play a role in the revival of its neglected composers. Moreover, she claimed that her 'newcomer' status led her to identify a lacuna in French music publishing and an opportunity in the upcoming bicentenary of Couperin's death (1733). Most importantly, her plan was to produce 'an authentic and scholarly edition', a pointed referral to the inadequacies she and others found in the early volumes of the complete works of J-B. Lully. Yet her decision to venture into publishing, which offered mutual benefits to French musical heritage and to herself, was more complex than these claims suggest.

Her publication of the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin* was celebrated in 1933, a year which also marked the 100th anniversary of the birth of Johannes Brahms and the 50th anniversary of the death of Richard Wagner.⁴ The event occurred in the Grand Salon of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, a symbol of French cultural heritage with a direct

³ Louise Dyer, Typed-Illustrated Lecture, n.d. EOLA, Secretarial Files 2016.0048, Unit 3.

⁴ In 1932, Dyer issued Volume VI, organ music, to critics for review. The remaining volumes followed in 1933. The prospectus stated that the names of individuals and institutions who subscribed before 1 April 1932 would be listed. Two brochures, in French and English can be found in EOLA, Press Clippings, 2016.0017, Unit 1, and in Dossier Couperin, fonds Montpensier, Département de la musique, BNF.

connection to Louis XIV, and with an audience comprising the French political and cultural élite, including President Albert Lebrun. The twelve-volume edition would stand alongside the complete works of Rameau and Lully (both unfinished) as the major historical editions of French music.⁵ Consequently, through her first project in which she had full control, Dyer became a participant in the on-going construction of French music-historical consciousness—a point that she made clear when describing the publication as ‘her monument’ to a composer whom she believed had played a seminal role in French musical heritage.⁶

Throughout this chapter I examine Dyer’s choice of the works of Couperin for her first project, and how she situated the edition—and thus her publishing company—in the revival of early music in France during the 1930s. I first explore how Couperin was situated within French musical heritage at this time, and how Dyer sought to build on existing publications with her edition, in ways that spoke both to nationalist and internationalist concerns. Consideration is then given to how she navigated the malevolent political terrain that defined French musicology in the early 1930s, where limited professional opportunities combined with differing views between generations created a censorious environment, particularly within the Société Française de Musicologie (SFM). The reactions of this privileged musical elite provide insights into their perceptions of French musical heritage, music editing, and Dyer’s intervention. The final section turns to the edition itself, exploring its distinctive approach to editing and design.

⁵ The Rameau *Œuvres complètes* had been abandoned in 1924, with eight operas still to be finished, and, by 1933, only ten of the anticipated 36 volumes of the Lully edition had been issued.

⁶ Louise B. M. Dyer, ‘Note de l’Éditeur’, *Œuvres Complètes de François Couperin 1932-33*, 1 (Paris: Les Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1933), 1.

François Couperin, 'le Grand'

Dyer often claimed that the idea of publishing Couperin's *œuvre* occurred to her serendipitously, while strolling in the countryside.⁷ While this may be true, her decision was no doubt influenced by more practical factors. His music had already been recognised by others as a significant part of French musical heritage, and she was keen to encourage scholars and performers to consider his entire *œuvre*.

In Paul Landormy's 1910 history of music, he observed that Couperin's influence spanned from his contemporaries through to the works of twentieth-century composers.⁸ For Landormy, his music was a pristine source of the French tradition: 'Couperin is one of the miracles of the French spirit in music and across the gulf of time he clasps hands on one side with Janequin and Costeley, on the other with Fauré and Debussy'.⁹ Even earlier, in 1903 and 1904, Landormy undertook two *enquêtes*, or surveys, which received responses from Claude Debussy and Vincent d'Indy in which both composers praised the music of Couperin and Rameau.¹⁰ By 1933, though, he still saw the need to publicly champion Couperin, arguing in particular for his influence beyond France. Writing in *Le Figaro* about the French composer's 'forgotten' bicentenary, he emphasised the connection between Couperin and J. S. Bach, writing 'Let us not forget

⁷ Dyer recollects the idea occurred to her during a walk in the Chartreuse valley. Dyer, Typed-Illustrated Lecture, c.1939. EOLA, Secretarial Files 2016.0048, Unit 3. Davidson claims the walk was taken in the Chevreuse Valley, which is closer to Paris. Davidson, 187.

⁸ Paul Landormy, *Histoire de la musique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1910) later issued in English, Paul Landormy, *A History of Music*, trans. Frederick Martens (London: C. Scribner's Sons 1923). The stimulus for Landormy's monograph was a series of lectures on the history of music that he organised with Roman Rolland in 1902 for the École des Hautes Études Sociales.

⁹ Landormy, was an educator and critic who aimed to classify France's musical past and to place present-day composers within it. He connected the first golden age of Couperin and Rameau to the second golden age of Debussy and Ravel. In placing these composers on a par he cleverly connected the past to the present. See Landormy, *A History*, 74; This connection is also described by Barbara L Kelly and Christopher Moore, 'Introduction: The Role of Criticism in Interwar Musical Culture', in *Music Criticism in France 1918-1939: Authority, Advocacy, Legacy*, ed. Barbara L. Kelly and Christopher Moore (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), 4-5.

¹⁰ See Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1996), 10-12.

that J. S. Bach used Couperin as a model. His contemporaries considered him [Couperin] “profound”.¹¹ Landormy’s views were echoed by the music critic Edmond Jaloux, in a long article about the bicentenary in *Le Temps*.¹² Couperin’s music, then, was already accepted by some within the French musical élite, whose nostalgia for the French classical past was a corrective to the domination by German music experienced in France throughout the late nineteenth century. These critics, moreover, suggest that in the 1930s Couperin was considered highly important, internationally influential, and somewhat underappreciated. All of this offered Dyer an opportunity.

A key objective for Dyer’s complete edition was to encourage scholars and performers to consider Couperin’s entire *œuvre*, as she believed his works illuminated significant aspects in the evolution of French musical expression.¹³ In addition, her planned publication project would prove an ideal way to redeem her own reputation following the Lully debacle and to position herself as a champion of French musical culture. Furthermore, despite the grim economic, political and social pressures within France in the early 1930s, she determined an edition of Couperin’s complete known works could provide a tangible response to debates about French national identity and cultural exceptionalism which had resurfaced and involved the twentieth-century revival of seventeenth-century French culture. Her interwar edition would highlight the continuity between France’s musical past and its present.

Couperin composed across all musical genres of his time apart from opera, but the vast majority of his musical output comprised 234 harpsichord pieces, grouped in

¹¹ Paul Landormy, ‘Un centenaire oublié: François Couperin, dit le Grand’, *Le Figaro*, 7 February 1933, 5. ‘N’oublions pas que J.-S. Bach l’a souvent prise pour modèle. Ses contemporains le jugeaient “profound”.’ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k297232w/f5.item>.

¹² Edmond Jaloux, ‘Le Centenaire de Couperin’, *Le Temps*, 9 June 1933, 3. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k249226d/f3.item>.

¹³ Dyer, ‘Note de l’Éditeur’, 1.

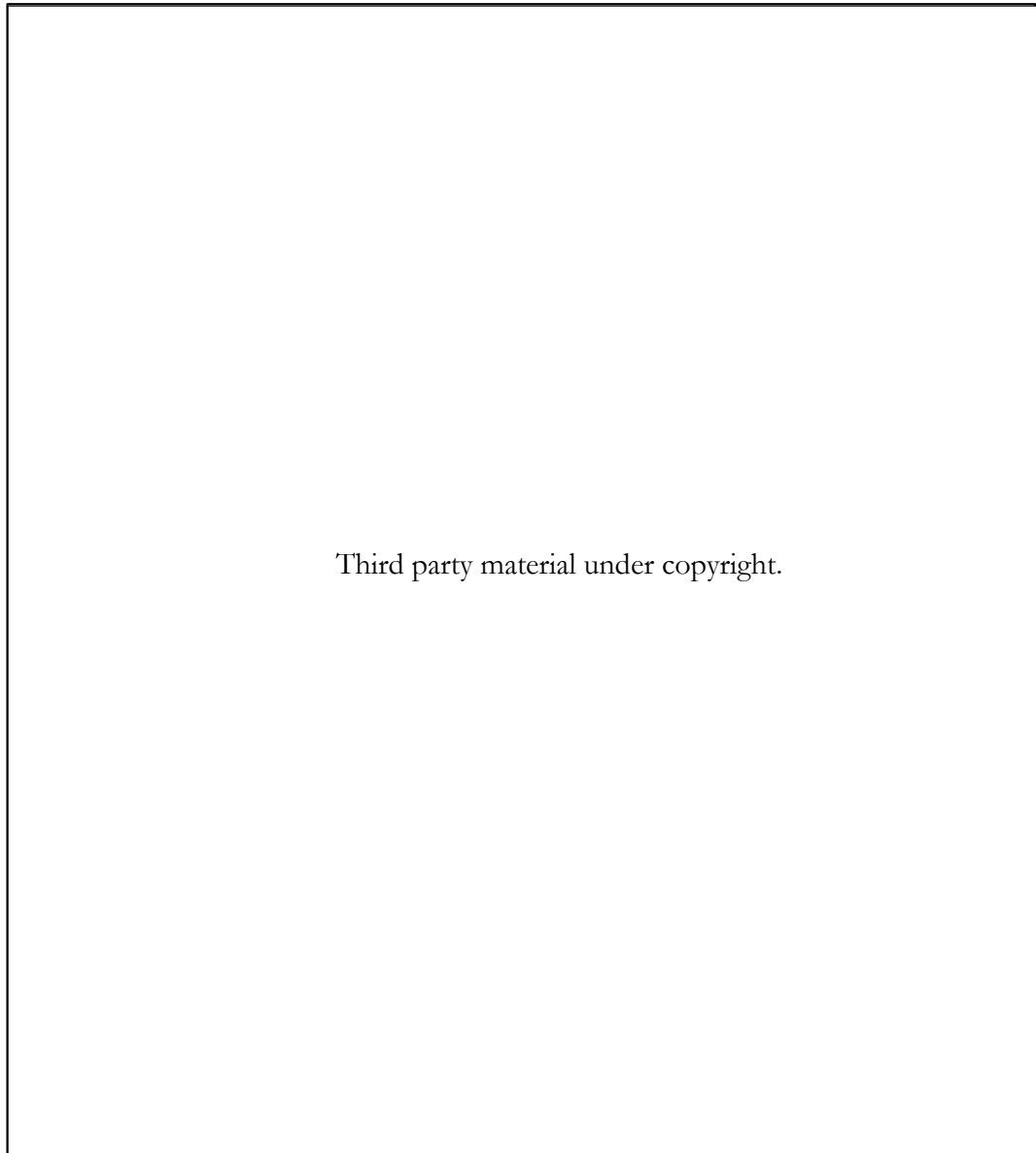
twenty-seven *ordres*.¹⁴ Julien Tiersot observed that ‘the *Pièces de Clavecin*, when viewed as a whole, form a complete, homogenous compendious monument’.¹⁵ Tiersot’s comment, in 1926, followed an intensive period of Couperin scholarship led by the SFM which recognised his importance in France’s musical heritage as I will show. As a pianist Dyer was aware that several of his harpsichord pieces were established in performing culture, but she too believed that his other works were ‘as original and more profound’.¹⁶ This focus on his keyboard works was shaped by two factors: the publication and dissemination of Couperin’s music during his lifetime and following his death; and discussions concerning the relative value of French baroque keyboard music within the French musical canon that occurred throughout the nineteenth century.

In 1713, Couperin had acquired a Royal Privilege, enabling him to self-publish authoritative texts of his compositions. Prior to this, Couperin had published his *Pièces d’orgue* in manuscript with a printed title page, under a separate privilege dated 1690, and the Royal publisher Ballard had published a small number of his works. Between 1697 and 1712, Ballard had issued several of Couperin’s secular songs and six keyboard pieces in anthologies, and three sets of *versets* for the Chapelle Royale were released in 1703, 1704 and 1705. Couperin supervised the publications of his four harpsichord books, *Pièces de Clavecin*, in folio format between 1713 and 1730 (Figure 2.1), leaving only eight pieces unpublished.

¹⁴ The landmark publication on Couperin’s life and musical works in English remains Wilfrid Mellers, *François Couperin and the French Classical Tradition*. Rev. 2nd ed. (London: Faber & Faber, 1987) and Wilfrid Mellers, *François Couperin and the French Classical Tradition* (London: Denis Dobson, 1950), there are differences between the volumes, particularly the appendices, so both are worth reviewing. Unless otherwise noted I have used the 1987 edition. Also see David Tunley, *François Couperin and The Perfection of Music*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2016). Couperin arranged his twenty-seven *ordres* by keys; all the numbers in one *ordre* are written in the same key, if not in the same mode.

¹⁵ Julien Tiersot and Theodore Baker, ‘Two Centuries of a French Musical Family—The Couperins’, *The Musical Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (1926): 422. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/738247>.

¹⁶ Dyer, Typed-Illustrated Lecture, c.1939. EOLA, Secretarial Files 2016.0048, Unit 3.



**Figure 2.1: François Couperin, 'L'Auguste', *Pièces de clavecin*, 1.
1st edn. 4th imp. (Paris: Le Sieur Foucaut, 1717-18).¹⁷**

These editions are still considered exquisite exemplars of eighteenth-century music engraving and printing, and to be mostly free from serious notational errors. Alongside these publications he issued the companion treatise *L'Art de toucher le Clavecin* (1716), and

¹⁷ François Couperin, 'L'Auguste', *Pièces de clavecin*, Bk 1, 1st edn. 4th imp. (Paris: Le Sieur Foucaut, 1717-18). See the following two sources: [imslp.org/wiki/Premier_livre_de_pièces_de_clavecin_\(Couperin,_François\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Premier_livre_de_pièces_de_clavecin_(Couperin,_François)), and <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525017311/f13.item.r=Couperin%20sieur#>.

it too is considered an informative source on playing the harpsichord.¹⁸ By 1931, Dyer possessed copies of Books 1 and 2 of his *Pièces de Clavecin*, which she would use as reference texts to judge the editorial work of others, as will be shown.¹⁹

Byron Sartain reminds us that Couperin was aware that variants of his works were already in circulation in copyist manuscript form.²⁰ In the preface to his first harpsichord book, Couperin wrote that though he was flattered by the applause of connoisseurs, he was mortified by the ignorance and faults of copyists, which he put down to the inevitable fate of sought-after manuscripts.²¹ Yet it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that his music began to appear in new French editions in significant number (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Some publications of François Couperin’s music between 1733 and 1888.

| Year | Editor/s | Title | Publisher |
|-----------|---------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1841 | J.J.B. Laurens | <i>Pièces for Clavecin par F. Couperin [38.]</i> | Launer, Paris |
| 1861-74 | Aristide & Louise Farrenc | <i>Le Trésor des pianistes.</i> | Farrenc, Paris |
| 1864-67 | Jean-Amédée Méreaux | <i>Les Clavecinistes de 1637 à 1790.</i> | Heugel, Paris |
| 1869 | F. Chrysander, J. Brahms | <i>François Couperin, Pièces for Clavecin, Bk1.</i> | Bergedorf, Leipzig |
| 1871 | F. Chrysander, J. Brahms | <i>François Couperin, Pièces for Clavecin, Bk2.</i> | Bergedorf, Leipzig |
| 1887-1912 | Louis Diémer | <i>Les Clavecinistes du XVIII^e siècle.</i> | Durand, Paris |
| 1888 | F. Chrysander, J. Brahms | <i>François Couperin. Pièces for Clavecin.</i> | Augener, London |

¹⁸ On Couperin’s publishing activities see Denis Herlin, ‘A Bibliographical Imbroglia: Books 1 and 2 of Couperin’s *Pièces de clavecin*’, *Early Music* 48, no. 3 (2020): 319-334. DOI.10.1093/em/caaa050.

¹⁹ For details on these editions see Denis Herlin, *Catalogue de la collection musicale Hanson-Dyer, Université de Melbourne* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006), 9.

²⁰ Byron Sartain, ‘The Manuscript Dissemination of François Couperin’s Harpsichord Music’, *Early Music* 41, no.3 (2013): 377-91. DOI.10.1093/em/cat073. Sartain identified more than seventy manuscripts, transcriptions and variants of Couperin’s works dating from the 1720s. Most of these manuscripts are held in France.

²¹ François Couperin, preface to *Pièces de clavecin*, Première livre (Paris, 1713): ‘On sait assez qu’un auteur n’a que trop d’intérêt de donner une édition correcte de ses ouvrages, lorsqu’ils ont eu le bonheur de plaire: s’il est flatté par les applaudissements des connoisseurs, il est mortifié par l’ignorance et les fautes des copistes: c’est le sort des manuscrits recherchés’. Note: the pieces which caught the attention of publishers of these early anthologies were those that tended to be the more tuneful, lighter in style and technically undemanding, falling into the genre known as the brunettes. See Sartain, ‘Manuscript Dissemination’, 383.

In 1841, Marie-Pierre Launer issued *Pièces pour clavecin par F. Couperin*, edited by the painter and collector Jean Joseph Bonaventure Laurens.²² This publication contained thirty-eight of Couperin's harpsichord works taken from his first three books.

An interval of twenty years would pass before the flautist, collector and publisher Aristide Farrenc and his pianist wife Louise would begin issuing their multi-volume anthology *Le Trésor des pianistes* (1861-72).²³ This collection is particularly noteworthy not only for its musicological and historical integrity, but also because it contained the vast majority of Couperin's four books of *Pièces de clavecin*. However, some pieces considered too difficult were excluded.²⁴ The Farrencs were influenced by German scholarship and especially the complete edition of Bach's music produced by the Bach-Gesellschaft (from 1851 onwards). In their first volume Aristide Farrenc stated that 'as far as possible, *Le Trésor des pianistes* will be engraved from the original editions, to which no changes or additions must be allowed', a highly unusual practice in France at the time.²⁵ That the introduction stresses the considerable time it had taken to locate original editions of Couperin's harpsichord books—a period of more than ten years—illustrates

²² Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 11 and 38. Launer's collection was advertised in *La France musicale* 4, no. 4 (1841): 321. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k69658b/f331.item>.

²³ Along with François-Joseph Fétis, the Farrencs were held in high esteem for their interest in early music. Louise Farrenc was highly regarded as an accomplished pianist, a composer of distinction and one of the few full-time female professors at the Paris Conservatoire between 1842 and 1872. She edited most of the volumes following the death of her husband. Comprising twenty-three volumes *Le Trésor* was sold on subscription, the majority within France. See Bea Friedland, 'Louise Farrenc, 1804-1875: Composer-Performer-Scholar' (PhD diss. City University New York, 1975), 29, 73, 60 and 81. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/louise-farrenc-1804-1875-composer-performer/docview/302762542/se-2?accountid=11862>.

²⁴ A total of 189 works from Couperin's four harpsichord books (just over 80 per cent) appear across the volumes of *Le Trésor*: Vol. III (1862) Bk.1, fifty-six pièces; Vol. VIII (1864) Bk.2, fifty-three pièces; Vol. XII (1867) Bk.3, thirty-seven pièces; and Vol. XV (1869), Bk.4, forty-three pièces. See [https://imslp.org/wiki/Le_tr%C3%A9sor_des_pianistes_\(Farrenc%2C_Aristide\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Le_tr%C3%A9sor_des_pianistes_(Farrenc%2C_Aristide)).

²⁵ Aristide Farrenc, ed., introduction to *Le Trésor des pianistes* (Paris, A. Leduc, 1861), 3: '*Le Trésor des pianistes* sera, autant que possible, gravé sur les éditions originales, auxquelles nul ne doit se permettre de rien changer au ajouter'.

the obscurity into which this repertory had fallen.²⁶ Yet Farrenc observed that at the time only the musical works of Couperin and Rameau were known in Paris but only by a small number of musical connoisseurs.²⁷

Published contemporaneously with *Le Trésor* was Amédée Méreaux's *Les Clavecinistes de 1637 à 1790* (1864-7). He included seventeen of Couperin's pieces but adopted a very different editorial approach. In keeping with his aim to popularize this music, he wrote out Couperin's ornaments in full on the staff, added prescriptive fingering and included dynamic and expressive markings to his music.²⁸

The most significant publication of Couperin's harpsichord works was issued in Leipzig by the early music enthusiasts Friedrich Chrysander and Brahms. Chrysander included Couperin's *Pièces de clavecin*, Books 1 and 2, in his *Denkmäler der Tonkunst* series (Bergedorf, 1869 and 1871). This edition presents an anomaly for, as Elaine Kelly notes, the nineteenth-century early music revival in the German states had strong nationalistic overtones, and French music—and especially the music of Couperin—met with opposition and even scorn.²⁹ However, Chrysander's *Denkmäler* series contained other non-German music such as that of Carissimi and Corelli, confirming his ambition to revive early music of epoch-making significance regardless of its national origins.

²⁶ Farrenc, ed., introduction to *Le Trésor*, 1: 'On trouve difficilement et à de longs intervalles les deux livres de pièces de clavecin de Rameau; celles de François Couperin sont maintenant d'une rareté excessive. Dix ans de recherches m'avaient mis en possession des trois premiers livres, mais il m'avait été impossible de me procurer le quatrième, lorsqu'en 1849 j'eus le bonheur de le trouver réuni aux trois autres chez un marchand d'ancienne musique de Londres'.

²⁷ Farrenc, ed., introduction to *Le Trésor*, 2: '...François Couperin et Rameau sont les seuls dont les œuvres soient connues d'un petit nombre de personnes à Paris; les autres ne le sont pas du tout'. Farrenc named Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, the French harpsichordist responsible for identifying the talents of the Couperin family, and Jean-Henri d'Anglebert among others who were less well known at the time.

²⁸ Amédée Méreaux, ed., *Les Clavecinistes de 1637 à 1790*, 3 vols. (Paris: Heugel, 1864-7).

²⁹ Elaine Kelly, 'An Unexpected Champion of François Couperin: Johannes Brahms and the "Pièces de Clavecin"', *Music & Letters* 85, no. 4 (2004): 579. DOI.10.1093/ml/85.4.576. It is important to recall the history of the French occupation under Napoleon 1, as France was not popular.

Thus, up to the *fin-de-siècle* these collections played a crucial role in re-establishing a performance tradition of Couperin's harpsichord works within and beyond France. The exclusion of some pieces from these editions, and the public performance of individual pieces, however, distorted Couperin's preferred concept of *ordres*. Couperin was not the only composer to suffer this fate—he was joined by Rameau, Jean-François Danjou and Louis-Claude Daquin, among others whose music was filleted for short pieces. As Katharine Ellis observed, French Baroque keyboard repertory came to be seen as 'a disparate collection of three-minute character pieces'.³⁰

From the mid-nineteenth century a number of Couperin's pieces became a part of the repertory, particularly in Paris. These works were often performed by women and as such became enmeshed in conventions regarding the relative value of French baroque keyboard music within the French musical canon and the gendered nature of this repertoire that occurred throughout the nineteenth century, as Ellis has observed.³¹ In 1865 the French pianist Louis Diémer, an early music enthusiast and pedagogue, began his endeavour to reinstate the music of Couperin and *les clavecinistes*, and to reclaim the harpsichord itself as a concert instrument but he too avoided incorporating whole *ordres* into his performances.³² While Diémer sought to dispel the paradigm of 'feminine=slight and unworthy' as identified by Ellis, by not performing entire suites he still left the music of *les clavecinistes* effectively trapped in the 'stereotypically feminised

³⁰ Ellis, *Interpreting*, 91; and Katharine Ellis, 'Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, no. 2-3 (1997): 353-385. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/831838>.

³¹ Ellis, 'Female Pianists', 385.

³² Between 1887 and 1912, Diémer included twenty-eight of Couperin's *pièces* in *Les Clavecinistes français* (volumes 1 and 3). For Diémer's activities with the Société des Instruments Anciens see Christiane Becker-Derex, 'Les sociétés de musique ancienne à Paris: Taffanel, Diémer, Casadesus (1879-1939)', in *Wanda Landowska et la renaissance de la musique ancienne*, ed. Jean-Jacques Eigeldiner (Arles: Actes Sud, 2011), 45-58.

mould of the exquisite miniature'.³³ A trap that was maintained by the most significant harpsichordist of the first half of the twentieth century, Wanda Landowska who rarely performed whole *ordres* but who nonetheless championed the music of the French *clavecinistes*.³⁴

This is not surprising. From the late eighteenth century a hierarchy of musical forms was being developed that dovetailed with societal constructions of value, gender and nation.³⁵ Greater value was being placed on autonomous music, and larger forms and size—considered in terms of longer durations, more instruments, as well as larger performing venues—became a determinant of value and signifiers of power.³⁶ Smaller forms, such as the keyboard music of Couperin and music for small ensembles (chamber music), fell in standing and were associated with the merely 'functional', and the domestic environment. This attitude persisted until the unexpected and overwhelming Prussian defeat of France in 1871, after which French people of all political persuasions sought to reassert pride in their national and cultural roots through codifying and canonising French history, language and culture.³⁷ This was achieved through a broad trend of revival, including a renewed fascination with the *ancien régime*. All the arts (but especially music) and education were pressed into the service of

³³ Ellis, *Interpreting*, 88-91.

³⁴ For more on Landowska's career development see Annegret Fauser, 'Creating Madame Landowska', *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 10 (2006): 3. DOI.10.1353/wam.2007.0002.

³⁵ Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 127-131.

³⁶ See Citron, *Gender*, 127-31.

³⁷ For a perspective on how music was pressed into the service of the State during the Third Republic, see Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). Also see Christophe Charle, 'Opera in France, 1870-1914: Between Nationalism and Foreign Imports', trans. Jennifer Boittin, in *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu*, ed. Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher and Thomas Ertman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 243-66.

building national pride.³⁸ Here, the French state was seeking to identify people, objects and locations that could be imbued with symbolic value: what Pierre Nora later called *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory, where each becomes a nexus of national and cultural identity.³⁹

From this time music historians produced several editions and anthologies as part of this national project of revival. Whereas the German publisher Breitkopf & Härtel had begun issuing complete editions of the music of Bach, Mozart and Beethoven—among others—from the mid-1800s, a complete French edition of any of their great masters had still not been published (see Chapter 1).⁴⁰ Furthermore, during the *fin-de-siècle*, the new, larger forms of music by Brahms and Wagner sparked an intense period of soul searching within the French musical world, as mentioned earlier. Though some composers continued to be inspired by the German masters, others, including Debussy, sought to identify a truly ‘French’ aesthetic through an examination of music from France’s pre-revolutionary period: music of the ‘classical’ restrained, rational and tasteful vein, seen as reflecting the refined spirit of France herself.⁴¹ Here the musical works of

³⁸ Canon building projects were also undertaken in literature, where publishing houses such as Larousse and Hachette adopted a strong empirical stance. For example, *Les Grands Écrivains français*, published by Hachette between 1887-1913, aimed to canonize the literary past. Fifty-six authors were included in the series. See Dragos Jipa, *La canonisation littéraire et l'avènement de la culture de masse: La collection "Les Grands Écrivains Français" (1887-1913)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016).

³⁹ Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*’, *Representations* 26 (1989): 15-16. DOI.10.2307/2928520. The centennial of the French Revolution inspired the publication of new French histories, which asserted national, ideological, and artistic continuities between the Enlightenment and the *fin-de-siècle*, see Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 34-42. By the end of the nineteenth century France was in the grip of museum mania, witnessed by a rapid increase in the number and quality of state-sponsored museums with the common purpose of displaying a shared heritage. See Daniel J. Sherman, *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

⁴⁰ See Hervé Lacombe, ‘Un nouveau mot pour une nouvelle discipline. Enquête sur le terme “musicologie” et les modalités de son invention’, *Revue de musicologie* 104, nos. 1-2 (2018): 21-52.

⁴¹ In 1871, The Société Nationale was established to promote all serious French music, whether published or not. See Michel Duchesneau, *L’Avant-Garde Musicale à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 1997), 15-63; Michael Strasser, ‘The Société Nationale and Its Adversaries: The Musical Politics of *L’Invasion germanique* in the 1870s’, *19th-Century Music* 24, no. 3 (2001):

Lully and Rameau provided compelling examples in opera, and Couperin and Rameau for the keyboard.⁴² Their music was glorified by its remoteness in time and seen as untainted by association with recently failed regimes. In addition, these early composers were identified with a commonly agreed golden era of French culture. This led to an interest in monumental music publishing projects such as those by Théodore Michaëlis and Henry Expert (see Chapter 1). Even though France was a latecomer in the process of memorialising its national composers, the idea that it had a rich musical history worthy of elevation and publishing was, from the late 1800s, strongly promoted by music historians, performers and institutions.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the music publishing house A. Durand & Fils began a programme of issuing inexpensive editions of some of Couperin's musical works which ran until 1933 (Table 2.2).⁴³ Joining Diémer in the editorial task of reviving Couperin's music for Durand were Dukas, Georges Marty (conductor of the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire between 1901 and 1908) and Alexandre Guilmant (organist and joint founder of the Schola Cantorum de Paris). All three had

225-51. DOI.10.1525/ncm.2001.24.3.225; and Catrina Flint de Médicis, 'Nationalism and Early Music at the French Fin de Siècle: Three Case Studies', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 1, no. 2 (2004): 43-66. DOI.10.1017/S14794098000135X. Debussy's late sonatas (1911-1914) pay homage to French baroque composers, not in a nostalgic way but rather he uses the past to justify innovation, see Barbara L. Kelly, 'Debussy's Parisian Affiliations', in *The Cambridge Companion to Debussy*, ed. Simon Trezise (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 40.

⁴² See Anya Suschitzky, 'Debussy's Rameau: French Music and its Others', *The Musical Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (2002): 398-448, <https://jstor.org/stable/36000896>, and Marianne Wheeldon, 'Debussy and *La Sonate cyclique*', in *Journal of Musicology* 22, no. 4 (2005): 644-679. DOI.10.1525/jm.2005.22.4.644. Wheeldon describes Debussy's return to the genre of chamber music, which emphasise a stylistic affiliation with the music of the French baroque. See also, Marianne Wheeldon, 'Tombeau de Claude Debussy: The Early Reception of the Late Works', in *Rethinking Debussy*, ed. Elliott Antokoletz and Marianne Wheeldon (Oxford: OSO, 2011): DOI. 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199755639.001.0001, which describes Debussy's deliberations regarding whether to acknowledge Couperin or Rameau.

⁴³ Note, in 1914, Albert Bertelin produced a transcription of Couperin's 'Forlane', extracted from Couperin's *Concerts royaux*, for *La Revue musicale* (SIM), Paris, (1914) which is believed to have been the model for the 'Forlane' in Maurice Ravel's *Tombeau de Couperin*.

edited volumes in Durand's Rameau edition: respectively, *Les Indes galantes* (1902), *Platée* (1907) and *Le Temple de la Gloire* (1909).

Table 2.2: François Couperin, Durand publications (1900- 1933).

| Year | Editor/s | Title |
|------|-----------------------|---|
| 1903 | Georges Marty | <i>Concerts royaux</i> , trios pour violon, violoncelle et piano. Trans. |
| 1903 | Georges Marty | <i>Le Parnasse: ou l'Apothéose de Corelli</i> , grand sonade en trio trans. deux violons et piano. |
| 1904 | Georges Marty | <i>L'Apothéose de Lulli</i> , trans. deux violons, violoncelle et piano. |
| 1904 | A. Guilmant, A. Pirro | <i>Archives des Maîtres de l'Orgue des XV^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles</i> , Vol.5. |
| 1905 | Louis Diémer | <i>Pièces de Clavecin</i> , Bks I-IV. |
| 1908 | Paul Dukas | <i>Les Goûts Réunis</i> , extracts. |
| 1912 | Louis Diémer | <i>Les Clavecinistes français - François Couperin</i> , Vingt Pièces. Vol. 3. Trans. |
| 1923 | Charles Bouvet | <i>Pièces pour violoncelle et pianos</i> . |
| 1933 | Julien Tiersot | <i>Les Nations</i> . |

Diémer's transcriptions of Couperin were used in performances by his Société des Instruments Anciens (1895-1901): an arrangement of *Je ne sçay quoy* (from the Ninth Concert 'Ritratto dell'Amore') was given at the their first concert in 1895 and later at the Exposition universelle de 1889.⁴⁴ The Société des Instruments Anciens (1901-1939), founded by Henri Casadesus and comprising his brothers and sister, also used these editions to create arrangements of Couperin's music which they then performed at concerts throughout Western and Eastern Europe, North America, the Middle East and Russia.⁴⁵ Thus, these editions by Durand encouraged the performance of Couperin's other works more widely.

Durand's Couperin publications were both a response to the increased availability of German music publications in France and a means of promoting France's musical heritage. Rachel Moore claims that it was the outset of the First World War that

⁴⁴ Becker-Derex, 'Les sociétés', in Eigeldinger, *Wanda Landowska*, 48-52.

⁴⁵ La Société des Instruments Anciens undertook 75 international tours (including America and England) as well as gave performances throughout France: mostly to European aristocracy, early music festivals and special concerts. See La Célèbre Société des Instruments Anciens fondée par Henri Casadesus en 1901, BNF 8.VM Pièce 796. See also, Becker-Derex, 'Les sociétés', in Eigeldinger, *Wanda Landowska*, 52-56.

prompted French music publishers to consider the improved commercial opportunities attached to promoting the music of their homeland.⁴⁶ By 1916, Alfred Cortot, the internationally acclaimed pianist and former student of Diémer's, had been appointed head of the government's first artistic propaganda bureau. In this role he commissioned a survey of French publishers to determine what French music they had published and by extension what was missing. Seeking additional information, Cortot wrote to Gabriel Fauré, then director of the Paris Conservatoire, who responded by suggesting that an edition of Couperin's complete works would be indispensable for pedagogical purposes.⁴⁷

During the interwar years there was a renewed enthusiasm for Couperin scholarship. The first modern French biography of Couperin, by Charles Bouvet, appeared in 1919.⁴⁸ Three years later the SFM held a symposium on Couperin and his music in March 1922 which aimed to re-establish appreciation for a master composer 'who is not yet held in [his] rightful high esteem'.⁴⁹ This meeting was in two parts: an evening concert where several of Couperin's chamber works and extracts from his sacred works and secular vocal music were performed, and a research day devoted to the presentation of papers on previously unpublished or newly discovered works by

⁴⁶ French publishers were unable to sell German editions. For a wonderful description of the role of music in France between 1914 and 1918, and particularly music publishing, see Rachel Moore, *Performing Propaganda: Musical Life and Culture in Paris During the First World War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), especially Chapter 6.

⁴⁷ Moore, *Performing Propaganda*, 201-02.

⁴⁸ Charles Bouvet, *Une Dynastie de musiciens français: Les Couperin, organistes de l'Église Saint-Gervais*, preface by Charles M. Widor (Paris: Librairie Delegrave, 1919). Bouvet's substantial biography of Couperin was flawed: gaps were filled with speculation, some of which he corrected when new evidence became available, but other mistakes remain.

⁴⁹ The June 1922 issue of the Society's journal, *Revue de musicologie*, was dedicated to François Couperin. 'Les Couperin', *Revue de musicologie* 3, no.2, [Papiers dédiés à François Couperin], (June 1922): 4: 'l'activité d'une famille d'artistes française, notamment celle d'un maître qui n'est pas encore estimé à sa juste et haute valeur'. DOI.10.2307/925630. See also Lacombe, 'Un nouveau mot': 21-52.

Couperin.⁵⁰ Contributors included Lionel de La Laurencie; Paul Brunold, a pupil of Dièmer and organist at Saint-Gervais, Paris, where the Couperin family held the seat for over 200 years; André Tessier, a student of Brunold; Julien Tiersot, the then president of the SFM; and Bouvet. The topics discussed included the discovery of new manuscripts, letters and iconography (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Société Française de Musicologie, Couperin Day, 22 March 1922.

| Title | Author |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| ' <i>Les Nations</i> , sonates en trio de François Couperin'. | Julien Tiersot |
| 'Deux sonates inconnues de François II Couperin'. | Lionel de La Laurencie |
| 'Les Pièces de viole de François Couperin'. | Charles Bouvet |
| 'Un Motet manuscrit de 1735. Provenant des anciens organistes de l'église Saint-Gervais'. | Paul Brunold |
| 'Attribution à Couperin le Grand. D'une pièce anonyme d'un recueil de Ballard'. | André Tessier |
| 'Un Autographe de François Couperin le Grand'. | Carl F. Hennerberg and Julien Tiersot |
| 'Documents inédits sur les Couperin'. | Charles Bouvet |
| 'François Couperin: Compositeur de musique religieuse'. | Julien Tiersot |

In 1926 a further two biographies of Couperin appeared, written by Tessier and Tiersot.⁵¹ While they emphasised different aspect of Couperin's music, both authors describe the Couperins as a French family who during two full centuries exercised a form of dynastic dominance over the music of France: they were not the first to make

⁵⁰ 'Séances de la Société française de musicologie', *Revue de Musicologie* 3, no. 2, (1922):100. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/925629>. For a discussion on the SFM's focus on music from 1600-1750 and the use of the term 'baroque' see Thierry Favier, 'Une guerre sans batailles. Le Champ de la musique dite "Baroque dans la *Revue de musicologie*"', *Revue de musicologie* 104, nos. 1-2 (2018): 363-402; and Jean-Claude Yon, 'Dix ans d'histoire de la musique (1719-1926). Un regard historien sur les débuts d'une revue', *Revue de musicologie* 104, nos. 1-2 (2018): 61-62.

⁵¹ André Tessier, *Couperin* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1926) and Julien Tiersot, *Les Couperin* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1926). The publications were written for two different celebratory series with followed differing approaches to history. Tiersot's biography was written for the *Musiciens Célèbres* series published by H. Laurens. Tessier's monograph, part of *Les Maîtres de la Musique: Etudes d'histoire et d'esthétique publiées* series sponsored by the Minister of Public instruction and the Beaux-Arts, edited by the German educated music critic Jean Chantovoine, and published by Alcan: the firm was located within the École Normale Supérieure. Chantovoine was an influential music critic who wrote regularly for *Le Courrier musical* and *Le Ménestrel*. According to Roger Nichols, Chantovoine had a predilection for Mozart and Beethoven, see Nichols, *The Harlequin Years*, 91.

this claim.⁵² These authors reaffirmed the dynastic French heritage of the Couperin family, validating François Couperin's position and reputation in particular. Tiersot discussed how Couperin incorporated Italian elements into his music through absorption and juxtaposition rather than imitation, suggesting that in so doing he made them French.⁵³ Tessier reasoned that Couperin's music expressed an identity that reflected the desirable French values and standards of clarity, logic and proportion—the uniquely French aesthetics that Debussy and Maurice Ravel considered vital. Through all these activities French music historians and the SFM championed François Couperin as their 'hero' of the French Baroque.⁵⁴

At the SFM board meeting on 4 November 1932, the forthcoming centenaries of Couperin's death and the premiere performance of Rameau's first opera *Hippolyte et Aricie*—both of which would occur in 1933—were discussed. Records show that the committee decided that no specific celebration would be held for either composer.⁵⁵ It is unclear if Dyer knew of this meeting or its outcome as the details are not mentioned in the meeting summaries that were included in the Société's journal.

Nevertheless, Couperin's influence on composers within and without France (starting with J. S. Bach) had been firmly established by the late nineteenth century and

⁵² Évard Titon du Tillet, the Farréncs, Méreaux and Chrysander all made the dynasty claim prior to Tessier. See Évard Titon du Tillet, 'François Couperin', in *La Parnasse français* Suppl. 1743 (Paris, 1732), 664-66; Alexandre-Étienne Choron, 'François Couperin', in *Dictionnaire Historique des Musiciens*, 1 (Paris: Valade-Lenormant, 1810), 461; and Lionel de La Laurencie and Albert Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (Paris: Delegrave, 1913), particularly vol. 3.

⁵³ The elements identified include idiomatic writing, the use of contrapuntal textures and driving rhythms, the addition of Italian dance forms, a virtuosity within melodic lines as well as the use of directional harmonies such as the circle of fifths, all of which were unusual at the time. See Tiersot and Baker, 'Two Centuries', 420-27.

⁵⁴ Jean-Claude Yon, 'Dix ans d'histoire de la musique (1917-1926). Un regard historien sur les débuts d'une revue', in *Revue de musicologie* 104. No. 1-2 (2018): 61.

⁵⁵ See Couperin Dossier, Fonds Montpensier, Département de la Musique, BNF. At the time the Board members included: La Laurencie, president; Jacques-Gabriel Prod'Homme, vice-president; A. Meyer, treasurer; Pincherle, secretary; Marie-Louise Pereyra, joint secretary and treasurer.

his position had been confirmed through a range of publishing, performing and scholarly activities. All this suggested to Dyer that an edition of his known works would be welcomed and that scholars active in this period were ideally placed to contribute to such a project.

Yet outside France knowledge of Couperin's wider *œuvre* remained limited, particularly in the English-speaking world. The British music critic and historian Cecil Gray, whose concise tome *The History of Music* (1928) was widely disseminated, claimed that Couperin's epithet, 'le Grand', was misleading, and dismissed him in a summary:

It may be conceded that his harpsichord pieces show a fine sense of instrumental values and possess a faded old-world charm and a quaint rococo gravity, reminding one of china shepherdesses and similar antiques and properties of the period...it is seldom anything more than boudoir music, of which one speedily tires.⁵⁶

Gray's glib comparison to decorative figurines and the boudoir, a private, feminine space where women 'decorate' themselves, reveals his own prejudices about French music in general and a lack of understanding not only of Couperin's harpsichord works to which he refers, but also of Couperin's wider *œuvre* and style.⁵⁷ He appears to accept uncritically the concept of ornament as decorative embellishment devoid of meaning short-changing its richness and value as a communicative medium.⁵⁸ His view

⁵⁶ Cecil Gray, *History of Music* (London: Kegan Paul, 1928), 145. Kegan Paul commissioned the work as part of its *History of Civilisation Series*, ed. C.K. Ogden a popular self-education series. For more on Gray's criticism see, Séamas de Barra, 'Chosen Causes: Writings on Music by Bernard van Dieren, Peter Warlock and Cecil Gray', in *British Musical Criticism and Intellectual Thought 1850-1950*, ed. Jeremy Dibble and Julian Horton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), 235-254.

⁵⁷ De Barra described Gray's *History* as a discerning mix of 'penetrating insight and nonsense in more or less equal measure'. De Barra, 'Chosen Causes', in Dibble and Horton, *British Musical Criticism*, 235.

⁵⁸ Gray appears to have misunderstand that Couperin's musical style reflected the technical capabilities of the harpsichord. Couperin used *agrémens* as a means of extending the melody, and as such these embellishments were an essential element of gesture and expression rather than merely 'ornamental'. On the use and understanding of ornaments in music see Gurminer Kaur Bhogal, *Details of Consequence: Ornament, Music, and Art in Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

also possibly reflects how music historiography within British institutions at this time acclaimed German models to the detriment of French repertoire.⁵⁹

Yet since the early 1900s, G. Jean-Aubry had been attempting to rectify the near absence of French music in Britain through the concert series, The Société des Concerts Français, organised by his sister Madeleine and her husband Tony Guéritte, held in London and several major cities, and through his editorship of *The Chesterian*.⁶⁰ In his preface, written in English and French, to Gabriel Grovlez, *Pièces de Clavessin de l'École Française* (Chester, 1918) Aubry made it clear to readers that an understanding of the music of *les clavecinistes* was crucial for the comprehension of contemporary French music:

Without an acquaintance with this assemblage of 'Clavecinists' [sic]...it is impossible to fathom certain essential properties in French music of today. The past becomes a thing singularly and inestimably valuable, when it helps us to explain the present. When it does not, it is a game fit for archæologists only, a vain pastime, unworthy of living minds.⁶¹

Despite such attempts, attitudes like Gray's prevailed. It was assumptions like Gray's and a limited knowledge of Couperin's repertoire that Dyer wanted to change.

2013). See also Llewellyn Negrin, 'Ornament and the Feminine', *Feminist Theory* 7, no. 1 (2006): 219-235. DOI.10.1177/1464700106064421. Negrin uses art to identify how ornament was defined during modernism, recognising its role as a carrier of meaning.

⁵⁹ Jeremy Dibble, 'Grove's Musial Dictionary: A National Document', in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945*, ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 43.

⁶⁰ For more information on this series see Paul Rodmell, *French Music in Britain 1830-1914* (London: Routledge, 2021), 174-8; and Anna Piatigorsky, 'The Campaign for French Music: The Société des Concerts Français and the Critical Reception of French Music in Britain 1907-1915' (MMus thesis, University of Melbourne, 2018), <http://hdl.handle.net/11343/214459>. For an understanding of the politics, see Barbara L. Kelly and Rebecca Thumpston, 'Maintaining the Entente Cordiale, Musicological Collaboration between the United Kingdom and France', *Revue de musicologie* 103, no. 2 (2017): 615-40.

⁶¹ G. Jean-Aubry, preface to *Les plus belles Pièces de Clavessin de l'École Française*, ed. and trans., Gabriel Grovlez (London: J. & W. Chester, 1918), v. I have used the English preface.

During a promotional trip to America in 1939, Dyer suggested that Gray's views were 'so incomplete as to be entirely false'. She claimed that harpsichordists had found in Couperin's pieces 'its grace, its charm and effortless elegance', which captured the 'very essence of that restricted but elaborate and fascinating artificiality of the early eighteenth century'.⁶² With these comments Dyer elevated the very qualities in Couperin's harpsichord music that Gray had considered unappealing. Her remarks suggest that she understood some of his music's restrictions were brought on by Couperin's contract with the court of Louis XIV, that it reflected the precious nature of the court's exacting behaviours and mannerisms which to a twentieth-century observer could appear 'captivating' and 'charming', but also possibly 'quaint'.

Though Couperin's formative years under the reign of Louis XIV loomed large he was also influenced by the music performed at other courts and salons, by the theatre and by his own observations of Parisian life. His observations were reflected not only in the titles of his works, but also in his musical style, something Dyer possibly learned from reading Couperin's own prefaces. For the musical works within Couperin's four books for harpsichord are in many cases studies of character, reflecting a social system where the 'study of people became both a necessity and an art', as Sara Gross Ceballos has deftly argued.⁶³

It would seem that Dyer was impressed at how Couperin found self-expression within such restrictions—both under the King's patronage and within the salon environment. Furthermore, though the qualities of grace, charm and elegance found

⁶² Dyer, Lecture, 1933, EOLA, Business and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 7. For more on Couperin's harpsichord works see David Fuller, 'Of Portraits, "Sapho" and Couperin: Titles and Characters in French Instrumental Music of the High Baroque', *Music & Letters* 78, no. 2 (1997): 149-174. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/737388>.

⁶³ Sara Gross Ceballos, "François Couperin, Moraliste?", *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11, no. 1 (2014): 80; DOI.10.1017/S1478570613000389. See also Jane Clark and Derek Connon, "'The Mirror of Human Life': Reflections on François Couperin's "Pièces de Clavecin"", rev. ed. (London: Keyword Press, 2011).

within Couperin's music were championed by many contemporary French composers (Ravel, Debussy, and the members of Les Six), for other musicians like Gray, his music remained in the realm of the superficial.⁶⁴ Dyer wanted to showcase the magnitude and range of Couperin's music.

When Dyer decided to publish her Couperin edition, then, she found a number of areas for improvement. As befits a performers' edition, Diémer's edition of Couperin's four harpsichord books included tempo, dynamic and stylistic markings not included in Couperin's original prints. Dyer considered his edition a poor imitation of Chrysander and Brahms's edition for Augener (1888).⁶⁵ Chrysander's edition was, of course, not French. Of Couperin's other works, his religious vocal music—the *Leçons de Ténèbres* for example—while published during his lifetime, had not been republished.⁶⁶ As Dyer later recalled, apart from his harpsichord works the bulk of his remaining output had 'lain unjustly neglected for two centuries without publication'.⁶⁷

Her publication then would include all of Couperin's harpsichord works and become the first modern printing of his sacred works, secular songs and chamber music, as well as of his treatises *L'Art de toucher le clavecin* (1716) and *Règles pour l'accompagnement* (1717). In so doing, it would bring Couperin's larger scale works, with their 'sincerity of feeling...the crystal-clear sense of form...the stronger colours and bolder effects', to the

⁶⁴ For how these contemporary French composers reframed the use of ornament in their music and a view on concept of the decorative in France during the *fin de siècle*, see Bhogul, *Details of Consequence*.

⁶⁵ Louise Dyer, Lecture, 1933, EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers, 2016.0035, Unit 7.

⁶⁶ Couperin's 'Elevations', and the 'Motet de Ste Suzanne', were found in the manuscript collection of Sebastian de Brossard and in a volume copied by François-André Danican Philidor. See Edward Corp, 'The Musical Manuscripts of "Copiste Z": David Nairne, François Couperin, and the Stuart Court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye', *Revue de musicologie* 84, no. 1(1998): 4. DOI.10.2307/947329.

⁶⁷ Dyer, Lecture, 1933, EOLA, 2016.0035, Unit 7.

attention of scholars and performers internationally.⁶⁸ As well as a demonstration of modern editorial scholarship and a valuable pedagogical resource, the sumptuous nature of her edition would be a celebration of Couperin's works and the era of their creation. The edition would be both beautiful and serious, critical and capable of being used for performance purposes.⁶⁹

Addressing the Naysayers

As an enterprising woman Dyer had developed a considerable range of management expertise which proved essential when she launched her publishing house, Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre. She had no family restrictions, she had access to considerable financial resources, and she had the support of her husband James, a retired, successful businessman. Yet women like Dyer, who aspired to lead businesses outside of the feminine sphere, were often considered transgressors, whose very presence threatened those anxious to preserve their power, as she was soon to discover.⁷⁰ From the moment Dyer shared her plans with others, particularly with men holding positions of authority within the realm of music and music publishing, her business acumen was contested, and her ambitions were viewed with scepticism. Dyer addressed these challenges with pragmatic determination which drew on her previous commercial publishing experiences as well as her status as a wealthy woman with established international connections.

⁶⁸ Dyer, Lecture, 1933. EOLA. 2016.0035, Unit 7.

⁶⁹ Monumental editions relied on subscribers to defray the costs of production. This led some publishers to skimp on the quality of materials used and production techniques employed. Publications were often delivered 'unbound', leaving subscribers to complete the task.

⁷⁰ For a summary of the challenges facing women within the realm of music in France during the interwar period see Laura Hamer, *Female Composers, Conductors. Performers: Musiciennes of Interwar France, 1919-1939* (London: Routledge, 2018). For a description of three female-led companies in North America that emerged in 1930s and the strategies they used to address any challenges, see Edith Sparks, *Boss Lady* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

In the first instance, her friend William Gillies Whittaker, then director of The Scottish National Academy of Music, was sharply critical of her Couperin project, and let her know of his concern in a detailed and patronising letter. Whittaker argued that her plans were ‘wasteful of money’ and ‘likely to fail’—due to her lack of knowledge and experience—and suggested that her ‘reputation’—as a patron—would be damaged.⁷¹ He recommended that she work through Oxford University Press (OUP), for which he was Education Music Editor from 1923 to 1944, as then he could act as her intermediary. In this way both parties ‘could refer ... matters to me...as they [OUP] would be more inclined to take my advice’.⁷² Whittaker’s strategy aimed to sow doubt in Dyer’s mind as to her capabilities and ambition: a commonplace form of manipulation used by those in positions of power at the time (see Introduction). Though his position with OUP was influential, from his letter he either completely ignored or he did not appreciate Dyer’s pre-existing publishing relationship with the firm (see Chapter 1). His letter conveys the gendered assumptions regarding corporate executive authority prevalent at the time—assumptions shared by many others, as Dyer soon discovered.

Without Dyer’s response, it seems reasonable to suppose she chose to placate Whittaker by publishing his edition of *Deux Sonates* by John Blow (1933).⁷³ It is also plausible that Dyer considered the promotion and publication of the Blow edition alongside that of Couperin as a way of supporting a wider interwar aim of cultural exchange between Britain and France: a form of musical *entente cordiale*.⁷⁴ Her solution

⁷¹ William Gillies Whittaker, Letter to Louise Dyer, n.d., EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Authors Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 8. Whittaker enjoyed the Dyers’ hospitality in Melbourne 1923, and they stayed with him in the UK in 1924. See Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 63-7, 145-47.

⁷² Whittaker, Letter to Louise Dyer, EOLA, 2016.0034, Unit 8.

⁷³ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 181.

⁷⁴ Whittaker was a corresponding member of the SFM and honoured by the French government. See Mary Christine Borthwick, ‘In the Swim: The Life and Musical Achievements of William Gillies Whittaker, 1876-1944’ (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2007). <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/2212/>. For his involvement in the organisation of The Société des Concerts Français concerts in Britain with the Guéritte’s and Jean-Aubry see Rodmell, *French*

would have struck a chord with Whittaker, a Francophile who had played a significant role in the promotion of contemporary French music in Britain—with the aid of the Guérites and Jean-Aubry—and was a keen self-promoter himself.

Though Whittaker criticised her plans, he made no comment on the composition of the editorial team. From her engagement with the Lully project, Dyer had discerned that her project's success relied on engagement with members of the SFM, the conduit for the circulation of music scholarship and debate in France. It is most likely that the members of the SFM knew of her association with, and her sudden departure from, Prunières's project. Therefore, Dyer's choice of general editor and the editorial team had to be carefully considered to ensure their overall support of her project, which would generate significant symbolic power to Dyer and her firm.

The appointment of André Tessier as general editor was a strategic as well as an obvious, practical choice: his appointment lent her first project significant symbolic and intellectual capital to her project. Dyer had become acquainted with Tessier through his involvement in the Lully project and he had seconded her nomination to the SFM in 1929 (see Chapter 1). Importantly, as secretary for the SFM, he now held an influential position. In addition, he held a detailed knowledge of Couperin's life and music, and he understood the challenges of editing early music having recently co-edited, with his former keyboard teacher Brunold, an edition of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières's harpsichord pieces.⁷⁵ Tessier recruited other influential scholars and early music

Music, 174-8; and Piatigorsky, 'The Campaign for French Music'. For more on musical *entente cordiale* between France and Britain see Kelly and Thumpston, 'Maintaining the Entente Cordiale'.

⁷⁵ Paul Brunold and André Tessier, eds, *Œuvres complètes de Chambonnières* (Paris: Éditions Senart, 1925). Chambonnières introduced Couperin's father and two uncles to the French court. In 1670 he published sixty of his harpsichord pieces in two volumes. The remainder of his compositions remained in manuscript form, which were discovered in the mid-late twentieth century, in the Bauyn manuscript at the BnF and another collection in London. See David Fuller, 'Sieur de Jacques Champion Chambonnières', *Grove Music Online*, DOI.10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05386.

devotees to the editorial team, including La Laurencie, the renowned educator and pianist Alfred Cortot, the musicologist Marc Pincherle and Brunold (Table 2.4). This editorial team would provide significant prestige and status (symbolic capital) to the edition and to Dyer's new publishing house.

Table 2.4: *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*, Editorial Team, 1931.

| Volume | Title | Editor |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| André Tessier (General Editor) | | |
| I | <i>L'Art de toucher le clavecin.</i> | Alfred Cortot |
| II to V | <i>Pièces de clavecin.</i> | Alfred Cortot |
| VI | <i>Pièces d'orgue.</i> | Paul Brunold |
| VII et VIII | <i>Concerts.</i> | Alfred Cortot |
| IX | <i>Sonates.</i> | Marc Pincherle |
| X | <i>Suites de musique de chambre.</i> | Lionel de La Laurencie |
| XI | <i>Pièces de violes.</i> | Marc Pincherle |
| XII | <i>Musique vocale.</i> | André Tessier |

At the end of June 1931, Cortot, citing a hectic work schedule, withdrew his services.⁷⁶ A further shock occurred five days later when Tessier died following a short illness. Recognising the impact of these losses on the project, Dyer appointed Maurice Cauchie to the role of general editor who retained the existing team. Cauchie's name was known to Dyer, as he had been listed as an editor on the initial prospectus for Prunières's Lully edition and was an active member of the administrative council of the SFM.⁷⁷ Prior to his appointment to her project he had edited the songs of Clément Janequin (Paris: Rouart, 1925-8) and had written more than fifty articles, including reviews of publications, for the SFM journal on the music of the French Baroque.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Alfred Cortot, Letter to Louise Dyer, 27 June 1931, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Authors, 2016.0034, Unit 1.

⁷⁷ In the first prospectus for the Lully edition Prunières listed La Laurencie, Tessier and Cauchie as participating editors along with Félix Raugel and Henry Expert. However, only Tessier and Raugel took part. See Chapter 1.

⁷⁸ Cauchie wrote his first article for the SFM Bulletin in 1920. Between 1927 and May 1932, he wrote nearly 100 items for the journal, the vast majority were reviews of new publications (music or monographs). See Cécile Davy-Rigaux, 'Musicologie et édition musicale', in *Revue de musicologie* 103, no. 2 (2017): 451-484.

Within four months of his appointment both La Laurencie and Pincherle had left the project, possibly due to other commitments, or Cauchie's appointment itself or, in the light of her own earlier withdrawal from the Lully project, scepticism as to whether Dyer's ambitions could be achieved. Nonetheless, their withdrawal from the project impacted significantly on earlier symbolic gains. Their vacated roles were subsequently filled by Amédée Gastoué, a medieval scholar, choral director and future president of the SFM between 1934 and 1937, plus André Schaeffner and Jean Gallon, respectively library assistant and professor of harmony at the Paris Conservatoire (Table 2.5). This new team could still provide Dyer with significant symbolic capital, as they were all actively engaged in France's music community. All members of this editorial team appear to have signed contracts assigning their copyright to Dyer's firm, this enabled her to issue inexpensive imprints at a later date.⁷⁹

Table 2.5: *Œuvres Complètes de François Couperin*, Editorial Team 1932.

| Volume | Title | Editor |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| General Editor, Maurice Cauchie. | | |
| I | <i>Œuvres didactiques.</i> | Maurice Cauchie |
| II-V | <i>Pièces de clavecin.</i> | Maurice Cauchie |
| VI | <i>Pièces d'orgue.</i> | Paul Brunold |
| VII-X | <i>Musique de chambre.</i> | Amédée Gaustoué and André Schaeffner |
| XI-XII | <i>Musique vocale.</i> | Paul Brunold and André Tessier |
| Figured Bass Realisation, Jean Gallon. | | |

Dyer was not familiar with some of the elements of the publishing process but expressed a willingness to learn which drove her to constantly seek advice from others, not least from her friend Rose Adler. Yet, when errors were found in the French

⁷⁹ Financial records do not exist but copies contracts (which give rights to Mme Dyer and her firm) and letters of payment reveal that Schaeffner received FF 3.000 plus expenses for his work on the Couperin (see Louise Dyer, Letter to André Schaeffner, 4 April 1933, EOLA Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 2), and Cauchie received at least FF 2.500 per volume, plus expenses (see Secretary, Letter to Maurice Cauchie, 15 May 1933, EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 2), plus FF 4.700 for his editorial work (see Secretary, Letter to Maurice Cauchie, 21 June 1933, EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 2).

translation of the Blow edition, causing friction between Dyer, the engraver and the printer, Adler wondered why Dyer had not simply remained a patron-organiser, instead of lowering herself to the position of ‘patron-publisher’ and putting herself in competition with experienced business people.⁸⁰ These musings suggest that even Adler held particular views on the role a woman of financial means, like Dyer, should play within society, and that Adler was keen to preserve her own position of authority. By December 1932, Adler’s worries had dissipated, for they both expressed delight with the bindings of the Couperin editions.⁸¹

The changes within the editorial team compelled Dyer to buttress her project by other means. She needed someone with the appropriate political and social capital to endorse her endeavour, whose name would attract others, and secure the cachet she desired for the celebratory launch of the publication. With these considerations in mind, Dyer adroitly used her status to side-step any musicological power games. In November 1932, she boldly wrote to the President of France, Albert Lebrun, seeking his imprimatur, as a sign of the project’s value and importance to the nation.⁸²

Her rhetoric, verging at times on hyperbole, presented her longstanding interest in and her enthusiastic support for France and French culture: claims supported by details of the tercentenary celebrations for Molière (1922) and Lully (1932) that she had

⁸⁰ Rose Adler, *Journal 1927-1959*, ed. Hélène Leroy, pref. François Chapon (Paris: Éditions des Cendres, 2014), 142: ‘La pauvre femme a décidément assumé une tâche qu’elle aura du mal à mener à but. Son édition de John Blow est pleine de fautes ridicules de français. Grandjean paraît conciliant... Elle a épuisé la patience de toute le monde... être une mécène-commerçant’.

⁸¹ Adler, *Journal*, 97: ‘On s’extasie devant la reliure de *Couperin*’. Adler and Dyer worked and travelled together extensively throughout the 1930s.

⁸² Louise Dyer, Letter to President, Albert Lebrun, 23 November 1932, EOLA, Secretarial Files 2016.0048, Unit 2. Women often wrote appeals to leaders for support of their projects, for instance Jane Franklin, wrote to the leaders of several foreign nations for financial and other assistance in finding, and saving, her husband’s life. Penny Russell, ‘“Citizens of the World?”: Jane Franklin’s Transnational Fantasies’, in *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700-Present*, ed. Delsey Deacon, Penny Russell and Angela Woollacott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 200.

produced for the Alliance Française in Melbourne.⁸³ She evoked a project of national interest by positioning the Couperin edition as a continuation of the tradition of French *fin-de-siècle* monumental music publications. She underscored the project's French character by noting that she had 'insisted that everything be done for the reputation of France by French people; that is to say, musicologists, the designer, the paper, the printing, the engraving and binding, everything is French'.⁸⁴ Furthermore, she highlighted the financial independence of the project: it was not a plea for funds. She then appears to have drawn on her political connections within the British Embassy in Paris to secure a personal meeting with Lebrun to gain his support.⁸⁵ These were politically fraught months, but his endorsement was eventually obtained when they met in April 1933.

One week later Dyer wrote letters to the composers and critics Florent Schmitt and Guy de Portalès.⁸⁶ These letters are almost identical. Furthermore, some sentences have clearly been taken from her communication with Lebrun—for instance, her description of her long-standing admiration of French music and culture and her ambitions for her press. Her aim was to assure Schmitt and de Pourtalès that her intent was serious, defending herself against those who 'describe someone like me who establishes a press, and is doing it *in passing*. This is not my intention!'.⁸⁷ This seems to imply that Dyer was aware that though women who supported the world of music in

⁸³ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 78, 212-213.

⁸⁴ Dyer, Letter to President, 23 November 1932.

⁸⁵ British Embassy (Christopher Steal), Letter to Louise Dyer, 13 April 1933. EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 3. This letter confirms the date of Dyer's meeting with Lebrun.

⁸⁶ Louise Dyer, Letter to Florent Schmitt [sic], 13 February 1933, EOLA, Secretarial Files 2016.0048, Unit 2; and Louise Dyer, Letter to Guy de Pourtalès, 14 February 1933, EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 2.

⁸⁷ Both letters include: '...souvent on dit d'une personne qui comme moi s'occupe d'éditions qu'elle fait cela "*en passant*". Ce n'est pas le cas pour moi'. See Dyer, Letter to Florent Schmitt, 13 February 1933; and Dyer, Letter to Guy de Pourtalès, 14 February 1933.

France were often praised for their accomplishments, their activities were frequently diminished by association with the salon, the traditional space led by women.⁸⁸

Emboldened by Lebrun's support, Dyer worked swiftly to secure the foundation of her project by inviting influential people to join the Comité d'Honneur and the Comité de Patronage. In this way Dyer was building her network (human capital) and prestige for her project. Membership for both committees was drawn from a broad cross-section of the political and cultural élite, several of whom were already close friends of Dyer, particularly those on the Comité de Patronage. Maurice Ravel was the first musician approached by Dyer—she admired his *Tombeau de Couperin*, especially the 'Forlane'—to be a guest of honour at a celebration she was planning to hold, and though it is unclear if he accepted, his name appears as a member of the Comité de Patronage.⁸⁹ Until a week prior to the celebration, she continued to invite recognised leaders of the musical establishment to join this group, confirming publicly their views on Couperin's musical eminence and their support of Dyer [Table 2.6].⁹⁰ The director of the Paris Opéra, Jacques Rouché, and the music critics Emile Vuillermoz, Henri Bidou and André Duboscq, and Dyer's legal advisor and friend François Hepp (secretary of the Société des Auteurs Compositeurs et Éditeurs de Musique) also lent their support, as did Robert Brussel, director of the Association Française d'Action Artistique, the

⁸⁸ Émile Vuillermoz, for example, characterised Princesse de Polignac's patronage as 'pursuing an unusual hobby', see 'La Musique: Commémoration', *Excelsior*, 23 April, 1933), Fonds Vuillermoz, Médiathèque Musicale Mahler, as cited in Louis K. Epstein, 'Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918-1939 (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2013), 44. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/toward-theory-patronage-funding-music-composition/docview/1417072609/se-2?accountid=11862>.

⁸⁹ Louise Dyer, Letter to Maurice Ravel, 11 May 1933, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0048, Unit 6.

⁹⁰ Copies of letters inviting these individuals and some of their responses can be found in Dyer's archive, see EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 2. Invitations letters were sent to Hepp, Riviere, Roger-Ducasse, Honegger, Robert Brussel, Bidou on 11 April 1933. Ibert responded on 12 April 1933, see EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0034, Unit 4. Note, the large number of organists suggest that Dyer was keen to encourage the further study and performance of these works.

government organisation responsible for international cultural development and exchange—a firm sign of the international significance of the project (Table 2.6).⁹¹

Table 2.6: Members of the Comité d'Honneur and the Comité de Patronage.

For the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*. (Program, 29 May 1933, EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 4).

| Comité d'Honneur | Comité de Patronage |
|---|--|
| Albert Lebrun, President of the Republic | Comtesse Stanislas de Castellane, wife of Senator Stanislas de Castellane, a republican liberal |
| A. de Monzie, National Minister of Education | Nadia Boulanger |
| The Right Honourable Lord Tyrrel of Avon, British Ambassador to France | Mme. Jacques les Bas |
| Ferdinand Pila, Foreign Minister, Director of SOFA | Robert Brussel, Directeur de l'Association Française d'Action Artistique (AFAA), later the Institut Français |
| Raymond Patenôtre, Under Secretary of State, Finance | Joseph Bonnet, composer, organist living in USA |
| Le Général Gouraud, Honorary President of the Friends of St. Gervais | Henri Bidou, author & critic |
| Charles M. Widor, Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Beaux-Arts | Gabriel Boissy, editor <i>Comœdia</i> , Louis XIV specialist |
| Adolphe Boschot, Member of the Institute of the Academy of Beaux-Arts | Jean Chantavoine, General Secretary of the Paris Conservatoire |
| Henri Rabaud, Member of the Institute of the Academy of Fine Arts, Director Paris Conservatoire | André Dubosq, journalist |
| P. Darrus, Director of Beaux-Arts, Paris | Maurice Emmanuel |
| Louis B.M. Dyer | Henry Expert |
| | François Hepp, Secretary of Society of Authors composers and editors of music (SACEM) |
| | Arthur Honegger |
| | Jacques Ibert |
| | Albert Malle, bibliophile, contact of Rose Adler |
| | Maurice Ravel |
| | Félix Raugel |
| | Albert Roussel |
| | Jean Roger-Ducasse |
| | Florent Schmitt |
| | Charles Tournemire |
| | Louis Vierne |
| | Émile Vuillermoz |

The edition was launched in May 1933. Six months later, *Le Temps*, a politically moderate Parisian daily, ran a series of four articles about Couperin and his bicentenary. These articles suggest an attempt to distance Dyer's edition from the broader revival of Couperin on the part of the French intelligentsia. The first of these articles was by

⁹¹ Maurice Emmanuel authored the biographic note for Couperin for the event's programme.

Tiersot.⁹² He argued that while the French commemorated their visual heritage from the *ancien régime*, they did not do the same for their composers such as François Couperin. He claimed that the German-speaking states had been more proactive in recognising and valuing their musical inheritance through publication. He connected Couperin's music from the golden age of Louis XIV to the modern era, echoing sentiments made by Landormy some twenty years earlier.⁹³ Yet, as I have previously observed, Tiersot made no mention of either the new edition of Couperin's complete works or of his own edition of *Les Nations* (Durand, 1933).⁹⁴ The next three articles were by Henry Malherbe, the renowned music critic of *Le Temps*, the last of which queried several of Dyer's decisions.⁹⁵ In one article, Malherbe suggested that her project had been propped up by too many committees with spurious roles, that the SFM had not associated themselves with her project, that not involving Wanda Landowska was a 'defection majeure', and that the limited number of copies proposed would do nothing to widen access.⁹⁶

The French musicologist Thierry Favier suggests Malherbe's comments about the number of committees could be considered ironic.⁹⁷ For Dyer, committees were a necessary means of addressing concerns expressed about some over her choices, of acknowledging the involvement and support of others in her project, and of

⁹² Julien Tiersot, 'Couperin Le Grand', *Le Temps*, 10 September 1933, 3. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2493315/f3.item>.

⁹³ See Landormy, 'Un centenaire oublié'.

⁹⁴ Daniels, 'Louise Dyer's Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre', 7.

⁹⁵ Henry Malherbe, 'Le deuxième centenaire de la mort de François Couperin le Grand', *Le Temps*, 20 September, 1933, 3. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2493438/f3.item>. And also Henry Malherbe, 'La deuxième centenaire de la mort de François Couperin le Grand, Part II', *Le Temps*, 27 September, 1933, 3. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k249351v/f3.item>.

⁹⁶ Henry Malherbe, 'A propos du bicentenaire de la mort de François Couperin', *Le Temps*, 4 October 1933, 3: 'La Société française de musicologie (elle est vraiment qualifiée, celle-là) refus de s'associer à la réjouissance'. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k249359w/f3.item>.

⁹⁷ Thierry Favier, 'Une guerre sans batailles. Le champ de la musique dite "Baroque" dans la *Revue de musicologie* 104, nos.1-2 (2018): 379; 'Henry Malherbe...ironise sur le nombre de comités organisateurs requis'.

accumulating social capital and prestige for her project. Malherbe's assumption that the project lacked support from the SFM was only partially correct. As shown above, the SFM's Board determined not to commemorate Couperin's death with specific activities for reasons known only to themselves. Dyer, rather than seeking any formal endorsement from the organisation, involved members of the SFM directly as editorial experts and/or advocates. In questioning Landowska's lack of involvement in the project, Malherbe underestimated Dyer's goals and how Landowska's celebrity status might have overshadowed them. Landowska's forthcoming Couperin Society recordings had been widely promoted, and it is quite possible that Dyer wished to avoid causing any confusion amongst potential subscribers to each of the projects, even though these recordings would fail to alter the perception that Couperin composed little more than charming miniatures as only one complete *ordre* was included.⁹⁸ Malherbe's point concerning the limited number of copies, however, was true: Dyer resolved this matter by issuing some works as offprints, possibly in acknowledgement of his comment, but also to increase circulation of his music. Despite his criticisms, Malherbe clearly recognised the value of the publication for France and to French music and fulsomely praised Dyer in his third article for 'presenting France with a magnificent and complete edition of Couperin's known works'.⁹⁹ Dyer never responded directly to Malherbe.

For Dyer, her Couperin edition would be a celebration of French artistic achievement from the golden era. Even though some of his music embodied the mannerisms inherited from the reign of Louis XIV, Dyer used her edition to bring to the fore the depth and breadth of his talents. The fundamental qualities of Couperin's music that Gray had gendered feminine—ornamental, artificial, and quaint—would be

⁹⁸ Wanda Landowska, *François Couperin, Music for Harpsichord*, HMV DB 4941-4946, 1934. The complete *ordre* was 'Les Folies Françaises ou Les Dominos', *Pièces pour clavecin* (1722), Bk 3.

⁹⁹ Malherbe, 'A propos', 3: 'une magnifique édition complète de œuvres, jusqu'à présent connues, de François Couperin'.

repositioned as serious through the publication itself. Dyer's publication would challenge people like Gray's perception of Couperin's music by highlighting his music's elegance, its functionality, its authenticity and its relevance to contemporary French composition.

A Tribute to François Couperin

Despite the disruptions caused by changes in the editorial team, the project was completed within eighteen months, a remarkable achievement for Dyer's emerging press. It should also be acknowledged that unlike either Rameau or Lully, Couperin composed no operas which would have presented a more complex editorial challenge. The twelve-volume *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin* was a distinctive commemoration of his music, of French craftsmanship and of the cultural heritage of France. A total of 385 copies of each volume were printed, comprising five *de luxe*, 325 numbered and fifty-five *hors de commerce* (review copies). In addition to relying on a French editorial team, Dyer involved a small group of French artisans including Rose Adler, one of France's leading bookbinders, the engraver Léon Grandjean, the printer M. Mounot and the binder, M. Dreyfus. Her choices were inspired by a limited-edition score for *Amphion*, a melodrama based on text by Paul Valéry with music by Arthur Honegger, which she had recently seen.¹⁰⁰ The only element undertaken outside of France was the typography of the prefaces, which was provided by Nonesuch Press, London.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Mrs James Dyer, 'Beauty of an Idea in *Amphion*, Brilliant Music; First Performance in Paris Opera House', *The Herald* (Vic.), 15 August 1931. Dyer described Paul Valéry's publication produced by Rouart Lerolle and Co. as 'splendid' noting that the *de luxe* edition was limited to twenty copies, and was printed on Japanese paper, that it was 'in excellent taste and perfectly printed': naming the engraver Grandjean and the printer Mounot. There were in fact fifty limited-edition copies, ten *de luxe* marked A-J and forty numbered copies.

¹⁰¹ Davidson describes the production of the Couperin edition in some detail as it was an important part of Dyer's new life. Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 192-201.

The edition's attention to design and the production of *de luxe* editions might be seen as an additional nod to France's heritage. Couperin composed in an era in which France became a world leader in taste and technology and an exporter of luxury wares, and where Versailles, and later Paris, was the showplace of the best of French culture.¹⁰² High-quality printing, long associated with the court of Versailles, had gained fresh significance in England in the late 1800s, when, through the efforts of William Morris, the art of making sumptuous books for edification was renewed. As a young adult Dyer had read avidly the works of William Morris on craft and design absorbing his views.¹⁰³ Like Morris, Dyer believed that the decorative was not meaningless or trivial, an adjunct accessory, but that used appropriately it could be both beautiful and useful. Her approach caused some consternation, as her correspondence with Ezra Pound shows:

Everyone hurls things at my head for printing 'Editions de-luxe'... it's a mighty struggle... there are plenty of people working for the masses. Anyway, the cheap edition has had its swing.¹⁰⁴

While she appears to be referring to her limited editions more broadly, knowing that some people considered them an unnecessary extravagance did not bother her.

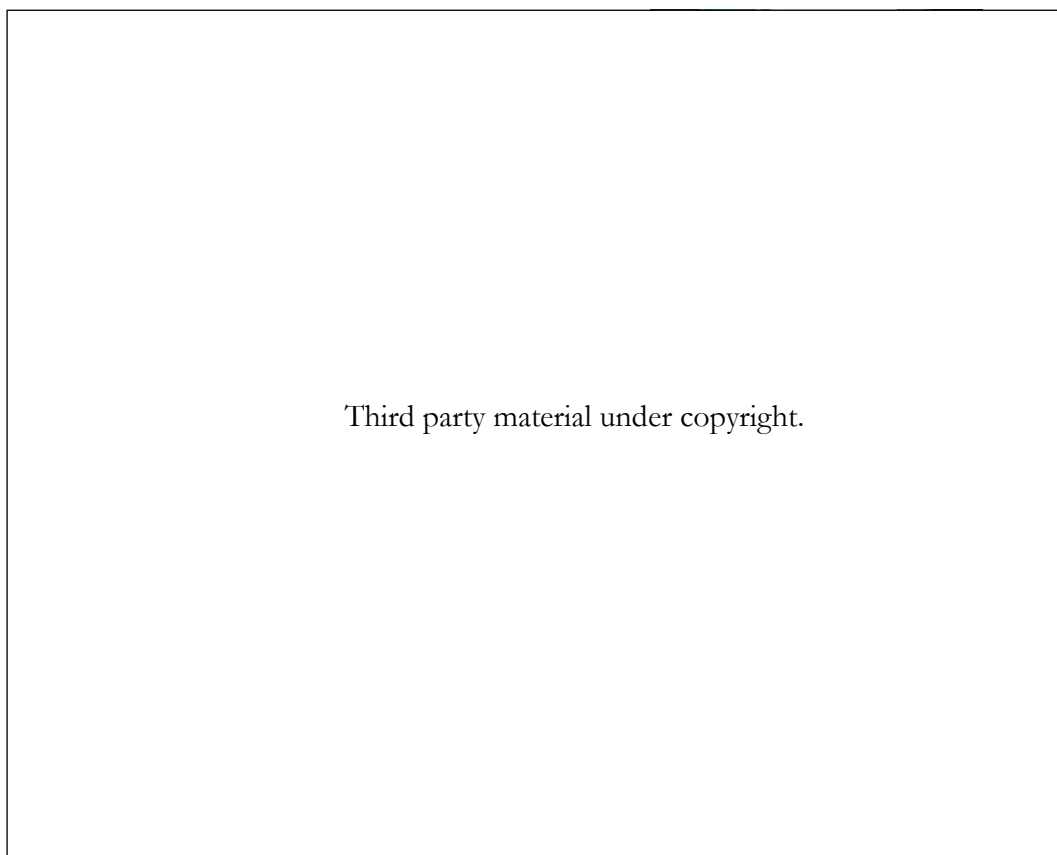
Dyer passionately believed that music books could be beautiful objects as well as utilitarian: the external presentation and the materials employed were as important as the scholarly and musical content, and the publication had to be robust enough for frequent handling. Adler created simple but elegant modern covers and endpaper designs which

¹⁰² See Jean Castarède, *Histoire du Luxe en France: des origines à nos jours*, pref. Olivier Mellerio and afterward Alain Dominique Perrin (Paris: Eyrolles, 2007), and Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 66-67, 324-326, 456-457.

¹⁰³ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 38 and 279. For a summary of Morris's views see Diane Waggoner, ed. *'The Beauty of Life': William Morris and the Art of Design* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003).

¹⁰⁴ Louise Dyer, Letter to Ezra Pound, 18 March [1934], Ezra Pound Papers, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ezra Pound Papers, General Correspondence, YCAL MSS 44, BOX 14, Folder 643.

employed clean lines and a limited colour palette.¹⁰⁵ The materials were chosen for their durability: for the *de luxe* copies red leather with unpretentious gold embossed type (Figure 2.2). The numbered editions were bound with a new synthetic cloth—a forerunner of Gore Tex made by the French company Lorillex & Cie—in green and cream set off by silver and gold-stamped text. The end papers of both editions presented a striking representation of an expanded detail of a lyrebird’s tail feathers, which would go on to be the principal branding of the Press.



**Figure 2.2: *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin* (1932-1933) Covers.
Front covers and end papers.**

For both editions, the interior paper stock was thick, luxurious to touch and cream in colour, accentuating the printed text on the page. The music pages were

¹⁰⁵ For more on Adler’s style see Yves Peyré and H. George Fletcher, *Art Deco Bookbindings: the Work of Pierre Legrain and Rose Adler* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004).

engraved using replicas of eighteenth-century engraving tools, made by Grandjean, to reproduce Couperin's markings as precisely as possible. The end result was that Dyer and her team had created a unique edition which aimed to entice readers to luxuriate in the look and feel of the books as much as appreciating the music found within.

The editorial philosophy was simultaneously scholarly and performance-orientated, for Cauchie and Dyer alike believed a principal aim of musicology was to create interest in historical works with a view to modern practice and performance.¹⁰⁶ The editors achieved this by respecting Couperin's original publications, particularly his performance and ornament markings, but in a way that would be consistent with an edition using modern musical notation. For example, in the *avertissement* to Volume II (the harpsichord works), Cauchie stated that they employed the modern repeat sign instead of those used by Couperin in his *rondeaux*. In addition, pages were not loaded with footnotes: this is significant for performers as the musical text takes precedence.

As one would expect from a scholarly edition, the prefaces provided readers with detailed descriptions of the source materials and editorial choices made, in contrast with the cavalier approach taken by Prunières (see Chapter 1). Dyer's editors corrected assumptions presented in previous publications. In his preface to Volume VI, organ music, Brunold described how manuscript copies of Couperin's two organ masses had been discovered by François-Joseph Fétis and Félix Danjou in the Bibliothèque Royale which they had wrongly attributed to Couperin's uncle. The diligent research of Tessier and Brunold identified that Couperin had composed them in 1690. Much later, Philip Brett insisted that it does not matter how beautiful or thoughtful an edition is, it is 'seriously flawed if the relationship of the sources has been misinterpreted, or if poor

¹⁰⁶ Lacombe, 'Un nouveau mot': 47: 'Cauchie ne conçoit pas un savoir musical comme fine en soi et comme élément nouveau d'une culture, mais subordonne la musicologie à la pratique dont elle doit être l'auxiliaire'.

decisions have been made about the evidence they present'.¹⁰⁷ For this edition, the editors worked from the known sources available at the time—a combination of original and copied manuscripts, Couperin's own editions, and those published after his death (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7: Sources Consulted for *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin* (1932-1933).

| Piece | Manuscript Location | 1932-33 <i>Œuvres complètes</i> vol. no. |
|---|---|---|
| <i>Regle pour l'accompagnement.</i> | Paris, BnF two MS | 1 |
| <i>La Superbe</i> | Lyon Bibliothèque municipale (score) | X |
| <i>La Steinquerque</i> | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (BnF) Lyon Bibliothèque municipale (parts) | X |
| <i>La Sultane</i> | Lyon Bibliothèque municipale (parts) | X |
| Couperin Motets | Paris, BnF (five-part books and score) | XII |
| A collection copied by Sebastiaen de Brossard (1655-1730) | Paris, BnF | XI |
| <i>Motets de Messieurs Lalande, Couperin etc. 1697</i> | Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale | XI |
| <i>A moy. Tout est perdu</i> | Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire national de musique. MS in 1 ^{er} recueil d'airs à boire en duô et triô | XI |
| <i>La femme entre deux draps</i> | Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire national de musique. MS in I ^{er} recueil d'airs à boire en duô et triô | XI |
| <i>Trois vestales champêtres et trois Polissons</i> | Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire national de musique. MS Recueil de trois différents auteurs | XI |
| <i>Recueil d'élévations</i> | Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale | XII |
| <i>Recueil de motets de différents auteurs.</i> | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale | XII |

In the introduction to Volume II, Cauchie described how the editors had modernised Couperin's clefs and corrected those features that earlier editors had misunderstood, as well as amending other notational errors identified by Dyer and her team (referring specifically to the Brahms-Chrysander editions). For the harpsichord volumes Couperin's original prefaces were included, and the didactic works include facsimiles, providing readers with Couperin's own thoughts on particular musical aspects. They preserved Couperin's ornaments, using the same symbols as he did, and

¹⁰⁷ Philip Brett, 'Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor', in *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 99.

presented his idiosyncratic groupings of quavers and semi-quavers in such a way as to be intelligible for the contemporary user. The only performance indications were those in Couperin's original scores. Thus, the edition gave scholars and performers the opportunity to draw their own conclusions about how the works should be performed (Figure 2.3).

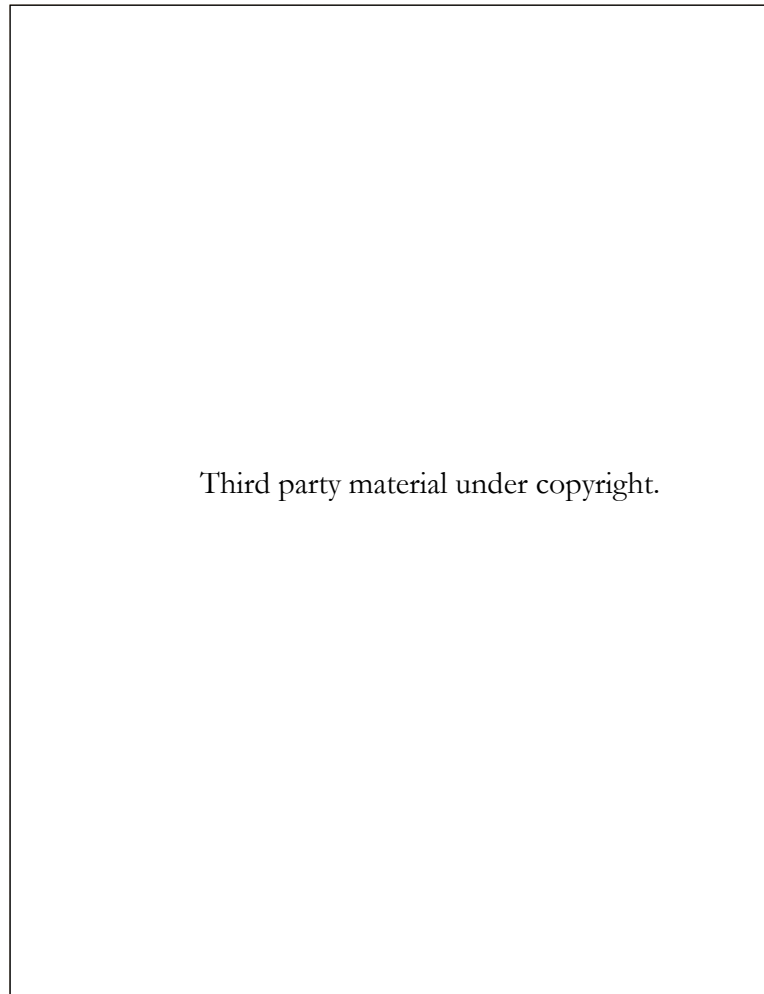


Figure 2.3: François Couperin, 'L'Auguste', *Pièces pour clavecin*. Bk 1, ed. Maurice Cauchie Vol. II (Paris, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre 1933).

The edition was not perfect. Users encountered two frustrations: the stiffness of the bindings made the harpsichord volumes difficult to use, and the lack of separate parts for the *concerts* (chamber music) did not help the dissemination of Couperin's

music as much as it might have done.¹⁰⁸ This was problematic for Dyer, as one of the main aspects of monumental commemoration projects was the notion of revival with an emphasis on giving life to the music through live performances of the works.

Overall, critics considered the publication elegant and functional, and the editorial scholarship exemplary.¹⁰⁹ One critic posited that some would assume the edition ‘belonged more to the drawing-room than to the study’ but that anyone suggesting ‘feminine fancifulness’ or seeking flaws would find it difficult.¹¹⁰ Dyer’s edition invites such discussion for she recognised the cultural values embedded in Couperin’s music and in presenting his works in this way she drew attention to these values, and to his entire *œuvre*. For the cosseted world that enveloped and upheld Couperin was that of a tiny court elite, where passionate feeling and personal self-control, with its attendant social implications, existed in tension. As Mellers eloquently observed, the environment in which Couperin had worked was ‘both real and ideal at the same time’ and Couperin’s music ‘shows that urbanity, wit and courtly grace may exist together with a deeply serious, even religious, attitude to life’.¹¹¹ It was the era in which France became a world leader in taste, turning itself from an importer of luxury wares into an exporter of them, and where Versailles was the showplace of the best of French culture. Dyer’s Couperin edition exemplified the aesthetic of good taste, through fine craftsmanship and high production values in every aspect.

¹⁰⁸ Mellers, *François Couperin*, 502.

¹⁰⁹ Ernest Newman, review of ‘French Organ Music: François Couperin’, *The Times*, 3 September 1932, 8. *The Times Digital Archive*, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS135079715/TTDA?u=kings&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=bb7e3251>. See also EOLA, Press Clippings, 2016.0017, Unit 1.

¹¹⁰ ‘The Works of Couperin: Progress of Complete Edition’, *The Times*, London, 18 March 1933, 10. *The Times Digital Archive*, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS168503410/TTDA?u=kings&sid=bookmark-TTDA&xid=dad71f81>. This was most likely authored by Henry C. Colles, who usually wrote anonymously and was chief music critic until 1943. See also EOLA, Press Clippings, 2016.0017, Unit 1.

¹¹¹ Mellers, *François Couperin*, 266.

Dyer understood her Couperin project in terms of mutual benefit for her adopted nation and for herself. Her publication appeared at a point when there was a renewed interest in cultural patrimony, as part of a response to the nationalist agendas and social movements emerging in Europe, and the concern, shared by many intellectuals across the political spectrum, that civilisation was in crisis. Dyer's homage to Couperin was a stylishly modern, luxurious publication reflecting Couperin's era. Across every paratextual element of the publication Dyer was making a statement: that which is considered decorative is not fussy, artificial or useless, instead, it is serious, sophisticated, and beautiful elements which are reflected in Couperin's musical works themselves. For Dyer herself, it was through this publication that she fulfilled the noble act of service to her adopted country which she had promised in her correspondence with Lebrun; that she became an active participant in the ongoing construction of French music-historical consciousness; and that she created her own distinctive style, setting herself and her publications apart from other publishers and from other monumental editions.

Yet despite these mutual benefits, both the publication and she herself became enmeshed in a set of contradictions concerning the role a woman of wealth should play in society and in music, and in political machinations within the Parisian musical scene that she was so keen to be a part of and was determined to support. In her desire to move forward from the role of patron-organiser, Dyer unwittingly challenged established authorities within their domains of music publishing and craft who were anxious to preserve their own standing as *élite* arbiters. She chose instead to use her status as a means of counteracting such resistance, by garnering support for her endeavour from leaders and influencers within the social, political and musical communities. Subsequent to the publication, the author and music critic Guy de

Portalès pointedly praised Dyer for ‘braving the scepticism of some and the indifference of others’.¹¹²

That Dyer referred to this period simply as having been ‘a busy eighteen months’, suggests she possessed not only a high level of resilience, but also a strong determination to succeed. Her unique combination of qualities—persistence, organisational skills, the ability to recognise publication gaps and identify scholars capable of undertaking tasks—combined with her financial independence, were crucial to the successful delivery of her first project. She considered this edition as her own monument—a legacy for scholars, musicians and music lovers alike—to a musician whose musical output was an essential part of France’s musical heritage. Her publication further cemented Couperin’s place within this heritage, supporting his continued renaissance and her role in it. In so doing, Dyer became a key player in the revival of early music.

¹¹² Guy de Pourtalès, ‘Couperin et l’Oiseau-Lyre’, *Marianne*, 31 May 1933, 15: ‘Bravant le scepticisme des uns et l’indifférence des autres’.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k7644919d/f15.item>.

3. *Pipeaux Mélodies* (1934) and the Audience of the Future

We must play the music of modern composers, because, unless we do so we cannot see what development there will be of these ideas in the future.

Louise Dyer (1932)¹

But isn't there an even vaster public [un plus grand public] who also have the right to share in the exultant joys [of our concerts]—and are we certain that everything is being done to allow them to do so?

Georges Auric (1937)²

When Dyer returned to Melbourne in January 1932 to perform the role of Lady Mayoress for her bachelor brother, The Lord Mayor Cr. Harold Gengoult Smith, she seized the opportunity to promote her views on the importance of music, and musical education, in the cultural development of Australian citizens.³ At the midpoint of her visit, she observed, ‘we not only live in an economic crisis: we live in an artistic crisis, and a crisis of culture!’⁴ This sense of cultural crisis was based on her observations of a decline in concert attendance, the increased accessibility of broadcasts and recordings, and the subsequent decline in music making within the home.⁵ She maintained that

¹ Louise M Dyer, ‘Bringing Music to a Million Homes’, *The Herald* (Vic.), 26 March 1932, 12. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242816726>.

² Georges Auric, ‘La Musique pour le plus grand public’, *La Page musicale*, 5 November 1937, reproduced in Carl B. Schmidt, ed., *Écrits sur la musique de Georges Auric/Writings on Music by Georges Auric*, Vol. 4 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009), 1242, as cited in Colin Roust, ‘Reaching a “Plus Grand Public”: Georges Auric as Populist’, *The Musical Quarterly* 95, No.2/3 (2012): 343: ‘Mais n’y-a-t-il pas un public encore plus vaste qui, lui aussi, a le droit de partager d’aussi exaltantes joies—et sommes-nous certains que tout est fait pour le lui permettre?’.

³ Dyer was in Melbourne between January and May 1932, see ‘Lady Mayoress for Three Months’, *The Herald* (Vic.), 11 January 1932, 1. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242892612>.

⁴ Dyer, ‘Bringing Music’. The use of the word ‘crisis’ might seem alarmist, yet during the interwar years the sense that European civilisation was in crisis was a concern shared by many intellectuals across the political spectrum.

⁵ In the first three decades of the twentieth century in Australia, most music-making activities occurred in the home or in local communities where choirs and brass bands were popular, and the performances were usually given by amateurs or semi-professional musicians. See Monique Geitenbeck, ‘“Spread this Notion of the Music Club”: Dynamics of Class and Patronage in Melbourne 1900-1940’, *Context, Journal of Music Research* 8 (1994/1995) 46-48. <https://contextjournal.music.unimelb.edu.au/no-8/>. Also see Stella Nemet, *History of The Musical Society of Victoria 1861-1981: One Hundred and Twenty Years of Service to Music* (Melbourne: The Musical Society of Victoria, 1981), 9-30.

though the new technologies were ideal for the wider dissemination of music and suitable for educational purposes, her concern was that passive listening induced ‘a tendency to musical laziness’.⁶ Moreover, she believed that the cultural malaise she was witnessing was driven more broadly by a lack of musical understanding—of modern music (contemporary art music) in particular—caused by an absence of the performance of music by distinguished composers within schools:

Certainly, the modern music we hear may be too highbrow to digest. It is undoubtedly difficult for people who will listen to this modern music at concerts, but nevertheless, we must learn to listen to it; we must play the music of modern composers, because, unless we do so we cannot see what development there will be of these ideas in the future.⁷

The highbrow ‘modern music’ she refers to is perhaps the sort of music she heard at the Frankfurt ISCM in 1927. In a review of the festival for the Australian press, she had written similarly of the difficulty of ‘modern music’, mentioning Ferruccio Busoni’s *Doktor Faust* as well as music by Alban Berg, Aaron Copland, Béla Bartok and Alexander Mosolov:

Dare one try to express an opinion on the modern music at this Festival? There is so much that is conflicting in this Concourse of Discourse! Isn’t it all an adventure alike for the musician and the layman? Music is the expression of human emotions. ...Does this music succeed in transmitting feeling, or does it only lead us through a mere labyrinth of sound? One thing is certain: it is a definite movement toward an ultimate goal. It is an

⁶ Dyer pre-empted much of this article in ‘Music in the School’, her inaugural speech as President of the Old Collegians Association, Presbyterian Ladies College, Melbourne given in 1925. See Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 103-4.

⁷ Dyer, ‘Bringing Music’.

expression of our own times, the modern life of today. Who can say
whither it is leading us?⁸

Dyer understood that increasingly difficult art music, sometimes representing complex concepts, had the potential to push audiences away from developing an intimate relationship with it.⁹ She was not alone in expressing concern over a growing gap between the musical tastes of the elite and those of mass audiences, but she believed that such gaps could be ameliorated through education.

For Dyer, the solution to the cultural crisis she had identified involved ‘the proper training of the amateur, who, after all, is the concertgoer of the future’, and such training, she added, ‘must begin in the school’.¹⁰ She believed the gaps in musical knowledge and experience could be enriched through educational activities involving active listening as well as the performance of instrumental compositions specifically created for young people by distinguished modern composers. Letters addressed to the editor of *The Herald* suggest that her opinions stimulated debate about the role and practice of music education within schools.¹¹ Her views signal an interest in the democratisation of music and in encouraging ensemble performances of new music.¹²

⁸ Louise Dyer, ‘Frankfurt Festival of Music’, *The Herald* (Vic.), 27 August 1927, 27. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/244192481>. Alban Berg’s *Kammerkonzert* (1925) for piano and violin, with 13 wind instruments, and *Wozzeck*, were performed at the fifth and the eighth ISCM Congress and Festivals in Frankfurt (1927) and Liège (1930) respectively. Both events Dyer attended.

⁹ For a recent discussion on this, Christopher Chowrimootoo, ‘Reviving the Middlebrow or: Deconstructing Modernism from the Inside’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 139, no. 1 (2014):188. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43303364>.

¹⁰ Dyer, ‘Bringing Music’.

¹¹ Several ‘Letters to the Editor’ demonstrate support for her point of view. For example, see Gladys MacDowell, ‘People Say: Music in the Schools’, *The Herald* (Vic.), 31 March 1932, 8. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242818597>. See also E.M. Macleod, ‘Music in the Homes’, *The Herald* (Vic.), 30 March 1932, 8. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242818043>.

¹² For an analysis of those involved in developing such an approach in Britain see Kate Guthrie, ‘Democratizing Art: Music Education in Postwar Britain’, *The Musical Quarterly* 97, no. 4 (2014): 575-615. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43865526>.

Dyer's concerns with accessibility and education went far beyond Australia, though. Indeed, her approach was part of a broader international progressive education movement, and especially with its manifestation in France, where she then lived. Her most direct response to the problem of accessibility was to produce a series of publications for children.

Between 1934 and 1936, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre issued ten publications of musical works for children to perform on bamboo pipes, composed or arranged by well-known contemporary composers and music historians from Australia, Britain and France.¹³ (As the forerunner to the recorder, which was featuring prominently in the early music revival occurring at the same time, pipers had ready access to a vast quantity of music.) Of particular interest is *Pipeaux Mélodies* (1934), a pedagogical collection of musical works by seven of France's most celebrated composers at the time: Georges Auric, Pierre-Octave Ferroud, Jacques Ibert, Henri Martelli, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc and Albert Roussel.¹⁴ Using *Pipeaux* I examine how the publication aligned with both the tenets of the piping movement and the ethos of the progressive education movement, known in France as La Nouvelle Education. I propose that these musical miniatures are also important as they anticipate the later activities of some of these composers with the Popular Front. For *Pipeaux*, these composers integrated patriotic musical idioms into their musical miniatures and as such they can be read as an antidote to modernity and the socio-political anxiety being experienced by the French population, and as a reflection of the ideologies being espoused by the political Left in France at the time. I begin the chapter by exploring the connections between the piping

¹³ Yvonne Rokseth arranged six madrigals from the Montpellier Codex, which she was preparing for publication for Dyer. See Appendix 1.

¹⁴ The collection was recorded by the prominent French flautist, Jean-Louis Beaumadier, in 2012: *Pastoral: Jean-Louis Beaumadier and Friends*, Skarbo 2013, DSK4117. UPC/EAN 3375250411706. See <https://www.classicalarchives.com/newca/#!/Album/76429>.

and the progressive education movements, how they were seeking to address such crises, and how Dyer became associated with them.

Piping: An Antidote to Modernity and a Progressive Music Education Corrective

The tenets of the piping movement and the ideals of progressive education were aligned with each other as both extolled a child-centred approach to education which emphasised learning-by-doing methods.¹⁵ In addition, by the 1930s these two movements became associated with a renewed interest in cultural heritage including the revival of folk traditions—and for piping the renaissance of early music—which reflected the growing nationalist agendas and social movements developing at the time.¹⁶

The Piper's Guild, founded in Britain in 1926 by Margaret James, was premised on the idea that participants make their own instruments, decorate them and then learn to play them. The physical process of making, decorating and playing a simple musical instrument aimed to split the demarcation between those who had access to modern manufactured musical instruments and could afford to learn to play them, and those who did not. The movement itself became an antidote to modernity where dissatisfaction with contemporary life led to a nostalgic desire for an idealised, pre-industrial past in which (it was believed) individuals played a critical role in the creation of culture. In Britain, this desire for pre-modern simplicity and social stability was

¹⁵ The playing of wooden pipes was not a new idea. From 1924 a panpipe movement existed in England led by Geoffrey Shaw, who was later assisted by Lorna Stirling, an Australian musician and educator known to Dyer. Through this movement a handful of 'pan-pipe' groups emerged in Australia, mostly in country areas, see Editor, 'Pages for the Clans', *Panpipes*, supplement to *Music and Youth*, Dec.1932, 8. See also Suzanne Robinson, 'Lorna Stirling', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 16 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002): <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/stirling-lorna-mary-belton-11774>.

¹⁶ In this thesis the terms 'folk' and 'traditional' are used interchangeably. It is acknowledged that their definitions are the source of controversy among scholars, collectors and participants of folk/traditional music. See Mathew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), which considers the origins of these two labels on how they influence the way music is categorised today.

exemplified by William Morris's Arts and Crafts movement. Originally radical and socialist in intent, the movement attracted people from a wide range of political persuasions, including those on the right who felt the past represented 'not an ideal egalitarian utopia untarnished by industrialisation but an organic social hierarchy', as John Butt has suggested.¹⁷ There was a burgeoning interest in the transcription and recording of traditional musics, which ran parallel to the growing revival of early music and instruments from the past. The piping movement was akin to the growing youth movements like the Scouts and Guides, organisations which had developed as a response to the problem of leisure, a by-product of industrialisation, and as a means of inculcating particular social and political mores.¹⁸

The progressive education movement was driven by reformist educational discourses which originated in the industrialised countries of Western Europe and the United States during the *fin-de-siècle*. They emerged as a response to social and economic conditions, and as an attempt by educationists to revolutionise the regimentation and pedagogical limitations of nineteenth-century schooling.¹⁹ One challenge concerning some progressive music educators was that compulsory music education, instituted across the Western world from the 1870s, focussed on group singing. This emphasis was pervasive, yet understandable. For most young children learning a musical

¹⁷ John Butt, *Playing with History* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 208.

¹⁸ Throughout Europe, the first half of the twentieth century witnessed the creation of youth movements that were 'for and by young people' and dedicated to supporting their physical, mental and spiritual development. However, the notion of 'youth' was vague, and a wide range of ages was targeted. For more on youth movements particularly those within the contested area of north-eastern France, see Julien Fuchs, 'Youth Movements in Alsace and the Issue of National Identity, 1918-1970', in *Borderland Studies Meets Child Studies: A European Encounter*, ed. Machteld Venken (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2017), 86-113. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv9hj96k.8>.

¹⁹ Hermann Röhrs, 'Internationalism in Progressive Education and Initial Steps towards a World Education Movement', in *Progressive Education Across the Continents: A Handbook*, ed. Hermann Röhrs and Volker Lenhart (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1995), 15. See also William J. Reese, 'The Origins of Progressive Education', *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2001): 1-24. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/369477>.

instrument was an impossible ambition as both instruments and lessons were expensive: a situation which became more acute at times of economic crisis. This was the challenge that Dyer was attempting to address.

In France, Madeleine Guéritte and the French educator Roger Cousinet formalised the French association La Nouvelle Éducation, in 1921, the same year the the Ligue International pour L'Éducation Nouvelle was founded.²⁰ The movement's eponymously named journal reveals a considerable degree of cross-pollination of ideas across different countries which occurred through conferences, study programmes and the exchange of publications between educationists, allowing an international focus to emerge.²¹ These institutional movements were influenced by the ideas of early democratic pedagogues Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Friedrich Fröbel through to the work of the French psychologist Alfred Binet and his Swiss colleague Jean Piaget and the American John Dewey, alongside the research and experiences of Maria Montessori, Émile Jaques-Dalcroze and the American music educator Satis N. Coleman, all of whom travelled and wrote extensively.²² Their child-centred philosophy placed the child

²⁰ Madeleine Guéritte (Georges Jean-Aubry sister) met Dyer through William Gillies Whittaker. The Ligue International pour L'Éducation Nouvelle, was founded by Adolphe Ferrière, in France on 6 August 1921. For an overview of the organisation's first two decades, see Laurent Gutierrez, 'Les premières années du Groupe Français d'Éducation Nouvelle (1921-1940)', *Recherches & éducations* 4 March (2011): 27-39. DOI.10.4000/rechercheseducations.778. The organisations objects were: 'Notre association a pour objet de réunir tous les éducateurs décidés à favoriser en France l'activité personnelle des enfants, soit à l'école soit dans la famille. Son but est d'aider ces éducateurs, de faire connaître et de répéter leurs expériences afin que les travaux de chacun puissent profiter à tous, et que se fasse plus vite la transformation nécessaire de nos méthodes d'éducation'.

²¹ Issues of the journal *La Nouvelle Éducation* can be found on the BnF Gallica site: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32826089g/date&rk=21459;2>. Coleman's name appears within the journal from 1925.

²² Coleman was influenced by the work of John Dewey, who promoted democracy in education, and believed that 'an ounce of experience is better than a ton of theory simply because it is only in experience that theory has vital and verifiable significance'. See John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* reprint 1916 (New York: Dover, 2004):138. In 1917, Coleman stated, 'If Pestalozzi, Fröbel and Herbert Spencer had been music teachers, I think the children of today would not detest music lessons as most of them do', Satis N. Coleman, 'Creative Experience Through Making Musical Instruments', *Progressive Education* 4, no.1, (1927):18-23. For more on Dewey's

above the taught subject in direct contrast to the traditional methods characterised by the need to ‘educate’, where the child was regarded as a blank slate upon which knowledge could be written.²³ For these philosophers, psychologists and pedagogues, children were understood as active and competent protagonists who sought learning through dialogue and interaction with others, within the collective life of the classroom—a community and a culture—in which the teachers served as guides.²⁴

It seems that Guéritte, a gifted translator, had read several of Coleman’s publications on music making and children, and they possibly met at one of the many interwar international progressive-education conventions.²⁵ It was Coleman’s insistence on the making of simple instruments that the students built themselves and then played which caught the attention of Guéritte, who considered her approach remarkable.²⁶

From 1925 she tried to introduce her methods into France, with limited success.

ideals see David Kennedy, *The Well of Being: Childhood, Subjectivity and Education* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), 156-159.

²³ For a thorough discussion on the development of attitudes towards children and education, see David Kennedy, *The Well of Being: Childhood, Subjectivity and Education* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006).

²⁴ Kennedy, *The Well of Being*, 156-159.

²⁵ Satis N. Coleman, ‘Children and Music—A Heretic’s View on the Present System of Teaching’, *The Musical Observer*, September (1917): 50-62, cited in Jane Southcott, ‘The Seeking Attitude: Ideas that Influenced Satis N. Coleman’, *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 31, no. 1 (2009): 22. DOI.10.1177/153660060903100104. See also Daniel J. Shevock, ‘Satis Coleman—A Spiritual Philosophy for Music Education’, *Music Educators Journal* (Sept. 2015):56-61, DOI.10.1177/0027432115590182. Her own writings include Satis N. Coleman, *Creative Music in the Home: Music Stories, how to make Instruments, How to Play Them, and Many Tunes to Play* (Toronto: Lewis E. Myers & Co, 1928), and Satis N. Coleman, *Creative Music for Children: A Plan of Training Based on the Natural Evolution of Music, Including the Making and Playing of Instruments, Dancing, Singing, Poetry* (New York: G.P. Putman’s Sons, 1931).

²⁶ Madeleine Guéritte, ‘Instruments de Musique Faits par les Enfants’, *La Nouvelle Éducation* 11, no. 107, (1932): 140: ‘Les remarquables idées de Mme. Satis Coleman sur l’enseignement musical que nous avons en vain essayé d’introduire en France depuis 1925 (vois nos années 1925, p.5; 1929, p.49; 1930, p.173; 1932, p.13 et p.43) aidés seulement par M. Chevais...’. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5525626m/f28>. Note that Maurice Chevais believed the aim was to educate the voice, the ear and musical taste, but he concentrated on singing as the most important aspect of music education. See François Madurell, ‘France: An Uncertain and Unequal Combat’, in *The Origins and Foundations of Music Education; International Perspectives*, ed. Gordon Cox and Robin Stevens (London: Bloomsbury Academic 2017), 27-29.

However, as Guéritte lived in England she had also been closely following the activities of Margaret James, who founded the Piper's Guild.

James too was influenced by Coleman's approach. Coleman's focus was on improvisation and creativity where students moved from simple instruments to more complex over time.²⁷ James's own experiments with children making musical instruments led her to identify a simple shepherd's pipe from Sicily as the most feasible model.²⁸ This simple aerophone, possibly one of the most common wind instruments in the western music tradition, was chosen for its ease of sound production, and its association with the folk tradition. In addition, as the forerunner of the recorder, which was featuring prominently in the early music revival occurring at the same time, the pipe had a large quantity of music readily available. Within *The Piper's Guild Handbook* (1932), James described how she considered the making, decorating and playing of pipes as a means for both children and adults to fully participate in playing and enjoying music (Figure 3.1).²⁹ The *Handbook* provided detailed information on the materials required and instructions on how to fashion pipes of various sizes and how to 'tune' a newly made pipe, how to make a 'good' sound, and how to decorate a pipe.³⁰ For the Australian market, Dyer included these instructions in *How to Make Pipes* (1935), a publication by the Melbourne-based composer Margaret Sutherland, which came with twelve tunes for pipes and small percussion band.

²⁷ Shevock, 'Satis Coleman', 56-61.

²⁸ Margaret James, introduction to *The Piper's Guild Handbook* (London: J.B. Cramer & Co., 1932), 3.

²⁹ James, *Handbook*, 46-7.

³⁰ The *Handbook* also includes instructions on making flutes, piccolos, panpipes, lutes and bows, and tambours.

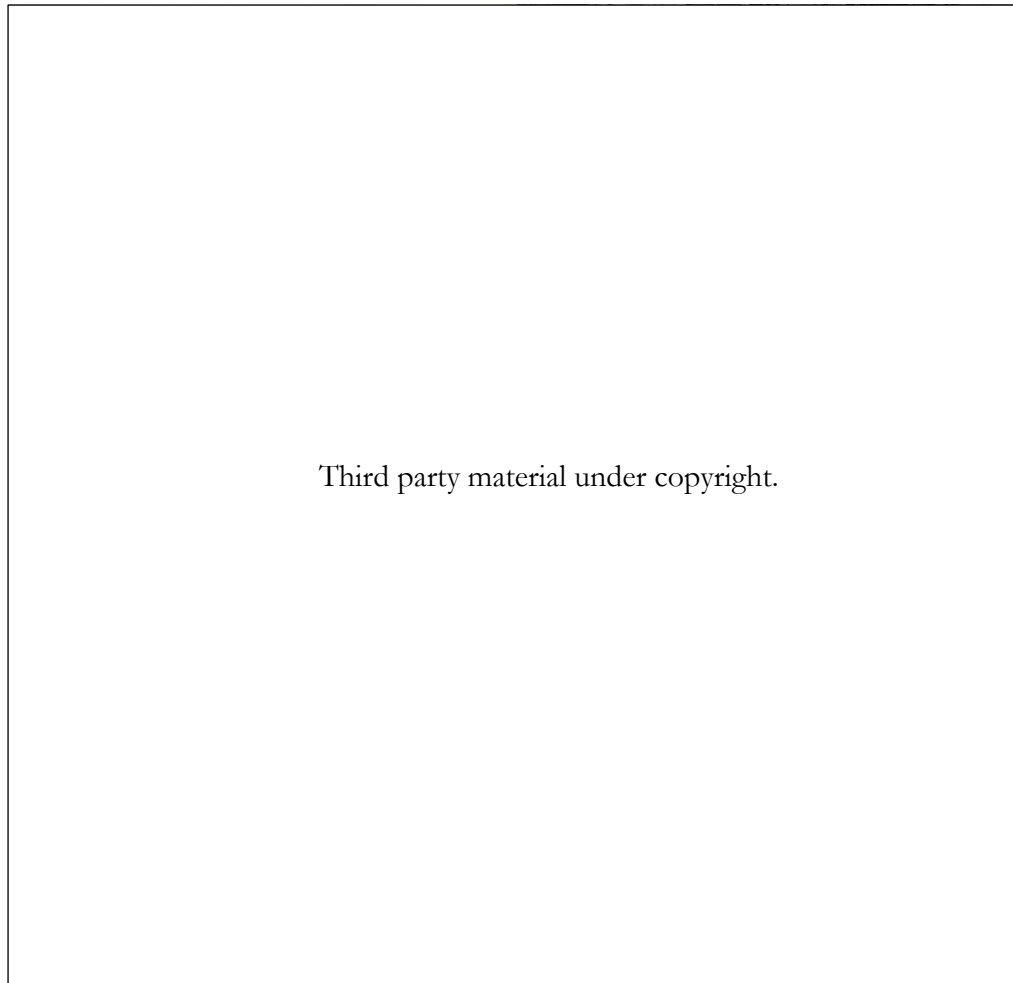


Figure 3.1: Making and Decorating of Pipes.

Tools required, making instruments, and ways of decorating. Margaret James, *The Piper's Guild Handbook* (London: J.B. Cramer, 1932), 10, 16, 39.

For James, the fashioning of a simple musical instrument was an inexpensive way of providing musical instruments for all to play. As such, she considered that piping expressed the democratic spirit of music education:

A poor man can buy a bamboo stick for a few pence and carve it with a pocketknife into the shape of a flute. What kind of music can he expect to conjure out of anything so easily acquired... In these days when we expect to pay heavily in money and in years of labour for everything that is good, pipe-making is an exception and a surprise.³¹

³¹ James, *Handbook*, 3.

James touted the advantages of the bamboo pipe in enhancing musical experiences nationwide through weekend workshops and summer camps: the instrument was easy to make, it had a wide bore enabling a good sound quality to be readily produced, and it had a limited range of ten notes making it easier to learn and play well from the start, yet using a combination of fingerings the range could be extended to nearly two octaves. She sought music from folklorists and music revivalists who prioritised the culturally 'pure' and the old. Repertoire lists within the *Handbook* confirm the dominance of traditional folk songs, supplemented by pedagogical music composed by music teachers.³² By 1932, her efforts were rewarded as leading figures from the realms of music and progressive education endorsed the enterprise. The Piper's Guild (the name another gesture to the early music revival) became a formal entity attracting the noted musicologist, critic and founder of *Music & Letters* Arthur Henry Fox Strangways as its first president, Imogen Holst as an advocate, and Guéritte as translator of James's recently published *Handbook for Pipes*.³³ A year later, the importance of the piping movement and the repertoire choices were made even more explicit when Ralph Vaughan Williams assumed the presidency, for he shared with James, and Dyer, a 'poetic socialism' which flowed from Morris via Holst and Dolmetsch.³⁴

³² James, *Handbook*, 42-5.

³³ From 1932, Imogen Holst led workshops, composed for and/or arranged music for pipes. See Imogen Holst, *Imogen Holst: A life in Music*, ed. Christopher Grogan, rev. ed (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 106-07. Copies of advertisements and programmes appear in Holst's scrapbooks which can be viewed online at <https://brittenpearsarts.org/news/archive-treasures-imogen-holsts-scrapbooks-and-the-pipers-guild>. Margaret James, *Le Manuel des faiseurs de pipeaux*, trans. Madeleine T. Guéritte (London: J.B. Cramer, 1932). Also see Guéritte, 'Instruments de Musique Faits par les Enfants': 140-141.

³⁴ Vaughan Williams and Holst both studied with Charles Villiers Stanford at the Royal College of Music. In their compositions they used folksongs. Though Vaughan Williams was a keen collector of folksongs and a champion of the pastoral, he composed only one work for pipes (performed equally well on recorders), *Suite for Pipes* (1939) which is an exceptional example of a contemporary, pastoral musical work, soporific in character.

One music educator who attended James's workshop was Charlotte Blensdorf, a respected German exponent of the Jaques-Dalcroze method who was teaching at the progressive Frensham Heights School, in Surrey, between 1928 and 1930, after which she moved to Paris. Blensdorf immediately grasped the potential of bamboo pipes in furthering the musical skills of her students and implemented their use in her classes.³⁵ In Paris, Blensdorf worked with and then married the American progressive educationalist Donald MacJannet who ran a school in Paris.³⁶

At Guéritte's invitation Blensdorf-MacJannet championed piping at the 12th Annual Assembly of La Nouvelle Éducation, attended by 700 delegates and held at the École de Médecine de Paris in April 1933.³⁷ Her paper, 'The Musical Education of the Child by the Making of Musical Instruments', and the musical performance which followed proved an enormous success and were pivotal in the establishment of the Guilde Française des Faiseurs et Joueurs de Pipeaux, in October 1933. Dyer attended this conference and in an article for *The Herald* (Vic.), she wrote positively about the aims and ambitions of the progressive education movement and Blensdorf-MacJannet's work.³⁸

³⁵ Frensham Heights School was founded in 1925 by Edith Douglas-Hamilton as part of the Progressive Education Movement. By 1935 the Minister of Education recognised the school as 'efficient'. The original progressive schools in England included Abbotsholme (1889), Bedales (1892), Summerhill (1921), Dartington Hall (1925) and Gordonstoun (1934). See Robert Skidelsky, *English Progressive Schools* (London: Penguin Books, 1969).

³⁶ Donald MacJannet had established the MacJannet School for Americans in Paris in the early 1920s (Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh attended the school between 1927 and 1929). With his new wife they founded a summer camp on the shores of Lake Annecy in the Haute Savoie where piping became an integral element within the curriculum. For more about Charlotte Blensdorf-MacJannet see <https://www.macjannet.org>. They bequeathed the summer camp to Tufts University.

³⁷ Mme T. J. Guéritte and Roger Cousinet, 'Rapport de notre XIIe Assemblée', *La Nouvelle Éducation* no. 116 (1933), 83. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5525644j/f8.item>.

³⁸ Louise Dyer, 'New Education in France, Children Teach Themselves, Results Reviewed', *The Herald* (Vic.), 22 June 1933, 25. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/245410917>.

By April 1934, Dyer had begun the process of producing her first publication for pipes, *The Melbourne Centenary Music Book: Australian Composers Piper's Music*. It was during these preparations that, at the behest of Guéritte, James wrote to Dyer in late May, suggesting that the three women meet in London to discuss potential opportunities.³⁹ No evidence has been found to date to confirm if a meeting occurred, but Guéritte did go on to write the introduction for Dyer's *Melbourne Centenary* music publication.

Guéritte's introduction mentions the imminent publication of a music book of modern French music for pipes. She suggests how through this collection the important relationship between France and Australia (and by extension Britain) would be enhanced:

Thanks to the enterprise of the Lyre Bird Press, we hope to have at our disposal a book of modern French music specifically composed for the pipes, also collections of classical airs and folksongs.

We are glad to welcome this volume of Australian music for pipes and to think that the day is not far distant when French, Australian and, indeed, all British children, will send to each other musical greetings through their pipes. Children of other lands will soon join too. May we not hope and expect that such a lovely music, clear and simple as the limpid brook, will contribute to the making of a better world for all of us?⁴⁰

Her evocation of bucolic bliss ('the limpid brook') paints an image far away from the economic, political and social turmoil being experienced in the industrialised present.⁴¹

³⁹ See Margaret James, Letter to Louise Dyer, 24 May 1934, EOLA. Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035. Unit 15. The Pipers' Guild letterhead lists Ralph Vaughan-Williams as president of the association.

⁴⁰ Madeleine Guéritte, 'Introduction: The Pipes in France', *The Melbourne Centenary Music Book*, Margaret Sutherland (Paris: The Lyre-Bird Press, 1934). Note the name of the firm appeared in English in this publication.

⁴¹ Australia's experience of the Great Depression was second only to that of Germany. Poverty and unemployment were exceptionally high. See C. B (Boris) Schedvin, *Australia and the Great*

Yet it is an odd turn of phrase for the intended young Australian audience, as it bore no resemblance to the landscape in which they lived—‘a sunburnt country’—nor the hardships that many were experiencing at the time.⁴² Yet Guéritte reinforced this image with the phrase ‘making of a better world’, which is illustrative of not only the nostalgic aesthetic of the piping movement for an idealised, pre-industrial past, but also the internationalist and pacifist agendas allied with the progressive education movement. In emphasising how music could enrich the special relationship between France and Australia (and by extension Britain). Guéritte was no doubt aware of the strained formal diplomatic relations between France and Britain, and the widespread opinion that Britain was in deep crisis, caught between the ‘old’ world of Europe and the ‘new world’ (America).⁴³ This suggests Dyer and Guéritte perceived *Pipeaux Mélodies*, published shortly afterwards as a ‘soft power’ cultural initiative.⁴⁴

By 1936, Dyer’s firm had issued ten publications of music for pipes: six in 1934, three in 1935 and one in 1936 (Table 3.1). The preparation of Dyer’s first publication, *The Melbourne Centenary Music Book: Australian Composers Piper’s Music*, illustrates her

Depression (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1973); Robert Boyce, *The Great Interwar Crisis and the Collapse of Globalisation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Joan Beaumont, *Australia’s Great Depression: How a Nation Shattered by the Great War Survived the Worst Economic Crisis it has Ever Faced* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, Forthcoming).

⁴² Dorothea MacKellar’s iconic poem *My Country* (1904) was popular in Australian schools. MacKellar opens her poem with a description of ‘fields and coppice, of green and shaded lanes’ which she knows ‘but cannot share...my love is otherwise’. The second stanza begins ‘I love a sunburnt country, a land of sweeping plains’, and continues to extol the virtues of a very different nation. See <https://cpb-ap-se2.wpmucdn.com/learn.stleonards.vic.edu.au/dist/5/118/files/2012/09/My-Country-by-Dorothea-MacKellar.pdf>.

⁴³ Guéritte’s husband was involved in the Franco-British chamber of commerce. For an analysis of the *entente cordiale*, see P.M.H. Bell, *France and Britain 1900-1940: Entente & Estrangement* (London: Longman, 1996). André Siegfried’s monograph, *La crise britannique au XX^e siècle* (Paris: Colin, 1931) regarding the relationship between Great Britain and France was causing a sensation at the time. See Bell, *France and Britain*, 198-201.

⁴⁴ The term ‘soft power’ was first coined by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. to describe shaping the preferences of others through appeal and attraction rather than coercion. Joseph S. Nye, ‘Soft Power’, *Foreign Policy* 80 (Autumn 1990): 153-171. DOI.10.2307/1148580.

objectives and her method of working.⁴⁵ In issuing this book of music she addressed the need that she had identified in 1931, that young children should perform music by living composers; she published music composed by young Australians for young Australians, making it an ideal centenary gift for her ‘audience of the future’; she timed its release to coincide with her visit to Melbourne during the city’s centenary year, providing a promotional opportunity for her and her work; and she announced her intention to produce a book of music by French contemporary composers: a form of musical *entente cordiale*.

⁴⁵ For an eloquent description of this publication see Daniela Kaleva, ‘Louise Hanson-Dyer’s *Melbourne Centenary Music Book*: An Australian celebration’, *La Trobe Journal* no. 90, (2012): 48-58. <https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/stories/la-trobe-journal/la-trobe-journal-no-90-december-2012>. The Melbourne centenary was a year-long celebration from November 1933, which, despite the Depression, offered more than 300 activities.

Table 3.1: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, Publications for Pipes 1934-1936.

| Title | Composer | Description | Date |
|--|------------------------|--|------|
| <i>The Melbourne Centenary Music Book: Australian Composers Piper's Music.</i> | Arthur Benjamin. | 'A Marching Tune' and 'Paysage Triste'. | 1934 |
| | Esther Rofe. | 'Duet for Two Pipes' and 'Tune for Three Pipes'. | |
| | Peggy Glanville-Hicks. | 'Two Trios for Pipes' | |
| | Jonathan Tallis. | 'Jig for Three Pipes'. | |
| <i>The Dancing Schoole: Five Pieces for Bamboo Pipes.</i> | Arthur Benjamin, arr. | Adapted tunes taken from John Playford, <i>The Dancing Master</i> (London: 1719). | 1934 |
| <i>Exercice musical.</i> | Darius Milhaud. | Pour pipeau (en ré) soprano avec ou sans piano. | 1934 |
| | Darius Milhaud. | 'Exercice Musical', pour pipeau (en ré) soprano avec ou sans piano. | |
| | Albert Roussel. | 'Pipe in D Major'. | |
| | Jacques Ibert. | 'Pastoral' for four pipes. | |
| | Georges Auric. | 'Scherzo'. | |
| | Francis Poulenc. | 'Villanelle', pour pipeau et piano. | |
| | Pierre-Octave Ferroud | 'Pas redoublé. | |
| <i>Pipeaux Mélodies.</i> | Henri Martelli | 'Mélodie, op. 37, no.1, avec accompagnement de piano. | 1934 |
| | Yvonne Rokseth, arr. | Six unpublished pieces in two parts from the thirteenth century. | |
| | Imogen Holst, arr. | Voice and pipes with piano accompaniment. | |
| | Margaret Sutherland. | For pipe, flute or recorder. 'Pastoral'; 'A Melody'; 'A Country Dance'; 'A Wistful Dance'. | |
| | Margaret Sutherland. | Twelve tunes for pipers and small percussion band (with text in English, French, Italian, German and Japanese). 'A Walking Tune'; 'A Clog Dance'; 'Come and Gather Rosebuds'; 'Rhythmic Dance'; 'Beware!'; 'Dreamily We Pipe'; 'Consequential Air'; 'Frivolous Air'; 'Ground'; 'Romance'; 'Song of Contentment'; 'Piper's Walking Tune'. | |
| | Margaret Sutherland. | Extracted from <i>How to Make Pipes</i> | |
| <i>Motets to Play on the Pipe.</i> | Yvonne Rokseth, arr. | Six unpublished pieces in two parts from the thirteenth century. | 1934 |
| <i>Six Scottish Folk Songs.</i> | Imogen Holst, arr. | Voice and pipes with piano accompaniment. | 1934 |
| <i>Australian Melodies.</i> | Margaret Sutherland. | For pipe, flute or recorder. 'Pastoral'; 'A Melody'; 'A Country Dance'; 'A Wistful Dance'. | 1935 |
| <i>How to Make Pipes.</i> | Margaret Sutherland. | Twelve tunes for pipers and small percussion band (with text in English, French, Italian, German and Japanese). 'A Walking Tune'; 'A Clog Dance'; 'Come and Gather Rosebuds'; 'Rhythmic Dance'; 'Beware!'; 'Dreamily We Pipe'; 'Consequential Air'; 'Frivolous Air'; 'Ground'; 'Romance'; 'Song of Contentment'; 'Piper's Walking Tune'. | 1935 |
| <i>Song of Contentment.</i> | Margaret Sutherland. | Extracted from <i>How to Make Pipes</i> | 1935 |
| <i>Russian Folk Songs.</i> | Joseph Strimer, arr. | For voice and pipes with piano accompaniment. Drawn from a collection dating from 1790; in Russian and French. | 1936 |

Correspondence between the Australian composer Arthur Benjamin and Dyer is instructive as it reveals the speed at which she worked. In April 1934, she approached Benjamin—then a faculty member with the Royal College of Music whose students at the time included Benjamin Britten and the Australian Peggy Glanville-Hicks—who responded positively to her request and suggested that William Murdoch and Roy

Agnew might also be approached.⁴⁶ However, both these Australian composers had established careers and existing relationships with publishers. Instead, Dyer offered the opportunity to participate to Glanville-Hicks, Esther Rofe and Jonathan Tallis, all of whom were upcoming composers under 30 years of age, and originally from Melbourne; only Benjamin, who agreed to ‘write a tune’, was from Sydney.⁴⁷ Benjamin suggested a fee of £15 for two tunes, which was accepted. By the end of April his first melody was finished, and the proofs corrected. A second ‘more “arty” piece’, had been completed by June.⁴⁸ At the end of July, Benjamin acknowledged receipt of both his fee and a copy of publication.⁴⁹ It is assumed that similar arrangements were made with the other composers as their compositions were included in the publication.

Despite Dyer’s enthusiasm for the potential of piping and her publication of additional music specifically targeted toward the Australian market, and the championing of the movement in Victoria by the composer Margaret Sutherland, the respected music educator and teacher trainer Eileen Stainkampf, and the efforts of Lorna Stirling, the movement never gained traction there or elsewhere across the country.⁵⁰ Thorold Waters, an Australian music journalist, observed that new methods

⁴⁶ Arthur Benjamin, Letter to Louise Dyer, 26 April 1934, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists letters, 2016.0034. Unit 1.

⁴⁷ Dyer had previously championed Peggy Glanville-Hicks. In 1931, Dyer sent ten of Glanville-Hicks’s works to the director of the Royal College of Music, Sir Hugh Allen. Suzanne Robinson, *Peggy Glanville-Hicks: Composer and Critic* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2019), 19-23.

⁴⁸ Arthur Benjamin, Letter to Louise Dyer, Tuesday, n.d. [c. 19 June 1934] EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists letters, 2016.0034. Unit 1. Note the date of this letter is calculated from the content of the correspondence posted on 26 June 1934, EOLA, 2016.0034. Unit 1.

⁴⁹ Arthur Benjamin, Letter to Louise Dyer, 26 July 1934, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists letters, 2016.0034. Unit 1.

⁵⁰ George Warnecke, ‘Perception, Percussion and Pandean Pipes’, *The Australian Women’s Weekly*, 8 February 1936, 25. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/rendition/nla.news-article46463110.3.pdf?followup=14896f4a2805f999abf16b58476c5971>.

Also see Elizabeth Embley Mitchell, ‘An Interpretation of the Value Imparted by the Victorian Music Teachers’ Association to Music Education in Australia’ (PhD thesis, Melbourne Graduate School of Education, The University of Melbourne), 156-57. <http://hdl.handle.net/11343/212437>.

in music education often suffered due to ‘the barriers of official stupidity, as...music still has to beg to be fully admitted’ into the curriculum.⁵¹ Although his comments referred to the introduction of the Jacques-Dalcroze method in Australia—which had considerable international and national institutional and cross-disciplinary support (physical education, dance and music) across all educational levels which enabled it to thrive eventually—they show the significant challenges new methods faced.⁵² The piping movement lacked the necessary degree of support and advocacy required for success.

Yet, in France members of the progressive education movement wholeheartedly accepted piping; during the first year of the French Guilde (established 1933), 33 groups were established.⁵³ This acceptance was encouraged by Guéritte, who was the conduit between the English and French progressive education movements. She was, as the educational historians Laurent Gutierrez and Antoine Savoye describe her, a progressive liberal minded educator who aimed to ‘build an educational system capable of solving the educational bankruptcy of French society that she denounced’.⁵⁴ Her vision crossed

⁵¹ Thorold Waters, ‘Rhythm and the Zest of Life’, *The Australian Musical News* 13, no. 5 (1923): 5-6, as cited in Joan Pope, ‘Dalcroze Eurhythmics: Interaction in Australia in the 1920s’, *Australian Journal of Music Education* no. 2 (2010): 136. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ916796.pdf>.

Music education suffered similar problems in Britain and Australia. Gordon Cox, ‘Britain: Opportunities and Threats Equally Balanced’, in Cox and Stevens, *Origins*, 9-21; and Robin Stevens and Jane Southcott, ‘Australia: Recurring Problems and Unresolved Issues’, in Cox and Stevens, *Origins*, 223-39.

⁵² The Jaques-Dalcroze method, or Eurythmics, stresses the importance of building on innate skills in rhythm, movement and music as a means of developing more complex musical skills. His technique influenced the development of modern dance. Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature and Other Arts* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 101-07.

⁵³ Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 246.

⁵⁴ Laurent Gutierrez and Antoine Savoye, ‘Sauver les jeunes générations de la faillite éducative: le combat de Madeleine Guéritte’, in *Les acteurs de l’Éducation nouvelle au XX^e siècle: Itinéraires et connexions*, ed. Xavier Riondet, Rita Hofstetter et Henri Louis (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2020): 29: ‘Elle transgresse les frontières entre spécialités, combinant les emprunts à la médecine, la psychanalyse, la psychologie, la pédagogie, la musicologie pour, pragmatiquement, bâtir une éducation à même de résoudre la faillite éducative de la société française qu’elle dénonce’.

disciplines and specialities and boundaries, and her educational philosophy drew on new understandings of the child and of childhood formed throughout the *fin de-siecle* and the early twentieth century: understandings rooted in the new discipline of child psychology and developments in how children learn which informed teaching methods with a particular emphasis on learning by doing. She sought to address the rigidity of French education methods that had changed little since music became a compulsory subject in the early years of the Third Republic.

***Pipeaux* and French Music Education**

In France, classroom singing, which stood for music education, had a long history of being subject to the whims of church and government policy.⁵⁵ Although it became a required activity in the education of girls, but ‘optional’ for boys, under the Guizot Law (1833), this was modified by the Falloux Law (1850), which made music an optional subject for all.⁵⁶ However, music became important in French education in the late nineteenth century. From the onset of the Third Republic education became solidly republican, secular and patriotic: the state considered that its duty was to elevate the majority to appreciate the highest quality works in the national canon, in literature, art and music.⁵⁷ The government saw education for all as the means through which national

⁵⁵ For a summary history of the French education system with excellent bibliographic references, see Linda L. Clark, ‘Approaching the History of Modern French Education: Recent Surveys and Research Guides’, *French Historical Studies* 15, no. 1 (1987):157-165. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/286508>.

⁵⁶ Madurell, ‘France’, in Cox and Stevens, *Origins*, 23; Michèle Alten, ‘Un siècle d’enseignement musical à l’école primaire, Vingtième Siècle’, *Revue d’histoire* no. 55 (1997), 3-6. https://www.persee.fr/doc/xxs_0294-1759_1997_num_55_1_3659.

⁵⁷ From 1819 Guillaume Louis Bocquillon (Wilhelm) advocated choral singing in schools. His manual on singing, based on solfège (fixed doh), broke the rudiments of music into a series of easy steps including a visual representation of the diatonic scale as a series of steps, semi-tones were smaller steps, and the use of *phonomimie*. This method was adopted and adapted in England and other countries. For a summary of the French music-education system, see Madurell, ‘France’, in Cox and Stevens, *Origins*, 23-35.

unity could be fostered and how a perennial sense of French identity, rooted in the brilliance of French language and culture, would be sustained.⁵⁸ As the Ministère des Beaux-Arts was attached to the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, the arts became a useful pedagogical tool for the glory of France. The concept of *patrimoine*, then, became the essence of Republican thought and education, embracing every part of national heritage.

Jules Ferry, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et Beaux-Arts (1880-1885), abolished fees for elementary-school pupils in 1881, and in the following year he made attendance compulsory for six-to-thirteen-year-olds. Girls were given access to secondary education under the Camille Sée Law (1880), based on the belief that 'the grandeur as well as the decadence of a people depends...on its women'.⁵⁹ Under this philosophy music became the twelfth and last compulsory subject to be added to the school curriculum, in 1882, and was, along with physical education, associated with a productive form of leisure and general health. Folksong and traditional dance became the backbone of the music curriculum. The use of folksong was supported by Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray and Albert Dupaigne, who believed traditional songs were invaluable for instilling national pride. They ensured that the collections compiled by Julien Tiersot and others were used in schools.⁶⁰ These educational reforms were occurring at the same time as France's musical heritage was being shaped by a growing

⁵⁸ Barbara L. Kelly ed., 'Introduction: The Roles of Music and Culture in National Identity Formation', *French Music, Culture and National Identity, 1870-1939* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2012), 3-7.

⁵⁹ Camille Sée, 'Speech', *Annales, Sénat et Chambre des Députés*, 1¹ 1880, Chambre des Députés session 19 January 1880: 94; as cited in Karen Offen, 'The Second Sex and the Baccalauréat in Republican France, 1880-1924', *French Historical Studies* 13, no. 2 (1983): 254. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/286452>.

⁶⁰ Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 319; and Madurell, 'France', in Cox and Stevens, *Origins*, 22.

interest in the restoration of early music, which coincided with the emergence of musicology as a discipline and the desire to codify France's musical heritage.⁶¹

Despite the early promise of educational reform under Ferry, access to education and the music curriculum changed little between 1882 and 1934. Lycées, or grammar schools, which offered the baccalaureate—a requirement for university entry—charged fees until 1932, and the school-leaving age was not raised to fourteen years until 1936: one of the few educational reforms Jean Zay, *Ministre de l'Éducation Nationale et Beaux-Arts* from 1936 until 1939, managed to introduce before the fall of France in 1940.⁶² Thus, notwithstanding the Third Republic's early rhetoric and reforms, a full education remained an option only for those who could afford to pay.

Although the music syllabus remained unchanged between 1882 and 1923, a compulsory singing test was introduced for school leavers in 1924.⁶³ Music education's role in support of the cult of the *patrie* was maintained through the teaching of patriotic and folksong repertoire and folkdance in preparation for school, community—village *fêtes*— and state commemoration ceremonies often sustained by government subsidies. Gramophone recordings and broadcasts were cautiously embraced as effective tools for assisting generalist teachers in giving their students an appreciation of music however, they were an expensive (and breakable) passive learning tool.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the

⁶¹ Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 343. Louis Bougault-Ducoudray was appointed the first professor of music history at the Conservatoire de Paris in 1878.

⁶² Pascal Ory, *La belle illusion: Culture et politique sous le signe du Front populaire* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1994). For a detailed analysis of Zay's educational reforms, see Chapter 11, 614-711.

⁶³ Madurell, 'France', *Origins*, 23.

⁶⁴ Dyer was supportive of the musical appreciation project promoted by the Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Éditeurs de Musique (SACEM). Her legal advisor, François Hepp, was president of the Union Syndicate de Commerce de Musique. In 1928, he founded the Comité Français du Phonographe dans l'Enseignement inviting representatives from France's major recording firms to participate. The project provided 600 schools within Paris and its environs with gramophone players along with a library of discs comprising musical examples providing an historical overview of the music of France, as well as musical examples by the world's greatest composers. Louise B. M. Dyer, 'Trend of Modern Music', *The Herald* (Vic), 14

traditional teaching methods persisted—learning by rote using solfège and making children pure receivers rather than explorers (the aim of the progressive education movement). The failure of classroom music education to develop beyond singing was further hampered by the inadequate music training offered to generalist teachers by the teacher education college, or the *École Normale*.⁶⁵ Many of these generalist teachers had limited musical expertise and lacked the confidence to impart the little knowledge that they had acquired in college: this was a noted change from the pre-war generalist teacher who had usually received a reasonable grounding in music from within the home, an important but often overlooked strand of musical education.⁶⁶

Even within music education a hierarchy existed. The education of the musical elite differed greatly from that of the wider populace—the target market for Dyer’s project—as general music education went against the concept of ‘the gift’ which was strongly rooted in French musical culture.⁶⁷ Moreover, composing musical works for groups of children to perform on musical instruments (rather than choral music) was not considered a priority.

All the composers involved in Dyer’s *Pipeaux* project had been introduced to music in the home either through their mothers or in some cases both parents, who were often accomplished amateurs themselves. While Milhaud, Poulenc, Ibert, Martelli and Roussel received a lycée education, Auric attended conservatoires from the age of

January 1932, 4. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242897431?> In 1936, ‘radio’ was added to the group’s name. Also see Alten, ‘Un siècle d’enseignement musical’: 3-6.

⁶⁵ While contexts differ, music teacher training, particularly for generalist teachers has been an international problem. Gordon Cox and Robin Stevens, introduction to *Origins and Foundations of Music Education: International Perspectives*, ed. Gordon Cox and Robin Stevens (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 2-3.

⁶⁶ Madurell, ‘France’, in Cox and Stevens, *Origins*, 26-27. See also Jean-Claire Vançon, ‘De la polémique galiniste (1882-1993) au conflit Chevais/Gédalge (1917-1923): l’histoire de la musique à l’école à la lumière de ses querelles pédagogiques’, in *Maurice Chevais (1880-1943)*, ed. Claire Fijalkow (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2004), 39-56.

⁶⁷ Madurell, ‘France’, in Cox and Stevens, *Origins*, 22.

ten, and Poulenc pursued his musical studies privately.⁶⁸ Thus, from a very young age their musical talents were identified, and sometimes nurtured, by specialists.⁶⁹ Apart from Poulenc, the others continued to receive their musical education within the dominant institutions of musical culture at the time: the Conservatoire de Paris (Auric, Ibert, Milhaud and Martelli); the Schola Cantorum (Roussel and Auric); and the Conservatoire de Strasbourg (Ferroud). Both Milhaud and Ferroud continued their compositional studies privately with Vincent d'Indy and Florent Schmitt respectively, and Ibert with André Gédalge, his counterpoint teacher at the Conservatoire.⁷⁰ Through these institutions they received lessons in music history: the Schola instituted the subject from its inception in 1886, and Gabriel Fauré revised the curriculum at the Conservatoire de Paris in 1905.⁷¹ Poulenc studied piano with Ricardo Viñes, the virtuoso pianist and leading interpreter of Debussy and Ravel—it was through Ravel that he met Milhaud, Auric and Satie—and composition with Charles Koechlin (Table 3.2).⁷²

⁶⁸ Colin Roust, *Georges Auric: A Life in Music and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 11-13.

⁶⁹ For more detail on these two music education pathways and how they developed see Roy Terry, 'Music Education in France', *British Journal of Music Education* 2, no.3 (1985): 228. DOI.10.1017/S0265051700000619.

⁷⁰ Paul Le Flem, became a Guilde supporter. He studied at the Schola Cantorum at the same time as Roussel, and he too later taught there. Jacques Ibert was encouraged to pursue his career in composition by his cousin Manuel da Falla and was the only one of the *Pipeaux* composers to receive the coveted Prix de Rome in 1919.

⁷¹ Jane F. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 143-47.

⁷² See Roger Nichols, *Poulenc: A Biography* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2020), 14-17. Note, André Gédalge, counterpoint professor at the Conservatoire de Paris, also taught Milhaud and Ibert privately.

Table 3.2: *Pipeaux Mélodies*, Composer Backgrounds.

| Composer | Instrument Played | Age Started Learning | Institution & Composition Teacher | Age when <i>Pipeaux</i> published |
|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| Darius Milhaud | Piano, Violin/Viola | 4 | Conservatoire de Paris, Vincent d'Indy. | 42 |
| Albert Roussel | Piano | 4 | Schola Cantorum, Vincent d'Indy. | 65 |
| Jacques Ibert | Piano | 4 | Conservatoire de Paris, Prix de Rome (1919), André Gedalge, Paul Vidal. | 44 |
| Georges Auric | Piano | 4, prodigy | Conservatoire de Montpellier (aged 8); Conservatoire de Paris and Schola Cantorum, Vincent d'Indy and Roussel. | 35 |
| Francis Poulenc | Piano | 5 | Piano, Ricardo Viñes, Composition, Charles Koechlin. | 35 |
| Pierre-Octave Ferroud | Piano | 5 | Conservatoire Strasbourg, Guy Ropartz, and then Florent Schmitt. | 34 |
| Henri Martelli | Piano | 5 | Conservatoire de Paris, Charles-Marie Widor, Georges Caussade. | 39 |

Thus, at the point of their involvement in Dyer's project these composers had had limited experience of children's classroom music education. Only Roussel and Milhaud had composed musical works for ensembles comprising either amateur adults or children. Roussel had written a patriotic work for the male-only Chorale Strasbourgeoise, entitled 'Le Bardit des Francs' (1926), on the recovered 'lost French territory' as part of the Versailles peace treaty.⁷³ Milhaud, whose son Daniel was four years of age at the time, had composed several choral works for primary school children to perform, producing a total of eight musical works for children by 1940.⁷⁴ The first three of Milhaud's musical works for children were settings of humorous poems, and the music demonstrates his penchant for irony, fantasy and mischievousness: *À propos de*

⁷³ The work is extracted from the sixth book of *Les Martyrs* (1809) a poem by François-René de Châteaubriand. The work was initially acapella and then arranged for brass band and percussion. It was published by Durand & Cie in 1934. See Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 79.

⁷⁴ Milhaud composed three works for children in 1932, one in 1934, one in 1938, and three in 1940. See Jeremy Drake, 'Darius Milhaud', *Grove Music Online*, DOI.10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18674.

bottes op. 118 (1932) on a text by René Chalupt, and *Un Petit peu de musique*, op.119 (1932) and *Un Petit peu d'exercice* op.133 (1934) on texts by Armand Lunel.⁷⁵

Milhaud's interest in composing for young children stemmed from his encounters during the 1920s with Paul Hindemith, who held a deep-rooted desire to encourage active music-making beyond the élite.⁷⁶ Hindemith's idea of *Gebrauchsmusik*, or 'practical music', was that it should be accessible and democratic in how it was composed. Hindemith considered that all composers had a duty to create music for children and amateurs to play, and he had been composing musical works *for* and *with* children and for amateurs for nearly a decade. During the later years of the Weimar Republic there was a similar exploration by élite composers writing for the general population/amateurs.⁷⁷ Hindemith's most famous educational composition, *Wir bauen eine Stadt* (1930), was created over several weeks *with* children involved in every aspect of the compositional process and *for* them to perform.⁷⁸ For Milhaud, Hindemith's approach offered infinite possibilities and with his wife Madeleine, who translated the

⁷⁵ *À propos de bottes* is a French saying which translates as 'regarding boots', or 'to something quite irrelevant'. Auric, Roussel and Schmitt also set Chalupt's poems to music. Chalupt studied with Viñes and became a member of their circle before developing a career in music criticism with *La Revue musicale* and *The Chesterian*. Lunel wrote the librettos for Milhaud's operas *Les malheurs d'Orphée* (1924) and *Esther de Carpentras* (1938), and for Henri Sauguet's *La Chartreuse de Parme* (1939). *Un Petit Peu de Musique*, op. 119 (1932), was dedicated to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge and the song titles are: 'Tirer au Sort'; 'Le Petit Examen'; 'La Lecture Infantine'; 'Pour Sauter à la Corde'; 'Mademoiselle Lunette'; 'Le Maître pion Jujube'; 'Mea Culpa'; 'La Dispute'; 'Un Éloge Mérité'; 'L'Orchestre des Bons Élèves'; 'L'Orchestre des Mauvais Élèves'; 'En l'Honneur de la Radio'.

⁷⁶ Poulenc was also influenced by both Arnold Schoenberg and Hindemith. See Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 183-85; and Roger Nichols, *Conversations with Madeleine Milhaud* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996), 46-48.

⁷⁷ Hindemith's music of the 1930s is possibly connected with the sharp decline of middle-class audience members due to the on-going economic crisis. See Giseller Schubert, 'Paul Hindemith', *Grove Music Online*, DOI.10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13053.

⁷⁸ The musical playlet is in ten parts, with the children involved in the construction and showcasing of their new town. Hindemith later claimed that he had never worked as hard or had such severe critics—and both the action and the music are flexible enough to accommodate any number of actors and musicians See Marcelle Vernazza, 'Paul Hindemith-Music Educator', *The American Music Teacher* 33, no. 6 (1984): 30. <https://www.proquest.com/trade-journals/paul-hindemith-music-educator/docview/1294871245/se-2?accountid=11862>.

work into French, they premiered *Nous Bâtitsons Une Ville* alongside his own *Un Petit peu de musique* at a Triton concert on 24 February 1933: a concert most likely attended by Dyer.⁷⁹

***Pipeaux* and Leftist Politics in 1930s France**

Between 1932 and 1935 France was gripped by extreme economic and political dissent. While disquiet had been expressed at Hitler's installation as the Reich's Chancellor in January 1933, anti-fascism only emerged as a movement in France following the bloody violence carried out by right-wing 'proto-fascist' leagues on 6 February 1934. This failed *coup d'état* led to the fall of yet another government: the fifth in twenty months.⁸⁰ The emergence of fascist organisations across the country inspired a broad-based counter-crusade from the Left. The communist and socialist parties formed an uneasy alliance—the Rassemblement Populaire (1935)—to resolve the country's economic problems, advance civil liberties and press for peace. The elections of May 1936 brought into power the Front Populaire, led by the socialist intellectual Léon Blum: the government had communist support but not participation.⁸¹

French intellectuals including composers were attracted to the Association des Écrivains et Artistes Révolutionnaires (AEAR, 1932) an organisation sympathetic with

⁷⁹ The performance was considered robust and spirited. Claude Altomont, review, 'Triton (24 February)', *Le Ménestrel*, 3 March 1933, 95-96. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5617705c/f10.item>.

Un Petit peu de musique was dedicated to Alice Pellet director of the children's orchestra which performed on the evening.

⁸⁰ For a general history of this period see Zara Steiner, *The Triumph of the Dark: European International History 1933-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁸¹ The Rassemblement Populaire brought together the PCF and the Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière (SFIO), or the French section of the International Workers movement. They produced the newspaper *L'Humanité*. For its objectives, see Gabriel Peri, 'Front populaire contre la guerre et le fascisme', *L'Humanité*, 16 May (1936), 1. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k406715v/f7.item>. The one constant throughout this period was Albert Lebrun, President of the Republic.

the political stance of the Parti Communiste Française (PCF); it promoted the Soviet model and its culture, and anti-right wing.⁸² However what intellectuals perceived they knew of the Soviet Union was in stark contrast to reality.⁸³ Nevertheless, Roussel, Ibert and Auric were active members of the AEAR.⁸⁴ In 1935, the AEAR was replaced by the Maison de la Culture, which ‘sought to implement a cultural programme that resonated with French artistic traditions’ and become the ‘epicentre of left-wing cultural activity’ as Christopher Moore has identified.⁸⁵ That same year, the Fédération Musicale Populaire (FMP) became one of the many cultural groups associated with the Maison de la Culture. One of the main goals of the FMP was to encourage a stronger connection between professional and amateur musicians: to democratise music.⁸⁶ Roussel became the FMP’s president, a position he held until his death in 1937, when Koechlin assumed the role.

Of the composers participating in Dyer’s project, only Milhaud openly questioned Soviet values, having observed the harsh realities of Russian life during his visit in

⁸² The AEAR was founded by Henri Barbusse, director of the Communist daily, *Monde*, and Paul Vaillant Couturier, a prominent community *député*. See Nicole Racine, ‘L’Association des Ecrivains et Artistes Révolutionnaires (AEAR)’, *Le Mouvement social* 54, (January-March 1966), 29-47. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k57945946/f38.item>.

⁸³ Two outstanding references on Stalin and his regime are Simon Sebag-Montefiori, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003); and Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Waiting for Hitler, 1929-1941* (London: Penguin Random House, 2017).

⁸⁴ Colin Roust suggests that Auric’s career was reinvigorated through his involvement with the AEAR. Roust, *Georges Auric*, 113.

⁸⁵ Christopher L. Moore, ‘Music in France and the Popular Front (1934-1938): Politics, Aesthetics and Reception’, (PhD thesis, McGill University Montreal, 2006), 98-99. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/music-france-popular-front-1934-1938-politics/docview/304762329/se-2?accountid=11862>. Also see Ory, *La belle illusion*, 121.

A number of organisations became associated with the Maison de la Culture including: Ciné-Liberté, L’Association des peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs, Camping et culture, and La Fédération de l’enfance.

⁸⁶ Frédéric Robert, ‘Memories of Les Six’, in *Les Six: The French Composers and Their Mentors Jean Cocteau and Erik Satie*, ed. Robert Shapiro (London: Peter Owen, 2011), 98.

1926.⁸⁷ However, as an anti-fascist he continued to write extensively for the Communist and left-wing press and became a prominent proponent of the FMP. Dyer never openly declared her political stance, but it appears she aligned herself with the centre left, evidenced by her role as vice-president of the artistic section of the Section Française des Amitiés Internationales (a sub-group of the League of Nations, and ideologically anti-fascist and pacifist) and her active involvement as a member of PORZA-Association Artistique et Intellectuelle Internationale (1928-1937).⁸⁸

The economic and political instability of the 1930s caused not only changes in the socio-political sphere but also transitions within the musical landscape in France, and Paris in particular. While the commissioning of new musical works declined, new music societies were launched in an attempt to reach a wider audience, for instance La Sérénade and Triton, and composers—including Auric, Ibert, Milhaud and Poulenc—were lured into the popular world of cinema as a further means of earning a living, some working on film projects which had a specific political or moral message.⁸⁹ It was a period when composers were highly politicised and, as Jane Fulcher contends, their musical output during this stage reveals that they were pulled between the tensions of

⁸⁷ In 1936, André Gide denounced Communism, publishing *Retour de l'URSS* suivi de *Retouches à mon Retour de l'URSS* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), detailing the abhorrent nature of Stalin's regime. See Nichols, *Conversations with Madeleine Milhaud*, 32-24.

⁸⁸ PORZA was founded in 1928 by Jacques Viénot (the name comes from the town in Switzerland where it was founded) with the tenets of internationalism, humanism and pacifism. PORZA was firmly established in Paris from 1933. French members including Rose Adler were drawn from Union des Artistes Modernes but the movement also attracted others such as Pierre Aubry, Darius Milhaud and the artist Giovanni Costetti. Both organisations actively encouraged dialogue between members and meetings were held regularly at Royaumont Abbey. PORZA's monthly newsletter, *Nouvelles Brèves*, ran between 1932-1938. Dyer attended a members' meeting. See 'PORZA', *Beaux-Arts*, 24 Feb. 1939, 8. <https://www.retronews.fr/journal/beaux-arts/24-fevrier-1939/1887/4218639/8>.

See also <https://atom.archives.unesco.org/porza-association-artistique-et-intellectuelle-internationale>.

⁸⁹ During the 1930s Auric worked in four film scores, Ibert seven, Milhaud thirteen, and Poulenc one. Honegger collaborated with Milhaud on five of the thirteen films. See Hannah Lewis, *French Musical Culture and the Coming of Sound Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

‘the universal (or outside influences) and the national...the present and nostalgia for the past, and the attraction of popular and élite art’.⁹⁰ Moore suggests that during the time of the Popular Front the aesthetic approach of Les Six was reinvigorated with a defined political purpose through the integration of folklore and French revolutionary music into their works ‘for the people’.⁹¹ Specifically, within their musical works they attempted to create and emphasise cultural links between workers and intellectuals, an approach Moore labels ‘populist modernism’. This was in contrast to their output during the 1920s, which has been described as ‘lifestyle modernism’ for their use of ‘everyday’, or commonplace, aspects within their musical works, often ironically.⁹²

As active members of the FMP, Milhaud, Auric, Ibert and Roussel participated in several projects including the highly politicised revival of Romain Rolland’s play *Le 14 Juillet* in 1936, the composition of new folk-like songs, and the provision of new harmonisations of traditional folksongs for performance at the youth summer camps organised by the Popular Front and related left-wing organisations. For the Bastille Day events in 1936 the composers were commissioned by the FMP to create incidental music for Rolland’s play, a major collective venture that would function as a celebration of Republican glory and spirit. Their incidental music for military wind band, with or without chorus, was performed at both the beginning and the end of each act. Of the composers participating in Dyer’s project, Ibert had composed the ‘Overture’, Auric the ‘Palais Royal’ (before Act 1), Milhaud the ‘Finale’ for Act 1, and Roussel the ‘Prélude’ to Act II.⁹³

⁹⁰ See Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual*, 191. For more on the surrealists and their engagement as a group with the AEAR, see Roger Shattuck, *The Innocent Eye: On Modern Literature and the Arts* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2003), 9-31.

⁹¹ Moore, ‘Music in France’, x.

⁹² Moore, ‘Music in France’, 32-33.

⁹³ For a detailed description of this work see Moore, ‘Music in France’, 171-211.

Much closer to Dyer's *Pipeaux* project were perhaps the new folksongs composed by Auric and Milhaud between 1937 and 1939, and their new harmonisations of several traditional folksongs. Auric's three new songs *Le campeur en chocolat*, *Le canard* and *La corvée d'eau* became core camp-song repertoire for French youth organisations for several decades after, and *Le campeur* was adopted by women of the Resistance who had been imprisoned during the Second World War.⁹⁴ For the Union des Jeunes Filles de France, he composed *Chansons jeunes filles* based on words by Léon Moussinac, who led the cinema programme for the FMP, music described by Christopher Moore as 'simple' and 'unpretentious', 'joyous' and 'optimistic'.⁹⁵ As a way of renewing a traditional song, Auric provided new harmonisations for *Le fils du Cordonnier* and *Le Roi a fait batter tambour* and Milhaud for *Magali* and *Se canto*. These folkloric series provided a type of musical propaganda, one created specifically to encourage community singing with the objective of arousing in both the performers and listeners a sense of national pride. Over twenty discs of songs were recorded by the Chant du Monde label under the title *Chansons jeunesse*, and they were issued with lyrics and scores published by the FMP.⁹⁶

In 1937, Milhaud became honorary president of the Loisirs Musicaux de la Jeunesse, an organisation founded by Paul Arma and based on the folkloric youth music models of the Weimer Republic. For this organisation he composed: *Récréation*, four songs after texts by Jacqueline Kriéger; *Sornettes* op 214, dedicated to his son and based on popular Provençal texts translated by Frédéric Mistral; and the unpublished *Deux chansons d'enfants* op. 217—'Cours de solfège' and 'Papillon, papillonette!'—for children's chorus and piano, to poems by Henri Fluchère. The organisation also solicited musical

⁹⁴ Roust, *Georges Auric*, 122; and Roust, 'Reaching a Plus Grand Public': 357-60.

⁹⁵ Moore, 'Music in France', 163.

⁹⁶ The Chant du Monde label was launched a few months before Dyer's record label. See Chapter 4. For a listing and some musical examples of the twenty-one discs of the forty-two popular songs see <https://sites.google.com/site/rogerdesormiere18981963/discographie/38-le-chant-du-monde>.

works suitable for young people to perform from other notable composers including Arthur Honegger (who was its artistic advisor) and Jean Wiéner. Pascal Ory claims the organisation opened music and record libraries and offered broad-based musical instruction.⁹⁷

These activities took place well after the publication of *Pipeaux*. When Guéritte and Blensdorf-MacJannet founded the *Guilde Française des Faiseurs et Joueurs de Pipeaux* in 1933, the making and playing of pipes was seen by the progressive educators involved as a means of facilitating musical expression among the people and counteracting the broader social and political problems occurring in France. The *Guilde Française* encouraged the formation of institutional partnerships with youth-oriented organisations of a similar ethos, including the *Amis de la Danse Populaire* and the Scouting movement: Guéritte also admired the work of Léon Chancerel's youth theatre company *Des Comédiens Routiers* (1929), which was associated with the French Scouts.⁹⁸ Given that Guéritte and Dyer moved within the same musical circles across England and France, and Guéritte's close connection to members of the French musical élite, the involvement of seven of France's most illustrious composers in this project is no surprise. As I will show, the compositional stylistic elements alluded to by Moore as being associated with the Popular Front were evident in the musical miniatures these composers produced for *Pipeaux Mélodies*.

⁹⁷ Ory, *La belle illusion*, 296-98. The organisation introduced a harmonica ensemble, an ancient music group and the first French recorder ensemble.

⁹⁸ *La Nouvelle Education* 13 no.128 (1934):141-44.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k55256879/f7.item>.

Chancerel was a pupil of Jacques Copeau. Copeau founded the *Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier* in Paris, which Jane Barthori managed when he was in America. It was at that theatre the *Groupe Les Six* presented their first works.

***Pipeaux Mélodies* (1934)**

Milhaud, Roussel, Auric, Poulenc and Martelli all dedicated their compositions for *Pipeaux Mélodies* (1934) to Dyer, illustrating not only an admiration for her project, but also an interest in the then novel idea of composing music for schoolchildren and for an unusual instrument. As well as encouraging their inclinations towards experimentation, Dyer's project connected them with the communal values and the democratisation of music that were emerging in France. As will be shown, these musical works presage their musical activities of the Popular Front era, a period which has been extensively considered by Moore and Fulcher.⁹⁹

Of the seven composers involved in *Pipeaux*, Roussel was crucial in guaranteeing the project's legitimacy and reputation for several reasons. First, he was France's most notable living composer by 1934, with an assured international reputation.¹⁰⁰ Second, Dyer had known him for over a decade—they had met in the early 1920s prior to her settling in Paris—and he was a keen supporter of her publishing endeavours.¹⁰¹ Third, he had already made a significant contribution to the flute literature. For instance, his four musical miniatures for flute and piano, *Joueurs de flute* op. 27 (1924), highlight his deep understanding of the instrument and his connection with the flautist Marcel Moyses, to whom one of the pieces was dedicated. Fourth, Roussel became honorary president of the French pipers guild in 1935: it is conceivable this association arose

⁹⁹ Moore, 'Music in France', 19. See also Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual*, which suggests that certain members of Les Six (Milhaud, Auric, and Honegger in particular) engaged in a form of musical experimentation that, through its very novelty, brought them attention during the time of the Popular Front.

¹⁰⁰ Since the deaths of Debussy, Saint-Saëns, Fauré and Satie, Roussel was, by 1929, one of the few remaining living composers of the older generation. The year 1929 was notable for the tenth anniversary of the group referred to as *Les Six*.

¹⁰¹ Albert Roussel, *Albert Roussel: Lettres et Écrits*, ed. Nicole Labelle (Paris: Flammarion, 1987), 12.

through his long-standing friendship with Madeleine Guéritte's brother, Jean-Aubry.¹⁰² He was joined on this committee by Madame Lhersonneau, president of the Groupe Folklorique de L'Orléanais and a Conservatoire d'Orléans professor.¹⁰³ (In 1938, Paul Le Flem, director of the Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais, succeeded Roussel; Blensdorf-MacJannet became president; and Jane Bathori, the impresario, conductor and early supporter of Les Six, along with Marcel Moyses, the renowned flautist and professor at the Geneva Conservatoire, joined as committee members.¹⁰⁴) Lastly, although a generation older than the other participants in Dyer's project, he was closely connected to them through his teaching and writing activities, and a known admirer of their music.¹⁰⁵

Dyer had drawn the other composers into her network since making Paris her home. As examined in Chapter 1, Dyer attended Jeanne Dubost's regular Wednesday afternoon salon which was frequented by members of Les Six, Roussel, and Florent Schmitt, who with others created the collective children's ballet *L'Éventail de Jeanne* (1927). It is possible that Dyer approached the same group of composers for her project, as Schmitt offered a sonata for two pipes and vibraphone, but it was deemed

¹⁰² Roussel and his wife were engaged with the *Guilde* and their names regular appear in the journal from 1935. See *La Nouvelle Éducation*, 14, no. 137 (1935): 129 which lists Roussel as a honorary president, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k55243780/f17>, and *La Nouvelle Éducation*, 15, no. 145 (1936):76, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5524391v/f12>. This article discusses a soirée performance hosted by the Roussels. From 1907, Roussel's music had been performed at the Société des Concerts Français organised by the Guérites, Piatigorsky, 'The Campaign for French Music', 6.

¹⁰³ This organisation is now known as Amicale de L'Orléanais. Mme Lhersonneau's involvement is first listed in *La Nouvelle Éducation* 13, no. 129 (1934): 166. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5525690s/f14.item>.

See also Necrologie, in *Les Amis de Gaston Couté* no. 12 (1953), np. <http://gastoncoute.free.fr/amis/amis12.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴ For Paul Le Flem and Bathori's engagement with the association, see *La Nouvelle Éducation* 17, no. 168 (1938): 124. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5522400r/f12>. See also the French education historian Laurent Gutierrez website regarding the history of the l'Éducation Nouvelle movement in France between 1899 and 1939. http://hmenf.free.fr/article.php?id_article=50.

¹⁰⁵ Albert Roussel, 'Young French Composers', *The Chesterian* no. 2 (1919), 33-37.

too challenging.¹⁰⁶ Honegger was also approached as correspondence between Dyer and Ezra Pound reveals: ‘I am getting Honegger, Roussel, Poulenc, Ferroud and Ibert to write me a few melodies for the “*Pipeaux*” for children—won’t it be fun if we can get them all playing the pipes of Pan to modern melodies’.¹⁰⁷ Dyer attended the concerts organised by Yvonne de Casa Fuerte’s La Sérénade, where Milhaud, Poulenc and Auric held artistic committee positions, as well as those produced by Ferroud’s Triton, for which Roussel, Milhaud and Ibert served on the programming committee, and Martelli’s compositions were performed.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, Ibert, Milhaud and Roussel generously lent their names to the Comité de Patronage associated with Dyer’s first publication the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*. What these composer-led projects and associations show is the willingness of these composers to work together to achieve mutually beneficial goals and a common interest in Dyer’s projects.

All the pieces were completed by the end of the European summer of 1934, in time to be printed and ready for Dyer’s impending visit to Australia to partake in activities for the centenary of the City of Melbourne, which ran between October 1934 and June 1935. Dyer’s newly knighted and now married brother had retained his position as Lord Mayor of the City of Melbourne, so the Dyers attended events as spectators.¹⁰⁹ During this visit she presented 1,000 copies of the *Melbourne Centenary*

¹⁰⁶ Schmitt reworked his contribution for harpsichord, flute and clarinet. It was published as *Sonatine en Trio* by Durand & Cie, in 1935, see Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 246. Schmitt dedicated this work to the Italian harpsichordist Corradina Mola. It was performed at Société Triton on 29 January 1936, with Marcelle de Lacour at the keyboard. See Michel Duchesneau, *L’Avant-Garde Musicale à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Liège: Mardaga, 1997), 333.

¹⁰⁷ Louise Dyer, Letter to Ezra Pound, 18 March 1934, Ezra Pound Papers, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ezra Pound Papers, General Correspondence, YCAL MSS 44, BOX 14, Folder 643.

¹⁰⁸ For a first-hand description of Dyer’s involvement in Triton see Ruth Melkis-Bihler, *Pierre-Octave Ferroud (1900-1936): ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik in Frankreich* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Peter Lang AG, 1995), 457. For the aims of Société Triton and those involved in the organisation, see Duchesneau, *L’Avant-garde*, 134-135, and 332.

¹⁰⁹ Harold Gengoult Smith married Cynthia Brookes in December 1933. She was the daughter of Norman Brookes, whose brother was the wealthy businessman and government advisor

Music Book to the BMS; it is unclear if *Pipeaux Mélodies* or Milhaud's *Exercice Musicale* were made available.

In their pieces for *Pipeaux Mélodies* each composer explored the musical potential of the pipe, which could be fashioned into several lengths—the soprano in D (Ré in solfège), the alto in A, the tenor in D, and the bass in G. Five of these musical works involve a single melodic line with piano accompaniment, suitable for either a solo or group performance. Ferroud composed a duet with piano accompaniment, and Ibert offered an adventurous quartet for four pipes: two trebles, an alto and a bass (Table 3.3). As befits a pedagogical publication, the musical works were organised in increasing technical difficulty: Milhaud's piece being the simplest was presented first, while Martelli's *3 Mélodies pour pipeau*, op. 37. no. 1 (only one of the three planned was ever composed) is more complex and appears last within the collection. The musical works are short in length apart from Auric's *Scherzo*, which is 70 bars long excluding the repeat. Milhaud's contribution was the only musical work also issued as a separate publication.

Table 3.3: French Music for Pipes Published by EOL in 1934.

| Composer | Title & Description | Dedication | Length (in Bars) |
|--|---|------------|------------------|
| <i>Exercice musical</i> op.134 (1934) | | | 28 |
| Darius Milhaud | Pour pipeau (en ré) soprano avec ou sans piano. | Yes | |
| <i>Pipeaux Mélodies</i> (1934) | | | |
| Darius Milhaud | <i>Exercice musical</i> , pour pipeau (en ré) soprano avec ou sans piano. | Yes | 28 |
| Albert Roussel | <i>Pipe in D Major</i> . | Yes | 19 |
| Jacques Ibert | <i>Pastoral</i> for four pipes. | No | 28 |
| Georges Auric | <i>Scherzo</i> . | Yes | 70 (ex. repeat.) |
| Francis Poulenc | <i>Villanelle</i> , pour pipeau et piano. | Yes | 36 |
| Pierre Octave Ferroud | <i>Pas redoublé</i> . | No | 34 |
| Henri Martelli | <i>3 Mélodies pour pipeau</i> op. 37, no.1, avec accompagnement de piano. | Yes | 23 |

Herbert Brookes, who had married Ivy (née Deakin). Harold's marriage to Ms Brookes led to his full acceptance into Melbourne's establishment: something Dyer had longed for but failed to achieve. Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 287.

As the name of the collection suggests, these are *songs* for the pipe. Songs require a strong melodic line and for the composers involved this was also an important aspect of their compositional technique, as they revered melody and instilled this into their musical aesthetic. Milhaud, for instance, wrote:

What gives life to a work, what makes it true will never be its characteristics, polytonal or atonal but, rather, *its essential melody* [his emphasis]. Thence springs its real power, because it comes straight from the heart of the musician...It is the primary element, the authentic organic one...It is the entire secret of music.¹¹⁰

In addition, the composers employ a range of musical idioms and compositional approaches associated with the pastoral, with early music and with the patriotic, reaffirming at a crucial period of socio-political change not only the history and uses of the pipe as a musical instrument, but also aspects of French musical heritage.

The musical miniatures created by these composers build on their neoclassicist aesthetic and take advantage of the long association pipes have with the martial and with evoking the pastoral. Ibert's *Pastoral* employs compositional techniques recalling the French Baroque, and Poulenc adopts and adapts a stylised renaissance 'fixed-form' in his *Villanelle*. Ferroud's humorous piece parodies the pipes' association with the martial, while Milhaud, Roussel, Poulenc, Auric and Martelli intentionally evoke an arcadian idyl through melodic lines of charming and naïve folksong-like character, suggesting a landscape far away from the mechanised industrial present. While their compositional approaches and melodies recall the past, the military or the bucolic, the harmonic structures are firmly rooted in the present: a deliberate use of 'wrong notes', elements of jazz and bi-tonality.

¹¹⁰ Darius Milhaud, 'The Evolution of Modern Music in Paris and in Vienna', *North American Review* 217, no. 809 (1923): 554. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25112995>.

As the only work published separately, Milhaud's *Exercice musicale* demonstrates his experience of composing works for children to perform, and an understanding of the techniques required for the development of musical literacy and musicality. As the piece can be performed with or without accompaniment, the melodic line is of crucial importance. Here Milhaud has created an unpretentious and extremely memorable folksong-like melody which conjures a strong sense of the pastoral. If accompanied, then the right-hand piano part follows the tune exactly—apart from the scale run at the end of the first phrase—emphasising the pedagogical nature of the work. Each four-bar melodic phrase of the melody is repeated almost exactly, creating one eight-bar section which encourages the development of aural memory and helps to build a sense of musical form (Example 3.1).

Example 3.1: Darius Milhaud, *Exercice Musical* (1934), bars 1-8.



The melodic line contains intervals such as falling minor thirds or perfect fourths that return to their starting note. Such repetition is a common practice used to encourage close listening and to foster pitch and interval memory. The performance of each phrase requires good breath control, an essential technique required to convey the musical sense of a work.

Ibert and Poulenc revive compositional principles associated with French musical classicism and stylised renaissance fixed-form respectively. Ibert's *Pastoral* for four pipes exhibits compositional approaches and features which draw on the musical ancestry of the eighteenth century. The piece exhibits a high level of craftsmanship and his skill at counterpoint. The work is in three sections, where the first two feature two-part contrapuntal writing, stripped of excess. All four instruments play in the final section where the first treble and alto pipe perform a quasi-fugue based on the main melody,

while the second treble interweaves the countermelody, and the bass pipe sustains the harmonic structure (Examples 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4).

Example 3.2: Jacques Ibert, *Pastoral* (1934), bars 1-4.

Example 3.3: Jacques Ibert, *Pastoral* (1934), bars 9-12.

Example 3.4: Jacques Ibert, *Pastoral* (1934), bars 17-21.

In this simple piece, Ibert shows how modern musical works are indebted to the past.

This is the only work within the collection that carries an epigraph associated with idealism, childhood and learning. The two-line quotation—‘Annihilating all that’s made/To a green thought in a green shade’, taken from Andrew Marvell’s poem *The Garden* (1681)—suggests the need to return to innocence, to childhood (‘green thought’)

from where learning can begin anew.¹¹¹ Additionally, it is clear that Ibert wholly understood the technical capabilities of the bamboo pipe: his *Flute Concerto* (1934), dedicated to Marcel Moyse (who later became an advocate for the French Piper's Guild) was composed at the same time.

Poulenc entitled his piece *Villanelle*, originally a dance form derived from the Renaissance *villanella alla napoletana*, which was distinguished by its pastoral subject.¹¹² Like the *rondeau*, the *villanelle* became popular with poets and composers during the late 1800s.¹¹³ Poulenc may have been aware of Emmanuelle Chabrier's use of the form in his song *Villanelle des petits canards* (1889)—based on Rosemonde Gérard's poem 'Ils vont les petits canards' from her set entitled *Les Pipeaux* (1889/90) (see Appendix 3)—or his teacher, Koechlin's own use of the form.¹¹⁴ Yet his piece for *Pipeaux* also seems part of his larger interest in Renaissance dance forms in this period which he then imbued with his own musical vocabulary. His *Suite française* (1935), for instance, scored for winds, percussion and harpsichord (or harp *ad libitum*), calls on several dances from within Claude Gervaise's sixteenth-century collection *Le livre des danceries*, and is similarly rustic

¹¹¹ *Pipeaux Mélodies* (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1934), 6. Andrew Marvell, *Miscellaneous Poems* (Turks Head, Cornwall: Robert Boulter, 1681), 48-51. See <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/first-edition-of-andrew-marvells-poems-1681>.

¹¹² Frank Dobbins, 'Villanelle', *Grove Music Online*, 2001. DO.10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29380.

¹¹³ The fixed forms of rondeaus and villanelle were popular in England too. John McCrae's 'In Flanders Fields', a rondeau, was widely circulated in *Punch*, 8 December 1915. For a fascinating overview of the use of the *villanelle* by English poets in particular, see Amanda Lowry French, 'Refrain, again: The Return of the Villanelle' (Phd Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2004). <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/refrain-again-return-villanelle/docview/305104842/se-2?accountid=11862>.

¹¹⁴ Poulenc admired Chabrier and wrote his biography, Francis Poulenc, *Emmanuel Chabrier* (Paris: La Palatine, 1961); and Francis Poulenc, *Emmanuel Chabrier*, trans. Cynthia Jolly (London: Dobson, 1981). Many composers used or adapted the *villanelle* form including: Gabriel Pierné (1883); Eva Dell'Acqua (1892-3); Pauline Viardot (1893), Cécile Chaminade (1894); Charles Koechlin composed two *Villanelles*, Op. 21, 1905; Paul Dukas (1905/6), his *villanelle* for horn was used as the exam piece by the Conservatoire de Paris in 1906, 1913, 1927.

in character.¹¹⁵ In the *Villanelle* for *Pipeaux*, his naïve yet elegant modal melody gently weaves around five notes, venturing from this restricted range on just two occasions but remaining within the octave. Poulenc supports this hypnotic tune with voice leading procedures reminiscent of the sixteenth century. The moderate dancelike spirit of the work and its connection with the past is further conjured through the use of a mordent, a form of *agrémens* traditionally employed to reinforce intricate dance gestures (Example 3.5).¹¹⁶

Example 3.5: Francis Poulenc, *Villanelle* (1934).

Pipe part only. The seven bars marked ‘sans accompagnement’ (if the work is performed solo) have been excluded.

Ferroud’s humorous *Pas redoublé* is the only work within the collection that through its title and compositional approach conjures up patriotic images associated with army and navy bands through the use of piccolos and fifes, as well as revolutionary

¹¹⁵ Nadia Boulanger suggested that Poulenc consider arranging Gervaise’s dances. Within the *Suite* itself Poulenc juxtaposes old and new musical vocabulary. See Nichols, *Poulenc*, 114, 115.

¹¹⁶ Susan McClary, ‘Unruly Passions and Courtly Dances: Technologies of the Body in Baroque Music’, in *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 93.

song. Pipe bands were essential for ensuring that columns of troops marched in time and maintained an even rate of progress: the *pas redoublé* (equivalent of the British ‘quickstep’) was used to keep a steady 108 paces to the minute. Ferroud’s march-like atmosphere is suggested through the integration of particular rhythmic and melodic devices, which share much in common with the revolutionary song ‘Ah! Ça ira’ (Example 3.6 and 3.7).

Example 3.6: ‘Ah!, Ça ira’, Popular Revolutionary Tune, c. 1790.



Example 3.7: Pierre-Octave Ferroud, *Pas redoublé* (1934), bars 1-5.



The march is alternated with a section that imitates the sound of a bosun’s whistle used in navies from the seventeenth century to pass on simple commands. For clarity these whistle commands usually comprised at most three notes. Here, Ferroud creates comedic confusion by combining two ‘instructions’, a main and a counter command (Example 3.8).¹¹⁷ Throughout this highly dramatic but fun musical work the clean, linear melodic lines mostly have the same rhythm and move in similar motion, a third and sometimes a fifth apart. This not only reinforces the image of tight formation, but also suggests automaton-like repetitive motion on the verge of losing control.

¹¹⁷ Jeremy Montague, Armin Suppan, Wolfgang Suppan, D. J. S. Murray and Raoul F. Camus, ‘Military Music’, *Grove Music Online*, 29 May 2020. DOI.10.1093/gmo/9781651592630.article.44139.

Example 3.8: Pierre-Octave Ferroud, *Pas redoublé* (1934), bars 11-18.

Poulenc, Auric, Roussel and Martelli's pieces recall the folk and pastoral. Auric's *Scherzo* was described by Colin Roust, his biographer, as a piano work with 'the pipe providing a little colour'.¹¹⁸ This is an overly harsh account, for while the rippling piano accompaniment shines, and the pipe does rest for a significant number of bars during the trio section—though this does occur after the repeated *Scherzo* in which the pipe leads—the simple melody is enchanting. Through his use of rhythmic and melodic repetition Auric evokes images of bucolic bliss (Guéritte's 'limpid brook'), and the sound of birdcalls come to mind. When compared with the other works within the collection, the *Scherzo* is challenging across all technical elements—the tempo is lively, the melody singable, though it extends beyond the octave by a third, and is rhythmically sophisticated—making this a tricky, yet delightful work for children to perform [Example 3.9].

¹¹⁸ Roust, *Georges Auric*, 114.

Example 3.9: Georges Auric, 'Scherzo' (1934), bars 1-11.

The musical score for 'Scherzo' by Georges Auric, bars 1-11, is presented in three systems. The first system (bars 1-5) shows the Flute (Fl.) part starting with a rest, followed by a melodic line marked *p bien chanté*. The Piano (Pno.) part features a light, rhythmic accompaniment marked *p léger*. The second system (bars 6-10) continues the Flute melody and the Piano accompaniment. The third system (bar 11) shows the Flute part ending with a rest and the Piano part concluding with a final chord.

Roussel and Martelli's works represent two different sides of the pastoral.

Roussel's piece, at less than a minute in duration, is the shortest in the collection, yet his simple melodic line which moves gently in a stepwise motion first up and then down the scale—there is one leap of a seventh within the entire work—suggests a calm, rural atmosphere. Dynamic emphasis is given to the modulations to the dominant, providing shape to this simple piece in three sections (Example 3.10).

Example 3.10: Albert Roussel, *Pipe in D Major* (1934).

Martelli's *3 Mélodies Pour Pipeau*, the last work within the collection, is not only the most technically challenging for both the piper and the accompanist, but also more playful. Martelli employs short rhythmic and melodic phrases interspersed with rests of varying durations, and they too are mostly short [Example 3.11]. The dotted rhythms and off-beat anacrusis-like entries create a jaunty feel. The melody, twists and turns, sounding almost improvised and when combined with the clever accompaniment, a slightly awkward, rustic image is evoked. To play this technically sophisticated and pointillistic-style piece well would require significant technical facility, hence its placement last within the collection.

Example 3.11: Henri Martelli, *3 Mélodies Pour Pipeau* (1934), bars 1-7.

These musical miniatures support the tenets of both the piping and the progressive education movements. The compositions beautifully capture the essence of the unsophisticated bamboo pipe, a musical instrument with a well-established history

associated with both the pastoral and the martial. Through simple musical features and compositional techniques each composer highlights different elements of these associations. In addition, these pedagogical works support the progressive education movement in its ambition to reinvigorate music education through instrumental playing, and most importantly through playing new music by living composers.

To help achieve this ambition Dyer issued the collection in 1934 in an inexpensive format specifically suitable for children. The oblong booklet appears to have been the favoured format of many contemporary folksongs publications for children being marketed at that time. Rose Adler's cover cleverly used the composers' signatures prominently displayed above the title, in a stylised Art Deco type, which sits in the centre foreground and is superimposed over the date of publication, 1934 (Figure 3.2).

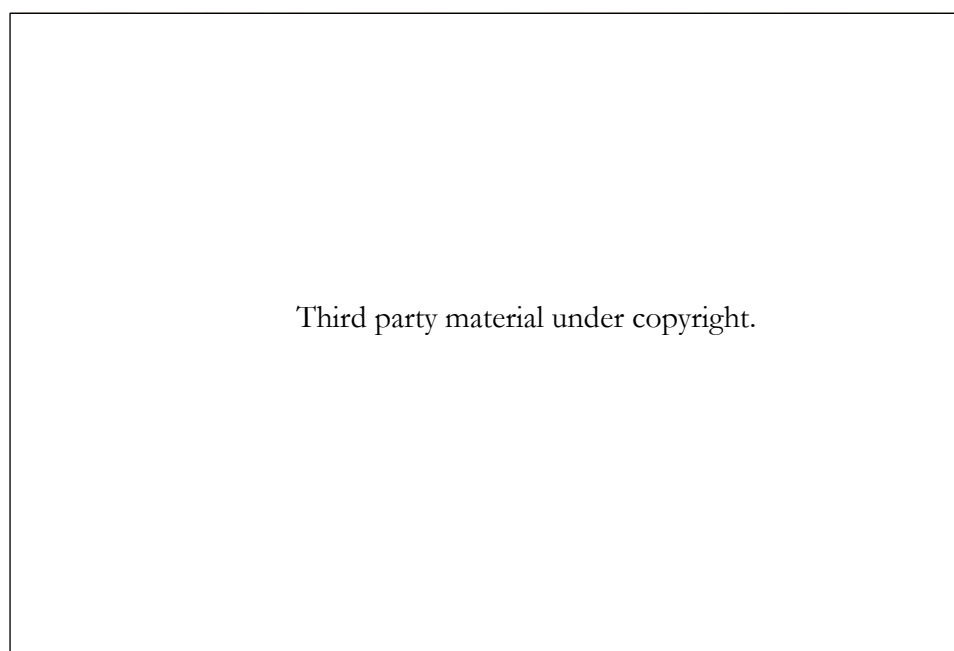


Figure 3.2: *Pipeaux Mélodies* (1934), Front Cover.

Using signatures in this way spotlights the involvement of seven of France's most eminent composers in the project. It also hints at a child's autograph book, making the music booklet more intimate and therefore even more special to the owner.¹¹⁹ On a

¹¹⁹ As a child Dyer possessed an autograph book. Davidson *Lyrebird*, 43. Dyer's own *Visitors Book* could be considered an adult version.

practical level, signatures were probably quicker and easier to procure and less expensive to reproduce than line drawings or photographs of each composer—a motive suggested by Dyer's comment to Pound, 'it must be a cheap book so that all the children can have it, I hope it won't be too nasty because of that'.¹²⁰

These unpretentious musical works demonstrate a willingness by these composers to experiment with composing for a simple musical instrument and for creating pieces for children to learn and play. The composers involved in the *Pipeaux* project found ways of addressing the tensions between the international and the national, the present and the past, and the amateur and the élite. They created music for children to perform that is simultaneously interesting and pedagogical. Their musical vocabulary draws on characteristics that would appeal to children and that were found in traditional folk music, patriotic tunes and music from past eras, but they are imbued with a distinctive modern character. What is more, these pieces reflect the patriotic impulse, for the composers appear to be aware of the socio-political aspirations of the era as well as the ideals of the progressive education and the piping movements. In these ways these musical works continue their composer's engagement with neoclassicism, evident throughout the 1920s; and in being for children, these works anticipate their later musical works for the Popular Front.

Music for Pipes: A Failure?

Dyer's publishing project for pipes, including *Pipeaux* supported her idea of democratising music, making the music of living élite composers accessible to children, or others, who wished to play a bamboo pipe, or indeed later a recorder.¹²¹ What Dyer

¹²⁰ Louise Dyer, Letter to Ezra Pound, 18 March 1934.

¹²¹ Prior to 1934, there were few examples of distinguished composers writing music for school children to perform in instrumental ensembles, works by Hindemith, Milhaud and Gustav Holst and Vaughan Williams being rare exceptions. Holst wrote the *St Paul's Suite* (1921) while head of

recognised was the connection between the physical performance of modern music in the classroom and the building of future audiences, and she did so quite early. She appears to have instinctively comprehended that for young people to develop an appreciation of music, passive listening methods could provide only part of the solution. For her, this raised questions as to what form some of their musical development should take.

In asking celebrated composers to write musical works for children and for this rather quaint musical instrument, she was promoting the dissemination of a new musical pedagogy. Therein lay the problem: the dominant form of music pedagogy was singing. Classroom music education in France (and Britain and Australia) had been conceived as a valuable means of building knowledge of one's cultural patrimony, reinforcing national identity and addressing social concern through singing. While extending the current music curriculum beyond singing was probably financially prohibitive in the early 1930s, progressive educationalists considered piping to be a viable alternative.

New pedagogical methods faced significant challenges, especially if the method was developed in another country. To flourish, new methods required significant international and national institutional and cross-disciplinary support across all educational levels. In France and in Australia the piping movement lacked this level of support and advocacy required to become a part of institutionalised music education.

In France, the project appeared to support the objectives of all political parties to reconnect and celebrate the positive aspects of 'the two Frances'—the rural (folklore and artisanal) and contemporary and modern (industrial). One of the major statements of these objectives was the 1937 *Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie*

music at St Paul's Girls' School, London. Vaughan Williams composed only one work for pipes *Suite for Pipes* (1939). Also see n30.

Moderne.¹²² It is perhaps unsurprising, then, to see similar concerns with music education emerging in this event. As part of the 1937 Paris Exposition, Jean Roger-Ducasse, in his role as inspector of the teaching of singing in Parisian schools, chaired a forum on music education focussing on the topic of concerts *by* and *for* youth (both choral and instrumental).¹²³ Roussel reported on this with some delight, observing that music had gained stature within the education curriculum, losing its stigma as a 'bourgeois' pastime.¹²⁴ Although he wrote of his admiration for Guéritte's innovative piping initiative—as it offered another means of imparting musical skills to children through the playing of a 'very simple instrument, the pipe'—he believed that singing remained crucial to the development of musical skills in both children and adults.¹²⁵ Group singing and music appreciation thus remained the focus of classroom music

¹²² See Robert H. Kargon, Karen Fiss, Morris Low and Arthur P. Molella, *World's Fairs on the Eve of War: Science, Technology & Modernity 1937-1942* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), especially Chapter 2, 'Modernity à la française', 7-29; and Shanny Peer, *France on Display: Peasants, Provincials, and Folklore in the 1937 Paris World's Fair* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998).

¹²³ Educational concerts, which often included discussion about the music being presented, were considered another way of developing the aesthetic and artistic tastes of young people (although like the use of recordings this was a passive method). Dyer praised Robert Mayer's London concert series for children which he founded in 1923 and continued until early 1980s. His series was based on those held by Walter Damrosch in North America. See Dyer, 'Bringing Music'. Dyer was most likely aware of a similar concert series held in Paris. Throughout the 1930s, Alice Sauvrezis presented 'concerts pour la jeunesse' of Paris entitled 'Musée Musicale'; as the title suggests, Sauvrezis presented music from across French musical heritage and her work was praised for pursuing the same goals as other art and history museums. Elizabeth de Mondesir, review, 'Le 15 janvier, Mlle Alice Sauvrezis', *L'Art musical*, 24 January 1936, 271 and 284. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k98205498/f13.item>. Frank Callaway, 'ISME—the First Twenty-Five Years', *College Music Symposium*, 19, no. 1 (1979): 239. [https://www.jstor.org/stable.40351773](https://www.jstor.org/stable/40351773). This was the third international event concerning music education: Percy Scholes's 1929 Lausanne conference concerning music teaching was the first, followed by the first International Congress on music education in Prague in 1936.

¹²⁴ Roussel, 'La Musique à l'École' in Labelle, *Albert Roussel*, 283-284.

¹²⁵ Roussel, 'La Musique à l'École', 284: 'Il convient de citer un autre moyen d'éducation musicale dû à l'intelligente initiative, en Angleterre, de Mme T. J. Guéritte, qui cherche à répandre l'emploi d'un instrument très simple, le pipeau, dont n'importe quel enfant arrive à jouer sans aucune difficulté'.

education in France until well after the Second World War.¹²⁶ Despite this, the piping community and these musical miniatures have remained popular in France to this day.¹²⁷

Dyer's project gained no traction with the piping movement in her homeland, Australia, in the 1930s. Furthermore, only two of the seven composers involved in the *Pipeaux* project would continue to compose more music for children to perform in groups. Thus, her project partially failed. This suggests that the gap in music education she and others had identified was likely to remain.

¹²⁶ Madurell, 'France', in Cox and Stevens, *Origins*, 22-35, especially pages 27-32. Madurell discusses how the ambiguous status of music in French society was reflected in the status of music education in schools.

¹²⁷ For more on the piping movement in France today see <https://www.flutes-de-bambou.com>.

4. Making Music Sound: l'Oiseau-Lyre Recordings 1937-1940

'Music is sound.'
Louise Dyer (c.1939)

'Music is never resurrected solely out of books.'
Bruce Haynes (2007)

Dyer's educational projects, discussed in the previous chapter, reveal her anxieties about a growing trend towards passive listening. It might seem surprising then, that one of her next major projects was to launch a recording arm of enterprise.¹ Embracing recordings as a means of bringing unfamiliar music to the public and influencing taste, she decided to use them as a complement to her printed editions.² As a female pioneer in the music recording industry, Dyer is unusual, but also representative of a whole group of women whose contributions to and engagement with music technology has been largely elided.³ Launching a new music label when transnational conglomerates and established niche publishers already dominated the market was another bold move for a firm led by a woman, as there are no other examples of female-led recording companies at that time; Dyer was seemingly undeterred. She believed that 'in the end there can only be music and music is sound', so for her, gramophone records were the solution.⁴ In an era of

¹ Dyer began mentioning music technologies in her articles for *The Herald* from 1932. For instance, see Louise M. Dyer, 'Music from the Ether', *The Herald* (Vic.), 17 September, 1932, 18, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/243040588?>; and the use of recordings to teach music appreciation in French schools, Louise B. M. Dyer, 'Trend of Modern Music'. *The Herald* (Vic.), 14 January 1932, 4. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242897431>.

² Louise Dyer, Typewritten Illustrated-Lecture, n.d. (c.1939). EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

³ For women's engagement with music technology see Johann Merrich, *A Short History of Electronic Music and Its Women Protagonists*, trans. Barbara Beatrice Lavitola and Mattia Brundo (Rome: Arcana, 2021), and Frances Morgan, 'Pioneer Spirits: New Media Representations of Women in Electronic Music History', *Organised Sound* 22, no. 2 (2017): 238-249, n.2. DOI.10.1017/S1355771817000140. Also see the feature documentary by Lisa Rovner, *Sisters with Transistors: Electronic Music's Unsung Heroines*, 2021, <https://sisterswithtransistors.com>.

⁴ Dyer, Typewritten Illustrated-Lecture, EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

mechanical reproduction these new sound technologies made the abstract idea of music as ‘sound’ seemingly self-evident, as consumers fully accepted them as a means of providing music rather than making music themselves.⁵ Dyer considered that though these technologies further encouraged passive listening and widened the gap between popular and élite tastes, and amateur and professional music making, they could also offer the opportunity of extending the firm’s influence.

In the autumn of 1937, Dyer launched her recording label with the initial ambition of complementing the firm’s printed editions. Her goal was that scholars, performers, music connoisseurs and others could hear repertoire from the medieval and renaissance periods.⁶ Her action suggests that she appreciated that music could never be ‘resurrected solely out of books’, as the performer and musicologist Bruce Haynes pithily observed some sixty years later.⁷ It is significant that by the fall of France in May 1940 her firm had issued 140 78-rpm recordings, of which just under half were also issued in print format by the firm.⁸ There are several possible reasons for this: that Dyer

⁵ The removal of music from a live production to a recorded one, constantly ‘readable’ was argued at length by Adorno in his essay, ‘The Form of the Phonograph Record’ (1934), see Theodor Adorno, *Essays on Music*, intro. and commentary Richard Leppert, trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2002), 288-317. See also Timothy D. Taylor, ‘The Commodification of Music at the Dawn of the Era of “Mechanical Music”’, *Ethnomusicology* 51, no. 2 (2007): 281-305: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20174526>, where the player piano is presented as an example of this process. See also David Gramit, ‘Music Scholarship, Musical Practice, and the Act of Listening’, in *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics*, ed. Regula Burckhardt Quereschi (New York: Routledge, 2002), 3-22; and Sophie Maisonneuve, ‘Between History and Commodity: The Production of a Musical Patrimony through the Record in 1920-1930s’, *Poetics* 29, no. 2 (2001): 89-108. DOI.10.1016/S0304-422X(01)00029-8.

⁶ Alice Tacaille writes about the importance of Dyer’s medieval and renaissance publications and recordings. See Alice Tacaille, ‘Un Moyen Âge inouï: de la partition au concert en France 1933-1950’, in *La Musique ancienne entre historiens et musiciens*, ed. Xavier Bisaro and Rémy Campos (Geneva: Droz, 2014), 249.

⁷ Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 226.

⁸ All the discs prior to May 1940 were manufactured by Pathé-Marconi at their Chatou plant in the Yvelines department. For a list of recordings see Appendix 2 and for a list of publications see Appendix 1. See also Jim Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising: Louise Hanson-Dyer of l’Oiseau-Lyre 1884-1962* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 218-302.

chose additionally to record less well known works, sometimes previously unrecorded, such as Fauré's *Mirages*; that some of her publications had not been issued in time for the recording (for instance Yvonne Rokseth's *Polyphonies du XIIIe Siècle*, Vol IV) or, were never issued such as the folksong and carol collections. In terms of repertoire, almost half the recordings included music from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially that of French 'classical' composers.

Aware that she was entering a highly competitive marketplace necessitated working with musicians who 'knew and understood the music', as Dyer remarked—an approach which mirrored her way of working with the musicologists editors of the firm's publications.⁹ Several musicologists and musicians lent their authority to Dyer's label during these formative years, including the medievalists Guillaume de Van and Rokseth, the renowned German *Lied* interpreter Erika Rokyta and the French bassoonist Fernand Oubradous.¹⁰ Particularly important, though, was the contribution of the renowned interwar French conductor Roger Désormière.

The Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre label was created as a partner to the firm's print music catalogue with the aim of making early music more widely available and recognised as part of the broader musical culture both in France and internationally. By approaching recordings through the prism of contemporary French musical practice, Dyer hoped to encourage a greater understanding of this music. Active in conducting both early music and contemporary music, and committed to making music more widely accessible, Désormière amplified Dyer's central goals for the label and helped shape its early recordings in important ways. Though his name appears on the labels of

⁹ Dorothy Ford, 'This Month's Interview with Louise B. M. Dyer: Owner of the l'Oiseau-Lyre Press, Paris', *Australian Musical News and Digest* 38, no. 9, (March 1948): 18. See also Louise Dyer, Letter to Sibyl Hewett, 20 March 1942. SLVA, MS 10770, Dyer, Louise B. M. Hanson Papers 1926-1940 Box 1536/1.

¹⁰ Guillaume de Van made the first recording for Dyer's new label. Fernand Oubradous and the Austrian soprano Erika Rokyta performed on 25 recordings each, see Appendix 2.

just sixteen recordings during this period, in 1938 he oversaw the recording of seven musical works from François Couperin's *œuvre*. He also introduced to the label musicians with whom he had worked throughout his professional career, some of whom were familiar to audiences in France and beyond, and he worked mainly with modern instruments. Désormière advised musicians how to confidently interpret and perform French repertoire—both old and new—that was often unfamiliar to them. His performance style, emphasising practicality and accessibility over 'authenticity', is evident in these early recordings he made for Dyer.¹¹ While scholarship on early music performance in interwar France has focussed on the roles played by individuals such as Louis Dièmer, Wanda Landowska, Henry Expert and Nadia Boulanger, or specific early music ensembles and institutions, Désormière's recordings for Dyer offer additional insights into the approach to early music as practised in France during the interwar years.¹² Using the repertoire recorded by Désormière, this chapter examines how he and

¹¹ See Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2004); Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performance* (London: Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music, 2009); Nicholas Cook, 'The Ghost in the Machine: Towards a Musicology of Recordings', *Musicae Scientiae* 14, no. 2 (2010): 3-21, DOI.10.1177/102986491001411201; and Richard Taruskin, *Text & Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

¹² For an overview of early music ensembles in France see Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting Music of the Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, ed., *Wanda Landowska et la renaissance de la musique ancienne*, preface Éric de Visscher (Paris: Actes Sud, 2011), including: Jean-Michel Nectoux, 'Paris 1900, un panorama musical', in Eigeldinger, *Wanda Landowska*, 19-31; and Christiane Becker-Derex, 'Les sociétés de musique ancienne à Paris: Taffanel, Dièmer, Casadesus (1879-1939)', in Eigeldinger, *Wanda Landowska*, 45-58. See also Wanda Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, ed. and trans. Denise Restout with Robert Hawkins (New York: Secker & Warburg, 1965); Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future Between the Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). Specific ensembles include: Henri Casadesus's La Société des Instruments Anciens (1901-1939), the Société de Musique d'Autrefois (SMA), and Claude Crussard's ensemble Ars Rediviva (1935-47). Institutions such as the Schola Cantorum, the École Normale and the Princess de Polignac's salon were also important in promoting the music of François Couperin, Scarlatti and J. S. Bach. See James Ross, 'Music in the French Salon', in *French Music Since Berlioz*, ed. Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter (London: Routledge, 2016), 110.

Dyer viewed the performance of early music and explores what their choices can tell us about the performing fashions in France at the time.

This chapter comprises four sections. It begins with a summary discussion of the international and domestic fields of recording into which Dyer entered, and how these companies influenced the repertoire and the personnel choices she made. Given the important role Désormière played in the formative years of Dyer's label, section two considers how his views on the interpretation and performance of the music of the French Baroque were shaped throughout the interwar years by his conducting experiences of the musical works of Les Six and members of l'École de Arcueil, Stravinsky, and the Société de Musique d'Autrefois (SMA). Désormière's approach was also possibly influenced by his teacher Charles Koechlin and his own interest in historic architecture, as I will show. In section three I examine how Dyer's and Désormière's views on authenticity and the activities of the revivalists were aligned, and how in their mutual desire to make the music of the French Baroque more widely available they made pragmatic choices. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the recordings Désormière made with Dyer between 1937 and 1939.

The Recording Field and Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre: A New Niche Label

The interwar years saw the recording industry transformed by technological developments and then impacted by economic crises, which further altered how the industry functioned.¹³ The introduction of electronic recording from 1925 radically improved recording processes and the sound quality, leading to increased consumer

¹³ Technological improvements greatly enhanced the sound quality of the piano and the ability to record larger ensembles, but recordings were still limited to between four, and four and half minutes per side, depending on the size of the 78-rpm disk (10- or 12 inches). For a summary of the history of the recording industry see Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel-Leech-Wilkinson and John Rink, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

demand for recordings across all musical genres.¹⁴ For the first time, recordings of live performances could be made, creating competition with live radio broadcasts. Early music was particularly suited to electronic recording. The duration of a 78-rpm recording ranged from three to five minutes per side depending on the size of the disc: a 12-inch disc held four to five minutes of music, and a 10-inch disc approximately three minutes. Musical works of shorter durations were therefore better suited to recording as editorial cuts necessary for longer works such as operas and symphonies, were not required. As Sophie Maisonneuve has argued, recordings also became an important way of reconfiguring musical ‘patrimony’ in the 1920s and 30s, embodying the word’s dual meaning of heritage and possession; a disc of early music is both etched with music from the past, and a possession that can be enjoyed, treasured and passed on, as with an heirloom.¹⁵ In this way then, with the recordings produced by her niche label in the late 1930s, Dyer was demonstrating, celebrating and sharing French musical patrimony.

Internationally, the impact of the Great Depression forced the industry to restructure itself. However, prior to this global event, France’s own internal financial crises throughout the 1920s had already led the French company Pathé, once a market leader, to be acquired in 1929 by the American firm Columbia Records.¹⁶ In the aftermath of the Wall Street crash, Columbia itself was absorbed by the British company

¹⁴ The term ‘electrical recording’ is normally used to distinguish it from the earlier form of ‘acoustic recording’ and ‘magnetic tape recording’ and ‘micro-groove recording’ of the succeeding era.

¹⁵ Sophie Maisonneuve, ‘Between History and Commodity: The Production of a Musical Patrimony Through the Record in the 1920s-1930s’, *Poetics* 29 (2001): 89. DOI.10.1016/S0304-422X(01)00029-8.

¹⁶ France’s fiscal crises included: Germany’s inability to repay war reparations, the collapse of the franc and the financial and political damage caused by the fraudster Marthe Hanau. For an excellent history of the French recording industry refer to Sophie Maisonneuve, *L’invention du disque 1877-1949: Genèse de l’usage des médias musicaux contemporains* (Paris: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines, 2009). An international overview can be found in Pekka Grunow and Ilpo Saunio, *An International History of the Recording Industry*, trans. Christopher Moseley (London: Cassell, 1998).

Electric and Music Industries (EMI) in 1931.¹⁷ Thus, when Dyer entered the market in late 1937, the European recording industry was dominated by two large anglophone conglomerates: the Gramophone Company of America and EMI, together with their local subsidiaries, plus several smaller labels or *petites maisons*.

These global industry changes did not discourage the consumer. Recordings and broadcasts were rapidly adopted by an eager music-loving public.¹⁸ But these technologies profoundly changed the way people listened to and engaged with music, which was deemed a double-edged sword by many in the realm of music. On the one hand, some alarmists, including many musicians and critics, considered these new media and their symbiotic relationship with popular culture, such as jazz, as having a detrimental effect on active concert going, for their usage was seen to encourage cultural passivity and to play solely into the hands of capitalist interests. Scholars have estimated that the number of concerts held in Paris between 1900 and 1939 fell by thirty per cent, despite the population reaching an historic high of just under three million people in the middle period.¹⁹ On the other hand, many musicians and critics embraced their potential as tools for music diffusion and education that could be readily used in both public and private spaces. Indeed, the radio, which utilised both live and recorded material, was gaining traction as a valuable medium through collaborative arrangements with concert

¹⁷ Hugh Dauncey and Philippe Le Geurn, 'France', in *The International Recording Industries* ed. Lee Marshall (Oxford: Routledge, 2013): 135, and Cook, Clarke, Leech-Wilkinson and Rink, introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, 1-9.

¹⁸ In 1933 consumers in the United States purchased more than ten million records. This figure grew to twenty million (1935), thirty-three million (1938), 127 million (1942), and 218 million (1946). These numbers represent all music sales not just sales of repertoire similar to that of Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, but they illustrate the rapid growth of the market. See David Patmore, 'Selling Sounds: Recordings and the Record Business,' in Cook, Clarke, Leech-Wilkinson and Rink, *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, 120-129.

¹⁹ In Paris 1,419 concerts were estimated to have been held during the 1927-28 season compared with 1,000 in 1938-39. See Roger Nichols, *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris 1917-1929* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 53-54; and Deborah Mawer, "'Dancing on the Edge of the Volcano": French Music in the 1930s', in Smith and Potter, *French Music Since Berlioz*, 253.

promoters and theatres—registered radio ownership grew in France from two-and-a-half million in 1934 to five-and-a-half million in 1939.²⁰

Though Dyer was not a fan of passive listening, as discussed in the previous chapter, she no doubt saw commercial value in embracing the technology.²¹ For her, recordings, and by extension the radio, were ingenious tools which could deliver for Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre the three objectives of bringing music already available in print to a much larger group of music consumers, providing an educational tool for all listeners, and generating more income for her company.

Yet the market she was entering was highly competitive. The international conglomerates had long realised the potential of recordings to disseminate a wide range of repertoire and to shape musical taste, but they were risk averse. They developed and ruthlessly exploited the 'star' system of internationally acclaimed musicians and adopted promotional techniques that capitalised on commemorations, such as Beethoven's 100th (1927).²² This focus on the star system left room for *petites maisons*, like Dyer's firm, to offer different repertoire and performers.

When Dyer founded her recording label as a paired business strategy with publishing, there were limited examples of this among other music-publishing firms. Francis Salabert, who inherited Éditions Salabert from his father, launched Disques

²⁰ For a fascinating examination of the use of radio in interwar France see Rebecca Scales, *Radio and the Politics of Sound in Interwar France, 1921-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 3, 14, 46 and 47. This number could be about twenty per cent higher, given tax evasion and sloppy bookkeeping. See Cécile Méadel, *Histoire de la radio des années trente: du sans-filiste à l'auditeur* (Paris: Anthropos/INA, 1994), 198. The acceptance of the radio in France was slower than in England, where some eight million sets had been sold by the end of the 1930s. For socio-political analysis of this period in France, see Philippe Bernard and Henri Dubief, *The Decline of the Third Republic, 1914-1938*, trans. Anthony Foster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 265.

²¹ Dyer, 'Trend of Modern Music'.

²² Maisonneuve, 'Between History and Commodity', 94. For the centenary an international week of celebrations was organised by Columbia including issuing over 100 recordings of his music and holding conferences that were broadcast. In comparison, HMV issued 52 records.

Francis Salabert in 1926 (later rebranded simply as Salabert), which produced recordings of popular *chansonniers* along with published scores; however, the label was disbanded after 1934.²³ In Italy, Casa Ricordi explored recording partnerships in the early 1930s, but chose not to create their own recording venture. There were, however, in France a few niche labels which were competitors. L'Anthologie Sonore (1933-1954), Boîte à Musique (1934-1978) and LUMEN (1934-) were Dyer's main competition, along with La Voix de Son Maître, the French subsidiary of the British firm His Master's Voice (HMV).

L'Anthologie Sonore, established by Curt Sachs and André Shaeffner, was conceived ambitiously as a musical museum project.²⁴ For many of the recordings Sachs was actively engaged in every aspect of production—from music selection to the transcription and editing of scores, of which only some were published—leading him to be considered a prominent producer of early music recordings where a key goal was authenticity in performance; however, by the time he left for North America in 1937, just seventy-five 78-rpm recordings had been produced.²⁵

Jacques Lévi-Alvarès established Éditions de Boîte à Musique (EBM) from his music retail outlet on the Boulevard Raspail, Paris. Concentrating initially on traditional/folk music, he then moved into early music, attracting the specialist early music ensemble Ars Rediviva (1935-47) established by Claude Crussard, who opted to

²³ Société phonographique Francis Salabert, 1926-1934, BnF, CAT AV Salabert France Oct 1926-Dec. 1934.

²⁴ This was not Sachs's first recorded historical anthology series; that accolade went to *2,000 Years of Music: A Concise History of the Development of Music from the Earliest Times through the 18th Century* with German label Parlophone in the early 1930s. André Shaeffner was the director of the Musée de l'Homme. In 1932 Shaeffner co-edited with Amedée Gastoué vols VII-X, 'Musique de chambre', *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin* (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1933).

²⁵ When Sachs left, the recording work continued with his co-manager, François Agostini.

record with EBM exclusively.²⁶ The LUMEN label embraced Roman Catholic values, recording medieval and sacred music before branching out into music for the harpsichord, as well as recording and publishing anthologies of French literature.²⁷

Following the stock-market crash the conglomerates sought new ways of reducing the financial risks of recording the classical repertoire and of predicting sales. Walter Legge from the Gramophone Company, of which HMV and its French subsidiary La Voix de Son Maître formed a part, adopted the subscription model used by publishing firms to defray the high production costs of monumental editions: recordings were pre-sold to consumers whose subscriptions covered all associated production costs and provided a profit before the recordings were made. In return subscribers were often presented with exquisitely crafted boxed sets and supplementary materials. In addition, Legge identified gaps in the repertoire that could be funded by such schemes. The ‘Hugo Wolf Society’ was the first scheme of this kind.²⁸ This series attracted 500 subscribers (twenty per cent of whom were from Japan), who were enticed by clever advertorial copy, or puff pieces, featured in newspaper articles and journals such as *The Gramophone*, and by live performances presented at the newly instituted London Lieder Club.²⁹ Over a period of three years, six volumes were issued with supplementary notes,

²⁶ All nine members of the original *Ars Rediviva* were killed in a plane crash on 31 January 1947. See Bernard Gavoty, Marc Pincherle, Norbert Dufourcq and J. Lévi Alvarès, *Ars Rediviva: 1935-1947* (Paris, La Boîte à Musique, 1951). Claude Crussard directed the ensemble from the harpsichord, she also edited the music they performed and recorded.

²⁷ Lévi-Alvarès admired the work of Nadia Boulanger and eventually produced a recording of her *Petit Concert* in 1949, a project planned earlier. Brooks, *The Musical Work*, 156-57.

²⁸ Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Music History* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2000), 70. Composers including J.S Bach, Beethoven, Haydn, François Couperin ‘The Grand’, Scarlatti, Delius, Sibelius, Purcell all received the ‘Society’ issue treatment. See Day, *A Century*, 67-73.

²⁹ Day, *A Century*, 70. Later, Japan became an important market for Dyer’s recordings. For a thorough account of lieder circulation, performance and consumption during the interwar years, see Laura Tunbridge, *Singing in the Age of Anxiety: Lieder Performance in New York and London between the Wars* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 9-10, 93 and 122-27.

song texts and translations provided by Ernest Newman, the eminent music critic for *The Times* (London) who had also written a biography of Hugo Wolf (1907).³⁰

Dyer was familiar with this marketing technique. In 1934, a year after her first publication, the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*, was released, HMV issued 500 boxed sets comprising six disks of his harpsichord music performed by Wanda Landowska (HMV DB 4941-4946) for the 'Couperin Society': Landowska autographed 300 sets.³¹ Another notable collection was of Nadia Boulanger's choral ensemble performing works by Claudio Monteverdi, issued in 1937 by Gramophone/La Voix de Son Maître. Instigated by Doda Conrad, a member of the ensemble, and ultimately underwritten by Princesse de Polignac, the release was heavily promoted through three concerts held at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, supported by the Société Charles Cros and formally introduced by Boulanger's close friend, the poet Paul Valéry.³²

These 'Society' issues and the repertoire recorded by the smaller labels influenced Dyer's choices of what to record, yet it was Le Chant du Monde that proved to have more in common with her label, particularly for the people involved. Financed by the

³⁰ Day, *A Century*, 70. The first volume was released in 1932.

³¹ Compton McKenzie, 'Couperin, Haydn, and Schubert', *The Gramophone*, June 1935, 4; <https://reader.exacteditions.com/issues/32654/page/4>. And, Compton McKenzie, review of 'The Musician's Gramophone: Couperin', *The Times*, 28 May 1935, 14. <https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?>

As shown in Chapter 2, this collection made some of Couperin's harpsichord *pièces* more widely known but did little to alter the view that they were nothing more than charming miniatures as only one complete *ordre* was included. Evidence suggests Dyer subscribed to the HMV set as her archive contains the programme booklet which accompanied it, see EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 4. Dyer would issue the first complete recording of Couperin's known harpsichord works, performed by Ruggero Gerlin (OL 50052/67) in the late 1940s.

³² Brooks, *The Musical Work*, 39. Boulanger's recordings are discussed in more detail by Elizabeth Giuliani, 'Les Enregistrements de Nadia Boulanger: Une conception et une pratique originales de l'interprétation musicale', in *Nadia Boulanger et Lili Boulanger: Témoignages et études*, ed. Alexandra Laederich (Lyons: Symétrie, 2007), 191-202, also cited in Brooks. A description of Winnaretta Singer's involvement in this recording can be found in Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 338-9.

wealthy communist sympathiser Renaud de Jouvenel and managed by the composer Henry Sauveplane and the film critic Léon Moussinac, this label was closely associated with the Fédération Musicale Populaire (FMP), an organisation which played a dominant role in disseminating the musical values propounded by the Popular Front. Through these connections the label had access to the Parti Communiste Français recording studio and its publishing house, Éditions Sociales Internationales.³³ Roger Désormière, a committed communist and FMP committee member, conducted more than twenty recordings for the label, including works by Auric (another professed communist) and Milhaud, among others.³⁴ By the decade's end, all three men would work with Dyer's new label, as Milhaud recalled:

In 1937 two new phonograph companies branched out magnificently in quite opposite directions. L'Oiseau-Lyre issued recordings of Couperin, Rameau, and medieval music, with a few contemporary works such as Henri Sauguet's *La Voyante* and my *Suite d'après Corrette*. Le Chant du Monde... published vast collections of folk music.³⁵

³³ Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 211-15. Léon Moussinac was film critic for *L'Humanité* and founder of the French film-club movement. He worked closely with Désormière. Also see Valérie Vignaux, 'Léon Moussinac et L'Humanité du cinéma. Cinéma militant et militantisme culturel dans l'entre-deux-guerres en France', *Études photographiques*, 27 May 2011, <http://journals.openedition.org/etudesphotographiques/3180>; and Pascal Ory, *La belle illusion: Culture et politique sous le signe du Front populaire, 1935-1938* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1994), 308.

³⁴ For a thorough discussion on how music was used during this period and composer's attitudes and responses, see Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, in particular 'The "Defence" of French Culture in the Thirties', 199-274. Also see Christopher L. Moore, 'Music in France and the Popular Front (1934-1938): Politics, Aesthetics and Reception' (PhD dissertation, McGill University, 2006), <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/music-france-popular-front-1934-1938-politics/docview/304762329/se-2?accountid=11862>, and Christopher Moore, 'Socialist Realism and the Music of the French Popular Front', *Journal of Musicology* 25, no. 4 (2008): 473-502, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/jm.2008.25.4.473>.

Examples of the Chant du Monde's recordings can be found here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10813155/f2.media>.

³⁵ Darius Milhaud, *Notes Without Music: An Autobiography*, trans. Donald Evans, ed. Rollo H. Myers (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 265.

By the 1940s, Dyer's niche label embraced repertoire from the medieval and Renaissance era (fifteen per cent), through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (forty-eight per cent), and the early nineteenth century (fifteen per cent) to the twentieth century (thirteen per cent), as well as traditional music and folk song (nine per cent). The label's success relied on working with musicians who commanded authority across the genres that she chose to record. For Baroque and contemporary repertoire, Roger Désormière was the perfect choice. Yet today his work is little known outside of France. The declaration of war with Germany brought an abrupt end to his European conducting career and to his recording programme with Dyer. He then suffered a massive stroke in March 1952, which left him incapacitated; he died eleven years later.³⁶ But before the war Désormière was highly regarded by his colleagues. As the choral conductor Yvonne Gouverné recalled: 'he was curious about music from all eras, and this eclecticism enabled him to bring to life musical works of an absolutely opposite character with the same fervour'.³⁷ Moreover, his views on early-music performance practice, which he later expressed as maxims, were in accord with those of Dyer.

Désormière: The Consummate Conductor and Early Music Performance

Practice

When Dyer and Désormière began their collaboration in late 1937, his reputation as an international conductor and a standard bearer of French musical culture from the

³⁶ Désormière played a significant role in the Resistance during the occupation. See Denise Mayer et Pierre Souvtchinsky, eds. *Roger Désormière et son temps, textes en hommage* (Monaco: Éditions du Rocher, 1966), and Nicolas Guillot, ed. *Roger Désormière, 1898-1963: Actes du colloque, Vichy, 1998* (Paris: Broché, 1999). Guillot hosts the website: <https://sites.google.com/site/rogerdesormiere18981963>.

³⁷ Yvonne Gouverné, 'Ce que je dois à Roger Désormière', in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 75: 'Sa curiosité en musique était attirée par les œuvres de toute époque et son éclectisme a permis à sa carrière de chef d'orchestre, d'animer d'une même ferveur des œuvres de caractère absolument opposé'.

French Baroque to the present was firmly established. It is most likely that they met shortly after Dyer settled in Paris, for they both frequented the Wednesday afternoon *salons musicaux* held by Jeanne Dubost (see Chapter 1).³⁸ Since that time, they had moved within the same musical circles. They shared a passion for early and new music, and they held in common the ideal that everyone had a right to access music.

Importantly, the recordings made by Désormière and Dyer illustrate an approach to early music performance that is rooted in styles of their own time (especially neoclassicism and French contemporary music), while taking a fluid and practical line that is fairly typical of the early twentieth century. Their approach also links with the scholarly debates from the 1980s about claims of authenticity in the early music revival. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson argued that an ‘authentic’ performance of early music was an illusion, a modern invention, as all performance reflects the current taste in performing fashions.³⁹ Richard Taruskin famously made a similar argument for the modernist concerns animating the claims to authenticity in the early music movement. He argued that early music performers who ‘regard their performances as texts rather than acts’—who approach performance in other words, as if they are making a critical edition—fail to understand that throughout history performance style and practical issues have always been debated.⁴⁰ Furthermore, as these debates have no resolution, performers then must constantly evolve their own style of performance, an act that he believed

³⁸ Myriam Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens: du salon au concert à Paris sous la IIIe République* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), 31, 266-71.

³⁹ Leech-Wilkinson’s observation, based on comparative listening, was that an enormous gap existed between historical research and a sounding performance: a gap that could only be filled by musicianship and invention. See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, ‘What We Doing with Early Music is Genuinely Authentic to Such a Small Degree that the Word Loses Most of its Intended Meaning’, *Early Music* 12, no. 1 (1984): 13-16. DOI.10.1093/earlyj/12.1.13

⁴⁰ Richard Taruskin, ‘The Authenticity Movement Can Become a Positivist Purgatory, Literalistic and Dehumanising’, *Early Music* 12, no. 1, (1984): 6. DOI.10.1093/earlyj/12.1.3. His arguments are fully expanded through his collection of essays. See, Richard Taruskin, *Text & Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

requires conviction. For Taruskin, then, it is this conviction which gives a performance its authority and thus its authenticity, for ‘our idea of the historical realities and our present-day performance practices...is determined...by an element of choice and taste’.⁴¹ Leech-Wilkinson and Taruskin sought to show how the rhetoric of authenticity, especially in the later twentieth century, was strategic and sometimes obfuscating, hiding the fundamentally modernist concerns of the early music movement of the later twentieth century. As I will show, Désormière and Dyer were more overt about the connections between performing early music and contemporary French modernism, even as their approach was also clearly rooted in the practice of making editions. Their approach was shaped not only by historical research, but also by contemporary scholarship and performance practices as well as their own choices and tastes.

Désormière won acclaim first as a flautist, then as a composer and conductor.⁴² From the early 1920s, as a disciple of Erik Satie’s *École d’Arcueil*, he concentrated on conducting musical works by his friends.⁴³ He worked closely with Stravinsky throughout the late 1920s, conducting performances of *Apollon musagètes* (1927) and *Oedipus Rex* (1927) among others, which prompted Stravinsky to pronounce Désormière ‘un musicien exceptionnel’.⁴⁴ Georges Auric considered Désormière as the ‘providential

⁴¹ Taruskin, ‘The Authenticity Movement’, 5.

⁴² Fernand Lamy, ‘Notes Biographiques’, in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 12-24. Désormière studied with Philippe Gaubert, Xavier Leroux and Vincent d’Indy respectively. He continued his counterpoint and fugue studies privately with Charles Koechlin, as did Henri Sauguet, his friend and colleague. Gaubert was principal conductor with the Paris Opéra and with the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire.

⁴³ The group referred to as *École d’Arcueil* included Sauguet, Henri Cliquet-Pleyel, Maxime-Benjamin Jacob and Baron Jacques Benoist-Méchin. All except Benoist-Méchin studied with Koechlin. For a summary listing of Désormière’s ‘creations’ see Appendix 4.

⁴⁴ A copy of Stravinsky’s note can be found in Igor Stravinsky, ‘Roger Désormière’, n.d., Paul Sacher Foundation 093.1-1573-1605 Désormière, Roger. It is also cited in Igor Stravinsky, ‘Roger Désormière’, in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 9. Given Stravinsky’s tetchiness towards conductors who put themselves before his music his admiration of Désormière’s musicianship must be considered high praise. Robert Fink describes how Stravinsky fell out with both Pierre Monteux and Ernest Ansermet, see Robert Fink, “‘Rigorouso (♩ = 126)’”: “The

collaborator of which all creators dream but, too often, without having any hope of meeting him'.⁴⁵ During his formative years his roster included performances for Count Étienne de Beaumont's Soirées de Paris, the Ballets Suédois and Ballets Russes, and the 'concerts salade' of Jean Wiéner (see Appendix 4). Through these associations he absorbed the 'lifestyle modernism' aesthetic, a term created by Lynn Garafola to describe Jean Cocteau's art of the sophisticated commonplace, and the ideals of neoclassicism which severed once and for all any ties with German Romanticism.⁴⁶

Throughout the 1930s Désormière's career encompassed conducting regular concerts (approximately 350), as well as composing and/or conducting forty-five film projects.⁴⁷ Many of these activities were aligned with his political beliefs—he was a communist—and were associated with his membership of the Association des Écrivains et Artistes Révolutionnaires (AEAR, 1932). Between 1930 and 1934, Désormière also held the position of Artistic Director with the SMA, working with early music and early music instruments—a part-time role, but one that would prove to be most important for his work with Dyer.⁴⁸ He then became deputy conductor of the Orchestra National

Rite of Spring" and the Forging of a Modernist Performing Style', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (1999): 313. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/832000>.

⁴⁵ Georges Auric, 'Témoignage' in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière et son temps*, 36: 'ce collaborateur providentiel dont rêvent tous les créateurs mais, trop souvent, sans espérer le rencontrer'.

⁴⁶ Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 98.

⁴⁷ For summary of many of these performances see, Guillot, *Roger Désormière, 1898-1963* and <https://sites.google.com/site/rogerdesormiere18981963/concerts-representations>. Désormière was involved in three films with Maurice Chevalier: *The Beloved Vagabond* (1936) *l'Homme du Jour* (1937), and *Avec le Sourire* (1936) for which he was assisted by Darius Milhaud and Jean Wiéner. Désormière's film projects also included documentaries which were often politically influenced. For instance, he composed the music for Jean Renoir's *la Marseillaise* (1938) and conducted Henri-Cartier-Bresson's *Victoire de la vie* (1937) with music by Koechlin. See Hannah Lewis, *French Musical Culture and The Coming of Sound Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁴⁸ Originally known as Société de Musique Ancienne the organisation was renamed the Société de Musique d'Autrefois after the first concert. The SMA was founded in 1926 by Comte de Courville, the autodidact Lionel de La Laurencie, the musical-instrument collector Georges Le Cerf (whose collection comprised 258 instruments, an organ and 25 bows), the publisher Eugénie Droz, the patron baronne Bruneta de Lamberterie, and the musicologist Geneviève Thibault, soon to be Comtesse Hubert de Chambure. See Florence Gétreau, 'Les Archives de la

de France in 1934, and from 1937 he undertook the same role with the Paris Opéra-Comique.⁴⁹

The musical projects of the AEAR tended to involve choral singing of workers and traditional songs affiliated with communist ideals. The organisation was absorbed into the Fédération Musicale Populaire (FMP) and the Maisons de la Culture during the era of the government of the French Popular Front (May 1936-1938).⁵⁰ For the FMP, which aimed to encourage collaboration between amateur and professional by commissioning musical works for mass festivals, Désormière conducted the incidental music for all twenty-two performances of Romain Rolland's play *14 Juillet* (1902) as part of the 1936 Bastille Day celebrations.⁵¹ His views on everyone's right to access music were fully expressed in the first issue of *L'Art musical populaire* (May 1937), the official bulletin of the FMP. As Jane F. Fulcher has observed, Désormière railed against the Nazi regime's attack on modern music, and defended the idea that people had an inherent right to not only access music of their choice, but also that they needed music in their lives, arguing that music was inspirational.⁵² Désormière's ideals can also be seen in his contribution to a project called *Chansons jeunesse*, a collection of folk-songs and traditional music, and newly created songs for youth choral groups, arranged or

Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1926-1975 Conservées au Musée de la Musique à Paris', in *Fontes Artis Musicae* 54, no.1 (2007): 38-54. www.jstor.org/stable/23510569, and Georges Henri Rivière, *Geneviève Thibault, comtesse Hubert de Chambure: une vie au service de la musique* (Paris: Société des Amis du Musée Instrumentale, 1981).

⁴⁹ The orchestra comprised eighty musicians, and the principal conductor was Désiré-Emile Inghelbrecht. In 1945 it was re-named Orchestra de la Radiodiffusion Française.

⁵⁰ Fulcher, *The Composer*, 199-274.

⁵¹ Moore, 'Music in France', 32-33. Seven composers wrote incidental pieces that were all scored for the FMP wind band: Ibert, *Overture*; Auric, *Palais Royal*; Milhaud, *Introduction and Marche Funèbre*; Roussel *Prélude du 2ème acte*; Koechlin *Liberté* op.158; Arthur Honegger, *Marche sur la Bastille*; and Lazarus, *Fête de la Liberté*. Three of these composers were members of Les Six. See also Fulcher, *The Composer*, 234-237.

⁵² Roger Désormière, 'La Défence de la culture musicale', *l'Art musical populaire*, 13 May 1937, as cited in Fulcher, *The Composer*, 219.

composed by members of the FMP (including Auric and Milhaud). These songs were then performed by the Chorale Yvonne Gouverné conducted by Désormière on more than twenty discs for Le Chant du Monde.⁵³ In writing about this collection he claimed that French music was born of popular song and stated, ‘by attempting a renovation of French popular songs, and by addressing this through the elite composers of this country, we can write that Chant du Monde has taken an initiative that can contribute to the development of French musical art’.⁵⁴

By 1937, his reputation as a conductor of French and European standing was firmly established. Yet it was his experience with the SMA, between 1930 and 1934, that did most to further his understanding of the music of the French Baroque and where his views on how this music should be performed were most likely developed.⁵⁵

Désormière’s correspondence with Paul Collaer—music patron, founder of the Pro Arte Quartet (Belgium), and keen advocate of ‘authenticity’ in early music performance practice—reveals his eagerness to explore the repertoire and performance practices of the eighteenth century. It also shows his pragmatic attitude toward the usage of modern instruments, sometimes modified, as necessary:

The organisation’s [SMA’s] goal is to perform, as much as possible, music not written for our modern instruments on those of the time, with the style and technique of the time: in practice, this takes us up to the music of Mozart. This year we will play the Concerto for flute and harp with

⁵³ For a listing of the twenty-one discs of the forty-two popular songs and recorded examples see: <https://sites.google.com/site/rogerdesormiere18981963/discographie/38-le-chant-du-monde>.

⁵⁴ Roger Désormière, ‘Le Folklore et les Musiciens’, *L’Humanité*, 14 May 1938, 8 : ‘En tentant une rénovation des chants populaires français, et en s’adressant, pour ce, à l’élite des compositeurs de ce pays, on peut écrire que le Chant du Monde a pris une initiative qui peut contribuer au développement de l’art musical français’.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k407444v/f8.item>.

⁵⁵ As a flautist, Désormière regularly performed works from earlier periods during the before and immediately following the Great War. For a list see Guillot, ed. *Roger Désormière, 1898-1963*.

orchestra, on eighteenth-century flute and harp, natural horns, and I will do some tests for the oboes; I will probably keep the modern instruments if I can obtain the old tone simply by changing the reeds. I am currently having reeds made on the old format, same length but width 1 cm instead of 6 mm... We will play [J.S.] Bach's *Actus Tragicus* [Cantata, BWV 106] with recorders and gamba, and probably an unpublished symphony by the old Scarlatti...⁵⁶

The idea of performing forgotten or unknown music, as it was then, on early instruments was considered a utopian ideal. Yet in his position as Artistic Director of the SMA, Désormière was driven by the quest to find an appropriate tone colour using the instruments available, be they old or modern. According to Geneviève Thibault, one of the founders of the SMA, Désormière was drawn to the timbres of early instruments and to the importance of creating an ensemble sound. She recalled how he used recorders, old oboes, groups of viols or a large group of plucked strings, and 'he chose them, [and] juxtaposed them with an innate sense of proportion and balance'.⁵⁷ His approach suggests that he was aware of the contradictory theories concerning early-music performance practice circulating at the time, especially those of the revivalists

⁵⁶ Roger Désormière, Letter to Paul Collaer, 19 February 1930, no. 30-5 in Paul Collaer and Robert Wangermée, *Correspondance avec des amis musiciens* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 1996), 273-74: 'Je viens d'être nommé, en remplacement de Jean Huré, chef d'orchestre de la Société de Musique ancienne, dont de La Laurencie est le président. J'espère faire là de la bonne besogne. Le but poursuivi est celui-ci: jouer avec les instruments de l'époque et autant que faire se peut avec le style et la technique de l'époque, toute musique qui rejette impérieusement les timbres de nos instruments modernes. En pratique, cela mène jusqu'à Mozart. Nous jouerons cette année le *Concerto pour flûte et harpe* avec orchestre, sur flûte XVIIIème et harpe XVIIIème, les cors seront simples et je vais faire des essais pour les hautbois; je conserverai probablement les instruments modernes si, comme je le pense, j'arrive à obtenir la sonorité ancienne simplement en changeant les anches, je fais faire en ce moment des anches sur le format ancien, même longueur, mais largeur 1 cm au lieu de 6 mm. Nous jouerons l'*Actus Tragicus* de Bach avec les flûtes à bec et la viola de gambe, un *Concert de Dieu Pan*, pour flûte, espinette, archiluth et basse de viole, probablement aussi une symphonie inédite du vieux Scarlatti...'

⁵⁷ Geneviève Thibault, 'A La Société de Musique d'Autrefois', in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 68: 'L'aventure vaut d'être tentée; retrouver la vraie couleur est essential'.

Arnold Dolmetsch and Eugène Borrel, whose own monograph can be considered the French response to Dolmetsch.⁵⁸

Dolmetsch's seminal work *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries: Revealed by Contemporary Evidence* (1915) challenged musicians to develop a comprehensive understanding of the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by examining all available documents (such as manuscripts and printed scores, pedagogic treatises, and iconography) for the purpose of determining not only what information was identified as important by the composers or authors, but also what had been omitted or disregarded. While advocating the use of instrumental authenticity—a point with which Désormière agreed, while simultaneously believing that a pragmatic approach was required—Dolmetsch also encouraged musicians to gain a thorough understanding of what composers from the past '*felt*' (his emphasis) about their own music, and what impression they were endeavouring to convey: in essence he wanted musicians to assess the '*Spirit of their Art*' that these early composers were aiming to present.⁵⁹

Borrel, a professor at the Paris Conservatoire, specifically targeted his monograph *L'Interpretation de la musique française: de Lully à la révolution* (1934) towards providing the musicians of France with a deeper understanding of how the spirit of French *musique ancienne* could be better interpreted. Previously his views had been shared in articles written for *La Revue de musicologie*, the journal of the SFM.⁶⁰ For his monograph, he collated and cross-referenced the writings of 350 French composers, performers,

⁵⁸ Denise Mayer, 'Roger Désormière à Versailles', in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 102.

⁵⁹ Arnold Dolmetsch, introduction to *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries: Revealed by Contemporary Evidence* (London: Novello & Co, 1946), vii.

⁶⁰ René Quonten, 'Les Concerts de Roger Désormière', in Guillot, *Roger Désormière 1898-1963*, 70: 'La curiosité de Désormière le poussait à s'intéresser à toutes les périodes, à toutes les écoles...il s'agissait de résoudre non seulement les problèmes d'instrumentation, mais aussi ceux d'ornements, de tempos, de réalisation'.

theoreticians, critics and amateurs. Based on these data he advocated modern musicians should not be hidebound by inflexible rules (found in said treatises and writings, which were often contradictory) as they ruined the performance of early French music. For Borrel, ‘the supreme arbiter of the French school was good taste’, but taste itself—and here Borrel quotes from the Abbé Joseph Lacassagne’s *Traité général des élémens du chant* (Paris, 1766)—was “indefinable” ... a certain *je ne sais quoi*, by which a sensitive soul is always penetrated’.⁶¹ A good performance of early music then was not about strict adherence to ancient performance practices, nor setting limits to the arbitrary and subjective approaches in the reconstruction of the music from the past. Instead, he believed early music could be approached much like buildings from the past which were added to over time. Borrel claims the sculptor Auguste Rodin once remarked that ‘additions made to a cathedral over time did not destroy its coherence, rather these ‘new’ embellishments reflected the same French taste’.⁶² In this regard, Borrel’s work also echoed that of Dolmetsch, who had warned that because old music is unfamiliar to modern performers, it requires more than technical proficiency.⁶³ Both documents consider the important role that performers play in identifying what actions would be ‘in good taste’. For them, a performer must gain insights into and then interpret a musical work.

Désormière’s approach to the performance of early music reflected his own performing and conducting experiences and his time with the SMA, as well as with the

⁶¹ Eugène Borrel, *L’Interprétation de la musique française: de Lully à la révolution* (Paris: Libraires Félix Alcan, 1934), vi: ‘L’arbitre suprême de l’école française est le bon gout, ainsi caractérisé par Lacassagne: “Le gout est indéfinissable”; c’est un *certain je ne sais quoi*, dont une âme sensible est toujours pénétrée’. Note, Borrel is quoting from M. l’Abbé Joseph Lacassagne’s *Traité general des éléments du chant* (Paris, 1766).

⁶² Borrel, *L’Interprétation*, vi: ‘...une pénétrante remarque de Rodin: les additions faites au cours des siècles à nos cathédraux, en des styles différents—chapelles, vitraux, mobilier, décoration—n’en détruisent pas l’harmonie, parce qu’aux diverses époques ces embellissements ont été ordonnés par *le même goût français*’.

⁶³ Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation*, 26.

stripped-down style, or *style dépouillé*, of neoclassicism, for which detachment and the absence of emotional involvement were considered virtues. Désormière eventually shared his views with the French historian Denise Mayer with whom he worked on a concert series to raise funds for the restoration of Versailles in 1948.⁶⁴ In her tribute to Désormière, written three years after his death, Mayer recalled how he created these maxims to specifically address some of the contradictory theories and approaches to the performance and interpretation of early music being offered by musicologists and practitioners at the time.⁶⁵ Désormière's maxims, as recalled by Mayer, are summarized as:

- 1) modern instruments were to be used but at the same time the needs of the composition and the orchestral balance as indicated in the manuscripts were to be respected;
- 2) singers and solo instruments were not required to perform all the ornaments, but it was essential for them to draw from the music what the composer had desired;
- 3) strings must scrupulously respect the articulation and bowing markings, and the rhythms and the tempos had to be kept (it was important not to drag!); and

⁶⁴ Between the wars, the Palace of Versailles and its grounds had fallen into disrepair. The Société des Concerts de Versailles organised Festivals, which began in 1937, to raise awareness of and funds for various restoration projects. Members of the intellectual, social and political milieu were involved, including Dyer, who is listed as a patron. Henry Sarlit, *Saisons d'Art Français de Versailles*, pamphlet, 3. EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 2. The programme was interrupted by the Second World War but was resumed in 1947/8.

⁶⁵ Mayer, 'Roger Désormière à Versailles', in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 102-03. The first Versailles concert after the second world war was held on 7 July 1949, after which a committee was established to organise a 'Festival national du château de Versailles'. Désormière's performance approach can be heard in the Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre recording of Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie* (OL-LD 10, French release only) made during a rehearsal at the Festival National du Château de Versailles in 1948.

- 4) musicians must show, through their interpretation, the kinship between classical and contemporary French music: Couperin and Ravel, Debussy and Rameau.⁶⁶

The first maxim possibly reflects Désormière's experience of working with the SMA, an ensemble comprising professional and amateur players, where more pragmatic decisions were required regarding instrument choice and ensemble balance. The choice to use modern instruments also reflected his desire to make music of the French baroque more acceptable to modern ears. The SMA musicians had access to early instruments from Commandant George Le Cerf's enormous collection, though some were too rare to use and some difficult and expensive to repair.⁶⁷ Craftsman facsimiles had become more prevalent in the 1930s, though they were often expensive and of varying quality. Désormière's response to this dilemma was to experiment with the timbres modern instruments could produce through the modification of the instrument (such as exploring different types of oboe reeds), or by playing style, for example substituting a double bass played extremely softly for a viola de gamba, or by using young women's or boys' voices if male sopranos and altos were unavailable.⁶⁸ To

⁶⁶ Mayer, 'Roger Désormière', 102-03: '1) La musique classique devait s'exécuter avec les instruments tels que nous les employons (violons et non violes), tout en respectant la composition et l'équilibre de l'orchestre tel qu'il est indiqué dans les manuscrits (proportion plus grande de bois de flûtes, jamais de trombones, etc.); 2) pour les chanteurs et les instruments solistes, ne pas exiger tous les ornements qui peuvent être indiqués, les musiciens n'étant généralement pas aujourd'hui en état de les exécuter; se contenter du dessin essentiel voulu par le compositeur; 3) respecter scrupuleusement les attaques et les coups d'archet, mais surtout les rythmes et les tempi (ne pas trainer !); 4) de montrer la parenté qui se retrouve entre la musique classique et la musique française: Couperin et Ravel, Debussy et Rameau.

Désormière's maxims also held views on programming. Maxim '5) comparisons with foreign music from the same period should be established ('d'établir des comparaisons avec les musiques étrangères de même époque: Lully avec Purcell; Bach ou Vivaldi avec Couperin et Rameau'); and 6) theatrical performances should also be included to bring the music in line with theatre ('d'inclure des représentations théâtrales, en particulier les comédies-ballets de Molière et de mettre ainsi Lully à sa juste place').

⁶⁷ Georges Le Cerf's collection comprised 258 instruments, an organ and 25 bows. See Gétreau, 'Les Archives'.

⁶⁸ Roger Désormière, Letter to Collaer, Wednesday 3 March 1931, no. 31-2, in Collaer and Wangermée, *Correspondance*, 288-290. This was suggested to Paul Collaer as a solution to their planned performance of Monteverdi's *Tirsi e Clori* VS 145, in Brussels in 1931.

encourage a more balanced sound, Désormière chose one or two instruments per part. His choices are evident in his debut recording, made in 1931, of excerpts from Jean-Baptiste Lully's operas *Alceste* (1674) and *Cadmus et Hermione* (1763), arranged by Henry Prunières.⁶⁹ The recording, for the niche label Ultraphone, was most likely taken during an SMA rehearsal for their concert entitled *Musique Ancienne*, held to celebrate the re-opening of the Mazarine Gallery at the Bibliothèque Nationale: an event funded by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge to promote Prunières's project *Œuvres complètes de J.-B. Lully*.⁷⁰

Working with musicians unfamiliar with interpreting the music of the French Baroque necessitated a practical approach to the interpretation of ornaments. Désormière's second maxim attests he was aware that within old music texts and treatises a great deal of variation existed in how embellishments were indicated and performed. For instance, François Couperin was exceptionally explicit in how his *agrémens* should be interpreted, providing a key as well as a detailed description, while other composers used different indications altogether or were less prescriptive.⁷¹ Désormière resolved this dilemma by advising players to focus on the overall character of a musical work, rather than on specific ornaments, and if there was any doubt, then the embellishments were written out in full, as in his score for the 'Deuxieme Suite' of *Les Paladins* by Rameau.⁷²

⁶⁹ The disk label simply lists the work as performed by an 'orchestre symphonique', but it was most likely recorded by the SMA during a rehearsal. The recording can be found here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1275564/f1.media>, and <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k127555r>.

⁷⁰ Rokseth wrote to Dyer about the concert, but there is no record that Dyer attended. Yvonne Rokseth, Letter to Louise Dyer, n.d. (c.1931), EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 6. See also, Cyrilla Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge: American Patron of Music*, (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998), 220-221.

⁷¹ This particularly applies to ornamentation for plucked instruments.

⁷² Jean-Philippe Rameau, 'Deuxième Suite' *Les Paladins*, arr. Roger Désormière (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1938).

Désormière's career was honed by the neoclassical movement, where the lack of obvious emotive elements was of paramount importance, as the movement itself symbolised a clear departure from German Romanticism. His third maxim reflects his own experiences as he reminds performers that he was seeking a precise string playing technique. In this, he recalls Stravinsky's aversion to the 'vagueness' of strings, and to subtle nuances of interpretation, as expressed in his 'mock' manifesto, 'Some Ideas about My Octuor'.⁷³ Désormière worked towards limiting the ebb-and-flow of expressive tempo fluctuations to achieve this clarity and objective performance style. He insisted his string players deliver rhythmic precision and clear phrasing by respecting bow markings and tempo indications: his aim, like Stravinsky's was to eliminate any sense of *rubato*, both the 'tiny mercurial shifts' and the 'larger, more structural changes' as identified by Robert Fink.⁷⁴

His recordings of the music from the French Baroque reveal a lightness of touch and sense of rhythmic drive showing an understanding of this music as one of musical gesture. Such rhythmic drive and lightness of touch formed the warp and weft of French modernist performance practice discourse. Thibault observed that when working with the SMA, Désormière animated the music through its rhythm.⁷⁵ Later, Pierre Boulez claimed it was Désormière's 'rhythmic exactness, the vital precision of his metrical impulse (a magnificent feature of his Stravinsky performances)', and the 'moral rectitude of his attitude to both works and composers' that dominated his

⁷³ Igor Stravinsky, 'Some Ideas about My Octuor', *The Arts*, January 1924, reprinted in Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 579.

⁷⁴ For more on the problem of rubato, see Fink, "'Rigorouso (♩ = 126)'", 309-311. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/832000>.

⁷⁵ Thibault, 'A La Société de Musique d'Autrefois', in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 70.

performances.⁷⁶ The lightness of touch was often achieved through employing one instrument per part, supporting his desire for a balanced sound, as mentioned earlier. These traits were firmly attached to the imaginative use of historical materials and techniques under the banner of neoclassicism which Désormière encountered throughout the 1920s, giving his performances a definitive sense of drive, of forward momentum.

His fourth maxim concerns his desire to make the sense of kinship between older and contemporary music audible. As recollected by Mayer, Désormière strove to ‘integrate the past into the present, and to project it into the future’.⁷⁷ In his programming choices he sought to emphasise the kinship between the musical works of the past—Lully, Couperin and Rameau—and those of the present from Debussy and Ravel to his friends Sauguet, Poulenc, Roussel and Auric. He wanted to set free early music from its bookish tradition through performance and by performing it alongside contemporary music. His ideas evoke T. S. Eliot’s modernist maxim that the past is altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past.⁷⁸

In his performances, Désormière prioritised the structure and architecture of musical works over expressiveness. In this, his approach resonated with that of Charles Koechlin, his teacher and mentor, and Nadia Boulanger, as well as with the larger values of neoclassicism, as articulated by Stravinsky and his interlocutors. Stravinsky claimed

⁷⁶ Pierre Boulez, *Orientations: Collected Writings by Pierre Boulez*, ed. Jean-Jacques Nattiez, trans. Martin Cooper (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), 505 also cited in Roger Nichols, *Poulenc: A Biography* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2020), 212.

⁷⁷ Mayer, ‘Roger Désormière à Versailles’, in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 109: ‘S’efforcer d’intégrer le passé dans le présent, et le projeter dans l’avenir, c’est aller rechercher dans une œuvre ce qu’elle peut recéler de beauté originale et éternelle et c’est la dégager du carcan de la tradition rigide ou livresque; c’est aussi, et en même temps, respecter tout ce qui la situe dans son époque’.

⁷⁸ Jean-Michel Rabaté, ‘Tradition and T.S. Eliot’, in *The Cambridge Companion to T.S. Eliot*, ed. A. David Moody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 210-22. DOI.10.1017/CCCOLO52140806.015.

form, which he believed stemmed from counterpoint, is the musical element closest to architectural structure.⁷⁹ In her study of Boulanger's performing career, Jeanice Brooks observed that for Boulanger this neoclassicist aesthetic involved 'a commitment to the integrity and self-sufficiency of form'; and it was this that led Boulanger to develop a structurally motivated approach to performance.⁸⁰ Brooks describes how Boulanger interpreted all musical works through her concept of the *grande ligne*, or overarching line or shape. Developed initially as an analytical tool to reveal to her students how smaller units within a musical work relate to its unfolding over time, Boulanger believed that it could also be heard.⁸¹ According to Brooks, Boulanger's ideas stemmed from Henri Bergson's influential concepts of time and perception which featured in philosophical debate throughout the early twentieth century. Bergson, whose lectures had a cult-like following, considered music's ontological time—organised elements such as duration, rhythm, meter and tempo—to be like repeated architectural motifs.⁸² Brooks claims this was an idea Koechlin, a close friend and colleague of Boulanger, extended to music as 'sounding like form in motion'.⁸³

⁷⁹ Stravinsky, 'Some Ideas about My Octuor' in White, *Stravinsky*, 579. See also, Richard Taruksin, *Oxford History of Western Music*, Chapter 8, 'Pathos is Banned', <https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume4/actrade-9780195384840-chapter-008.xml>.

⁸⁰ Brooks, *The Musical Work*, 12 and 43-44.

⁸¹ For a detailed description of Boulanger's practice see Brooks, *The Musical Work*, 41-76.

⁸² For an overview of Bergson's philosophy see Keith Ansell-Pearson, *Henri Bergson: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2011). Also see Leonard Lawlor and Valentine Moulard-Leonard, 'Henri Bergson', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (2021), <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/bergson/>

⁸³ Brooks, *The Musical Work*, 61. It is worth noting that despite moving within the same musical circles, Désormière and Boulanger appear to have worked together on just two occasions. The first occasion was in 1934 when they jointly conducted the première concert of the Société Philharmonique, Paris, comprising the musical works of J. S. Bach, Heinrich Schütz and Claudio Monteverdi, directed by Boulanger, and Stravinsky's *Sacré du Printemps* and *Symphonie de Psaumes* led by Désormière. Writing in *Comœdia*, the music critic Paul Le Flem noted Boulanger's sensitivity to early music, but he considered her more as a proponent of contemporary music. His highest praise went to Désormière. The second occasion was in 1938, when Boulanger directed the private première of Poulenc's *Concerto pour Orgue* at the salon of Winnaretta Singer, and Désormière conducted the quasi-public performance in June that same year, at a La

Unlike Boulanger, Désormière rarely wrote about his work, leaving others to offer insights. Yet it is highly likely that he was influenced by both Boulanger's and Koechlin's views. Désormière was not only Koechlin's student, but also championed his music throughout his career. Sauguet recalled Désormière's preparation as being thorough, almost an act of re-composing a work after having de-composed it, suggesting he 'analysed slowly...without, for all that, becoming any way a Trissotin or a Beckmesser'.⁸⁴ He specifically highlighted Désormière's attention to both detail and the 'architecture' of a work, stating:

He understood that the perfection of a performance arises from the desire to highlight every detail, because our art is thus made of these fragments of minutes which pass and will not return, bringing with them their pulsation, their heat, their breath...But it is also necessary to know not to stop there, which is only the basic work, because it is toward the general architecture that we must go and it is the monument that we must rebuild, and reconstruct, stone by stone, line by line, and to succeed in rebuilding the work, it is this that is important to have in the eye (or in the ear).⁸⁵

Sérénade concert. According to Roger Nichols, Francis Poulenc preferred Boulanger's more lyrical approach over Désormière's more accurate and textual approach, prompting Nichols to observe that 'this was the only negative response to Désormière's conducting known to mankind'. Roger Nichols, *Poulenc: A Biography* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2020), 136. My own research confirms this observation. Boulanger had conducted at previous La Sérénade events, so it is possible she had other commitments and was unable to conduct the work on that evening. For a listing of the concert, see Duchesneau, *L'Avant-Garde*, 330

⁸⁴ Henri Sauguet, 'Celui qui fut notre chef', in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 49: 'Il analysait lentement...sans pour cela devenir le moins du monde un Trissotin ou un Beckmesser'. Trissotin and Beckmesser are pedantic characters found in Moliere's play *Les Femmes savantes* (1672) and Richard Wagner's opera *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (1867) respectively.

⁸⁵ Sauguet, 'Celui', 39: 'Il avait compris que la perfection d'une exécution nait du souci de mettre en évidence chaque détail, car notre art est fait ainsi de ces fragments de minutes qui passent et ne reviendront pas, amenant avec eux leur pulsation, leur chaleur, leur souffle...Mais, voilà ! Il faut aussi savoir ne pas s'arrêter là, qui n'est que travail de base, car c'est vers l'architecture générale que l'on doit se diriger et c'est le monument que l'on reconstruit, que le reconstitue ainsi, pierre par pierre, ligne par ligne, et c'est lui qu'il importe d'avoir dans l'œil (ou dans l'oreille) pour parvenir à l'édifier'.

His summary combines Bergsonian concepts with a formalist methodology, suggesting that Désormière, like Boulanger, sought to understand and to make audible a musical work's temporal succession where the character of a piece—its shape, purpose, temperament and quality—is divulged gradually through progression.

Sauguet's remarks also suggest that Désormière's approach may have been drawn from his love of French architecture. Désormière was fascinated by heritage monuments—churches, castles, villages—considering them as witnesses to the past, and according to Mayer and others, whenever he travelled he would take time to visit historical sites.⁸⁶ As Jane F. Fulcher reminds us, 'since the period of wartime *union sacrée*, "architecture", along with "la France classique", were central constructive metaphors in artistic discourse'.⁸⁷ Mayer describes how Désormière believed that buildings from the past 'play an active role in current life, not only as witnesses of a bygone civilisation, but as...an uninterrupted chain...which we have the obligation to transmit intact or enrich for those who will follow us'.⁸⁸ This echoes his desire for the thread of French musical history to be drawn through, from past to present, carefully underlining a shared kinship (maxim 4). This view is exhibited in his approach to concert programming, where old and new works were set alongside each other (see Chapter 5).

Désormière's approach to the performance of early music was unquestionably modern, and closely tied to the neoclassicism he had encountered and assimilated when conducting new works throughout the 1920s. But it also resonated closely with Dyer's own beliefs about how the music of the French Baroque should be performed.

⁸⁶ Mayer, 'Roger Désormière à Versailles', in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 107.

⁸⁷ Fulcher, *The Composer*, 169-170.

⁸⁸ Mayer, 'Roger Désormière à Versailles', in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 107: 'du passé doivent jouer un rôle actif dans la vie actuelle, non seulement comme témoins d'une civilisation révolue, mais comme...maillons d'une chaîne ininterrompue...chaîne qui aboutit dans nos mains et que nous avons l'obligation de transmettre intacte ou enrichie à ceux qui vont nous suivre'.

Dyer's Views on the Performance of Early Music

Dyer once claimed to 'make no fetish of ancient instruments', for she was aware that there would be instances where it would be necessary to 'use whatever instruments good taste demanded'.⁸⁹ At a time when opinions supporting authenticity in performance practice were gaining traction, her choice whether or not to use modern instruments confirms that she was not confined to the use of instruments from early periods that motivated many early music pioneers and activists in both Britain and France.⁹⁰

Nonetheless, correspondence between Dyer and Sybil Hewett, her close friend and secretary of the British Music Society branch in Melbourne, reveals that she wanted the firm's recordings to provide 'clarity on debates regarding interpretation', and to illuminate how the music that she had published 'should be rendered and be authentic'.⁹¹ These statements suggest that Dyer considered the recordings themselves would represent an authoritatively given performance to which scholars—and perhaps more importantly from a commercial viewpoint, music lovers—could repeatedly refer.

As someone familiar with the current trends and mounting interest in the performance of early music, her use of the terms 'rendered' and 'authentic' suggest that she wanted to achieve a minimum level of authenticity which could be understood by amateurs, accepted by professionals and also satisfy the growing band of early music enthusiasts. Performing medieval and Renaissance music was a challenge: it was an era historically far removed from the twentieth century, one in which performers were

⁸⁹ Louise Dyer, Typewritten Illustrated-Lecture, n.d. (c.1939). EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

⁹⁰ These enthusiasts included Arnold Dolmetsch and Sir Edmund Fellowes in England, and Henry Expert, Eugene Borrel, Henri Casadesus's La Société des Instruments Anciens (1901-1939), the Société de Musique d'Autrefois (SMA), and Claude Crussard's ensemble Ars Rediviva (1935-47) in France.

⁹¹ Dyer, Letter to Sibyl Hewett, 1942 (see n9). This is also supported by an early article Dyer wrote, see Louise Dyer, 'New Plays in Paris, Musical Events', *The Herald* (Vic.), 24 November 1932, 22. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242984561?>

considered active collaborators with the composer, and where musical notation and information regarding how the music was to be performed and how it sounded, was almost non-existent. Dyer knew from her own experience as a musician and from her contact with other early music revivalists such as Henry Expert, Rokseth and Guillaume de Van that ‘with ancient music in particular, few people are qualified to guarantee an interpretation’.⁹² These matters then, as she understood them, were resolved and shaped by both scholarly and practical considerations. For recording medieval and Renaissance music, Dyer sought advice from both Rokseth and de Van (but only involved de Van in the recordings), and for the music of the French Baroque, she turned to Désormière.

Both Rokseth and de Van had edited significant volumes for Dyer. During 1937 Rokseth was completing the fourth and final volume of *Polyphonies du XIII^e Siècle, Le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*.⁹³ The first, and only, volume of de Van’s planned *Les Monuments de l’Ars Nova: la musique polyphonique de 1320 à 1400 environ*, was issued by Dyer in 1938.⁹⁴ Rokseth suggested to Dyer that the interpretation could be left to the performers.⁹⁵ At the same time, Rokseth wanted listeners to experience the

⁹² Dyer, Typewritten Illustrated-Lecture, n.d. (c.1939). Henry Expert’s ensemble La Chanterie de la Renaissance performed music from the medieval and Renaissance. Amédée Gastoué, who later worked with Dyer on the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*, organised concerts devoted to *Les Primitifs de la musique française* for the Paris Congress of the International Musicological Society in 1914. For this concert he transcribed the music, acknowledging the influence of other early French and German medievalist scholars such as, Pierre Aubry, Friedrich Ludwig and Jean Beck (Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], 48). Gastoué was professor of Gregorian Chant at the Schola Cantorum—an institution specifically established to prioritise the teaching of early music—and president of the SFM between 1934-1936.

⁹³ Dyer issued Vol. I in 1935, and Vols. II and III in 1936. Volume 4 was completed in 1939 by Rokseth, but not issued until 1948. For a biography of Rokseth see Catherine Parsonneault, ‘“Aimer la musique ancienne” Yvonne Rihouët Rokseth (1890-1948)’, in *Women Medievalists and the Academy*, ed. Jane Chance (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 339-351. See also Catherine Deutsch, ‘Un siècle de rapports de genre en musicologie. Les femmes musicologues à la Société française de musicologie et dans sa revue’, *Revue de musicologie* 104, nos. 1-2 (2018): 773-802.

⁹⁴ This was the only volume completed of a planned series. Dyer and de Van most likely met through Rokseth, whose eldest daughter he married.

⁹⁵ Yvonne Rokseth, Letter to Louise Dyer, 7 April 1937, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 6. ‘Il y a même des motets qui. Comme le No. 330 (partie de double)

same sense of awe and beauty that people found within medieval cathedral architecture, paintings, tapestries and the illuminated pages of manuscripts, as Catherine Parsonault has discussed.⁹⁶ Rokseth stated her desire to bring the sound of medieval music to life, not as an artifact, but as an aid to understanding music of the modern age.⁹⁷

A more practical position was taken by de Van. Originally from Memphis, Tennessee, William Devan, as he was then known, had studied music at Princeton University before moving to Rome and then Paris in his quest to learn more about medieval and Renaissance repertoire and performance practice. An advocate of polyphonic music, he conducted the Armenian Church children's choir in Paris from 1935 and with the Abbé Ducaud-Bourget established the Paraphonistes de St Jean des Matines (1936).⁹⁸ Thus, from his arrival in France Devan built his career and French persona assiduously, becoming Guillaume de Van in the process. His approach to both editing and the performance of this repertoire was guided by his own research on chant and classical and religious Arabic music in which he identified similar patterns of construction in the modes used, observing an intensified sense of progression in the performances of the music.⁹⁹ (By this time scholars generally accepted that instruments

pourraient être présenté à voix seule sans accompagnement. De même le no. 248 (double) qui est presque une chanson populaire. Pour ces questions d'interprétation, il faut laisser un peu de liberté au choix et au goût des exécutants. La pièce à 3 trompettes est le no.1'.

⁹⁶ Parsonault, "'Aimer la musique ancienne": Yvonne Rihouët Rokseth', 349.

⁹⁷ Yvonne Rokseth, 'Aimer', *Polyphonie* 3 (1949): 5-11 (posthumous), as cited in Parsonault, "'Aimer la musique ancienne": Yvonne Rihouët Rokseth', 349.

⁹⁸ With this group De Van made four recordings of medieval works for the niche label L'Anthologie Sonore as well as a recording of motets with the counter-tenor Raymond Bonté. Machaut's Messe de Notre Dame (1936, AS 31 and 32), Josquin des Prez's 'Stabat Mater' and 'Missa Hercules: Kyrie' (1938, AS 73), various medieval composers (1938, AS77, AS 80/81, AS170/171). For AS 204 de Van directed pieces by Johannes Bosquet and Rousselon, performed by Bonté and Pierre Deniau. See Tyrone Settlemier, 'L'Anthologie sonore 78-rpm numerical listing discography', *The Online Discographical Project* (7 Feb. 2019), <https://www.78discography.com/LAnthologie.htm>.

See also the AHRC Research Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music, CHARM, <https://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk>.

⁹⁹ De Van's ideas were possibly influenced by the work of Théodore Gérold and Heinrich Bessler respectively and are likely to have encouraged him to play with voice type, tempo and

were used in the performance of this repertoire, but how they were used remained unresolved.¹⁰⁰)

It was de Van who had the honour of directing the very first recording for Dyer's label. Two works were included on the disc, Guillaume de Machaut's *Hoquetus David* and the fourteenth-century virelai, *Or sus, vous dormès trop*.¹⁰¹ For these recordings he chose to use different combinations of voices and instruments: trumpet, bass trumpet, trombone, and soprano, a higher tessitura than that of a counter-tenor. Vocal disposition was important to Dyer: she admired the soprano and the counter-tenor timbre.¹⁰² Furthermore, she was of the opinion that only exceptional performers could perform music from a wide range of musical eras: an outlook Lisa Daniels, a regular soloist with her label, shared, but one that would eventually become unpopular as repertoire specialism became the vogue.¹⁰³ Given the continuing debate concerning which vocal

instrumentation. Dyer was keen to improve her knowledge and de Van recommended several titles for her to review and offered one-to-one tuition, which she appears to have accepted. See, Guillaume de Van, Letter to Louise Dyer, 12 January 1937, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 8. For an excellent summary of the origins of the instrumental hypothesis in the performance of medieval music and its influence on performers up to the 1950s see chapter 1, 'The Invention of the Voices-and instruments hypothesis', in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*: (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 70-80. Also see Gilbert Reaney, Review of 'Medieval Music on the Gramophone', *Music & Letters* 38, no. 2 (1957): 180-190: DOI. 10.1093/ml/XXXVIII.2.180.

¹⁰⁰ Leech-Wilkinson, *Modern Invention*, 47.

¹⁰¹ The *Hoquetus David* is numbered OL 3, but it was the first recording made. See Appendix 2. De Van's role with Dyer's label is detailed in Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 310, 320-23, 346, and 351-2.

¹⁰² In 1933, Yves Tinayre performed at the launch of the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*. After the Second World War, he, Hugues Cuénod and Alfred Deller would all record for Dyer's label. Deller's impact on early music vocal performance was unparalleled, see Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 148-9.

¹⁰³ In an article advising young singers, Lise Daniels argued that singers should be willing and able to perform music from all eras. Lise Daniels, 'Les Chants', *L'Art musical* 4, no. 108 (1939): 383-384. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k3063167p/f21.item>. Throughout the 1930s Daniels performed music from the renaissance through to contemporary, including the première of Milhaud's *Christopher Colomb*. Her performances were considered remarkable. See Omer Singelée, Review, 'Paysages et Musique', *L'Art Musical* 1, no. 21 (1936):579, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9820538g/f13.item>; and Henry Barraud, Review, 'La Normandie à la Salle Chopin', in *L'Art Musical* 1, no.27 (1936): 746, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k98205320/f12.item>.

types and instruments to employ and how to play this repertoire, it is evident that both de Van and Dyer took a practical position: one advocated by Machaut himself. In the preface to *Les musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XV^e siècle* (Paris, Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1937) edited by Jeanne Marix, she explained how the repertoire was suitable for performance by singers, organists and/or minstrels and that, in the medieval period performers would make their choices according to the resources they had at their disposal.¹⁰⁴ In support of her claim, she cited Machaut who says that his songs ‘may be performed on organ, bagpipes or other instruments’.¹⁰⁵

Dyer’s attitude towards the use of early instruments from the Baroque is reflected in her approach to the use of the harpsichord. For the celebration event of the *Œuvres complètes de François Couperin*, in May 1933, Paul Brunold performed on a Vater harpsichord, an instrument similar to those available in Couperin’s time.¹⁰⁶ Dyer’s intention for the event was to provide the audience with an experience of how Couperin’s music might have been performed during his lifetime: the instruments and the performance space—the music room at L’Arsenal had not been used for music for 250 years—were deliberately chosen to deliver this effect. However, when selecting what type of harpsichord to use for their 78-rpm recordings, the ability of the

¹⁰⁴ Jeanne Marix, preface to *Les Musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1937), xxi. Marix died in February 1939, and the piece was performed at the concert in her memory. Programme Salle Gaveau, EOLA, Press Clippings, 2016.0017, Unit 20.

¹⁰⁵ Marix, preface to *Les Musiciens*, xxi, n.108, and Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre du Voir-dit* (Paris: 1875): 69: ‘Si vous suppli que vous le daigniez oïr, et savoir la chose ainsi comme elle est faite...et qui la pourrait mettre sus les orgues, sus cornemuses ou autres instrumens, c’est sa droite nature’. Interestingly, this exact phrase was cited by the medievalist scholar Gilbert Reaney some twenty years later, see Gilbert Reaney, ‘Voices and Instruments in the Music of Guillaume de Machaut’, *Revue belge de Musicologie/Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 10, no. 1/2 (1956): 5. www.jstor.org/stable/3686256.

¹⁰⁶ The harpsichord is listed in the event programme as Watters, but this is most likely to be Antoine Vater (1689-1759?), one of the many harpsichord builders in Paris in the 18th century, a period dominated by the Blanchet and Taskin families. Antoine was the son of the Hamburg organ builder Martin Vater (fl.1670-95). Edward L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 274, 326-327 and 506n61.

instrument to stay in tune became the crucial factor. For these reasons a Pleyel harpsichord was most likely selected for the sound it produced and its ability to maintain its tuning. Initially made to Landowska's specifications, the instrument had an iron-frame, a sixteen-foot stop, a Venetian swell and a row of pedals with which the registration could be changed mid-flight.¹⁰⁷ It was also an instrument familiar to both Isabelle Nef and Ruggero Gerlin, former students of Landowska, who performed on these recordings for Désormière and Dyer.

Dyer was also concerned with the size and balance of ensembles for the performance of music of the French Baroque. In reviewing a concert performance of Alfred Cortot's orchestral arrangement of François Couperin's *Concerts Royaux* given in 1932, she criticised Cortot's orchestral transcription as being textually heavy, creating a performance which lacked the spontaneity and lightness that she expected to hear from Couperin's music:

Those who wish to protect the real spirit of old music should see that only the strict number of instruments necessary for the execution of Chamber music should be used and it must always be seen that the number of instruments used must never take on the proportion of a real orchestra. This old music gains absolutely nothing by the addition of innumerable flutes, hautbois, double basses, bassoons, and a harpsichord used as base. If all these instruments are used then several harpsichords should be employed to establish the equilibrium.

Is it not much better and more in the spirit of the time to employ only one instrument for each category; for it must be remembered that the harpsichord is used only as a figured bass and never takes the place of solo

¹⁰⁷ Philip, *Performing Music in the Age*, 208-09, 216.

instrument, except when it takes this place, in the absence of all other instruments. In that case it plays the instrumental parts written by the author and that of the bass without realisation.¹⁰⁸

In the matters of interpretation and authenticity, both Dyer and Désormière were more concerned with making the music they loved more widely known and appreciated. In the first instance, the use of modern instruments by professional musicians kept the unfamiliar repertoire within the listener's known sound world and avoided any charge of amateurism, a term often attributed to early music ensemble activists, even the SMA on occasion.¹⁰⁹ The use of modern instruments also enabled Dyer to differentiate her recordings from those of L'Anthologie Sonore, Boîte à Musique and some 'Society' editions, where a reputation for working with period-instrument ensembles had already been established. By employing musicians well-known to French audiences, Dyer and Désormière were able to spotlight their interest in French music across time as well as enhancing its accessibility. All along Dyer was underscoring the "Frenchness" of the label and her own passion for the music of France.

The approach taken by Désormière and Dyer was not dissimilar to that of Landowska and Boulanger, for they too did not regard themselves as musical archaeologists. Though Landowska championed the use of the harpsichord, she used an instrument that was very different to those of earlier times, as described above.¹¹⁰ Moreover, she considered the notion of an 'authentic' performance of 'classical' music as preposterous, posing the question 'how can we men of today have the presumption

¹⁰⁸ Louise Dyer, 'New Plays in Paris, Musical Events', *The Herald* (Vic.), 24 November 1932, 22. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242984561?>

¹⁰⁹ The SMA comprised mostly female members and a combination of professional and amateur players, who often performed wearing 'pink party dresses'. See Fiona McAlpine, 'Paris a Survey,' *Early Music* 4, no. 1 (1976): 91, 93, 95. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3126050>.

¹¹⁰ For a review of how Landowska developed her image as a harpsichordist of renown see Annegret Fauser, 'Creating Madame Landowska', *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 10 (2006):1-23. DOI.10.1353/wam.2007.0002.

to believe that we feel and play exactly like Bach, Couperin, their predecessors and contemporaries?'.¹¹¹ Boulanger, too, was resolute in rejecting the idea of the necessity for instrumental authenticity.¹¹²

For Désormière in the 1930s, the connection between early music performance and neoclassicism was more direct. His extensive experience conducting the musical works of neoclassical composers, especially those of Stravinsky, and of working with both professional and amateur musicians, led him to develop a pragmatic approach in regard to the performance of the music of the French Baroque. His approach chimed with Dyer. They focused on using modern instruments, but in a way that reflected the timbre of earlier periods. They ensured the size of the ensemble did not overwhelm music composed for both a smaller number of instruments and for smaller venues. Thus, a sprightly feel could be obtained. Rhythmic precision and an objective rather than emotive performance was of crucial importance, as it gave the musical performance clarity. With Dyer, he recorded music that then existed on the fringe of the then French musical canon, a canon based on works that had been found worthy of a place in what Lydia Goehr later described as the 'imaginary museum of musical works'.¹¹³ As their recordings show, Désormière and Dyer made no claims to authenticity as the term would be understood in the later twentieth century.

¹¹¹ Landowska, *Landowska*, 375, also cited in Philip, *Performing Music in the Age*, 208-9.

¹¹² Brooks, *The Musical Work*, 118.

¹¹³ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, foreword, Richard Taruskin, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Dyer and Désormière: The Recordings

Prior to 1940, Désormière's name appears on sixteen recordings for Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre.¹¹⁴ Most of these recordings feature music of the French Baroque, some of which also formed part of the SMA's repertoire, including François Couperin's *4th Concert Royaux* (1722) and de Montéclair's *Jephté* (1732) (Table 4.1).¹¹⁵ These recordings serve as exemplars of the approaches to early performance practice described above. But the non-Baroque works amongst his output are also revealing of the contemporary performance culture in Paris, and of how Désormière worked to anchor all Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre recordings in that culture. They also help to show the international orientation of the firm's recordings, alongside its focus on French music.

Table 4.1: Roger Désormière: EOL Recordings up to May 1940.

| Record No. (OL) | Work/s Recorded | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication and Musicians |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 1937 | | |
| 101 | Guillaume Landré, <i>Suite for Piano and String Orchestra</i> (1936). | Full score, and 5 parts (1939). No artists listed. |
| 1938 | | |
| 14 | Carl-Marie von Weber, <i>Andante & Rondo Hongrois</i> , pour basson et Orchestre, op. 35 (1813). Title as shown on label. | Score not published by EOL. Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. Fernand Oubradous, bassoon. |
| 51 & 52 | François Couperin, '4th Concert Royaux' (1722). 'Prelude', 'Allemande', 'Courante française', 'Courante à l'italienne', 'Sarabande', 'Rigaudon', 'Forlane'. | Extracted from 'Musique de Chambre I', <i>Œuvres complètes de François Couperin</i> (OC), vol. VII (1933). Roger Cortet, flute; Myrtil Morel, oboe; Oubradous; Henri Merckel, violin; Marcel Frécheville, 'cello; and Ruggero Gerlin, harpsichord. |
| 53-54 | François Couperin, <i>La Sultane</i> , (3 sides); Couperin 'Le Dodo ou l'Amour en Berceau', quinzième ordre (pièce croisée) (1 side). | Extracted from 'Musique de Chambre II', OC, vol. VIII (1933). Alice Merckel, viola; Georges Blanpain (Blampon <i>sic</i>), viola; Frécheville and Jacques Neilz, 'cellos; Isabelle Nef, harpsichord. |
| 55 | François Couperin, 'Le Rossignol en-amour', Bk 3, quatorzième ordre; 'La Létiville pour violon et clavecin, seizième ordre, and 'La Juillet' pour flûte et clavecin, quatorzième ordre. | 'Le Dodo', Frécheville and Nef. Extracted from 'Musique de clavecin III', OC, vol. IV (1933). Roger Cortet; H. Merckel; and Nef. |

¹¹⁴ See Appendix 5 for a summary of these early recordings Désormière made with Dyer.

¹¹⁵ Given Désormière performed this Couperin work with the SMA prior to Dyer's edition being published, it is possible that he initially used Georges Marty's transcription, published by Durand (see Chapter 2). After the war Désormière recorded musical works by Michel-Richard Delalande, Claude Gervaise and Claude Le Jeune, which had also been performed by the SMA.

| Record No. (OL) | Work/s Recorded | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication and Musicians |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 56 | François Couperin, 'Musette de Choisi' and 'Musette de Taverni', Bk 3, quinzième ordre; 'La Crouilli ou la Couperinette', Bk 4, vingtième ordre. | Extracted from 'Musique de clavecin III and IV', OC, vols. IV and V (1933). Morel; Louis Gromer, oboe; Nef; A. Merckel; Oubradous. |
| 57 & 58 | François Couperin, 'Le Parnasse' ou 'L'Apothéose de Corelli'. | Extracted from 'Musique de Chambre, IV', OC, vol. X (1933). H. Merckel, Georges Alès, violin; Frécheville; Gerlin. |
| 59 | François Couperin, 'Treizième Concert pour deux violoncelles sans accompagnement', <i>Les goûts réunis</i> . | Extracted from 'Musique de Chambre II', OC, vol. VIII (1933). Frécheville, and R. Ladoux, 'cellos. |
| 73 | François Couperin, 'Neuvième Concert' – Concert dans le Goût Théâtral, intitulé 'Ritralto dell'amore' (no. 5 des <i>Goûts Réunis</i>). | Extracted from 'Musique de Chambre II', OC, vol. VIII (1933). H. Merckel; André Navarra, 'cello; Jules Goetghelück, oboe; Oubradous; and Nef. |
| 79—80 | L. Beethoven, Duo No. 1 in C, and Weber, 'Adagio', <i>Concerto</i> in F, op.75. | Score not published by EOL. Pierre Lefebvre, clarinet; Oubradous. Ensemble/Orchestre l'Oiseau-Lyre (E/OOL). |
| 100 | Peggy Glanville Hicks, <i>Choral Suite</i> , female chorus, oboe and string orchestra | General Edition, 1938, pocket format. |
| 1939 | | |
| 71 | Jean-Philippe Rameau, <i>Les Paladins</i> (Deuxième Suite), arr. Désormière. | General Edition, Parts (1939). E/OOL. |
| 72 | André Campra, <i>L'Europe Galante</i> , Opéra-Ballet, (1697) (réalisation de Roger Désormière). | Score not published by EOL. Record released 1947. |
| 137 & 138 | Henri Sauguet, <i>La Voyante</i> (1932): Cantate pour soprano et orchestra de chambre, based on text by Nostradamus. I. 'Cartomancie'; II. 'Astrologie': 'Quand nous venons sur Terre'; 'Présages tirés des étoiles'; 'Pour les temps à venir'; III. 'Chiromancie'. | General Edition, 1939, parts voice and piano. Record released 1947. Germaine Cernay, mezzo-soprano; E/OOL. |
| 143 | Michel Pignolet de Montéclair, <i>Jephthé</i> , extracts, 'Entracte', 'Prologue', 'Menuet', 'Aire d'Ipise', 'Pastourelle'. | Score not published by EOL. Record Released 1947. Odette Turba-Rabier (soprano), E/OOL. |
| 145 | Bodin de Boismortier, <i>Concerto for Bassoon and Orchestra</i> , (1729). 'Allegro'; 'Largo'; 'Finale'. | Score not published by EOL. Record Released 1947. E/OOL |

In these sixteen recordings, there are seven musical works from François Couperin's *œuvre*, supporting Dyer's ambition to make all his music more widely known. His music appears alongside musical works of André Campra, Michel Pignolet de Montéclair, Rameau and Bodin de Boismortier. The outliers in this group of recordings are Carl-Maria von Weber's *Andante & Rondo Hongrois* (1813) [as per record label], and his 'Adagio' from *Concerto* in F (1811 rev.1822), which was paired with Ludwig von

Beethoven's Duo no. 1 in C (1790-1792) on the B Side.¹¹⁶ These particular recordings reflect the resurgence of chamber music that occurred throughout the 1930s when French composers considered chamber music formed the most fundamental part of their creative activity and actively explored composers, genres, timbres and forms.¹¹⁷ This belief prompted the French bassoonist Fernand Oubradous, a close colleague of Désormière and a member of the orchestra of the Opéra de Paris and the Société des Concerts, to found the Trio d'Anches (1927) in search of a new timbre.¹¹⁸ In this enterprise he was joined by the clarinetist Pierre Lefebvre, soloist with Concerts Lamoureux, and Myrtil Morel, oboist and soloist with Concerts Colonne.¹¹⁹ As a product of the twentieth century this Trio created a novel sound and attracted commissions, leading Dyer to issue twelve recordings of the ensemble prior to 1940, in so doing creating a unique collection.¹²⁰

Désormière also recorded a number of very recent works, including the *Suite for Piano and String Orchestra* (1936) by the young Dutch composer Guillaume Landré, and the *Choral Suite* by the Australian Peggy Glanville-Hicks. Scores of these works were also

¹¹⁶ Note, the titles of musical works are as they appear on the record label. Only spelling errors have been corrected, and this is indicated in the text.

¹¹⁷ This was in response to Charles Tenroc's (pseudonym of Charles Cornet) *enquête* (survey) which sought to clarify the role of chamber music in France. See Michel Duchesneau, 'La Création en musique de chambre à Paris dans les années trente', in *Musiques and Musiciens à Paris dans les années trente*, ed. Danièle Pistone (Paris: Éditions Champion, 2000), 359.

¹¹⁸ Jean-Pierre Rampal described Oubradous as the 'bassoonist of his generation'. Jean-Pierre Rampal, *Music, My Love* (New York: Random House, 1989), 96. According to Davidson, Dyer was initially unimpressed with the French style of flute playing, however she later made several successful recordings with Rampal. Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 379, 383, 384, 357.

¹¹⁹ Christiane Oubradous and Pascale d'Ogna, *Fernand Oubradous: Un artiste du XXe siècle* (Paris: Éditions la Bruyère, 2007), 42.

¹²⁰ See Appendix 2. For an overview of the repertoire of the Trio d'Anches and a review of the some of the wind trios recorded by Dyer's label see Catherine McGee Stockwell, 'The Oiseau-Lyre Wind Trios: A Critical Study of Interpretations Documented in Sound Recordings' (PhD thesis, Universidade de Evora, Portugal, 2016). <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/oiseau-lyre-wind-trios-critical-study/docview/2228214611/se-2?accountid=11862>.

See also Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 313-16.

issued in general edition format, in advance of the 1938 International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) conference in London. At this conference, Sir Adrian Boult conducted their world premières, a momentous occasion for both composers, but especially for Glanville-Hicks as a young Australian woman and former student of Boulanger.¹²¹ Boult praised Dyer's work, considering the complementarity of publishing and recording an inspired idea.¹²² Additionally, this conference provided a crucial strategic promotional opportunity as the firm's products and catalogues were exhibited before a distinguished group of attendees, including the British Broadcasting Commission (BBC) contingent: the organisation subsequently purchased two complete sets of the then catalogue.¹²³

Another recent work Désormière recorded was Sauguet's *La Voyante*, a chamber cantata for voice and ten instruments, commissioned by the Vicomte and Vicomtesse Noailles for their extravagant 1932 ball.¹²⁴ Dyer described it as 'a little masterpiece of modern French music'.¹²⁵ Désormière had not only conducted its première, but also its subsequent performances for *La Sérénade* in June 1932 and June 1938 (the latter performance coinciding with Dyer's publication of the score in vocal and piano parts only).¹²⁶ Madelaine Vhita, who performed the role of Seer at the première and reprised it

¹²¹ Suzanne Robinson, *Peggy Glanville-Hicks: Composer and Critic* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2019), 41-2. Of the thirty-six composers represented at the conference, only two were women: Viteslava Kaprálová, a student of Bohuslav Martinu, was the other one. Glanville-Hicks's piece was performed on 20 June 1938, at the BBC Concert Hall in British Broadcasting House.

¹²² Adrian Boult, Letter to Mrs Dyer, 2 August 1938, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 1.

¹²³ Louise Dyer, Letter to Mr. J.H. Wood, 17 October 1938. EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

¹²⁴ Raphael Cluzel, ed., *Henri Sauguet (1901-1989): Catalogue des Œuvres* (Paris: Éditions Séguiet, 2002), 33. The ensemble for *La Voyante* required: 1 flute, 1 oboe, 1 clarinet and 1 bassoon, 1 trumpet, percussion and 1 violin, 1 viola, 1 violoncello and a double bass.

¹²⁵ Louise Dyer, Typescript Illustrated-Lecture, EOLA, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

¹²⁶ Henri Sauguet, *La musique ma vie* (Paris: Librairie Séguiet, 1990), 293-94. A description of Charles and Marie-Laure Noailles' support of avant-garde artists can be found in Chimènes,

at both concerts, was replaced by Germaine Cernay for the recording. By publishing and recording this work, Dyer ensured its dissemination beyond the small Parisian audience.

The declaration of war on Germany meant that several recordings made prior to May 1940 were not issued until after the conflict. Sauguet's *La Voyante*, the extracts from Campra's *L'Europe Galante* (1697), Montéclair's *Jephté*, and Boismortier's *Concerto pour Basson et Orchestre* (1729) were eventually released in 1947. Nonetheless, the efforts of those involved in some of these pre-war recordings were rewarded when the recording of the Boismortier concerto won the Grand Prix du Disque (1949), granted by the newly formed Académie Charles Cros.¹²⁷

As described above, Désormière's reputation as a gifted interpreter of music from the French Baroque through to contemporary composers both preceded these recordings and endeared him to the Parisian musical élite. Many of the musicians he involved with Dyer's label had worked with him since the early 1920s, and all were regulars on the Parisian concert circuit.¹²⁸ That these musicians willingly engaged with this new niche label reflects the authority and the respect in which Désormière was held and attests to their own interest in performing both 'classical' and more modern repertoire.

Mécènes et Musiciens, 639-646. Dedicated to the Noailles, *La Voyante* premiered alongside Jacques Offenbach's overture to *La Jolie Parfumeuse* (1873), Poulenc's *Le Bal Masqué* (1932), a cantata on the poems of surrealist poet Max Jacob, Igor Markévitch's *Galop* (1932), Nicholas Nabokoff's *Collectionneur d'échos* (1932) and Auric's *Bibliophilie* (1932) for two pianos, which he performed with Poulenc. All compositions were conducted by Désormière, apart from Auric's work. Additional performances were presented at the semi-public concerts of La Sérénade. For the concert listing see Annex 3, Duchesneau, *L'Avant-Garde*, 328-330.

¹²⁷ Maisonneuve, *L'Invention*, 231-234. After World War II, the Grand Prix du Disque de L'Académie Charles Cros replaced Le Prix Candide which had offered the prize between 1931-1938. Le Prix Candide was created to promote the recording industry and to encourage quality performances.

¹²⁸ Philippe Morin, 'Discographie de Roger Désormière', in Guillot, *Roger Désormière, 1898-1963*, 93. Morin describes these musicians as 'des grands noms de l'époque'. It is likely some of these musicians formed the Ensemble or Orchestre de l'Oiseau-Lyre (E/OOL), but to date no list has been found indicating who was involved.

For Dyer's label Désormière invited the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire and colleagues from the National Orchestra and as well as several regular performers at La Sérénade and Triton concerts to perform.¹²⁹ Some musicians performed as soloists and possibly participated with the ensemble (or orchestra) de l'Oiseau-Lyre (E/OOL).¹³⁰ Many of the performers were recognised names on the French and international concert circuit: Roger Cortet (flute); Myrtle Morel, Louis Gromer and Jules Goetghelück (oboe); Pierre Lefebvre (clarinet); and the bassoonist Fernand Oubradous.¹³¹ They were joined by the violinists Henri Merckel and Georges Arlès, the viola players Alice Merckel, Georges Blanplain (his name appears as Blanpon on the record label), and 'cellists Marcel Frécheville, Jacques Neilz, André Navarra and R. Ladoux. The vocalists were the mezzo-soprano Germaine Cernay and the soprano Odette Turba-Rabier, and the harpsichordists were Isabelle Nef and Ruggero Gerlin. With Désormière, these musicians lent authority to Dyer's fledgling label.

The recordings of the music of the French Baroque offer ways of observing Désormière's approach to performance practice. As discussed above, he made use of modern instruments and experimented with ways of making them sound like instruments from earlier periods, such as adjusting oboe reeds, or bowing lightly, to create a timbre he associated with instruments from the past (maxim 1). Using modern instruments was not only a pragmatic choice, but also a way of making this music more accessible to a wider audience by bringing it into their known sound world. The Boismortier *Concerto* provides an example of how Oubradous's French bassoon evoked

¹²⁹ D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire 1828-1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

¹³⁰ The Orchestre de l'Oiseau-Lyre is also referred to as the 'Ensemble de l'Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre or EEOL'. To date no list has been found to indicate the names of its members.

¹³¹ Morin, 'Discographie de Roger Désormière', in Guillot, *Roger Désormière, 1898-1963*, 93: 'donc des grands noms de l'époque'.

a sonority more usually associated with performances by early-music ensembles later in the twentieth century. This is possibly because the French bassoon has a slightly reedier tone quality than the English.¹³² The recording of Couperin's *4th Concert Royaux* (1722) offers another example. Robert Philip, writing nearly forty years after the recording had been made, observed that though the instruments used 'were modern, not period, the pungent tone of Myrtil Morel's oboe and, particularly, of Oubradous's French bassoon in effect gives an almost "period" sonority, quite different from the smoother, blander sound of modern woodwind'.¹³³

As shown above both Dyer and Désormière were keen to create a balanced ensemble sound and so a small ensemble of one instrument to a part was employed especially in the Couperin recordings. As if to prove Dyer's point her favourite Couperin work—the *4th Concert Royaux*—was performed by six musicians (Merckel violin; Frécheville, 'cello; and Cortet, flute; Morel, oboe; Oubradous and Gerlin).¹³⁴ This recording presented listeners with an entirely different performance than that offered by Alfred Cortot's orchestral arrangement which Dyer had criticised. Supervised by Désormière, the recording is perfectly balanced creating a sense of textural lightness, a feature of the neoclassical music with which Désormière was extremely familiar.

Another aspect of Désormière's performance approach aimed to encourage string players to keep the tempo (not to linger or play emotively), and to emphasise rhythmic precision (maxim 3). These early recordings all exhibit a tendency towards adherence to strict tempos, suggesting forward momentum. Indeed, in the first movement of the Boismortier the tempo is almost rigid, the rhythms are sprightly, the attacks are precise,

¹³² For a detailed description of the different types of bassoons available in the early twentieth century and their sound see Philip, *Early Recordings*, 133. 131-137.

¹³³ Philip, *Performing Music*, 210. A link to the recording can be found in Appendix 5.

¹³⁴ Louise Dyer, 'New Plays in Paris, Musical Events', *The Herald* (Vic.), 24 November 1932, 22. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/242984561?>

the dotted patterns are particularly pointed, and the ornaments, when applied by the performers, are exact (maxim 2). The rhythmic liveliness of Couperin's music, a feature Dyer was keen to demonstrate, comes through in Nef's crisp, clean harpsichord technique which is most evident in the performance of 'La Crouilli ou la Couperinette'.¹³⁵

The recording of Rameau's 'Les Paladins', *Deuxième Suite* (1939) along with Désormière's transcription, published in 1938 to complement the recording, provides further evidence of the comprehensive suite of clues he offered performers. As a performing edition, possibly for amateurs as well as professionals, all the parts were clearly marked with both section numbers and rehearsal lettering for ease of reference. The ornaments were written out in full, as was the continuo part. Dynamic markings and tempo indications were Désormière's additions. With this score, he presented the performer with everything required to give an accomplished performance. This recording too provides a fine example of Désormière's approach towards the use of modern instruments, the small size of the ensemble enabling a sprightly effect to be rendered, tight rhythmic precision and objectivity in performance.¹³⁶

Throughout the 1930s Désormière was considered by his friends and colleagues as the most brilliant young conductor in France. Dyer's early decision to involve him with her

¹³⁵ Alec Robertson considered both the Couperin performances were 'refined and balanced', and that the harpsichord 'has rarely sounded so attractive'. Alec Robertson, review of 'Chamber Orchestra conducted by R. Desormière [sic.] Two Minuets from Les Paladins (Rameau). OL 71a. Two Musettes and La Crouilli ou la Couperinette (F. Couperin), OL 56. Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre [sic.] (two 10 inch, 5s. each)', *The Gramophone*, April 1939, 475. <https://reader.exacteditions.com/issues/32700/page/19>

¹³⁶ Indeed, Robertson, described the recording as exquisite and recommended music lovers purchase a copy. See Alec Robertson, review of 'The Lyrebird Press Music by Couperin', *The Gramophone*, March 1939, 431. <https://reader.exacteditions.com/issues/32699/page/21>.

label then was both deliberate and commercially astute. They shared similar views on the performance of early music, and both admired the music of the neoclassicists. He gave the fledgling label his imprimatur, which in turn attracted other leading musicians to the label giving it authority across domestic and international markets.

These recordings of the early French Baroque which Désormière made for Dyer reflect the performing practice of early music in France during the 1930s. They offer a near textbook example of what Taruskin called a ‘geometric’ (as opposed to ‘vitalist’) approach to early music performance.¹³⁷ He was referring in part to Landowska’s performances of Bach in the 1940s, while suggesting that both these performances and the early music movement of the 1980s were more indebted to Stravinsky than to historical authenticity: he writes, ‘all truly modern musical performance (and of course this includes the authenticistic variety) essentially treats the music performed as if it were composed—or at least performed—by Stravinsky’.¹³⁸ In the case of Desormière though, the connection between performing Stravinsky and performing early music is explicit, rather than hidden. His recordings, moreover, embrace freedom and creativity, as well as the rhythmic clarity of the ‘geometric approach’.¹³⁹

Given Désormière’s key role in the interpretation, execution and dissemination of Stravinsky’s music throughout the interwar years, his approach to performing the musical works of the French Baroque like those of the neoclassical composers is hardly

¹³⁷ Taruskin, *Text & Act*, 108-115. A ‘vitalist’ performer interprets the spirit of the work first, which determines the agendas and methods of performance and is usually associated with expressive musical performances of the nineteenth century. In the mid 1980s Dolmetsch was considered a ‘vitalist’ performer, as this type of performance contrasted with the strict re-enactment and (re)construction of performances of early music at that time. John Butt later considered aspects of Dolmetsch’s performances to be ‘imaginative’. John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Music Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 138.

¹³⁸ Taruskin, *Text & Act*, 113-4. Also in Richard Taruskin, ‘The Pastness of the Present and the Present of the Past’, in *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 166.

¹³⁹ Taruskin, *Text & Act*, 9.

surprising. This austere aesthetic shaped musicians' attitudes towards the performance of new and early music throughout the interwar period and went on to dominate post-war performance practice.

Désormière wanted to make music accessible to as wide an audience as possible which influenced his musical choices and shaped his views on the performance practice of early music, which were eventually articulated in his maxims. For Désormière, whether the music was written yesterday or in a much earlier time, it was 'a precious material to which one had to give life'.¹⁴⁰ To breathe life into these musical works, Désormière grounded his performances on a thorough analysis of the music to reveal its character, but he did not adhere in the strictest sense to the text, rather he made the smallest of adjustments that he felt necessary to enhance the playability of the musical works.

Overall, these recordings exude energy and charm. But they have little to do with any notion of 'correct' period performance—the strict reconstruction and re-enactment of musical works—which as Robert Philip has stressed, came to haunt the early music scene in the latter part of the twentieth century.¹⁴¹ Such forced 'authenticity' was considered utopian by Désormière and Dyer. As Dorrotya Fabian has observed, leading western European intellectuals regarded authenticity as an impracticable concept well before those of the English-speaking world did so. She cites Landowska as an example to support her case.¹⁴² But in Fabian's example we can also see the views of Dyer and Désormière, for they did not fetishise the use of early instruments, nor treatises, nor

¹⁴⁰ Thibault, 'A La Société de Musique d'Autrefois', in Mayer et Souvtchinsky, *Roger Désormière*, 30: 'Pour lui, la musique était une, qu'elle ait été écrite hier ou depuis des siècles: c'était une matière précieuse à laquelle il fallait donner la vie'.

¹⁴¹ Philip, *Performing Music*, 211.

¹⁴² Dorottya Fabian, 'The Meaning of Authenticity and the Early Music Movement': A Historical Review, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 32, no. 2 (2001):153-176. DOI.10.2307/1562264.

musical texts, but chose to use whatever their musicianship considered appropriate and ‘good taste’ demanded, as illustrated in these recordings. They, like many other early music enthusiasts in France during the interwar period, understood that the performance of early music involved a quest to bridge the gap between what scholars and performers could interpret from old manuscripts and treatises and what is actually heard in contemporary performances.

Dyer launched her label to complement her publications. This aim of providing both a printed musical text and a sound recording was unusual and indicates her ambition to influence and develop the musical tastes of a wider listening public. She used recordings to make the early and contemporary music that she believed had been unjustly ignored or was unfamiliar available to scholars and music lovers across France and the world. She specifically chose musical pieces that would, without editing or the need to perform them slightly faster than necessary, fit the limited format of the 78-rpm 10- or 12-inch disc. For this, music of the medieval, Renaissance and the French Baroque eras was perfectly suited, as were some contemporary works. Dyer’s recordings enabled her to provide consumers with music from the past, and at the same time a possession that could be enjoyed at one’s leisure, treasured and shared, allowing her once again to play an important role in the dissemination of French musical heritage. While she no doubt believed that concerts and performing music were crucial to developing a deeper appreciation of music, she ultimately knew that records would reach a wider audience.

5. Conclusion: 1939, Celebrating French Musical Heritage

The boundary years of this thesis, 1927 and 1939, provide a helpful way of bookending the first phase of Dyer's new life in Paris and her publishing enterprise, and of delimiting my project. This was the decade in which she undertook a number of specific activities in support of French musical culture and its musical heritage in particular. In many ways, though, these dates are arbitrary. Long before her move across the globe in 1927, Dyer had honed the skills necessary for operating a business and nurtured her international networks. Once in the northern hemisphere her carefully constructed reinvention into a music publisher was facilitated by not just her natural abilities but also her knowledge and her networks. By concentrating on the 1930s it has been possible to tease out how an Australian woman came to launch a successful publishing enterprise and to play a key role in French musical culture during what many describe as 'the dark decade'.¹ When forced to leave France in 1940, she managed the firm's business for almost a year, with the assistance of a Parisian music retailer, before the task became impossible.

It is important to remember that throughout the interwar years the minds of French and British politicians—and indeed many within the populations of both countries—were guided by the sentiment of 'never again': the horrors and casualties of the Great War deeply impacted their decision making. It was the seminal catastrophe of the twentieth century. For France, the 1920s was a decade of reconstruction and development, and of rapid change. But agreements made at Versailles in 1919 remained unfulfilled, stoking future political and economic tensions. By the 1930s the economic

¹ Zara Steiner, *The Triumph of the Dark: European International History 1933-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1.

gains of the 1920s were cut short by internal financial, societal and political pressures, the rise to power of political extremism in Germany and the eventual impact of the Great Depression. These factors further increased political tensions on the continent.

The *entente cordiale* between France and Britain, established in 1904, remained in place during the interwar years, despite a general feeling of mistrust between the two countries.² Indeed, in 1931 even the anglophile André Siegfried considered British politicians complacent about European politics, their attitude towards their European neighbours condescending, and their real interest lay in strengthening the Anglo-American partnerships rather than developing stronger relationships with a potential ally across the Channel.³ By September 1939, though France thought that it could rely ultimately on British help, its politicians were reluctant to confront the storm gathering on their border. With Germany's invasion of Poland, what was a local conflict became a Continental and then a global war, one that finally extinguished the era of European dominance and removed France from the ranks of the Great Powers.

As an Australian, Dyer's relationship with both Britain and France was rooted in colonial histories of competition and cooperation, not least in the South Pacific. (Ninety years later the dispute over AUKUS—the Australia, United Kingdom, United States of America submarine building contract, which saw Australia step away from its agreement with France—appears to reflect what is an enduring combination of amity and rivalry between Britain and France with regards to that region.⁴) After all, had Jean-François

² The landmark study on the *entente cordiale* is by Philip Bell, see P.M.H. Bell, *France and Britain 1900-1940: Entente and Estrangement* (London: Longman, 1996).

³ André Siegfried, *La crise britannique au XX^e siècle* (Paris: Colin, 1931). The book was exceptionally popular: by November 1931 four editions had been published. See Bell, *France and Britain*, 198-200.

⁴ France has a long history in the Pacific: New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna, as well as Clipperton Atoll. New Caledonia and French Polynesia are administered by French officials, alongside locally elected governments. For an overview of the strategic positions and practical policies regarding France within the Pacific and its relationship with Britain and Australia, see Denise Fisher, *France in the South Pacific: Power and Politics* (Canberra:

Galoup de la Pérouse's scientific mission which landed in Botany Bay, 23 January 1788, arrived several days earlier the new country would have been French: Britain's First Fleet that would establish a British colony in what became New South Wales landed earlier that same month, finally making their settlement in Port Jackson on 26 January 1788.⁵ She was also well aware of the *entente cordiale* and of Siegfried's opinions, and her ambition was to contribute in a useful way to support French musical culture by making it better known and accessible abroad.⁶

Between 1931 and 1940, a remarkable body of work comprising publications and recordings had been produced by Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, the majority of which championed the musical culture of her adopted country. Her efforts reflected a practical, modern attitude towards both the publication and the performance of French music beyond the confines of political and linguistic boundaries. As has already been shown, she embraced cultural internationalism as a musical and political project, and constantly sought ways to share her appreciation of French musical culture and its heritage, especially with the Anglophone countries of Australia, Britain and the United States of America.

Two activities undertaken by Dyer in 1939 demonstrate her willingness to share her enthusiasms with particular clarity for they combine the promotion of the content

Australian National University, E Press, 2013). In 1756, Charles de Brosses in his *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes*, advocated for the exploration of 'the Southern Lands' and suggested their use for penal colonies as well as provisioning bases. The content of this book was copied by John Callander in 1768 for his *Terra Australis Cognita*. Fisher regards this 'pirating' as a precursor for the rivalries which followed. See Fisher, *France*, 15.

⁵ Fisher, *France in the South Pacific*, 13-17. For a fascinating account of Australia's history see Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne: MacMillan, 2001). The Dutchman, Abel Tasman had traced a significant portion of Australia's coastline in the 1600s. Captain James Cook explored and mapped the east coast of Australia on his first voyage in 1770. The First Fleet, under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip, comprised eleven ships carrying c.1,000 convicts (men, women and some children).

⁶ Dyer attended Siegfried's lecture at the Comité Accueil franco-britannique, see: 'Les Cours, Les Ambassades, Le Monde et la Ville', *Le Figaro*, 16 March 1933, 2. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k297269k/f2.item>.

from the firm's print and recording catalogues with support for the French government's cultural initiatives aimed at its allies, particularly the United States. These activities not only close the first phase of her career, but also illustrate further her approach towards publishing and recording during this decade.

In February 1939, Dyer produced a concert which addressed a pressing business issue: the need to sell the firm's new recordings and their scores in France and beyond. It was also a rehearsal for using some of the firm's recordings for her illustrated lectures which would be presented during the firm's planned promotional tour of the United States in May 1939. At the 1939 concert, Dyer presented French music from the medieval and Renaissance period to the twentieth century. With this programme Dyer was not only constructing her notion of French musical tradition but also showcasing early music through the lens of the contemporary as, harpsichord apart, the musicians played modern instruments regardless of repertoire. Both projects can be read as 'soft power' initiatives in support of the French state's agenda of 'marketing Marianne', for the concert was broadcast by Radio-Paris internationally and the tour was timed, to coincide with the opening of the 1939 New York's World's Fair, where France had an extravagant pavilion.⁷ In this conclusion, I consider how Dyer used the concert, the World's Fair and the promotional tour to reinforce her ambition of contributing to and disseminating French musical culture, and how they draw together the arguments presented throughout this thesis.

⁷ Here I borrow Robert Young's term: Robert J. Young, *Marketing Marianne: French Propaganda in America, 1900-1940* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004). For descriptions of the pavilion see Robert H. Kargon, Karen Fiss, Morris Low and Arthur P. Molella, *World's Fairs on the Eve of War: Science and Technology and Modernity 1937-1942* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 2015). Rose Adler travelled to New York to oversee the decoration of the fashion section of the pavilion. Rose Adler, *Journal 1927-1959*, ed. Hélène Leroy (Paris: Éditions des Cendres, 2014), 267-71.

The Concert: A Celebration of French Music

On the evening of Saturday, 18 February 1939, Les Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre presented a concert at the Salle Gaveau, Paris. Entitled *Musique française ancienne et moderne*, it presented music French music from the medieval and Renaissance period to the twentieth century. The event was promoted extensively throughout the Paris daily and musical press, on street posters and postcards (Figure. 5.1).⁸ Potential audience members were enticed by the prominent listing of the conductor (Roger Désormière) and the soloists, all of whom had performed the works for Dyer's label and were well-known to Parisian music-lovers. An additional inducement was that the event was free to attend (though ticketed). Keen to make the French music that she had published and recorded more widely accessible, Dyer had also arranged for the concert to be broadcast by Radio-Paris. Not only could it be heard by those attending the concert but also by listeners throughout France (France had nearly five-and-a-half million registered radio sets) and overseas.⁹

⁸ The event was advertised in *Journal à Temps*, *Paris-Soir*, *L'Œuvre*, *L'Art musicale*, *Excelsior* and *Figaro*, among others.

⁹ Rebecca P. Scales, *Radio and the Politics of Sound in Interwar France, 1921-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 14. Also see 'Radio', *Figaro*, 18 February 1939, 9: '22h5, Radio-Paris: transmission du concert de l'Oiseau-Lyre (Rameau, Couperin, Boismortier, Koechlin)'. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4101371/f9.item>. For an example of the Australian radio transmission announcement see 'Lyre Bird Music Broadcast from Paris', *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 18 February 1939, 13: 'Louise Dyer, of Melbourne, "A Paris Message", is giving a concert at the Salle Gaveau today at 10.5 pm GMT (08.5 a.m. Sunday, Brisbane Time), a concert of Lyre Bird music. It will be relayed to Australia from La Pontoise on 25.24 metres and from Les Essarts on 31.19 metres. Madame Lebrun, wife of the president will attend'. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/188011049?>

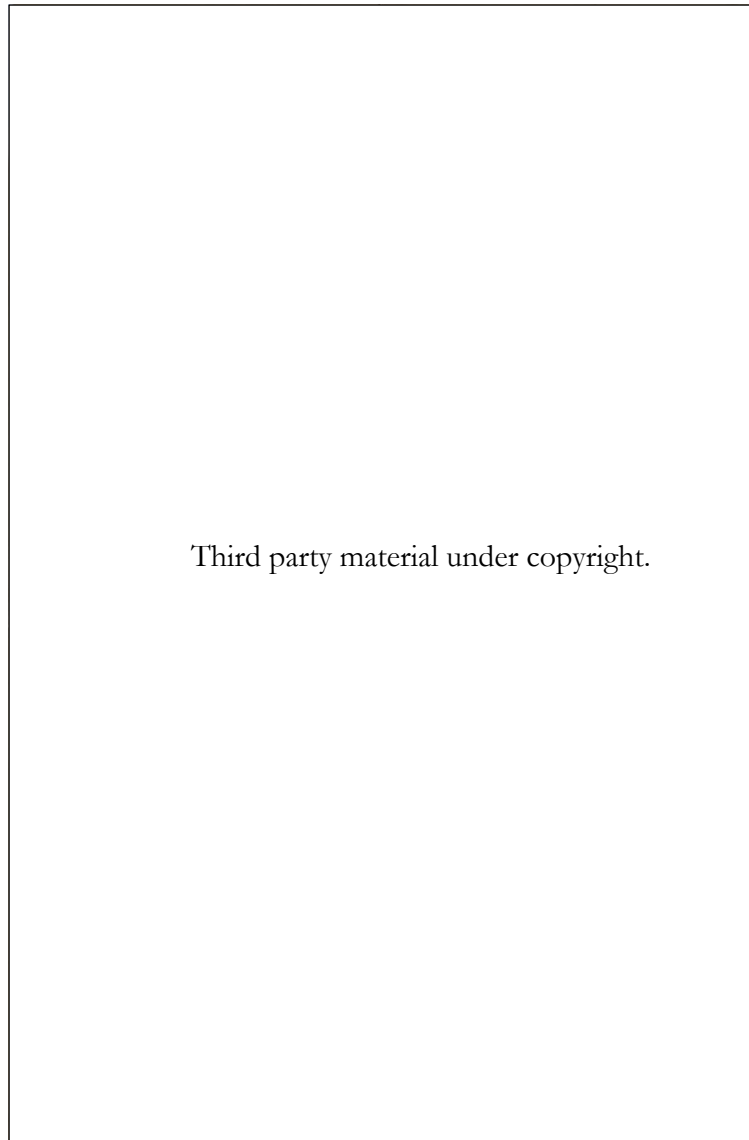


Figure 5.1: Concert Poster, 1939.

EOLA, Miscellaneous Business Records, 2016.0033, Unit 20.

According to Dyer's introduction in the concert programme, by the time of the concert her firm had issued ninety-six music publications of which seventy-three were editions of French music, twenty-two were limited editions, seventy-one were reprints, and three were monographs, including the first biography of Béla Bartok in English.¹⁰ In addition, she stated that 140 78-rpm recordings had been produced, containing repertoire from the medieval and Renaissance periods to new music, as well as

¹⁰ 'Programme, Salle Gaveau 18 Février 1939', EOLA, Press Clippings, 2016.0017, Unit 20.

traditional music and folksong collections.¹¹ This herculean effort was rewarded when the recording of *Viri Galilæi* by Dulos Couillart, performed by the Chorale de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg and conducted by the Abbé Alphonse Hoch (OL 21), was awarded a coveted Grand Prix Candide in December 1938.¹² The award, received by Dyer just over a year after her label was launched—in a field dominated by transnational conglomerates and established domestic niche players—recognised the label’s high production quality and artistic values, and indicated to consumers the range of music to be found within the firm’s catalogue. This win provided substantial reputational value, symbolic capital, to Dyer’s label.

The music performed at the concert ranged from works by Guillaume de Machaut and Nicole Grenon to those of Couperin, Rameau and Joseph Bodin de Boismortier, as well as contemporary musical works by Charles Koechlin and Henri Sauguet (Table 5.1). Désormière played a key role in developing the programme with Dyer, but on the night he was unable to conduct. Having broken his leg a week prior to the concert, he was replaced by his colleague from the Opéra Comique, Gustave Cloëz, who had also recorded with Dyer’s label.

To attract an audience for this concert Dyer chose a venue familiar to music lovers and devised an extensive marketing campaign. The Salle Gaveau’s reputation, size (900 seats) and ambience were ideal.¹³ Dyer’s promotional campaign imitated practices

¹¹ See Appendices 1 and 2. For a thorough listing of Dyer’s publications. Also see Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 218-302 and 309-18, 353-55 and 359-61.

¹² This work was extracted from volume 1 of Albert Smijers, ed., *Treize de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535* (Paris, Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1936). The prize funded by the Parisian weekly newspaper *Candide*, was the precursor of the Grand Prix du Disque. The politically right-leaning weekly *Candide* launched the Grand Prix du Disque Candide in 1931, and they officiated the prize until 1938, see Basile Giusy and Henri Chamoux, ‘De l’Enregistrement acoustique à l’enregistrement électrique des années trente’, in *Musiques et Musiciens à Paris dans les années trente*, ed. Danièle Pistone (Paris: Éditions Champion, 2000), 442.

¹³ It was where Dyer’s favourite contemporary work—Ravel’s *Le Tombeau de Couperin*—was first performed and it the venue of choice for concerts presented by the quasi-public music societies such as La Sérénade, Triton and Le Group Jeune France, as well as events presented by aristocratic patrons such as Étienne and Edith de Beaumont. For instance, the de Beaumonts’

from both the commercial and salon worlds which she utilised to her advantage: print media, poster advertising and direct mail.

Table 5.1: The 1939 Concert Programme.

| Item | Work | Performers |
|------|---|---|
| 1a) | Double Hoquet à Trois Voix (<i>Hoquetus David</i>), Guillaume de Machaut. Transcription Guillaume de Van. | M. Adriano, Trumpet André La Fosse, Bass Trumpet Roger Tudesq, Trombone |
| 1b) | Double Ballade à Quatre Voix (<i>Quant Thesens/Ne quier voir</i>), Guillaume de Machaut. Transcription Guillaume de Van. | Georges d'Arcy, Tenor Raymond Bonté, Counter Tenor |
| 1c) | Balade à Trois Voix (<i>Je ne requie de ma dame</i>), Nicole Grenon. Transcription Jeanne Marix. | Lise (Granger) Daniels, Soprano Accompanied by violas |
| 2 | 4th Concert Royal , François Couperin. Extracted from Vol. VII <i>Œuvres complètes de François Couperin</i> . a) Prélude, b) Allemande, c) Courante Française, d) Courante à l'Italienne, e) Sarabande, f) Rigaudon, g) Forlane. | Henri Merckel, Violin Maurice Frécheville, 'cello Roger Cortot, Flute Marcel Morel, Oboe Fernand Oubradous, Bassoon Ruggero Gerlin, Harpsichord Conductor, Gustave Cloëz |
| 3 | 'Musette de Choisi, Musette de Taverni' , François Couperin. Extracted from Vol. IV <i>Œuvres complètes de François Couperin</i> . | Marcel Morel, Oboe Louis Gromer, Oboe Ruggero Gerlin, Harpsichord Conductor, Gustave Cloëz |
| 4 | Les Paladins, Deuxième Suite , Jean-Philippe Rameau. Arranged, Roger Désormière. a) Menuets, b) Sarabande, c) Air vif. | Chamber Ensemble Conductor, Gustave Cloëz |
| 5 | 'Quatre Versets du Motet' , François Couperin. First Part: <i>Adolescentulus Sum</i> . Second Part: <i>Qui dat nivem, Ignitum eloquium, Justitia tua</i> . Extracted from Vol. XI <i>Œuvres complètes de François Couperin</i> . | Erika Rokyta, Soprano (Mlle Couperin) Gisèle Peyron, Soprano (Mlle Chappé) Chorale Yvonne Gouverné Isabelle Nef, Harpsichord Maurice Duruflé, Organ Conductor, Gustave Cloëz |
| 6. | Concerto Pour Basson ou Violoncelle et Orchestre , Bodin de Boismortier. Collected and arranged, Pierre Ruysen. a) Allegro, b) Andante, c) Finale. | Fernand Oubradous, Bassoon Conductor, Gustave Cloëz |
| 7 | 1^{re} Sonatine Pour Orgue , Charles Koechlin. a) Allegretto, b) Allegretto, mais sans lenteur et avec sérénité, c) Pastorale. | Maurice Duruflé, Organ |
| 8 | La Voyante , Henri Sauguet. a) Cartomancie, b) Astrologie, c) Chiromancie | Germaine Cernay, Soprano Petit orchestre |

charity concert held on 23 January 1936 involved Dyer's friends Nadia Boulanger and Marie Laurencin. Rose Adler also attended as a guest, possibly with Dyer. This event is described in detail in Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Works of Nadia Boulanger: Performing the Past and Future Between the Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1-7. Rose Adler described the event in her journal, see Adler, *Journal*, 224.

The principal audience members she aimed to attract were those who attended the music societies she supported: the patrons and their friends, the composers and their friends, and a small number of music lovers seeking new experiences. Dyer asked Yvonne de Casa Fuerte, founder of La Sérénade, as well as the musicians and composers involved in Dyer's own concert, for names of potential attendees whom she could invite personally, implying that the concert was more akin to a private event than the advertising materials suggest.¹⁴ Casa Fuerte provided a handwritten list of names to Dyer, who then created a type-written 'form letter' which she 'topped and tailed' to invite the guests individually.¹⁵ Koechlin, for instance, requested tickets for family members, students and organists from Paris and surrounding areas, no doubt to encourage sales of his score and secure future performances of his *Sonatine*.¹⁶ A copy of the Salle Gaveau's seating plan shows that her campaign was successful as the marks suggest that the hall was full to capacity (Figure. 5.2).¹⁷ Seated centrally, in the *loges* facing the stage, was the wife of the French President, Mme Lebrun, who had also attended Dyer's Couperin celebration in 1933. Critics from the daily broad sheets and the musical press were also in attendance: *La République*, *Ce Soir*, *Le Menestrel*, *L' Art musical* and *Le Monde musical*. In these ways, the concert blurred the boundaries between public and private, demonstrating that Dyer's ultimate objective was a commercial one.

¹⁴ Secretarial Copy, Letter to Yvonne de Casa Fuerte, 2 February 1939, EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

¹⁵ Handwritten Invitation List, EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 4.

¹⁶ Charles Koechlin, Letter to Louise Dyer, 30 October 1938, BNF Fonds Koechlin VM BOB 28557.

¹⁷ Salle Gaveau Seating Plan, EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 4.

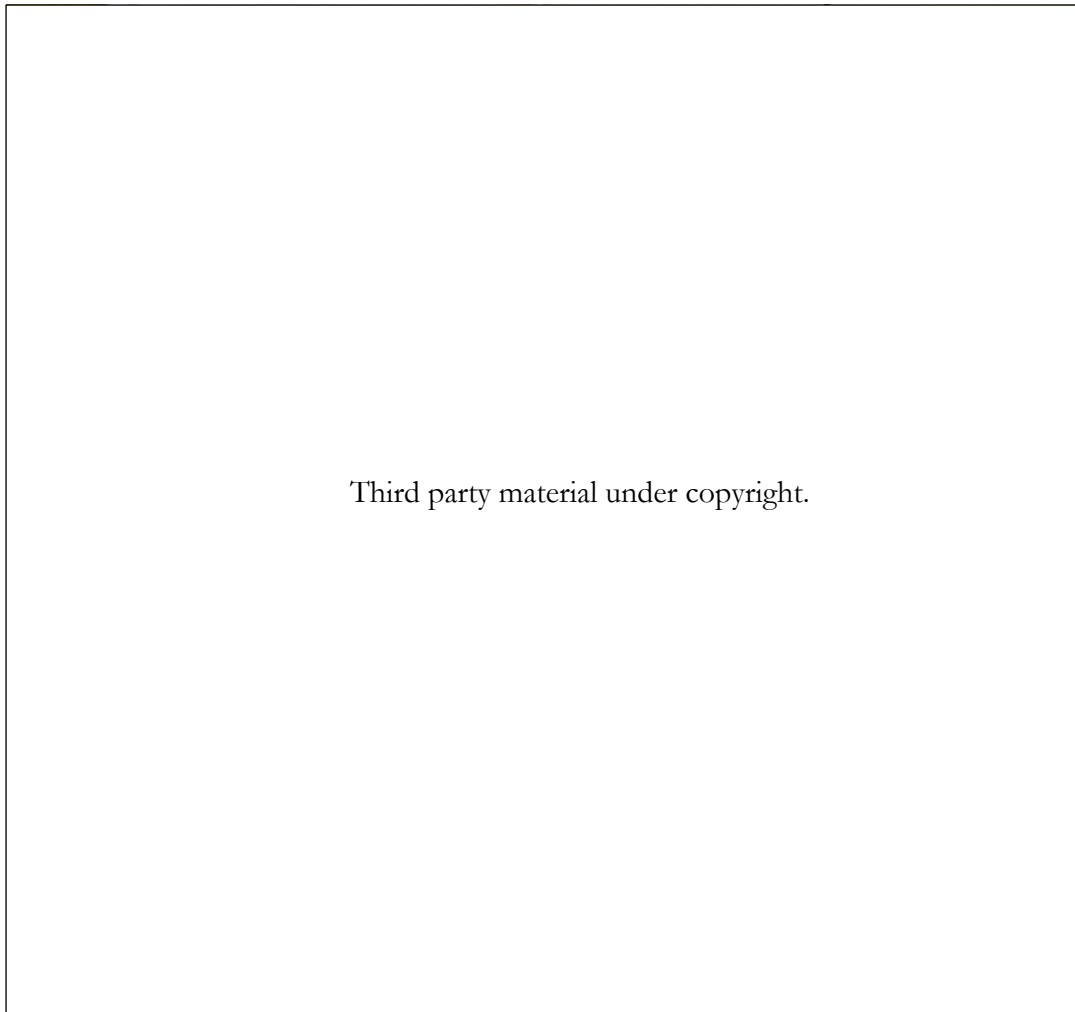


Figure 5.2: Seating Plan, Salle Gaveau, 1939.

EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers, 2016.0035, Unit 4.

The concert's title—*Musique française ancienne et moderne*—suggests an educative aim. Dyer was not only constructing her notion of French musical tradition, but also showcasing early music through the lens of the contemporary as, harpsichord apart, the musicians played modern instruments regardless of repertoire. This style of programme gestured towards concert practices of contemporary and past eras in which the pairing of *musique ancienne* and *moderne* has a long history, especially in France.¹⁸

¹⁸ The mixing of repertoire was not new, from the Second Republic keyboard performers regularly featured the music of *les clavecinistes* alongside that of Frédéric Chopin, see Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 44-45. The Third Republic considered comparative listening as a means of a sense of musical history, from which listeners could construct and consider broader historical

This practice persisted in various forms throughout the 1930s. For instance, La Sérénade's concerts regularly juxtaposed Gregorian chant and works by Palestrina with those by contemporary composers, often as a means of comparison within a single genre or style. As Jeanice Brooks explains, these contrasts were not as extreme as those organised by Dyer's friend Nadia Boulanger who, rather than taking a chronological, geographical or genre-based approach, presented a 'rapid seesawing' of eras with the specific intention of emphasising musical characteristics that were similar.¹⁹ Dyer presented her history of French music in chronological order, possibly to show the evolutionary aspects of France's musical heritage.

Given the range of repertoire presented and the live broadcast, it is possible that Dyer, or the conductor, made a few brief introductory remarks, to the concert as a whole or to individual works. While there is no firm evidence of this, the concert programme provided succinct descriptions by Dyer or, in the case of the medieval and Renaissance works, by Guillaume de Van.²⁰ These descriptions were evidently appreciated as Auguste Mangeot reprinted them almost in their entirety in his review for *Le Monde musical*, the official organ of the École Normale de Musique de Paris.²¹

and national perspectives, see Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 217-219. Such programming paralleled the growth in music publication and the increasingly literate consumer, see Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future Between the Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 159-162. At La Revue Musicale concerts, works by J-B. Lully and J. S. Bach were performed alongside those of Vincent d'Indy, Francis Poulenc and Federico Mompou. Eight of the twenty-two concerts featured such programming. Michel Duchesneau, *L'Avant-Garde Musicale et ses Sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 1997), 328-330

¹⁹ Brooks, *The Musical Work*, 162.

²⁰ Guillaume de Van, Letter to Louise Dyer, 9 February 1939, EOLA, Musicians, Writers and Artists Letters, 2016.0034, Unit 8: 'Voici les mots pour votre programme. J'ai les réduits à quelques mots indispensables pour présenter ces morceaux. Bien entendu, vous ne signerez pas ces mots de mon nom. Je compte sur vous le ne rien couper'.

²¹ Auguste Mangeot, review, 'Concert de l'Oiseau-Lyre', *Le Monde musical*, 28 February 1939, and EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 4.

In his role as music critic for *Ce Soir*, Milhaud wrote highly of the 1939 concert programme, the performers and the firm's recordings. He praised Dyer's work, thanking her profusely for devoting time and funds 'to the glory of the music of our country' and describing her as 'the fairy godmother of French music'.²² Milhaud seems also to have recognised that Dyer, through her publications and recordings, had also played a role in alleviating the economic pressures musicians faced during the final years of the decade.

While the recordings enabled Dyer to share her admiration for music that she had printed and enjoyed, they were an important means of generating income for her enterprise. The concert was a dress rehearsal for the firm's impending promotional trip across North America. The promotional tour aimed to tap into this burgeoning consumer market—as record sales were important, particularly if war broke out in Europe: Dyer was solely responsible for keeping her business afloat, and any profit was reinvested into her enterprise.²³ It was also timed to coincide with the opening of New York's World's Fair.

Since their inception, international exhibitions had been places to show off national industrial and cultural prowess and had long been understood as monumental sites of modernity. Dyer's products were displayed as part of the cultural section of the French pavilion, organised by the Ministère du Commerce de l'Industrie, where the government sponsored exhibition—*Five Centuries of History Mirrored in Five Centuries of French Art*—was housed on the upper floor of the modernist building along with literature and publishing and furniture design.²⁴ The firm's presentation of wares

²² Darius Milhaud, 'Mrs Dyer, une Australienne, est la bonne fée de la musique française'. *Ce Soir*, 24 February 1939, 7. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k7636424b/f7.item>.

²³ See note 18, Chapter 4.

²⁴ Robert H. Kargon, Karen Fiss, Morris Low and Arthur P. Molella, *Science Technology and Modernity: 1937-1942* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 69; Young, *Marketing Marianne*, particularly chapters 6 and 7, 119-164; and Georges Wildenstein, introduction to *Five Centuries of History Mirrored in Five Centuries of French art: New York's World's Fair, 1939* (Paris: Presses de Georges Lang, 1939). Wildenstein was a famous art dealer.

appears supportive of the French goal of emphasising the country's extensive history as a cultural leader, if not a political leader. By participating in this event Dyer satisfied a business need and associated herself with an international activity that France expected would reaffirm and strengthen its presence in a world in which its power was being increasingly challenged.

This was not Dyer's first promotional trip to the United States. She had previously undertaken an extensive tour of the east coast of North America in 1936, in the company of her husband James and the singer Olive Dyer (of no relation). During this tour Dyer presented illustrated-lectures of Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre print publications to audiences at leading American educational and cultural institutions and broadcasting agencies.²⁵ Although James had subsequently died (6 January 1938), Dyer continued to pursue her ambition of cultivating a successful record label.

Dyer was accompanied on this 1939 tour by her second husband Joseph 'Jeff' Hanson, an Australian, who had been assisting the firm in London.²⁶ They married in England in April, before embarking immediately on their extensive 15,000-mile promotional tour across the United States. From New York they travelled across the United States through Washington, D.C. and Chicago before concluding their journey with a presentation at the University of California, Berkeley campus. Throughout this trip Dyer used her recordings to illustrate her lectures. Their visit was a success: agreements were signed with both Broude Bros. of New York and The Gramophone

²⁵ Dyer presented at the American Federation of the Arts, the University of Rochester, the MacDowell Club, Harvard University Music Department, New York University, the Library of Congress Washington, and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). She also organised a concert at Steinway Hall, New York. For this promotional tour Dyer purchased reprints of Ernest Newman's articles for *Times* (London) for distribution. See, EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 17.

²⁶ See Davidson, *Lyrebird*, 329-37 and 387-91.

Shop for sales of General Editions and records respectively; upon their return to Paris in August, orders of just under 1,000 records a month were being fulfilled.²⁷

On their return to Paris in late summer the Hanson-Dyers found the atmosphere was unsettled. Within a month, Poland had been invaded, which led Britain and France to declare war on Germany on 3 September 1939. Nine months later the French government recommended the evacuation of Paris for those who were able to leave. The Hanson-Dyers left for Oxford, England, where they would spend the rest of the war rather than the few months she had originally anticipated.

Concluding Thoughts

When Dyer left Melbourne in 1927, she was seeking a means of greater participation in cultural activities. By establishing herself as a music publisher in Paris, she played a significant part in the ongoing construction of French musical culture during the final decade of the Third Republic, especially the revival of early music, and in making this music and the music of contemporary composers accessible. Through the case studies presented in this thesis I have reconsidered her contribution to France's musical heritage and shown how she identified and attempted to solve issues, often earlier than others within the musical circles in which she moved. It is possible that her 'newcomer' status contributed to this foresight, but as a member of the international elite, her wealth and networks—combined with an ability to engage talent and avoid professional jealousy, particularly regarding the Couperin edition—were also significant. At the time

²⁷ See letters and contracts between Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre and various distributors, EOLA, Business Records and Personal Papers of Louise Hanson-Dyer, 2016.0035, Unit 17. It should be noted that by October 1938, Dyer had already sold two sets of the current record catalogue to the British Broadcasting Corporation, see Louise Dyer, letter to Mr. J.H. Wood, 17 October 1938. EOLA, Secretarial Files, 2016.0048, Unit 3.

her contribution was recognised, though this recognition has since been overshadowed by that of other celebrated actors in the realm of music of the same period.

This thesis casts light on aspects of Dyer's life and work in interwar musical culture and on what her participation can tell us about women's experience and French culture more broadly. This was an era when successive governments held conservative attitudes towards a woman's role and continued to withhold women's political rights. For women of financial means, though, some business and professional opportunities existed. Still, any woman who diverged from the norm faced challenges. Throughout the interwar period patronage continued to be accepted as an entirely suitable pursuit for a woman. Indeed, it was through participating in such activities that many women learnt valuable management, financial and marketing skills, including Dyer. However, since patronage was regarded as women's work it could be criticised or trivialised no matter how significant the contribution. Dyer shows how this role of patron could be stretched and negotiated to make space for greater agency and authority in cultural production.

Even though she had initially attempted to fit in with societal expectations of a wealthy female patron, she refused to be confined by them. In her transition from patron-organiser to publisher she undertook a variety of activities, not all of which were as successful as she had hoped. For instance, her publishing partnership with Henry Prunières, which had the potential to attract considerable recognition and prestige from the musical elite in France and internationally to both the project and the individuals involved, ended in failure and her own humiliation. The failure can be attributed to her misunderstanding of some of the broader cultural norms surrounding the role of wealthy patrons in France: in this respect as a newcomer she would have lacked the innate appreciation of 'the rules of the game'. Yet, Prunières's own expectations were

equally problematic for Dyer: his ideal patron allowed him to work unconstrained.²⁸ He was torn between needing Dyer's financial support and his pride, which made him unwilling to accept her active participation. The subsequent demise of their partnership suggests that he was unable to reconcile these tensions, considering Dyer a threat to his leadership and independence, and to the overall Frenchness of the project.²⁹

It was the embarrassing experience of the Lully project which motivated Dyer to start her own music publishing firm, but she still confronted gendered conventions and faced exclusionary gestures from the outset. Even though she possessed an extensive international network of potentially helpful contacts, and the essential skills for managing an enterprise, some people doubted her capabilities to manage a publishing enterprise, and others viewed her aims with scepticism. (Interestingly, her knowledge of music appears to have never been disputed.) Such attitudes forced Dyer to assure these individuals that her actions were serious, and her ambitions were long-term and that she was no mere dilettante. Within interwar France women's alleged inferiority would have been taken for granted and those women who wanted to break free, like Dyer, still had to operate within the terms of existing discourse. Dyer used her connections, her wealth and knowledge, and her influence—her meeting with the French President to gain his imprimatur for her Couperin project which enabled her to garner support from others is a prime example—to rise above any obstacles that she faced. Through her first publication, the Couperin edition, she created a tangible object which not only

²⁸ Prunières's activities with the Princesse de Polignac, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge and Henry Le Bœuf for instance. See Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003); Cyrilla Barr, *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge: American Patron of Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998); and, Malou Haine, 'Une amitié franco-belge: Henry Le Bœuf, Henry Prunières et la naissance de *La Revue musicale*', in *Henry Prunières (1886-1942): Un musicologue engagé dans la vie musicale de l'entre-deux-guerres*, ed. Myriam Chimènes, Florence Gétreau and Catherine Massip (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2015).

²⁹ Tamara Levitz claims that Ida Rubinstien's allegiance to France did not bring her acceptance. Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 12.

celebrated his role in France's musical heritage, but also affirmed her place within the musical milieu.

The early failures and challenges that Dyer faced speak to broader themes of the suppression of female agency as a reaction to a power threat. Men, and masculine principles are undermined by a perceived danger from 'the feminine', as Suzanne Cusick identified.³⁰ In each case the response is the same: to preserve the status quo by imposing negative gender stereotypes on the 'other' and putting her at a safe distance. It is clear that Dyer was a remarkable woman who was resilient and strategic, and who exhibited the skills of perseverance and diplomacy to achieve her mission. Indeed, at least seven months before the launch of the Couperin edition, Dyer had already started work on Egon Wellesz's *Trésor de Musique Byzantine*, and had refused Edward Dent's request to provide financial support for the International Musicological Society.³¹ Her inner fortitude is further illustrated by the advice she shared with her friend Sibyl Hewett in 1935, 'be sure of yourself and go forward...[have] courage and don't be sat upon by anyone'.³²

By 1937 Dyer's enterprise had acquired an international reputation for publishing high-quality editions with prestigious editors. This accumulated symbolic capital, combined with her other significant resources, placed Dyer in a powerful position to

³⁰ See Suzanne Cusick, 'Gender, Musicology, and Feminism', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 471-498.

³¹ Edward J. Dent, Letter to Egon Wellesz, 4 February, 1933. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Egon Wellesz Nachlass, F13. Wellesz. 1198/3: 'I am glad that Mrs Dyer is doing something for Byzantine Music. I wrote to her some time ago about the IGWM, asking for her support, but I've not had an answer'. Two weeks later Dent writes, 'I received a long hysterical outburst from Mrs Dyer a few days ago'. Edward J. Dent, Letter to Egon Wellesz, 20 February 1933, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Egon Wellesz Nachlass, F13. Wellesz. 1198/4. Presumably Dyer had written that she was focussing on her publishing enterprise and would not be funding other organisations. I am indebted to Giles Masters for sharing these documents with me. To date Dyer's letter to Dent has not been located.

³² Louise Dyer, Letter to Sibyl Hewett, 18 March 1935, SLV Boc 1536/1 MS 10770 Dyer, Louise BM Hanson, Papers 1926-1971.

enter the recording industry. This new opportunity spoke to her mission of sharing her love of early and contemporary art music with as wide an audience as possible. After the war, when access to paper was difficult and expensive, recordings became her focus.

The fact that she was a woman makes her achievements, in publishing and especially in the area of recording, all the more astonishing, even by today's standards. Dyer was an artistic entrepreneur who worked with leading French, and international, scholars and performers, realising artistic dreams with a wily business acumen. She had created an internationally recognised brand synonymous with early music. Though some accounts of her activities (by Harry Haskell and Christopher Day for instance) have been narrow or distorted, obscuring the real cultural power Dyer wielded during the interwar years, new narratives are emerging (see Introduction). Though these new accounts aim to show the broad range of her work in their true light—both accomplishments and failures—they still reinforce the image of Dyer as primarily a benefactor. There is considerable scope for more research. I hope this thesis has gone some way towards revealing and to defining Dyer's distinct contribution to the early music revival and musical life more broadly in interwar France.

Appendix 1: EOL Publications Issued Between 1933 and 1940

The information presented in this appendix was initially extracted from Jim Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising: Louise Hanson-Dyer of l'Oiseau-Lyre 1884-1962* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1994), 478-485. Where possible the year copyright was taken out by Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre has been used and this was double checked against copies held within library collections, and against my own copies. The purpose of this appendix is to demonstrate the range of publications issued by Dyer's firm between 1933 and 1940.

| Year | Descriptive Title | Composer | Editor | Edition Type | No. of Volumes |
|------|--|----------------------|----------------------------|---|----------------|
| 1933 | <i>Œuvres complètes de François Couperin (1932-33)</i> , 12 vols. Vol 1 Didactic Works, Maurice Cauchie; Vol II-V Keyboard Works, Maurice Cauchie; Vol VI Organ Works, Paul Brunold, Vol VII-X Chamber Works, Amédée Gastoué and André Schaeffner; Vols XI & XII Vocal Music, André Tessier and Paul Brunold. | François Couperin | Maurice Cauchie (Gen. Ed.) | Limited Edition. | 12 |
| 1933 | <i>La Fleurie ou La Tendre Nanette</i> , published as a gift for the attendees at the commemoration event for the Bicentenary of the Death of Couperin, 28 May 1933. | François Couperin | Maurice Cauchie | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Œuvres complètes de François Couperin (OCFC)</i> . | 1 |
| 1933 | <i>John Blow, Deux Sonates</i> , pour deux violons, viola de gambe et basse. | John Blow | W.G. Whittaker | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1933 | <i>Onzes Colindes et cinq chants populaires roumains.</i> | Folksong/Traditional | Mme Humbert-Lavergne | Limited Edition. | 1 |

| Year | Descriptive Title | Composer | Editor | Edition Type | No. of Volumes |
|------|---|---------------------|-------------------------------------|---|----------------|
| 1934 | <i>Trio pour Piano, Violon et Violoncelle (1929).</i> | Guillaume Landré | N/A | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Adolescentulus sum</i> , motet. | François Couperin | André Tessier and Paul Brunold | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Air à Boir[e]</i> . Epitaphe d'un Paresseux, duo pour soprano et baryton accompagnement de clavecin. | François Couperin | André Tessier and Paul Brunold | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Air Sérieux Musette</i> , duo pour deux mezzo-soprani avec accompagnement de clavecin. | François Couperin | André Tessier and Paul Brunold | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Neuvième Concert, intitulé Rittrato dell'Amore</i> pour violon, violoncelle et clavecin. | François Couperin | Amédée Gastoué and André Schaeffner | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Treizième Concert</i> , pour deux Violoncelles sans accompagnement. | François Couperin | Amédée Gastoué and André Schaeffner | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Venite Exultemus Domino</i> , motet pour soprano et contralto avec accompagnement d'orgue. | François Couperin | André Tessier and Paul Brunold | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1934 | Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury. | | Edmund H. Fellowes | Book – Catalogue. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Trésor de Musique Byzantine.</i> | Various | Egon Wellesz | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1934 | Himologion , Athen. Cod.934. | Various | Egon Wellesz | Limited Edition. Extracted from extracted from <i>Trésor de Musique Byzantine.</i> | 1 |
| 1934 | Le Grand Orgue de St. Gervais à Paris. | | Paul Brunold | Book – History. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Œuvres complètes Charles Dieupart</i> . Vol. 1 Harpsichord, Vol. II Songs. | Charles Dieupart | Paul Brunold | Limited Edition. | 2 |
| 1934 | <i>Break of Day</i> (song two parts for girls' voices, words by John Shaw Neilson). | Margaret Sutherland | | General Edition. | 1 |

| Year | Descriptive Title | Composer | Editor | Edition Type | No. of Volumes |
|------|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| 1934 | <i>Quietly as Rosebuds</i> (duet soprano and alto, words by John Shaw Neilson). | Margaret Sutherland | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>The Green Singer</i> (two parts for girls' voices, words by John Shaw Neilson). | Margaret Sutherland | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>The Meeting of Sighs</i> (voice and piano, words by John Shaw Neilson). | Margaret Sutherland | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>The Dancing Schoole</i> : Five pieces for Bamboo Pipes adapted from tunes taken from "The Dancing Master" London: 1719. | John Playford | Arthur Benjamin (arr.) | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>The Melbourne Centenary Music Book: Australian Composers Piper's Music</i> . | Arthur Benjamin; Esther Rofe; Peggy Glanville-Hicks; Jonathan Tallis | | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Exercice Musical</i> for Pipe, Flute or Flageolet (with or without piano). | Darius Milhaud | | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1934 | Pipeaux Mélodies (1934) , <i>Pieces for Pipe and Piano</i> . | Albert Roussel; Jacques Ibert; Georges Auric; Francis Poulenc; Pierre-Octave Ferroud; Henri Martelli. | | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Six Scottish Folk Songs</i> : Voice and pipes with piano accompaniment. | Anon | Imogen Holst (arr.) | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1934 | <i>Motets to Play on the Pipe</i> : Six unpublished pieces in two parts from the Thirteenth Century. | Anon (13th C) | Yvonne Rokseth | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1934 | Treize Livres de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535, Vol. 1. (Total of fourteen volumes and two editors). | Various | Albert Smijers | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1934 | Treize Ricercari pour Orgue. | Annibale Padovano | Noëlie Pierront and Jeanne-Pierre Hennebains. | Limited Edition. | 1 |

| Year | Descriptive Title | Composer | Editor | Edition Type | No. of Volumes |
|------|--|---------------------|----------------|--|----------------|
| 1935 | <i>Polyphonies du XIIIe Siècle, le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier</i> , Vol 1. (Total of four volumes). | Various | Yvonne Rokseth | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1935 | <i>Australian Melodies for pipe flute and recorder.</i> | Margaret Sutherland | | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1935 | <i>How to Make Pipes</i> , 12 tunes for pipers and small percussion band with text in English, French, Italian, German and Japanese. | Margaret Sutherland | | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1935 | <i>Song of Contentment.</i> | Margaret Sutherland | | General Edition. Music for Pipes. Extracted from <i>How to Make Pipes.</i> | 1 |
| 1935 | <i>Sonata for Violin & Piano.</i> | Margaret Sutherland | | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1935 | <i>They Called Her Fair (Levy)</i> , voice and piano. | Margaret Sutherland | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1935 | François Couperin Three Songs: Aires Sérieux (1697, 1701); Brunete, 'Zephyre, modere en ces lieux'. | François Couperin | Anthony Lewis | General Editon. Miniature Song Series. Extracted from OCFC. | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Henry Purcell: First set of Twelve Sonatas.</i> | Henry Purcell | W.G. Whittaker | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Four Songs</i> (Two songs from Shakespeare's <i>The Tempest</i> , together with two songs by Johnson). | Robert Johnson | Anthony Lewis | General Edition. Miniature Song Series. | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Henry Purcell, First set of Twelves Sonatas</i> for Two Violins, 'Cello and Piano. | Henry Purcell | W.G. Whittaker | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Henry VIII: Three songs of his own composition.</i> | Henry VIII | Anthony Lewis | General Edition. Miniature Song Series. | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Lamentation de la vierge au pied de la croix</i> , for soprano. | Anon (13th C) | Yvonne Rokseth | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Polyphonies du XIIIe Siècle.</i> | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Motets from 13th Century</i> , for three voices or instruments. | Anon (13th C) | Yvonne Rokseth | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Polyphonies du XIIIe Siècle.</i> | 1 |

| Year | Descriptive Title | Composer | Editor | Edition Type | No. of Volumes |
|------|---|-------------------|---|---|----------------|
| 1936 | <i>Œuvres complètes de Louis Couperin.</i> | Louis Couperin | Paul Brunold | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Polyphonies du XIII^e Siècle, le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier, Vols II & III.</i> | Various | Yvonne Rokseth | Limited Edition. | 2 |
| 1936 | <i>Russian Folk Songs</i> , arranged for voice and pipes with piano accompaniment. Drawn from a collection dating from 1790. In Russian and French. | Various | Joseph Strimer | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Samuel Pepys: Three Songs of His Choice.</i> | Samuel Pepys | Anthony Lewis | General Edition. Miniature Song Series. | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Suite en ut mineur</i> (C minor) orchestrée par Roland Manuel. | François Couperin | Roland Manuel (trans.) | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Suite for String Orchestra & Piano.</i> | Guillaume Landré | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1936 | Tombeau de M. de Blancrocher. | Louis Couperin | Paul Brunold | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1936 | <i>Treize Livres de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535, Vol. II.</i> | Various | Albert Smijers | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1937 | <i>Beata es Virgo Maris</i> , four parts <i>a capella</i> . | Jean L'Heritier | Albert Smijers | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Treize Livres de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant</i> . | 1 |
| 1937 | <i>Béla Bartok, His Life and Works.</i> | | Emil Haraszri, trans. by Dorothy Swainson | Book - Biography | 1 |
| 1937 | <i>François Couperin: Fifteen Pieces for Harpsichord or Piano.</i> | François Couperin | Maurice Cauchie | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1937 | <i>La Sultane, Sonade en Quatuor.</i> | François Couperin | Roland Manuel (trans.) | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |

| Year | Descriptive Title | Composer | Editor | Edition Type | No. of Volumes |
|------|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|----------------|
| 1937 | <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne au XV Siècle.</i> | Various | Jeanne Marix | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1937 | <i>Motet de Ste-Suzanne.</i> | François Couperin | André Tessier and Paul Brunold | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1937 | <i>Noe, Noe, Psallite Noe</i> , four voices <i>a capella</i> . | Jean Mouton | Albert Smijers | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Treize Livres de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant</i> . | 1 |
| 1937 | Second String Quartet. | Boyan Ikonomow | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1937 | Short Pieces for Harpsichord. | Boyan Ikonomow | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1937 | <i>Six Old English Dances: Melodies from Playford's 'The Dancing Master'.</i> | John Playford | Imogen Holst (arr.) | General Edition. Music for Pipes. | 1 |
| 1937 | Trio in E Major , Oboe, Clarinet and Bassoon. | Boyan Ikonomow | | General Edition. Trio. | 1 |
| 1937 | <i>Viri Galilaei</i> , four part <i>a capella</i> . | Dulos Couillart | Albert Smijers | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Treize Livres de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant</i> . | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>A vous, Vierge de Douçour</i> , motet for three voices. | Anon (XIV) | Guillaume de Van (trans.) | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Ainsi parlait Zarathoustra</i> , Symphonie pour Quatre Pianos. | Ivan Wyschnegradsky | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Cadence et Divertissement sur un air populaire , pour clarinette et piano. | | Fernand Oubradous (trans.) | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Céphale et Procris</i> , Air for Soprano, 'Lieux écartez', Act II. | Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre | Paul Brunold | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Choral Suite for Female Chorus, Oboe & String Orchestra (on poems by John Fletcher: 'Great God Pan', 'Aspatia's Song', 'Fair Cupid', 'Weep no more', 'Song in the Wood'). | Peggy Glanville-Hicks | | General Edition. | 1 |

| Year | Descriptive Title | Composer | Editor | Edition Type | No. of Volumes |
|------|--|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|----------------|
| 1938 | Chorale in F minor , for Organ. | Charles Koechlin | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Double Hoquet (for wind trio). | Guillaume de Machaut | Guillaume de Van (trans.) | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Treize Livres de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant</i> . | 1 |
| 1938 | First Sonatine , pour orgue. | Charles Koechlin | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Five Divertissements , K 439, no. 4. | W. A. Mozart | Fernand Oubradous (trans.) | General Edition. Trio. | 1 |
| 1938 | Rest (Æ—pseudonym for George Russell), song for solo voice & piano (1931). | Peggy Glanville-Hicks | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Come Sleep (John Fletcher), song for soprano and piano/harp (1931). | Peggy Glanville-Hicks | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Frolic (Æ), song for solo voice and piano. | Peggy Glanville-Hicks | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Be Still, You Little Leaves (Mary Webb), song for solo voice and piano. | Peggy Glanville-Hicks | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Gloria in Excelsis , motet for three voices. | Matheus de Perusio | Guillaume de Van (trans.) | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Henry Lawes : three Songs from <i>The Treasury of Music</i> . | Henry Lawes | Anthony Lewis | General Edition. Miniature Song Series. | 1 |
| 1938 | John Blow : three songs from <i>Amphion Anglicus</i> . | John Blow | Anthony Lewis | General Edition. Miniature Song Series. | 1 |
| 1938 | La Chaumière , chanson. | Gervais-François Couperin | Paul Brunold | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | Le Parnasse ou L'Apothéose de Corelli , for violins, 'cello and harpsichord. | François Couperin | Amédée Gastoué and André Schaeffner | General Edition. Extracted from OCFC . | 1 |
| 1938 | Les Monuments de l'Ars Nova: la musique polyphonique de 1320 à 1400 environ . Fascicule I (Euvres Italiennes: Musique Liturgique de Ser Gherardello, Bartholino da Padova, Lorenzo da Firenze, Gratiopus de Padua, plus two anonymous works). | Various | Guillaume de Van | Limited Edition. | 1 |

| Year | Descriptive Title | Composer | Editor | Edition Type | No. of Volumes |
|------|---|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--|----------------|
| 1938 | <i>Lux purpurata radiis—Diligite Iusticiam</i> , motet for three voices. | Jacopo da Bologna | Guillaume de Van | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Les Monuments de l'Ars Nova</i> . | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Mathew Locke</i> : three Songs. | Matthew Locke | Anthony Lewis | General Edition. Miniature Song Series. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Non al suo amante</i> , madrigal for two voices. | Jacopo da Bologna | Guillaume de Van | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Les Monuments de l'Ars Nova</i> . | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Or sus dormés trop</i> , virelai for three voices. | Anon (XIV) | Guillaume de Van | General Edition. Extracted from <i>Les Monuments de l'Ars Nova</i> . | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Pelham Humphrey</i> : three songs. | Pelham Humphrey | Imogen Holst (arr.) | General Edition. Miniature Song Series. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Louis-Nicholas Clérambault. Pièces de clavecin.</i> | Louis-Nicholas Clérambault | Paul Brunold | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre: Pièces pour Cclavecin.</i> | Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre | Paul Brunold | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Prelude & Fugue</i> , arr. for oboe, clarinet and bassoon. | J.S. Bach | Fernand Oubradous (trans.) | General Edition. Trio. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Récit et Allegro</i> , for bassoon and piano. | Noël Gallon | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Second Concerto in B Flat Major</i> , K. 451, arr. for bassoon and piano. | W. A. Mozart | Fernand Oubradous (arr.) | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Sonata for Flute and Piano</i> , op11, 1937. | Stanley Bate | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Suite d'après Corrette</i> , for oboe, clarinet and bassoon. | Darius Milhaud | | General Edition. Trio. | 1 |
| 1938 | <i>Treize Livres de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535</i> , Vol. III. | Various | Albert Smijers | Limited Edition. | 1 |

| Year | Descriptive Title | Composer | Editor | Edition Type | No. of Volumes |
|----------------------------|--|----------------------|--------------------------|---|----------------|
| 1938 | Trio for Oboe, Clarinet and Bassoon (1936). | Henry Barraud | | General Edition. Trio. | 1 |
| 1938 | William Byrd Keyboard Music : I. A Galliarde II. Lulla. | William Byrd | Stephen Tuttle | General Edition. Extracted from <i>William Byrd, Forty-five Pieces for Keyboard Instruments</i> . | 1 |
| 1939 | Five Divertissements , K 439 (no. 5). | W. A. Mozart | Fernand Oubradous (arr.) | General Edition. Trio. | 1 |
| 1939 | Henry Purcell, First set of Twelves Sonatas , for two violins, 'cello and piano. (Reprinted). | Henry Purcell | W.G. Whittaker | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1939 | La Voyante : Scene for Female Voice and Small Orchestra. | Henri Sauguet | | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1939 | Menuetti , K 16. | W. A. Mozart | Fernand Oubradous (arr.) | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1939 | Polyphonies du XIIIe Siècle , le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier, Vol. IV. Issued in 1948. | Various | Yvonne Rokseth | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1939 | Les Paladins: Première Suite . | Jean-Philippe Rameau | Roger Désormière (arr.) | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1939 | Les Paladins: Deuxième Suite . | Jean-Philippe Rameau | Roger Désormière (arr.) | General Edition. | 1 |
| 1939 | Venus & Adonis , opera in three acts. | John Blow | Anthony Lewis | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1939 | William Byrd, Forty-five Pieces for Keyboard Instruments . | William Byrd | Stephen Tuttle | Limited Edition. | 1 |
| 1940 (possibly 1937) | L'Ancienne Maison de Campagne , Op124 (1923-33), suite pour piano. | Charles Koechlin | | General Edition. | 1 |

Appendix 2: EOL Recordings Issued Between 1937 and 1940

This information has been drawn from many sources: Jim Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising: Louise-Hanson Dyer of l'Oiseau-Lyre 1884-1962* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 487-94; British Library, London; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gallica; Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre Archive; Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre Catalogues and Advertisements; the CHARM database; ARCHIVE.ORG, and internet searches. Some records were not issued. Where discs have been identified the information on the disc label itself has been used. For cross-referencing and analysis purposes Davidson's era classifications, which he used for the editions, has also been used for this list of recordings.

My research indicates that 115 pieces of music were issued between 1937 and 1940. The record count Dyer included in the 1939 Concert Programme does not tally with this number: it most likely included the Medieval music recorded from Yvonne Rokseth's publications, which were not issued prior to the outbreak of war. Of the 115 pieces recorded and issued twenty-seven were of Medieval and Renaissance music, forty-nine are musical works were from the seventeenth and eighteenth century, fifteen are from the 1800s, and fourteen pieces are from the twentieth century. Only ten of the musical works recorded were of traditional music.

Sixty-one of the musical works recorded were eventually published by Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre in various formats. These pieces appeared within a Limited edition or were extracted from a limited edition and published as a single item in a less expensive format referred to as a General Edition, or they were first published as a General Edition. There were several General edition formats: sheet music, scores plus parts, miniature songbooks and pocket scores.

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|----------------------|--|------------------|---|--|
| OL 1 (A) | 1937 | Jacopo da Bologna | <i>Non al suo Amante.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Jean Archimbaud, counter tenor; Raymond Bonté, tenor. | General Edition, 1938. Extracted from <i>Les Monuments de L'Ars Nova.</i> |
| OL 1 (B) | 1937 | Matheus de Perusio | <i>Gloria in Excelsis.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Jean Archimbaud, Raymond Bonté, and André Lafosse (bass-trumpet). | |
| OL 2 (A) | 1937 | Anon. | <i>À vous, Vierge de Douçour. Ad te, virgo, Clamitans Venio.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Jean Archimbaud; Raymond Bonté; André Lafosse; Roger Tudesq, trumpet; Paul Brunold, hurdy gurdy. | General Edition, 1938. |
| OL 2 (B) | 1937 | Jacopo da Bologna | <i>Lux Purpurata Radiis. Diligite Iusticiam.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Jean Archimbaud; Raymond Bonté; André Lafosse; Roger Tudesq; Paul Brunold. | General Edition 1938. Extracted from <i>Les Monuments de L'Ars Nova.</i> |
| OL 4 | 1937 | Ludwig van Beethoven | Duo No. 2, Clarinet and Bassoon. | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. Myrtille Morel, oboe; Pierre Lefebvre, clarinet; Fernand Oubradous, bassoon. | Not Published. |
| OL 5 | 1937 | Jacques Ibert | <i>Pièces en Trio for Oboe, Clarinet & Bassoon.</i> | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. Myrtille Morel, oboe ; Pierre Lefebvre, clarinet ; Fernand Oubradous, bassoon. | General Edition. (Trio). Parts issued 1947. |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|-------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| OL 6-7 | 1937 | Henry Barraud | <i>Trio for Oboe, Clarinet & Bassoon.</i> | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | General Edition. (Trio). Parts, 1938. |
| OL 10 | 1937 | François Couperin | <i>Air Sérieux (1701); Brunette.</i> | | Lise Daniels, soprano; Irène Aïtoff, piano. | General Edition, 1937. Extracted from <i>Œuvres complètes de François Couperin (OCFC)</i> . |
| OL 24 | 1937 | Franz Schubert | <i>Du Bist die Ruh. Der Jüngling an der Quelle. Wanderers Nachtlied II.</i> | | Erika Rokyta, soprano; Othon Wetzl, piano. | Not Published. |
| OL 27-28 | 1937 | Gabriel Fauré | <i>Mirages.</i> | | Lisa Daniels and Joseph Benvenuti, piano. | Not Published. |
| OL 70 | 1937 | Ivan Wyschnegradsky | <i>Ainsi Partait Sarathoustra</i> (Op. 17), third movement. | Ivan Wyschnegradsky, (dir.) | Pianos: Monique Haas, Ina Marika, Edouart Staempfli and Max Vrendenburg. | Only six copies were printed in 1937. |
| OL 101 | 1937 | Guillaume Landré | Suite for Piano and String Orchestra. | Roger Désormière | Ensemble/Orchestra l'Oiseau-Lyre (E/OOL). | General Edition. Parts, 1936 and pocket score, 1939. |
| OL 3 (A) | 1938 | Anon. | <i>Or Sus, vous dormés trop.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Jean Archimbaud; André Lafosse; Roger Tudesq. | General Edition, 1938. Extracted from <i>Les Monuments de L'Arts Nova</i> . |
| OL 3 (B) | 1938 | Guillaume de Machaut | <i>Hoquetus David.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Eugène Foveau; André Lafosse; Roger Tudesq. | General Edition, 1938. Extracted from <i>Les Monuments de L'Arts Nova</i> . |
| OL 8 | 1938 | J.S. Bach | <i>Prelude & Fugue for Oboe, Clarinet & Bassoon.</i> | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | General Edition (Trio), 1938. Arr. Fernand Oubradous. |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--|------------------|---|--|
| OL 11 | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>Les Fastes de la Grande et Ancienne Ménéstrandise.</i> | | Marcelle de Lacour, harpsichord. | General Edition, 1937. Extracted from OCFC . |
| OL 12 | 1938 | Louis Couperin | <i>Tombeau de M. de Blancrocher; Chaconne et Duo.</i> | | Marcelle de Lacour. | General Edition 1936. Extracted from Œuvres complètes de Louis Couperin . |
| OL 13 | 1938 | Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre | <i>Sarabande in D and Sarabande in G.</i> | Roger Désormière | Marcelle de Lacour. | Published 1938 in Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, Pièces de clavecin . |
| OL 14 | 1938 | Carl Maria von Weber | <i>Andante & Rondo Hongrois, Op. 35.</i> | Roger Désormière | Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire with Fernand Oubradous. | Not Published. |
| OL 15-16 | 1938 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Divertissement for Oboe, Clarinet & Bassoon, K. 439, no. 4.</i> | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | General Edition, 1939. |
| OL 17-18 | 1938 | Darius Milhaud | <i>Suite d'après Corrette.</i> | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | General Edition, 1938. Pocket format plus parts. |
| OL 19 (A) | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>Air Sérieux</i> (1697). | | Lise Daniels and Irène Aïtoff. | Published in OCFC . |
| OL 19 (B) | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>Diane et Actéon: Air tendre.</i> | | Lise Daniels and Irène Aïtoff. | Published in OCFC . |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------------------|---|--------------------|--|---|
| OL 20 | 1938 | Georg Phipp Telemann | <i>Trio-sonata for Flute, 'Cello & Piano.</i> | Marcel Moyses | Moyse Trio: Marcel Moyses, flute; Blanche Honegger (née Moyses) violin/viola; Louis Moyses, piano. | Not Published. |
| OL 21 | 1938 | Dulos Couillart | <i>Viri Galilaei</i> (1534). | Abbé Alphonse Hoch | Choir of Strasbourg Cathedral. | General Edition, 1937. Extracted from <i>Trieze Livres de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535.</i> |
| OL 22 | 1938 | Hugo Wolf | <i>Wie Glänzt der Helle Mond; Tretet ein, bohe Krieger.</i> | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 23 | 1938 | Jean l'Héretier | <i>Beata es, Virgo Maria.</i> | Abbé Alphonse Hoch | Choir of Strasbourg Cathedral. | General Edition, 1937. Extracted from <i>Trieze Livres de Motets Parus Chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535.</i> |
| OL 25/26 (A, B, A) | 1938 | Stanley Bate | <i>Sonata for Flute & Piano.</i> (3 Sides) | | Marcel Moyses and Louis Moyses, piano. | General Edition Score 1938. |
| OL 26 (B) | 1938 | Jacques-Christophe Naudot | <i>Sonata for Two Flutes.</i> | | Marcel Moyses and Louis Moyses, flutes. | Not Published. |
| OL 29 | 1938 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Unglückliche Liebe. De Zauberer. Das Traumbild.</i> | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 30 | 1938 | Franz Schubert | <i>Meeresstille; Geheimes. Nähe des Geliebten.</i> | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|--|---|----------------|--|--|
| OL 31 | 1938 | Franz Schubert | <i>Ellens Zweiter Gesang. An die Sonne. Schwanengesang. An die Laute.</i> | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 32 | 1938 | Viennese Folksongs | <i>S'Isch Ebe äbe n'e Mönsch uf Ärde. Heidi Pupeidi. S'Bibibenderl.</i> | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 33 | 1938 | Franz Schubert | <i>Totengräbers Heimwehe. An der Mond.</i> | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 34-35 | 1938 | Mikhail Glinka | <i>Trio Pathétique.</i> | | Pierre Lefebvre, Fernand Oubradous Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 36-37 | 1938 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Divertissement (K. 439), No. 5.</i> | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | General Edition, 1938. |
| OL 38-39 | 1938 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Exsultate Jubilate, KV. 158, I and II.</i> | Félix Raugel | E/OOL with Erika Rokyta. | Not Published. |
| OL 40-41 | 1938 | W.A. Mozart | Bassoon Concerto in B flat major. | Edvard Fendler | Orchestre Symphonique with Fernand Oubradous. | General Edition, 1938. Note, Arr. Oubradous. |
| OL 42 | 1938 | Jacques Vide and Gilles de Binchois | <i>Las, j'ay perdu mon espinel; Vit encore ce faux dangier.</i> | | Pasquier Trio with Lise Daniels. Jean Pasquier, violin; Pierre Pasquier, viola; Étienne Pasquier, 'cello. | Published 1938. Extracted from <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne au XV^e siècle, 1938.</i> |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|--|--|
| OL 44 | 1938 | Hugo Wolf | <i>Der Knabe und das Immllein. In der Frühe.</i> | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 45 | 1938 | Hugo Wolf | <i>Mausfallen-Sprüchelein. Zitronenfalter im April; Das verlassene Mägdelein.</i> | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 46 | 1938 | Hugo Wolf | <i>Elfenlied; Blumengruß; Wiegenlied im Sommer.</i> | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 48 | 1938 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Laudate Dominum; De Profundis.</i> | Félix Raugel | E/OOLwith Erika Rokyta Félix Raugel Chorale. | Not Published. |
| OL 49 | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>Venite, Exultemus Domino,</i> Explanatory note Paul Brunold. | | Erika Rokyta; Germaine Cernay, soprano. | General Edition, 1934. Extracted from OCFC . |
| OL 51-52 | 1938 | François Couperin | 4 th Concert Royal. | Roger Désormière. | Roger Cortot, flute; Myrtil Morel, oboe; Fernand Oubradous; Henry Merckel, violin; Marcel Frêcheville; and Ruggero Gerlin, harpsichord. | General Edition, 1937. Extracted from OCFC . |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------|---|------------------|--|--|
| OL 53-54 (A, B, A) | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>La Sultane</i> (three Sides). | Roger Désormière | Alice Merckel, viola, sides 1-3; Georges Blanpain, viola, sides 1-3; Marcel Frècheville, 'cello, sides 1-4; Jacques Neilz, 'cello, sides 1-3; Isabelle Nef, Harpsichord. | General Edition, transcribed by Roland Manuel 1937. Extracted from OCFC . |
| OL 54 (B) | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>Le Dodo ou L'Amour au Berceau.</i> | | Isabelle Nef, side 4. | Published in OCFC . |
| OL 55 | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>Le Rossignol en Amour.</i> <i>La Létiville.</i> <i>La Juillet.</i> | Roger Désormière | Roger Cortot; Henry Merckel; Isabelle Nef. | Published in OCFC . |
| OL 56 | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>Musette de Choisi.</i> <i>Musette de Taverni.</i> <i>La Cronilli ou la Couperinette.</i> | Roger Désormière | Henry Merckel, violin; Georges Alès, violin; Marcel Frècheville, 'cello; Ruggero Gerlin. | Published in OCFC . |
| OL 57-58 | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>Le Parnasse ou l'Apothéose de Corelli.</i> | Roger Désormière | Henry Merckel (violin); Georges Alès (violin); Marcel Frècheville ('cello); Ruggero Gerlin (harpsichord). | General Edition, 1938. Extracted from OCFC . |
| OL 59 | 1938 | François Couperin | 13 th Concert. | Roger Désormière | Marcel Frècheville; R. Ladoux 'cellos. | Published in OCFC . |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|---------------------|--|------------------|--|---|
| OL 61 (A) | 1938 | Hayne van Ghizeghem | <i>Plus n'en aray je jamais mieux que j'ai?</i> | Yvonne Gouverné | Chorale Yvonne Gouverné, unnamed musicians. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 61 (A) | 1938 | Gilles de Binchois | <i>Nova vobis gaudia.</i> | Yvonne Gouverné | Chorale Yvonne Gouverné, unnamed musicians. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 61 (B) | 1938 | Robert Morton | <i>Mon bien, ma joyeux.</i> | | Lucien Lavailote, flute; Pierre Lefebvre; Fernand Oubradous. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 61 (B) | 1938 | Robert Morton | <i>Plus n'en aray.</i> | Yvonne Rokseth | Lucien Lavailote and Fernand Oubradous. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 63 (B) | 1938 | Gilles de Binchois | <i>Files à marier.</i> | Yvonne Gouverné | Chorale Yvonne Gouverné | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 63 (B) | 1938 | Hayne van Ghizeghem | <i>Les Grans Regrez.</i> | Gouverné, Yvonne | Chorale Yvonne Gouverné, unnamed musicians. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 63 (A) | 1938 | Robert Morton | <i>Trois Chansons</i> for three wind instruments. | | Violas and trombone (unnamed) | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 73-74 | 1938 | François Couperin | 9 th Concert: <i>Ritralto dell'amore.</i> | Roger Désormière | André Navarra, 'cello; Jules Goetghelück, oboe; Fernand Oubradous; Isabelle Nef. | General Edition, 1934. Extracted from OCFC . |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---|-------------------|--|---|
| OL 75 | 1938 | Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre | <i>Allemande; Gigue.</i> | | Isabelle Nef. | Published in 1938 in <i>Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre: Pièces pour clavecin</i> |
| OL 76 | 1938 | William Byrd | <i>Lulla; Galiard.</i> | | Isabelle Nef. | General Edition, 1939, Extracted from <i>William Byrd: Forty-five Pieces for Keyboard Instrument.</i> |
| OL 77 | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>L'Himen-Amour.</i> | | Isabelle Nef. | Published in OCFC . |
| OL 78 | 1938 | Ludwig van Beethoven | Duo No 3 in B flat for Clarinet and Bassoon. | | Pierre Lefebvre, Fernand Oubradous. | Not Published. |
| OL 79-80 (A) | 1938 | Carl Maria von Weber | 'Adagio', Concerto in F, Op. 75. | Roger Désormière. | E/OOL; Pierre Lefebvre, clarinet; Fernand Oubradous. | Not Published. |
| OL 79-80 (B) | 1938 | Ludwig van Beethoven | Duo No 1 in C major for Clarinet and Bassoon. | | Pierre Lefebvre, Fernand Oubradous. | Not Published. |
| OL 81-82 | 1938 | Ludwig van Beethoven | <i>Trio in G major.</i> | | Marcel Moyse; Fernand Oubradous; Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 86-87 | 1938 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Mennetti</i> , K.V. 176 - N.C. 175. | Evard Fendler | E/OOL. | General Edition, 1939. Pocket format plus parts. |
| OL 88 | 1938 | Anon. | German Christmas Carols. | | Erika Rokyta, String Quartet (unnamed). | Not Published. |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|-------------------------------|--|------------------|---|--|
| OL 89 | 1938 | Anon. | German and Austrial Christmas Carols. | | Erika Rokyta and L. Pettijean, piano. | Not Published. |
| OL 90 | 1938 | Anon. | Austrian and Bavarian Folk Songs. | | Erika Rokyta and L. Pettijean, piano. | Not Published. |
| OL 91 | 1938 | Anon. | Austrian and Swabian Folk Songs. | | Erika Rokyta and L. Pettijean. Noël Gallon Unknown cor-anglais. | Not Published. |
| OL 92 | 1938 | François Couperin | <i>Quatre Versets d'un Motet - Second Part, Qui dat nivem, Ignitum eloquium, Justitia tua</i> (was listed as OL 60). | Gustave Cloëz | Gisèle Peyron, soprano; Erika Rokyta; Maurice Duruflé, organ; E/OOL; Chorale Yvonne Gouverné. | General Edition, 1938. Extracted from OCFC . |
| OL 93 | 1938 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Adagio and Fugue</i> in C Minor, K 546. | Charles Münch | Grand Orchestre Symphonique | Not Published. |
| OL 100 | 1938 | Peggy Glanville-Hicks | <i>Choral Suite.</i> | Roger Désormière | Female Chorus, Myrtille Morel and String Orchestra | General Edition, 1938. Pocket score format. |
| OL 105-106 | 1938 | Georg Friederich Händel | <i>Sonata in C Major</i> for Bass Viol and Harpsichord. | | Antonio Tusa (bass viol) and Isabelle Nef. | Not Published. |
| OL 143 | 1938 | Michel Pignolet de Montéclair | <i>Jephthé</i> : 'Entr'act', 'Prologue', 'Menuet', 'Air d'Iphise', 'Pastourelle'. | Roger Désormière | Odette Turba-Rabier, soprano E/OOL | Not Published. |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|---|------------------|---|---|
| OL 9 (B) | 1939 | Fernand Oubradous | <i>Cadence & Divertissement</i> for Clarinet & Bassoon. | | Pierre Lefebvre; Fernand Oubradous; Noël Gallon. | General Edition, 1938. |
| OL 9 (A) | 1939 | Noël Gallon | <i>Récit et Allegro</i> for Bassoon & Piano. | | Fernand Oubradous, Noël Gallon. | General Edition, 1938. |
| OL 43-47 | 1939 | François Couperin | <i>Seconde Leçon de Ténèbres.</i> | Roger Désormière | Lise Daniels; Maurice Duruflé; Ferdinand Lemaire, 'cello. | Published in OCFC . |
| OL 50 | 1939 | François Couperin | <i>Adolescentulus Sum</i> (Motet), with explanatory note by Paul Brunold. | Paul Brunold | Erika Rokyta, Paul Brunold with unnamed flutes and violins. | General Edition, 1934. Extracted from OCFC . |
| OL 60 (and OL 92) | 1939 | François Couperin | <i>Quatre Versets d'un Motet</i> - First part <i>Adolescentulus Sum</i> (see also OL 92). | Gustave Cloëz | Chamber Orchestra with Erika Rokyta no. 1; Maurice Duruflé nos. 2, 3, 4; Chorale Yvonne Gouverné nos.2-4) Note 3-5 are on OL 92. | General Edition, 1939. Extracted from OCFC . |
| OL 62 (B) | 1939 | Anon. | <i>Déploration sur la mort de Binchois.</i> | Yvonne Gouverné | Chorale Yvonne Gouverné. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 62 (A) | 1939 | Gilles de Binchois | <i>A Solis ortu Cardine.</i> | Yvonne Gouverné | Chorale Yvonne Gouverné with unnamed musicians. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|----------------------|---|------------------|--|--|
| OL 62 (A) | 1939 | Gilles de Binchois | <i>Sanctus.</i> | Yvonne Gouverné | Chorale Yvonne Gouverné. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne.</i> |
| OL 64-65 | 1939 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Divertissement</i> K.439, no. 1. | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | General Edition, 1946. |
| OL 66-67 | 1939 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Divertissement</i> K.439, no. 2. | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | General Edition, 1946. |
| OL 68-69 | 1939 | W.A. Mozart | <i>Divertissement</i> K.439 no. 3. | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | General Edition, 1946. |
| OL 71 | 1939 | Jean-Phillipe Rameau | <i>Les Paladins</i> (Second Suite). | Roger Désormière | E/OOL. | General Edition, 1939. Parts only. |
| OL 72 | 1939 | André Campra | <i>L'Europe Galante.</i> | Roger Désormière | E/OOL. | Record not released until 1946. |
| OL 83-85 | 1939 | Franz Joseph Haydn | <i>Symphonie Concertante for Orchestra.</i> | Charles Münch | Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire de Paris; Myrtille Morel, oboe; Fernand Oubradous; André Navarra, 'cello. | Not Published. |
| OL 102 (A) | 1939 | Don Paola da Firenze | <i>Fra Dui scogli senz' Alcan Governo.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Lise Daniels and Raymond Bonté. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Monuments de L'Ars Nova.</i> |
| OL 102 (B) | 1939 | Magister Franciscus | <i>De Narcisus.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Flute, Trumpet, viola. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Monuments de L'Ars Nova.</i> |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|--------------------|--|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| OL 103-104 | 1939 | Georges Auric | <i>Trio for Oboe, Clarinet and Bassoon.</i> | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | General Edition (Trio) Parts published in 1948. |
| OL 107-108 | 1939 | Joaquín Turina | <i>Ritmos: Fantasía coreográfica, Op. 43.</i> | | Louise Gargurevich, piano. | Not Published. |
| OL 107-108 | 1939 | Zoltán Kodaly | <i>Meditation sur un motif de Debussy (Side 4).</i> | | Louise Gargurevich. | Not Published. |
| OL 109 | 1939 | Various | Motets, nos: 102, 103, 196, 198, 234, 237, 263. | Yvonne Gouverné | Chorale Yvonne Gouverné. | Published in <i>Polyphonies du XIIIe Siècle, Le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier.</i> |
| OL 110-112 | 1939 | Franz Joseph Haydn | <i>Cassation in F Major.</i> | Edvard Fendler | Chamber Orchestra. | Not Published. |
| OL 113 | 1939 | Folk/Traditional | <i>Es Wird Scho Gleit Dumpa (Austria); Da Droben Am Berge (Hollenstein Christmas Carol).</i> | | Erika Rokyta with String Quartet. | Not Published. |
| OL 114 | 1939 | Folk/Traditional | <i>Aug Honen Berg (Gottschee); Muss i'Denn (Swabian); Sterben Ist ein Schwere Buss (German); Das Hexelein (Dutch).</i> | | Erika Rokyta and L. Pettijean, piano. | Not Published. |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|--------------------|--|------------------|--|--|
| OL 115 | 1939 | Folk/Traditional | <i>Hiaz is Der Rauche Winter, da Draussen auf den Berge</i> (Austrian); <i>Wallfabrerlied</i> (Gottschee); <i>Heidi mein Kinderl</i> (Viennese). | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 117 (A) | 1939 | Folk/Traditional | Christmas Carol: <i>Vom Herren Jesus</i> (Gottschee). | | Erika Rokyta and Noël Gallon. | Not Published. |
| OL 117 (B) | 1939 | Folk Traditional | <i>Schlaf, Jesulein zart</i> (Austria). | | Erika Rokyta with String Quartet. | Not Published. |
| OL 120 | 1939 | J.S. Bach | <i>English Suite in G Minor: Gigue, Gavotte.</i> | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | Arr. Oubradous. Not Published. |
| OL 121 | 1939 | J.S. Bach | <i>French Suite in B Minor: Allemande, Menuet.</i> | | Trio d'Anches de Paris. | Arr. Oubradous. Not Published. |
| OL 126 (A) | 1939 | Gilles de Binchois | <i>Trois Chansons.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Raymond Bonté with violas and trumpet. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne.</i> |
| OL 126 (B) | 1939 | Robert Morton | <i>Inter Natos Mulierum.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Ensemble violas and Trombone. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne.</i> |
| OL 127 | 1939 | Anon. | <i>Suite for three flutes, unaccompanied</i> (Italian). | | Pierre Ruysen (flute). | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne.</i> |

| Record No. | Year Recorded | Composer | Title | Conductor | Ensemble | Édition de l'Oiseau-Lyre Publication |
|------------|---------------|----------------------|--|------------------|--|---|
| OL 136 (A) | 1939 | Hayne van Ghizeghem | <i>À la Audienche, Plus n'en array.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Ensemble (violas, trumpet, trombone). | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 136 (B) | 1939 | Nicolas Grenon | <i>Je ne requier de ma dame.</i> | Guillaume de Van | Lise Daniels with violas. | Published in 1938 in <i>Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne</i> . |
| OL 137-138 | 1939 | Henri Sauguet | <i>La Voyante</i> : Scene for Female Voice and Small Orchestra. | Roger Désormière | E/OOL with Germaine Gerney, soprano. | General Edition, 1938. Parts voice and piano. |
| OL 145 | 1939 | Bodin de Boismortier | <i>Concerto for Bassoon and Orchestra.</i> | Roger Désormière | E/OOL with Fernand Oubradous. | Score not Published. Record released in 1947. |
| OL 94-95 | 1940 | J.S. Bach | <i>Three Sonatas for Bass Viol and Harpsichord</i> , No. 1 in G Major. | | Antonio Tusa, bass viol, and Isabelle Nef. | Not Published. |
| OL 96-97 | 1940 | J.S. Bach | <i>Three Sonatas for Bass Viol and Harpsichord</i> , No. 2 in D Major. | | Antonio Tusa (nos. 1-4) and Isabelle Nef (nos. 1-6). | Not Published. |
| OL 98-99 | 1940 | J.S. Bach | <i>Three Sonatas for Bass Viol and Harpsichord</i> , No. 3 in G Minor. | | Antonio Tusa and Isabelle Nef. | Not Published. |
| OL 122-123 | 1940 | J.S. Bach | English Suite No. 3 in G Minor. | | Isabelle Nef. | Not Published. |

Appendix 3: Villanelle

Rosamonde Gérard, 'Ils vont les petits canards', *Les pipeaux*, 1, *Rustica* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1889).

| | | <i>Ils vont, les petits canards</i> | <i>They go, the little ducks.</i> |
|----|----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | A ¹ | Ils vont, les petits canards, | They go, the little ducks, |
| 2 | B | Tout au bord de la rivière, | All at the side of the river, |
| 3 | A ² | Comme de bons campagnards. | Like good country folk! |
| 4 | | Barboteurs et frétillards, | Paddlers and wrigglers, |
| 5 | | Heureux de troubler l'eau claire, | Happy to trouble the clear water, |
| 6 | A ¹ | Ils vont, les petits canards. | They go, the little ducks. |
| 7 | | Ils semblent un peu jobards, | They seem a little silly, |
| 8 | | Mais ils sont à leur affaire, | But they are at their business, |
| 9 | A ² | Comme de bons campagnards. | Like good country folk! |
| 10 | | Dans l'eau pleine de têtards, | In the water full of tadpoles, |
| 11 | | Où tremble une herbe légère, | Where light grass trembles, |
| 12 | A ¹ | Ils vont, les petits canards, | They go, the little ducks, |
| 13 | | Marchant, par groupes épars, | Marching in separate groups, |
| 14 | | D'une allure régulière | In a regular pace |
| 15 | A ² | Comme de bons campagnards. | Like good country folk. |
| 16 | | Amoureux et nasillards, | Amorous and nasal, |
| 17 | | Chacun avec sa commère, | Each one with its hearsay, |
| 18 | A ¹ | Ils vont, les petits canards, | They go, the little ducks, |
| 19 | A ² | Comme de bons campagnards. | Like good country folk. |

As shown above, the form of the *villanelle* is highly structured. Its characteristics are that it is nineteen lines in length, and it comprises five tercets (stanzas, of three lines each) followed by a quatrain (closing stanza of four lines). The rhyme scheme is: A¹BA², ABA¹, ABA², ABA¹, ABA², ABA¹A², where the first line (A¹) is repeated in lines six, twelve and eighteen, and the third line (A²) is repeated in lines nine, fifteen and nineteen.

Appendix 4: Examples of Works Conducted by Désormière

| YEAR | WORK | PRODUCER |
|----------------|---|---|
| 1923 | <i>Le Création du monde</i> , Darius Milhaud. | Ballets Suedois |
| 1924 | <i>Salade</i> , Milhaud. | Les Soirées de Paris |
| 1924 | <i>Mercury</i> , Erik Satie. | Les Soirées de Paris |
| 1924 | <i>Blue Danube</i> , Richard Strauss, arr. Roger Désormière. | Les Soirées de Paris |
| 1924 | <i>Romeo & Juliet</i> , Shakespeare, adapt. Jean Cocteau, stage music Roger Desormière. | Les Soirées de Paris |
| 1924 | <i>Relâche & Entr'acte</i> , Satie with Francis Picabia and René Clair. | Ballets Suedois |
| 1924 (6 Jan.) | <i>Les Biches</i> , Francis Poulenc. | Ballets Russes (Monte Carlo) |
| 1924 | <i>Les Fâcheux</i> , Georges Auric. | Ballets Russes (Monte Carlo) |
| 1924 | <i>Pétrouchka</i> , Igor Stravinsky. | Ballets Russes (Monte Carlo) |
| 1925 | <i>Barabau</i> , Vittorio Rieti. | Ballets Russes |
| 1925 | <i>La Chatte</i> , Henri Sauguet. | Ballets Russes |
| 1926 | <i>Le pas d'acier</i> , Sergei Prokofiev. | Ballets Russes |
| 1928 | <i>The Prodigal Son</i> , Prokofiev. | Ballets Russes |
| 1928 | <i>Le Chant du Rossignol</i> , Stravinsky. | Ballets Russes |
| 1928 | <i>Les Sacre du Printemps</i> , Stravinsky. | Ballets Russes |
| 1928 | <i>Scheherazade</i> , Rimsky Korsakov. | Ballets Russes |
| 1928 (6 Jun.) | <i>Odes</i> , Nicolas Nabokov. | Ballets Russes |
| 1929 | <i>L'Eventail de Jeanne</i> . | Paris Opéra |
| 1930 | <i>Parita</i> for piano and orchestra, Igor Markevitch. Marcelle Mayer, piano. | Salon de la Princesse de Polignac |
| 1930 (1 Mar.) | Works by Felix Mendelssohn, Ludwig van Beethoven, Stravinsky; Satie; Markevitch; and Arthur Honegger. | Bruxelles Conservatoire Société Philharmonique |
| 1930 (6 Apr.) | Works by Michel Richard Delalande (de Lalande); Charles Dieupart; Michel Pignolet Montéclair <i>Jephthé</i> , fragments; W.A. Mozart. | Société de Musique d'Autrefois |
| 1930 (4 Jun.) | Markevitch, <i>Cantate</i> ; Jean-Philippe Rameau, <i>Acanthe et Céphise</i> ; Satie. Madeleine Whita, soloist. | Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, et Chœurs |
| 1930 (6 Jun.) | Isaac Albéniz, <i>Ibéria</i> ; Albéniz, <i>Chants d'Espagne</i> ; Enrique Granados, <i>Dances</i> ; Manuel de Falla, <i>Dances du Tricorne</i> and <i>L'Amour sorcier</i> . | Salle Pleyel Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, 'Gala Nirva de Rio'. |
| 1930 (12 Jun.) | Heinrich Schutz, <i>Symphonia sacra</i> ; J. P. Krieger, <i>Lamento</i> ; J. S. Bach, <i>Actus Tragicus</i> ; Nicholas Bernier, Motets; and Alessandro Grandi, Motets. | Saint-Joseph, Société de Musique d'Autrefois |
| 1930 (30 Jun.) | J-P. Rameau various, Désormière. | Etienne de Beaumont |
| 1930 (7 Nov.) | <i>Dances et chants hindous</i> , Menaka (Leila Sokhey), the dancer Nilkanta and Bina Addy (soloist). | Salle Pleyel |
| 1930 (8 Dec.) | G. F. Haydn, <i>Symphonie no. 7</i> ; Markevitch, <i>Concerto Crosse</i> ; Sauguet, <i>La Nuit</i> ; and Stravinsky, <i>Renard</i> . | Salle de l'Ancien Conservatoire, Orchestre Symphonique de Paris. |
| 1930 | <i>Cantata and Concerto Grosso</i> , Markevitch. | |
| 1933 | <i>L'envol d'Icare</i> , Markevitch. | |
| 1937 (11 Mar.) | <i>Le Testament de la tante Caroline</i> , Albert Roussel. | Opéra-Comique |
| 1938 | <i>Esther de Carpentras</i> , Milhaud. | Opéra-Comique |
| 1939 | <i>Concerto for Organ, Strings and Timpani</i> , Poulenc. | |

Appendix 5: Désormière Recordings between 1937 and 1940

| Record No. (OL) | WORK | RECORDING LINK |
|-----------------|---|--|
| 1937 OL 101 | Guillaume Landré, <i>Suite for Piano and String Orchestra</i> (1936). | http://sami.bl.uk/uhtbin/cgiirsi/?ps=YlXnUbwlk5/WORKS-FILE/142270048/9 |
| 1938 OL 14 | Carl-Maria von Weber, <i>Andante & Rondo Hongrois</i> , pour basson et Orchestre, op. 35 (1813). | |
| 19 | François Couperin, <i>Air sérieux</i> (1697). | https://archive.org/details/78_air-serieux-mars-1697_lise-daniels-irene-aitoff-francois-couperin_gbia0076543a |
| 51 & 52 | François Couperin, 4th Concert Royal (1722). 'Prelude', 'Allemande', 'Courante française', 'Courante à l'italienne', 'Sarabande', 'Rigaudon', 'Forlane'. | https://bibliotheques-specialisees.paris.fr/ark:/73873/pf0000000545 |
| 53-54 | François Couperin, <i>La Sultane</i> , (3 sides); Couperin. | https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k127339z and https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k127378z?rk=1309019;2 |
| 55 | François Couperin, <i>Le Rossignol en-amour</i> , <i>La Létiville</i> (pour violon et clavecin), and <i>La Juillet</i> (pour flûte et clavecin). | Extracted from 'Musique de clavecin III', <i>Œuvres complètes de François Couperin</i> , vol. IV (1933). Cortet; H. Merckel; Nef. |
| 56 | François Couperin, <i>Musette de Choisi</i> and <i>Musette de Taverni</i> , <i>La Crouilli ou la Couperinette</i> . | https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k127379b/f1.media |
| 57 & 58 | François Couperin, <i>Le Parnasse ou L'Apothéose de Corelli</i> . | https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1273808 , and https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1273808?rk=1781124;4 |
| 59 | François Couperin, 13 th Concert pour deux violoncelles sans accompagnement. | |
| 73 & 74 | François Couperin, 9 th Concert: <i>Ritralto dell'amore</i> . | https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k127381n?rk=1824043;2 , and https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k127384s?rk=1802584;0 , |
| 79—80 | Weber, <i>Adagio</i> , Concerto in F, op.75. | |
| 100 | Peggy Glanville-Hicks, <i>Choral Suite</i> . | https://archive.org/details/78_choral-suite_p-glanville-hicks_gbia0075994 |
| 1939 | | |
| 71 | Jean-Philippe Rameau, <i>Les Paladins</i> , Deuxième Suite, arr. Désormière. | https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1273821 |
| 72 | André Campra, <i>L'Europe Galante</i> , Opéra-Ballet, (1697), arr. Roger Désormière. | https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1273418 |
| 137 & 138 | Henri Sauguet, <i>La Voyante</i> (1932): I. 'Cartomancie'; II. 'Astrologie': 'Quand nous venons sur Terre'; 'Présages tirés des étoiles'; 'Pour les temps à venir'; III. 'Chiromancie'. | https://archive.org/details/cd_dsormiere-vol-3-sauguet-messiaen_roger-dsormiere , [sic] |
| 143 | Michel Pignolet de Montéclair, <i>Jephthé</i> , extracts, 'Entracte', 'Prologue', 'Menuet', 'Aire d'Ipise', 'Pastourelle'. | https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k127437h |
| 145 | Bodin de Boismortier, <i>Concerto for Bassoon and Orchestra</i> , (1729). 'Allegro'; 'Largo'; 'Finale'. | https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k127438w |

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Le Monde musical
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Marianne
Mercure de France
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