

11 Railway music in Paris between the wars

THE FIVE COMPOSERS in this chapter - Arthur Honegger, Francis Poulenc, Darius Milhaud, Jacques Ibert and Heitor Villa-Lobos - all lived in Paris at some point in between the wars. At that time Paris was the place to be for musicians, writers and artists, so this is not surprising. What is more surprising is that three of them – Ibert, Milhaud and Honegger – were classmates, all studying composition at the Paris Conservatoire.¹ And on top of that another combination of the featured composers – this time Honegger, Milhaud and Poulenc – belonged to the group of composers who became known as *Les Six*.

The five railway pieces covered in this chapter are ‘En chemin de fer’ (1921), a movement from Poulenc’s *Promenades* for solo piano, and ‘Le Metro’, a description of a ride on the Paris underground from Ibert’s *Suite Symphonique* (1932) for orchestra. Milhaud’s ballet music *Le Train Bleu* (1924) is also included although, as we shall see, the title is rather misleading given that the connection with this iconic train is limited. The chapter opens and closes with two of the most famous train-inspired orchestral pieces, *Pacific 231* (1923), by train-lover Arthur Honegger and ‘The little train of the Caipira’ by Heitor Villa-Lobos.

The inter-war years saw Paris as the intellectual capital of the world for artists and writers as well as musicians. It was not just the French who were drawn there. Villa-Lobos left his native Brazil for Europe in 1923 and eventually settled in Paris. The American composer Aaron Copland moved there in 1921 to study with the eminent composition teacher Nadia Boulanger and later wrote that ‘Paris was filled with cosmopolitan artists from all over the world, many of whom had settled there as ex-patriots’. He goes on to list art movements such as Dada and surrealism, writers including James Joyce, T S Eliot, and Marcel Proust. He added that painters too were ‘enormously active,

with Picasso taking centre stage.² Stravinsky could be added to this list of important figures, having taken up residence in Paris in 1920. The entry of the United States into the war in 1917 saw an influx of Americans into Paris, early jazz arrived with them and the city remained host to many jazz artists. It was a period where composers 'sought new music to voice the new age'.³ According to Milhaud, 'At this time everything was possible, we could try everything we wanted: it was a period of experiment, of liberty of expression in the widest sense of this word'.⁴

Les Six

The members of *Les Six* were the aforementioned Honegger, Milhaud and Poulenc along with Georges Auric, Louis Durey, and, the only female member of the group, Germaine Tailleferre. The term *Les Six* was really little more than a journalistic label. Most of them admired the music of Satie and the work of their mentor Jean Cocteau. They were against Wagner's influence and that of Debussy, but otherwise they had little in common; they were a group of disparate personalities composing in different styles.

Arthur Honegger

As a boy Arthur Honegger (1892-1955) loved to walk past the railway yards in his home town of Le Havre and he is oft quoted as saying "I have always loved locomotives passionately. For me they are living creatures, and I love them as others love women or horses." He was a student at the Paris Conservatoire from 1911 to 1918. In 1926 he married fellow student Andrée Vaurabourg on condition that they lived separately because he needed solitude for composing. He was a prolific composer of symphonies, operas, ballets and oratorios along with more utilitarian music for film and radio. When he died of a heart attack in 1955 he was given a state funeral by the French government. Although he collaborated with Ibert on the opera *L'Aiglon* his membership of *Les Six* can be misleading. In some ways his music had more in common with German romanticism; he made a significant contribution to the traditional forms of symphonic and choral repertory and counted Bach and Beethoven amongst his heroes.

Pacific 231

Honegger's symphonic movement was composed in 1923. Its original title was *Mouvement Symphonique No. 1*. The number 231 refers to a steam locomotive with two front axles, three main axles and one axle at the back. In his description of *Pacific 231* the American composer Aaron Copland writes

Honegger took advantage of the fact that there is a certain analogy between the slow starting of a train, its gradual pickup of speed, its rush through space, and the slowing down to a full stop – and music. He manages very well to give the listener an impression of the hissing of steam and the chug chug of the mechanism and, at the same time, to write a piece solidly constructed of melodies and harmonies like any other piece.⁵

George Reville in his book *Railway* writes of the train as a 'symbolic force for expressing mechanical energy' outlining the way that the 'rhythms of mechanical motion' are gathered together into 'one single reverberating propulsive energy'.⁶ This brings to mind the Futurist movement which sought to express the spirit of modernity in mechanical imagery, paying homage to and even imitating machines. Futurism was popular in the early twentieth century and Honegger had a certain affinity with it. *Pacific 231* could be said to have been created in this spirit. Its hard-edged sounds evoke raw power as the machine starts to move, gains speed, and then races with a sense of inexorable machine-driven motion. But was it Honegger's intention to imitate the sounds of a train journey? In Honegger's own words

What I have endeavoured to describe in *Pacific 231* is not an imitation of the sounds of the locomotive, but the translation into musical terms of the visual impression and the physical sensation of it. It shows the objective contemplation, the tranquil breathing of the engine in repose, the effort of starting [and] the progressive gathering of speed ... of a train of 300 tons hurling itself through the night at 120 miles an hour.^{7,8}

He also described the piece in more musical terms

In *Pacific* I was after an extremely abstract and wholly ideal notion: that of giving the impression of a mathematical acceleration of rhythm while the speed itself decreased.⁹

Both readings are valid. *Pacific 231* undoubtedly evokes the sounds of a train journey as is evident in its effective use as the soundtrack to Jean Mitry's 1949 film *Pacific 231*. As the American music critic Olin Downes wrote in his review of the first New York performance, "This is as successful a balance of realistic and genuinely musical ideas as we have encountered in the concert room...we have more than the imitation of a noise."¹⁰ The sounds of the train are produced, at least partly, by Honegger's mathematical approach. His metronome markings show that after the slow beginning, which is largely made up of sustained chords, the speed of the overall beat decreases from 160 beats per minute (bpm), down to 152 bpm, then 144 bpm, then 138 bpm until the final 13 bars where it slows right down to 126 bpm. At the same time the note values get smaller meaning that there are more notes played on each beat giving the impression that the music has speeded up.

In order to conjure up the unusual sonic landscape, Honegger has written for an orchestra including a rich palette of woodwind and brass instruments. A piccolo, cor Anglais, bass clarinet and contra bassoon are added to the usual woodwind section giving a wider range of sounds particularly in the bass register and the brass section includes three trumpets, three trombones, four horns and a tuba. There are also four heavily-employed percussionists. Furthermore Honegger includes a range of playing techniques and effects including flutter tonguing in the flutes, oboes, horns and trumpets.

The 'tranquil breathing of the engine' is portrayed by the slow chordal opening. This is built upon a foundation of trills in the double basses with the remaining strings playing with the bow near the bridge of the instrument producing a glassy, almost ghostly, tone evoking the sound of steam escaping. The 'effort of starting' with the great weight of the engine is suggested by the cumbersome block chords played by the low instruments of the orchestra followed by an insistent, accelerating rhythm with the stridency of the orchestra increasing as the music gathers momentum. The horns introduce the first main theme which is soon taken up by the trumpets in shorter (quicker) note values and then passed around the orchestra. Next a second more aggressive theme is heard on the bassoons and makes its way upwards through the orchestra. Off-beat, sometimes conflicting rhythms go back and forth from different parts of the orchestra in ever-new patterns and combinations, all punctuated by insistent drumming. As the train picks up speed, the note values become shorter and a new swirling tune is heard in

the higher woodwind. At the height of the train's journey, there is a heady sense of gathering momentum, what Honegger describes as the 'progressive gathering of speed ... of a train of 300 tons hurling itself through the night'. A new broad theme is played loudly on the horns and eventually combines with other themes in a shattering chaotic climax. At length everything comes together in raucous loud chords with the brakes applied as the music slows shudders to a halt with its emphatic final chord and, some would say, the train reaches its destination.

Reception of *Pacific 231*

The first performance took place in May 1924 at the Opéra in Paris. It was met with great anticipation, the house was packed and it was an instant success. Furthermore it stirred up much excitement amongst concert goers across Europe and North America, everyone was keen to hear it. However, there was much debate about the artistic merits of a piece of music depicting a train.

The Illustrated London News review of the Royal Philharmonic Society performance under Eugene Goossens in 1925 argues that "To give a musical imitation of a railway engine might be funny, but it would not be art as we know it today."¹¹ *Truth* magazine reported that the performance 'stirred the usually apathetic Philharmonic audience to boos and hisses mingled with applause' but concluded that the 'musical impression of a locomotive' was an 'exceedingly effective one'.¹² Later that year the *Westminster Gazette* reported a full house at the Proms and that 'Honegger's sensational – or would be sensational – "Pacific 231" was another "big noise" both literally and figuratively' which had helped to draw the audience.¹³ It went on to say that the performance was 'much more suggestive of an engine which wants oiling and won't go than of the sustained and thunderous power which the alluring title leads one to expect'. Similarly Charles O'Connell in his 1935 *Victor Book of the Symphony* described it as a 'rather cheap imitation of a locomotive and its strident dissonances'.¹⁴

A much-anticipated first American performance was given at the Carnegie Hall in 1924 by the New York Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Walter Damrosch. Olin Downes reported in the *New York Times* that

The concert "attracted numbers of the curious who came to Honegger's piece

and promptly left when it was over, though there were such masterpieces as Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, and Vaughan William's Fantasia on a Theme of Thomas Tallis...also to be heard. They did not matter. The people wanted to hear the locomotive, and even blasé critics, troubled by many concerts, did leg work so that they might arrive on time to describe the much advertised tone-picture to an expectant public.¹⁵

Downes goes on to give this eloquent description of *Pacific 231*, the last words on the piece should go to him.

And so there is the suggestion of the monster in repose, just breathing; then the start, in heavy chunking chords low in the orchestra; then the gradual acceleration, and generation of a fragment of joyous song. This is as successful a balance of realistic and genuinely musical ideas as we have encountered in the concert room. The suggestion of it is unmistakable, and is accomplished with expert technic, with a well-developed harmonic idiom and a thorough knowledge and ingenious employment of the orchestra. But we have more than the imitation of a noise. We have music, youthful, energetic, full of laughter. The units of rhythmic energy cohere and develop in the most organic manner to the moment when great smashing chords bring the end. The composition need not be taken portentously or as the discovery of a new phase of art: it is rather a highly amusing "jeu d'esprit".¹⁶

'En chemin de fer' from Promenades by Francis Poulenc

Born into a wealthy Parisian family, Francis Poulenc (1899- 1963) stormed onto the scene of Parisian culture as an 18 year-old composer and pianist. One of his best-known works is the satirical ballet *Les Biches* (1924) commissioned by the ballet impresario Diaghilev for the Ballets Russes and an instant popular and critical success. Poulenc experienced a religious epiphany in the 1930s and a series of sacred pieces followed including his *Gloria* (1960) and *Stabat Mater* (1951). His compositions are quite different from those of Honegger. Much of Poulenc's music has a simplicity and directness, elegant and melodic, it is often witty and, at times, flippant.

'En chemin de fer' is the eighth movement of Poulenc's suite of ten short pieces for solo piano. Each of the pieces portrays a different means of travel, starting out on foot (*A pied*), then by car (*En auto*), next on horseback (*A cheval*) arriving at a lake and continuing by boat (*En bateau*). A plane is boarded (*En avian*) and on landing the journey continues by bus (*En autobus*) then horse and carriage (*En voiture*) followed by a train journey (*En chemin de fer*). A bicycle is taken at the station (*A bicyclette*) and then a trip home by stage coach (*En diligence*).

Poulenc was only 22 when he composed *Promenades* and he was still studying music. *Promenades* could be considered as an experiment in different styles. Each of the pieces employs a different compositional technique, resulting in heightened levels of dissonances, sometimes verging on atonality. Artur Rubinstein, to whom the *Promenades* are dedicated, first performed them at the Wigmore Hall London in 1923. *The Musical Times* reported in its review that "The Poulenc Suite is far too clever, but has charming moments and a pleasant if over-conscious humour."¹⁷ 'En chemin de fer' could well be described as such 'a charming moment'.

At first sight the music for 'En chemin de fer' seems simple. The opening bars use simple chords, regular rhythms and there are no flats or sharps. However, the tempo (*vif*) is very fast, as the piece goes on the music passes through several keys and there are some awkward leaps in the left hand, making it rather more difficult to play than it first might appear. There are no attempts to imitate a train in this piece other than the sense of movement as the train speeds along on its journey.

Darius Milhaud

Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) was the most avant-garde member of *Les Six* and, with over 4000 compositions one of the most prolific composers of the twentieth century. Many of his compositions are influenced by jazz and Brazilian music. From 1917 to 1919, Milhaud worked in Rio de Janeiro as secretary the French ambassador to Brazil. Whilst there he formed a friendship with Villa-Lobos who introduced him to the music of local street musicians, Milhaud's most famous piece is his surrealist ballet *Le Boeuf sur le toit* which is named after a Brazilian popular song.

Le Train Bleu

The title of this 1924 ballet is misleading; although it refers to the luxury express train operated between Calais and the French Riviera, *Le Train Bleu* is never actually seen on stage. Its fashionable Parisian passengers have already disembarked at the Côte d'Azur. It has been included here for two reasons: it is often cited in lists of railway music and, although it is little performed, it is an intriguing piece created by leading artists of the time (Picasso, Coco Chanel and Cocteau amongst them). As Diaghilev explains in his programme notes

The first point about *Le Train Bleu*, is that there is no blue train in it. This being the age of speed, it has already reached its destination and disembarked its passengers. They are to be seen on a beach which does not exist, in front of a casino which exists still less. Overhead passes an aeroplane which you do not see. And the plot represents nothing [...] the music is composed by Darius Milhaud, but it has nothing in common with the music we associate with Darius Milhaud.¹⁸

Jacques Ibert

Jacques Ibert (1890 – 1962) had an interesting and varied life. At the Paris Conservatoire he won the prestigious *Prix de Rome* despite his studies having been interrupted for four years by his service in World War I, first as a stretcher-bearer at the front, then as a naval officer stationed at Dunkirk. World War II was a difficult period for him; in 1940 the Vichy government banned his music and for a time he went into exile in Switzerland. In 1955 he was put in charge of both the *Opéra* and the *Opéra-Comique* and shortly afterwards he was appointed as the director of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*. Through all this he had a successful and prolific composing career. His music embraces a wide variety of styles and moods as is evident in his two best-known compositions - the witty and frivolous *Divertissement* for small orchestra and the more serious romanticism of his large-scale orchestral piece *Escales*.

‘Le Métro’

‘Le Métro’ is the first movement of Ibert’s *Suite Symphonique*, sometimes known as the ‘*Paris Suite*’, (1932). The suite is written for a small orchestra with the unusual additions of piano, harmonium and celesta. It has a large percussion section including xylophone, two glockenspiels, wood block, and tam tam. In Ibert’s words, taken from the top of the score, he wished to ‘express musically the different faces of Paris’. This rather eclectic mix of scenarios, as Ibert explains’ is ‘from the score of Jules Romain’s play “Donongo” which was showing at the Théâtre Pigalle in Paris around the same time.

- I. Le Métro (The Metro)
- II. Faubourgs (The suburbs)
- III. La Mosquée de Paris (The Mosque of Paris)
- IV. Restaurant au Bois de Boulogne (Restaurant in the Bois de Boulogne)
- V. Le Paquebot “Île-de-France” (The steamship “Île-de-France”)
- VI. Parade foraine (Parade at the fair)

The Paris Métro was relatively new when the piece was written. The first line opened in 1900 during the Exposition Universelle, the World Fair. It expanded

rapidly under the supervision of chief engineer Fulgence Bienvenüe and the main core was completed by the 1920s with extensions into the suburbs following in the 1930s. The Art Nouveau station entrances were designed by Hector Guimard. From its beginnings the Parisian underground lines carried a large number of passengers. Ibert describes 'Le Métro' at the top of the score as follows

Eight o'clock in the morning. The crowd crushes toward the platform. The trumpet sounds the signal for departure. The train gets under way. The horde sits passively as the underground journey begins.

Nowadays the Parisian Metro is much quieter than it was in 1930 when many of the trains used were made completely of metal including steel wheels, but these old trains have now been replaced by modern models which have a quieter sound.¹⁹ The soundscape of Ibert's train is one of roaring, clanking, rattling dissonance. It opens with a rumbling roll on the kettledrum under a huge cacophonous chord rising up to trills in the higher woodwind, they fade out, a trumpet announces that the train is about to set off followed by a piano and glockenspiel imitating the sound of train bells. There is a pause before the main fast section begins, opening with a brief trumpet fanfare followed by a strange train hooting sound effect from the clarinet. The clarinetist is instructed to 'blow into the mouthpiece' which involves first detaching it from the instrument producing a rather unearthly sound.

It could be argued that, like *Pacific 231*, 'Le Metro' too has elements of the Futurist aesthetic in the way that it expresses mechanical imagery. As well as using train sound effects it also evokes machine-driven motion through musical means. Once the train gets going its mechanical energy is captured through a repeated figure (ostinato) played by piano, snare drum and bass drum. Underneath this percussive ostinato the strings play another repeated figure which makes a veiled reference to George Gershwin's jazzy orchestral piece *American in Paris* which had recently received its Parisian premiere.

The train powers along getting ever noisier, we hear a warning sound (long loud notes on the trombone) as we approach the next station, the music gets louder until we come to an abrupt halt. We are left with low sustained string chords, a few clicks and creaks from the percussions, and some isolated squeals from the high woodwind in the final bars – the kind of sounds heard when a train comes to rest in an underground station. The whole journey is short, lasting only about two minutes - it is the underground after all.

Heitor Villa-Lobos

Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) was raised in Rio de Janeiro. His father was a keen amateur musician who encouraged his son's musical interests. Under his guidance, he played the clarinet and soon became an accomplished cello player, as a teenager he also enjoyed playing Brazilian popular music on guitar with Rio's street musicians. In 1903 he left home, earning a living mainly by playing the cello in theatres and hotels. His fascination with Brazilian popular and folk music led him to make various trips around Brazil and the Amazon where he learnt dozens of songs and tunes. These were brought into play in many of his compositions, helping to create a vibrant new sound.

As a composer, he was self-taught and prolific. It has been written that he dashed off his compositions in 'feverish haste (often to the accompaniment of radio, conversation, and other music in the house).²⁰ By the age of 30 he had produced over 100 works and was well-established as a composer of Brazilian art music. In 1923 he left for Europe, a trip which was subsidized by wealthy friends and a government grant. He settled in Paris moving in artistic circles with his friend Milhaud, who he had first met in Brazil, along with Ravel, Stravinsky and Prokofiev amongst others. Whilst living in Paris he put on some highly successful concerts of his own music. In 1930 he moved back to Rio where he presented a plan for music education to the State Secretariat for Education. Later that year his plan was backed by the new government under Gétulio Vargas and he instigated a nationwide programme of music instruction for schools using Brazilian popular music. He also organised choral singing on a mass scale. On one occasion in 1935 this involved some 30,000 voices and 1000 band musicians.²¹

One of the major instrumental landmarks in his output is the set of nine suites *Bachianas Brasileiras* for various combinations of voices and instruments. These are pieces which combine the sounds of Brazil with contemporary classical music techniques and, as the title suggests, elements of the style of the Baroque composer J S Bach. Although sharing a music language found in the works of some of his contemporaries, Villa-Lobos was unquestionably a nationalist composer and these eclectic works are permeated with the instruments, rhythms and melodies of the folk and popular music of Brazil.

‘The little train of the Caipira’ from *Bachianas Brasileiras No. 2*

‘The little train of the Caipira’ is the final movement of the four-movement orchestral suite *Bachianas brasileiras No. 2*. It is a short piece lasting around four minutes. Although the suite was completed in Rio de Janeiro in 1930, it is safe to assume that the process of composition began in Paris.²² Each of the movements has twin titles, one of which alludes to the movement of a Bach suite (in this case the Toccata) and the other to some facet of Brazilian life. The word ‘Caipira’ refers to the inhabitants of rural areas in the southern interior of Brazil.

Bachianas brasileiras No. 2 is scored for a large chamber orchestra of ten wind and brass instruments, a string section, piano and celesta, and a percussion section (timpani, triangle, cymbals, tam-tam, snare drum and bass drum) supplemented by South American instruments. The music of Villa-Lobos is noted for its interesting textures and vivid orchestration, and the use of train sound effects and South American percussion in ‘The little train of the Caipira’ is an exemplar of both. Much of the colour in this movement comes from the composer’s use of the ganza (metal tube filled with gravel - shaker), chocalhos (metal tube filled with beads- rattle), raganella (ratchet), reco-reco (notched stick - scraper) and tamburello (tambourine).²³ It is these instruments which, from the opening bars of the piece, add so much to the evocation of the rhythmic sounds of the steam locomotive.

The piece opens quietly as the train gets off to a wheezing start, the strings play pianissimo sustained chords whilst the percussion sets the train in motion with its repeated rhythmic patterns. The steam whistle (flute and clarinet) sounds, and the train gradually picks up speed. The scraping and shaking of the South American instruments coupled with the percussive block chords on the piano combine to make a very convincing steam train. As the orchestra gets louder we hear another original train sound effect, this time from the horns and trombones as together they slide upwards with their glissandi evoking an effective steam whistle warning of the train coming. Another realistic and original steam whistle effect comes from the woodwind section. The clarinet play a figure based on the chromatic scale, but using lip smears to slide from one note to the next.

As the train gathers steam, the main orchestral theme begins representing the train’s progress through the countryside. This sinuous theme is typical of Brazilian folk music in the way that it uses descending melodic phrases

in stepwise motion, along with some repeated notes. Rhythmically too it is typical with much use of syncopated (off beat) rhythms and the use of hemiola. A term used when three beats are performed in the time of two (or two beats are performed in the time of three). As in many Brazilian folk songs the syncopated rhythms are contrasted with a steady rhythmic pulse. Throughout this passage the South American percussion plays the same steady beat whilst the cellos and double basses offset this by playing on the beat.

As the train journey approaches its end, the train decelerates; the piece slows down and gets quieter. This is achieved partly by means of a clever rhythmic device by the piccolo and cello parts. To create the effect of the locomotive slowing down, the note values become gradually longer; the piccolo part starts with semiquaver sextuplets, then straight semiquavers, then triplet quavers, straight quavers, and finally triplet crotchets. The cello follows a similar pattern this time moving from semiquavers to crotchets. The note values continue to become longer, the woodwind and brass players drop out, leaving a series of sustained string chords interspersed with a few remaining scrapes and rattles which gradually die away as the train slows to a halt. All the instruments become silent apart from a long low chord on the cellos and then, out of the blue, the piece ends with a huge crashing dissonant chord.

Of the five pieces discussed in this chapter, one, *Le Train Bleu*, refers to the train only in its title and another, Poulenc's 'En chemin de fer', makes little attempt beyond a sense of movement to imitate a train. Each of the remaining three, however, is a musical evocation of a train ride: the journey begins; the train accelerates; it travels along and then decelerates and comes to a halt. Both Honegger and Ibert emphasise the mechanical nature of the machine but Villa-Lobos adds another dimension by exploring the 'rhythmic encounter between train and landscape'. As George Revill writes

the composer binds together the rhythms of the moving train...with melodies inflected by the folk music of the rural hinterland through which the train runs. Together these cross-currents weave together the physical progress of the train through the landscape and the social and cultural world it inhabits.²⁴

Revill goes further when he writes that because Villa-Lobos 'was central to the awakening of a national cultural consciousness in Brazil ...this music and his work can be interpreted more broadly as an attempt to bind the nation together culturally and politically.'²⁵

Endnotes

- 1 In 1912 the composer and counterpoint teacher André Gédalge started a private class in orchestration for his most gifted pupils.
- 2 Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland, Volume I: 1900–1942* (London: Faber & Faber, 1984): 56-7.
- 3 Paul Griffiths. *A Concise History of Modern Music. From Debussy to Boulez.* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978).
- 4 BBC Third Programme talk, 4 February 1962, quoted in Roger Nichols, *The Harlequin Years* (London, 2002): 276.
- 5 Aaron Copland. *What to Listen for in Music.* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1939).
- 6 George Revill. *Railway* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2013): 56.
- 7 Quoted in Scowcroft and elsewhere.
- 8 As the railway expert Philip Scowcroft writes of the train speed “This is a slight exaggeration for 1923, as it was not until 1938 that “Mallard” touched 126 m.p.h., the all-time record for steam traction’.
- 9 Arthur Honegger, quoted in Roger Nichols. *The Harlequin Years: Music in Paris 1917-1929.* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002): 233.
- 10 *New York Times*, November 1, 1924.
- 11 *The Illustrated London News*, 14 Feb 1925.
- 12 *Truth*, 4 Feb, 1925.
- 13 *Westminster Gazette*, 19 September, 1925.
- 14 Charles O’Connell. *Victor Book of the Symphony.* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1935): 289
- 15 *New York Times* Nov 1, 1924.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 *The Musical Times*, Vol. 64, No. 966 (Aug. 1, 1923): 571-574.
- 18 As cited in Roxanne C. ‘Composers and the Ballets Russes - Convention, Innovation, and Evolution as seen through the Lesser Known Works’. (PhD thesis The University of Manchester, 2016).
- 19 Carlo Patrão. ‘Listening to the City of Light: An Interview with Sound Recordist Des Coulam’. <https://soundstudiesblog.com/tag/paris-metro-system>
- 20 Michael Round. ‘Bachianas Brasileiras’ in *Performance*. *Tempo*, no. 169. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 35.
- 21 Gerard Béhague. ‘Villa-Lobos, Heitor 1887 – 1959’ in *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline>.
- 22 Some musicologists believe that movements I, II and IV are arrangements of earlier works for cello and piano.
- 23 A Nieweg Chart. Villa-Lobos: “Bachianas Brasileiras”. Editions as of January / 2016. <http://www.orchestralibrary.com/Nieweg%20Charts/Villa%20Lobos%20BB%202016.pdf>
- 24 Revill, *Railway*, 59.
- 25 *Ibid.*